



REPORT
OF
THE SEVENTEENTH
Indian National Congress

HELD AT

CALCUTTA,

ON THE 26th, 27th & 28th DECEMBER,

1901.



Calcutta:

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SOME OF ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1833.

That no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or any employment under the said Government (Act 3 and 4, Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 87, 1833).

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other Subjects; and those obligations, by the Blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

* * * * *

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the Duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

LORD NORTHBROOK ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

"There is one simple test which we may apply to all Indian questions; let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our own profit and advantage, but for the benefit of the natives of India."

LORD LYTTON'S SPEECH AT THE DELHI ASSEMBLAGE ON 1st JANUARY 1877.

"But you, the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen, and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

LORD RIPON IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

"The document (Her Majesty's Proclamation) is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument, it is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir Fitzjames Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my powers. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence. Because that power and that influence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms."

LORD DUFFERIN'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF HER MAJESTY'S JUBILEE IN 1887.

"Glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn among them (the people of India), circumstances permitted me to extend, and to place upon a wide and more logical footing, the political status which was so wisely given, a generation ago, by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen, were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils."

LORD LANSDOWNE IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 9th JANUARY 1891.

* * * "the Proclamation of 1858, which Government of India regards as in the highest degree obligatory upon it." * * *

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SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS
PASSED AT THE
SEVENTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT CALCUTTA

On the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1901.

Resolution I.

RESOLVED—(a) That this Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Her Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria and its sense of the irreparable loss which the Empire has sustained thereby. This Congress recalls with gratitude Her late Majesty's deep personal sympathy with the people of India as evidenced by Her Gracious Proclamation and by various other measures and personal acts conceived in the same spirit of anxious solicitude for the welfare of the people of India.

(b) That this Congress tenders its respectful homage to His Gracious Majesty, King Edward VII., and under His Majesty's beneficent reign hopefully looks forward to the strengthening of free institutions, the expansion of popular rights and the gradual but complete redemption of the promises contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation.

(c) That this Congress desires to place on record its deep sense of regret at the great loss which the country has sustained by the untimely death of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade.

Resolution II.

RESOLVED—(a) That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the journal *India* as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme:—

(b) That a circulation of 4000 copies of *India* be secured by allocating 1500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North-Western Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1000 copies to Bombay, the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.

(c) That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due

for the copies of *India* assigned to their respective circles : and the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments :—

BENGAL	{	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
		„ Bhupendra Nath Basu.
		„ Baikunta Nath Sen.
BOMBAY	{	Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta.
		Mr. D. E. Wacha.
		Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
MADRAS	{	Hon'ble Mr. Srinibas Rao.
		Mr. Vijay Raghaba Chariar.
		Mr. V. Rynu Nambier.
BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES	{	Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer.
		Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
		Mr. M. M. Malavya.
N.-W. PROVINCES AND OUDH	{	Mr. Ganga Prosad Varma.
		Mr. S. Sinha.
CAWNPORE	{	Mr. A. Nundy.
PUNJAB		Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.
		Lala Harakissen Lal.

(d) That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of *India* and the British Committee a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902.

Resolution III.

RESOLVED—(1) That the Congress once again desires to call the attention of the Government to the deplorable condition of the poorest classes in India, full forty millions of whom, according to high official authority, drag out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation even in normal years, and this Congress recommends the following amongst other measures for the amelioration of their condition :—

(2) That the permanent settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist ; that restrictions be put on over-assessments in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the permanent settlement at the present time so as to leave the Ryots sufficient to maintain themselves on and that these settlements of land revenue be guaranteed for longer periods than is the case at present.

(3) That Agricultural Banks be established and greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

(4) That steps be taken to improve the agriculture of the country and in connection with this, this Congress exhorts all landed proprietors in this country to pay greater attention to the agricultural needs of the country and adopt such measures as are in their power to meet them.

(5) That the minimum income assessable under the Income-tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

(6) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped at least in part by the wider employment of the children of the soil in the public services.

Resolution IV.

RESOLVED—That the Congress once again records its deliberate opinion that the separation of judicial and executive functions is necessary in the interests of righteous and efficient administration of justice ; the Congress is supported in this opinion by high and distinguished authorities, intimately familiar with the administration of criminal justice in India, such as Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Markby, Sir James Jardine, Mr. Reynolds and others. This Congress understands that the question is now under the consideration of the Government of India ; and having regard to the soundness of the principle involved, the unanimity of public sentiment on the subject and above all to the numerous instances of failure of justice resulting from the combination of judicial and executive functions, this Congress appeals to the Government of India to introduce this much-needed reform which has been too long delayed, partly through the fear of loss of prestige and the weakening of the Executive Government, but chiefly on the score of expense which, it is believed, will not be heavy and which in any case ought not to be an insurmountable difficulty.

Resolution V.

RESOLVED—That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be strengthened so far as appeals from India are concerned and this Congress respectfully ventures to suggest that Indian lawyers of eminence should be appointed as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the determination of appeals from India.

Resolution VI.

RESOLVED—That this Congress sympathises with the British Indian settlers in South Africa in their struggle for existence and respectfully draws the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the anti-Indian legislation there and trusts that while the question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies is still under the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of States for the Colonies, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure for the settlers a just and equitable adjustment thereof.

Resolution VII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress notices with satisfaction that the question of police reform is now under the consideration of the Government and that it is one of the twelve questions which his Excellency the Viceroy

proposes to deal with during the term of His Viceroyalty. The Congress repeats its conviction that no satisfactory reform could be effected unless the Police were re-organised on the following lines :—

(1) That the higher ranks of the police should be recruited more largely than at present from among educated natives of India as by statute defined who being conversant with the language and habits, thoughts and life, of their subordinates would be in a position to exercise a more effective control over their subordinates than is exercised at present.

(2) That the pay and prospects of the subordinate ranks of the police should be substantially improved so as to render the service more attractive to the educated community. This Congress is of opinion that the wider employment of educated Indians in the subordinate ranks of the Police upon higher pay and with better prospects can alone contribute to the efficiency and integrity of the Police.

(3) That the competitive examination held in England for the recruitment of the provincial branches of the Police service should be thrown open to natives of India instead of being confined to candidates of British birth.

Resolution VIII.

RESOLVED—(a) That this Congress deplores the recurrence of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India in recent years and records its deliberate conviction that famines in India are mainly due (1) to the great poverty of the people brought on by the decline of all indigenous arts and industries and the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years and (2) to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land, consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the civil and military departments, which has 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, improve the agriculture of the country, foster the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and help forward the introduction of new industries.

(b) That this Congress rejoices that a Famine Union has been formed in London with a branch at Liverpool consisting of distinguished men from all parties, and this Congress desires to place on record its deep gratitude to the members of the Union for their sympathy with the famine-stricken sufferers in India and the earnest and eminently practical way in which they have set themselves to their task.

Resolution IX.

RESOLVED—That the Congress once again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have not produced the results

which were anticipated and this Congress 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 examination for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in England and India.

That in this connection this Congress desires to express its profound disappointment at the policy of the Government in respect of the wider employment of natives of India in the higher offices of the Minor Civil Services, such as the Police, the Custom, the Telegraph, the Forest, the Survey, the Opium, as involving their practical exclusion from these offices and as being opposed to the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission; and this Congress prays that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to remedy the injustice thus done to the claims of the people of this country.

Resolution X.

RESOLVED—That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of British India, this Congress is of opinion that the Indian taxpayer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European Army:—the claims of financial justice to India demands the transfer of the cost of a portion of British troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer.

Resolution XI.

RESOLVED—That this Congress desires to express its appreciation of the action of the Government in forming a Cadet Corps consisting of the representatives of Indian Princes and Noblemen and regards it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of military colleges (as recommended by the Duke of Connaught) at which natives of India may be educated and trained for a military career as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army.

Resolution XII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress notices with great satisfaction that the subject of education in all its divisions is receiving the earnest and careful attention of His Excellency the Viceroy and this Congress trusts that in constituting the proposed Education Commission, His Excellency will be pleased to give adequate representation to Indian interests by appointing a sufficient number of Indian gentlemen to be members of the Commission.

Resolution XIII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its benevolent intentions, regrets that immediate effect has not been given to the proposal made by the Government itself to enhance the coolies' wages in Assam, although such a course was strongly insisted on by the Chief Commissioner and was imperatively demanded by the plainest considerations of justice to the coolies; and this Congress is further of opinion that the time has come when the Government should redeem its pledge to do away with all penal legislation for labour in Assam.

Resolution XIV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress is of opinion that in the interests of the public, the medical science and the profession as well as in the cause of economical administration it is necessary (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches—one for the European army and the other for the native troops worked on identical lines; and (2) that 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 profession of medicine in India and elsewhere, due regard being had to the utilization of indigenous talent.

That this Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require a thorough and open enquiry with a view to redressing long-standing anomalies and consequent grievances.

Resolution XV.

RESOLVED—(a) That in view of the fact that it is agriculture alone that enables the vast masses of people in the various provinces of India to maintain themselves and in view of the excessive cost of British rule, this Congress is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to bestow its first and undivided attention upon the department of agriculture and adopt all those measures for its improvement and development which have made America, Russia, Holland, Belgium and several other countries so successful in that direction.

(b) That this Congress begs to draw the special attention of the Government to the recommendations of Dr. Voelcker who was sent out to India in 1889 to enquire into the condition of Indian agriculture and prays that early effect be given to the same.

(c) That this Congress further prays that the Government would be pleased to establish a large number of experimental farms all over the country as well as scholarships to enable Indian students to proceed to foreign countries for the purpose of learning the methods of improving and developing agricultural resources which are in vogue in those countries.

Resolution XVI.

RESOLVED—(a) That the following gentlemen do form a Committee to report to the Congress next year whether it is desirable to adopt the following resolutions, with or without amendments and alterations :—

Mr. B. G. Tilak
 „ Madan Mohan Malavya
 „ Bhupendra Nath Basu
 „ J. Chowdhuri
 „ B. Pathak
 „ Ranade
 „ Ganga Prosad Varma
 „ Umar Buksh
 „ Harkissen Lal

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress much of the present state of economic depression of the country is owing to want of knowledge of the methods of production and distribution which prevail in foreign countries, and that it behoves our countrymen to adopt means to bring advanced knowledge and exact information within the reach of the people.

(c) That one of the most important economic questions that require solution at our hands is the organisation of Capital and Credit, in villages, towns, provinces and the country. This Congress invites attention of their countrymen to make sustained and extensive efforts to organise Capital and remove one of the many difficulties in the way of improvement of our economic condition.

Resolution XVII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress reaffirms its protest against the Currency Legislation of 1893 which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by over 30 per cent., which indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent, and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year owing to this heavy indirect taxation,—and that too in times of unexampled distress brought about by famines—affects most detrimentally the wealth-producing institutions of the country, *viz.* : agriculture, plantation, and manufacture. That it is further of opinion that the above-mentioned legislation has alarmingly diminished the power of the peasantry to withstand the attacks of natural calamities and that the most deplorable consequences may be anticipated to follow from it in course of time.

Resolution XVIII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress notices with satisfaction the rapid progress of the mining industry of India and in consideration of the fact that the mineral resources of this country are vast and the facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of mining engineering in this country are almost nothing

and in view of the fact that the tendency of recent legislation on mining, namely Act VII of 1901, is that all Indian mines must be kept under the supervision of mining experts, this Congress is of opinion that a Government College of mining engineering be established in some suitable place in India after the model of the Royal School of Mines of England and the Mining Colleges of Japan and the Continent.

Resolution XIX.

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

(a) The raising of the minimum income assessable under the Income-Tax Act from five hundred to one thousand Rupees.

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

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

(d) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

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

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

(a) Against the scheme of re-organization of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, and prays 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.

(iii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its opinion—

(a) That the system of technical education, now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory and prays that having regard to the poverty of the people, the decline of indigenous industries and the necessity of reviving them as also

of introducing new industries, the Government will be pleased to introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of *technical instruction* and set apart more funds for its successful working.

(b) That having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also to 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 the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdict of juries should be final.

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

(d) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways: and that it is necessary that these rules should be amended so as to remedy the grievances of the people in the matter.

Resolution XX.

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.

RESOLVED—That the XVIIIth Indian National Congress do assemble after Christmas, 1902 on such day and place in the Bombay Presidency as may be later determined upon.

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Seventeenth Indian National Congress,
HELD AT
CALCUTTA,
On the 26th, 27th, & 28th December, 1901.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Seventeenth Congress assembled for its first sitting on the 26th December, 1901, at 2-30 P.M. It met in a large and beautiful Pavilion erected for the purpose in Beadon Square which was kindly lent by the Calcutta Corporation.

First Day.

The Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Congress was also held at the same square in separate structures. The spacious Pavilion was divided into a number of platforms with wide approaches lined with pots of stately palms and many colored foliage plants. The pillars and the ceiling were draped with cloth of various colours and designs. Curtains were hanging all round and with flags, festoons, buntings and other decorations the whole place looked quite picturesque. With the electric lamps lit in the evening the Pavilion looked like a fairy palace.

There were two platforms for the ladies, one reserved for those who observed the purdah system and this was screened off with chicks and curtains. There was also a separate entrance for them so arranged and screened off that they could step out from their carriages and go to their platform without exposure to the outside gaze. There was also a separate tent provided for their use the approach to which was similarly secluded.

There were two principal entrances to the grounds. One for the Industrial Exhibition and the other for the Congress Pavilion both of them had arches overhead and were nicely decorated. One for the Congress entrance with a large dome at the top surrounded by flags and buntings

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presented a grand and attractive appearance. Nohobat parties stationed in a platform erected over the gates were discoursing sweet music at intervals.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee with the President elect, past Presidents and others, escorted by the Captain of the Volunteers and a number of Warders with their gold embroidered bright red silk sashes and long staffs in hand with flags flying at their tops, entered the Pavilion in a procession. The whole place was so overcrowded and the passages were so full of standing people that it was not an easy matter even for this body to pass through to reach the President's platform.

The proceedings commenced with the following song, specially composed for the occasion by Miss Sarola Devi Ghosal, B.A., which was sung in unison by fifty-eight souls—men and boys hailing from all the different parts of India and professing different religions. Hindus, Mahommedans, Jains, Parsees, Shiks, and Christians all sang as with one voice the ode to the Mother country. Nearly four hundred Volunteers joined in the chorus. The composer Miss Ghosal herself led the orchestra.

হিন্দুস্থান।

মিশ্র খাওয়াজ—তাল ফেরতা।

(১)

অতীতগৌরববাহিনি মম বাণি ! গাহ আজি
“হিন্দুস্থান !”

মহাসভা-উন্মাদিনি মম বাণি ! গাহ আজি
“হিন্দুস্থান !”

কর বিক্রম-বিভব-বশঃসৌরভ-পুরিত
সেই নাম গান।

বঙ্গ, বিহার, অযোধ্যা, উৎকল,
মাদ্রাজ, মারাঠ, গুজর, নেপাল,
পঞ্জাব, রাজপুতান্ !

হিন্দু, পার্শি, জৈন, ইসাই, শিখ, মুসলমান !

গাও সকল কণ্ঠে, সকল ভাষে
“নমো হিন্দুস্থান !”

(হিন্দু, জৈন প্রভৃতি গায়কগণ)

(পার্শি গায়কগণ)

(মুসলমান গায়কগণ)

(সকলে)

হর হর হর জয় ! হিন্দুস্থান !

দাদর্ হোরমজ্দ ! হিন্দুস্থান !

ইলাহি আকবর্ ! হিন্দুস্থান !

নমো হিন্দুস্থান !

(২)

ভেদরিপুনাশিনি মম বাণি ! গাহ আজি
ঐক্য গান !

মহাবল-বিধারিনি মম বাণি ! গাহ আজি
ঐক্য গান !

মিলাও হুঃখে, সৌখ্যে, সখ্যে, লক্ষ্যে,
কায়মনঃপ্রাণ !

বঙ্গ, বিহার, অযোধ্যা, উৎকল,
মাদ্রাজ, মারাঠ, গুজ্জর, নেপাল,
পঞ্জাব, রাজপুতান !

হিন্দু, পার্শি, জৈন, ইসাই, শিখ, মুসলমান !

গাও সকল কণ্ঠে, সকল ভাবে

“নমো হিন্দুহান !” -

(হিন্দু, জৈন প্রভৃতি গায়কগণ)

হরি হরি হরি জয় ! হিন্দুহান !

(ইসাই গায়কগণ)

জয় জীহোবা ! হিন্দুহান !

(মুসলমান গায়কগণ)

ইলাহি আকবর ! হিন্দুহান !

(সকলে) -

“নমো হিন্দুহান !”

(৩)

সকলজনউৎসাহিনি মম বাণি ! গাহ আজি
নূতন তান !

মহাজাতি সংগঠনি মম বাণি ! গাহ আজি
নূতন তান !

উঠাও কর্ম নিশান ! ধর্ম বিঘাণ !

বাজাও চেতারে প্রাণ !

বঙ্গ, বিহার, অযোধ্যা, উৎকল,
মাদ্রাজ, মারাঠ, গুজ্জর, নেপাল,
পঞ্জাব, রাজপুতান !

হিন্দু, পার্শি, জৈন, ইসাই, শিখ, মুসলমান !

গাও সকল কণ্ঠে, সকল ভাবে

“নমো হিন্দুহান !”

(হিন্দু, জৈন প্রভৃতি গায়কগণ)

জয় জয় ব্রহ্মণু হিন্দুহান !

(শিখ গায়কগণ)

অলখ নিরঞ্জন ! হিন্দুহান !

(ইসাই গায়কগণ)

জয় জীহোবা ! হিন্দুহান !

(পার্শি গায়কগণ)

দাদর হোরমজ্জ ! হিন্দুহান !

(সকলে)

নমো হিন্দুহান !

HAIL HINDUSTAN !

I.

Sing, O my Muse, recall our ancient glory,
Sing thou, sing Hindustan !
Inspire this throng with soul bestirring story,
Sing now, sing Hindustan !
Let valour bright breathe in the very name,
Instil into thy song past wealth and fame.

Chorus—Orissa, Behar, Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Nepal,
Madras, Bombay, and Rajputan !
Hindu, Parsee, and Jain, Sikh, Christian, Mussulman !
Let every voice in concord ring,
In every tongue the burden sing,
All hail to Hindustan !
Hara, Hara, Hara—hail Hindustan !
Dadar Hormuzd—Hindustan !
Elahi Akbar—Hindustan !
All hail to Hindustan !

II.

Sing, O my Muse, defeat all party-strife,
Sing thou, sing Hindustan !
Giver of strength and power, giver of life,
Sing now, sing Hindustan !
In joy and sorrow let us not be parted,
In aim and effort make us single-hearted.

Chorus—Orissa, Behar, Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Nepal,
Madras, Bombay, and Rajputan !
Hindu, Parsee, and Jain, Sikh, Christian, Mussulman !
Let every voice in concord ring,
In every tongue the burden sing,
All hail to Hindustan !
Hari, Hari, Hari—hail Hindustan !
Jay Jihova—Hindustan !
Elahi Akbar—Hindustan !
All hail to Hindustan !

III.

Sing, O my Muse, arouse the people's heart,
Sing thou, sing Hindustan !
Maker of mighty nation that thou art
Sing now, sing Hindustan !
Uplift the flag of *Energy* on high,
And let stern *Duty* sound her bugle-cry.

Chorus—Orissa, Behar, Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Nepal,
 Madras, Bombay, and Rajputan !
 Hindu, Parsee, and Jain, Sikh, Christian, Mussulman !
 Let every voice in concord ring,
 In every tongue the burden sing,
 All hail to Hindustan !
 Jay Brahman—hail Hindustan !
 Alakha Niranjana—Hindustan !
 Jay Jihova—Hindustan !
 Dadar Hormuzd—Hindustan !
 All hail to Hindustan !

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The chair was taken by Moharajah Bahadoor Jagadindra Nath Roy of Natore, the Chairman of the Reception Committee on whom it devolved to welcome the delegates and to call upon them to formally elect their President.

Chairman of the Reception Committee's Address.

Moharaja Jagadindra Nath Roy Bahadoor who on rising was received with loud and continued applause said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In the name of the citizens of Calcutta and the people of Bengal, I offer you a most sincere and hearty welcome to our city. (*Cheers*).

You can well understand how extremely gratifying it is to the self-love of a person in my position to have the honour and pleasure of taking the initial part on an occasion like the present. The pleasure of offering words of welcome to so many eminent and distinguished men of the different provinces of India, no one who has any love for his fellow-countrymen would willingly forego. And to be the cynosure of all eyes in an assembly like this, even for the space of half an hour, would give rise to feelings of self-importance in the breast of the most modest individual in existence. An occasion like this—always one of satisfaction—is of special satisfaction to me, as, though all along the aims and methods of the Congress have had my warmest sympathies, (*cheers*), this is the first time I have had the good fortune to be able to take a prominent part in it. If I ever wished, which I do even now, that the task which has been allotted to me had been placed in more capable hands, the reason is that I cannot delude myself into the belief that I am worthy of the honour done to me.

I cannot remain blind to the fact that the gentlemen who on the three previous occasions welcomed you to our city, were men of great distinction and abilities, whose reputation had spread far and wide and whose names were known and respected all over India. Raja Ragendra Lala Mitter,

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Mr. Monomohan Ghose, and Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter are great names, and rank among the greatest that modern India can boast of. (*Loud applause*). Every one of them had already established their claim to the gratitude of their countrymen by their life, work, and to the admiration of their fellows by their exceptional abilities, when they stood up before you to accord you a welcome in the name of the people of Bengal. It would have been exceedingly strange if, under these circumstances, I did not feel any diffidence or hesitation in taking the chair to-day. If I have at last agreed to do so, it is because it has been the one great ambition of my life to join the ranks of those who think, those who feel, and those who work for their country. (*Cheers*). And whatever misgivings I may have had as regards my ability to discharge in a worthy manner the duty that has been laid upon me, I felt bound to overcome them in order not to let slip this opportunity of publicly identifying myself with the movement which has my entire sympathy and whole-hearted confidence. If I am poor in experience, I am rich in hopes. If I have done little, I desire to do much. If I have not reached that period of life when men cease to dream dreams, I have not, on the other hand, felt the cold touch of age which freezes the hearts of ordinary mortals. I cannot offer you any advice which would be helpful to you, but I offer you with all my heart and soul what I have—faith in our national cause, and hope of its ultimate victory. (*Cheers*).

Before I proceed any further, it is due to my immediate predecessor in the chair, the late Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, that we should take this opportunity of publicly recording the great esteem and regard in which he was held by his countrymen. In his lifetime, he was perhaps little known to people outside Bengal, except to professional lawyers. But here, in Bengal, he was looked upon with universal admiration and pride. His exceptional abilities are testified to by the fact that he rose to the highest official position under the British Government, which it has ever been the lot of any Indian to reach. He was not only a sound and accomplished lawyer, but also a great and able judge. He had in an uncommonly large degree that fearless independence of character, that scrupulous love of pure justice, that judicial frame of mind undisturbed by any external influence, that dignity of manner and evenness of temper, which, we have been taught to believe, go to constitute the greatness of a judge. He was one of those fortunate individuals, only too rare in our community, who enjoyed at the same time the fullest confidence and the highest respect of both the Government and the people. (*Hear, hear*). He won the confidence and respect of the Government by the soundness of his judgment and the greatness of his intellectual powers; the confidence and respect of the people by his steady championship of the cause of liberty and justice. After a most honourable and brilliant career on the Bench, he did not retire into the obscurity of private life to enjoy the blessings of a well-learned leisure after the day's work was done; but sought fresh fields of usefulness and activity in the province of public life. (*Cheers*). It was a day of

congratulation for us all, when Sir Romesh, in the maturity of his manhood, with his noble record of work nobly done, came to strengthen our movement with the great weight of his name and reputation. It is difficult to fully realise the loss that our cause has suffered by his early death. We only know that by his death the promise of a potent public career has been falsified. We only know that by the sobriety of his judgment, the maturity of his wisdom, the staunchness of his patriotic feeling, he would have been a tower of strength to us. But, alas! Fate wills that to-day instead of hearing his voice resound in this hall, we must only mourn his untimely death.

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Let me recall another noteworthy fact in the lives of Rajendra Lala, Sir Romesh, and Monomohan Ghose, which is common to them all. Even the most reckless of our critics could not taunt them with having been disappointed place-hunters who, in default of anything better to do, are supposed to clamour for political reform. Every one of them was an eminently successful man in life, every one of them had by his own exertion and talents acquired wealth, position, and fame. They did not belong to that class of leisured plutocracy with whom, in Europe, politics is a sport and a pastime, and, in India, when delicately manipulated, a passport to Birthday honours.

Talking of the conspicuous and famous men who have passed away, we cannot but pay a tribute of honour to the memory of one who, though not of you, was always with you—I mean, the late Mr. Justice Ranade. (*Loud Cheers*). He was one of the greatest men that modern India has produced—one so great by his intellectual eminence, and by his deep-seated and far-sighted patriotism that I know of no other man of his age who was in the same rank with him. The problem, the solution of which he made his life's work, is the one paramount problem of modern India, *viz.*, what is the result, and is likely to be, the outcome of the contact of the West with the East, and how best to assimilate the forces of European civilization at work amidst us, having in view our future national well-being. After Ram Mohan Roy, (*cheers*), he was the only one amongst our countrymen who realised the whole problem in all its universality and comprehensiveness. He knew the problem was not only political and economical, but also social and religious. He applied his master-mind to the study of all the present-day problems of our country and there is not a subject he handled which does not bear the indelible mark of his originality of thought, which is not illuminated by the clearness of his vision, and which is not elevated by the purity and fervour of his patriotism. It is for the future to prove whether the solutions he offered us are true or false; but the greatness of his work cannot be called into question even by those who happen by their temperament and mental constitution to hold opinions different to those of his. He was not one of those Indian thinkers who, by a natural national instinct, retire into the ivory tower of their own thought in order not to be defiled by the contact of ordinary humanity. He, like Ram Mohan Roy, was a friend, philosopher, and guide to his fellow-mortals in the truest sense of those words. (*Cheers*). If he had had a little more boldness, a little more

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fire in his composition—in a word, if had had a more vigorous personality, Ranade would have left as deep an impression on our society as Raja Ram Mohan Roy. (*Loud Cheers*).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my painful duty to allude to another death—a death which is mourned by vast communities inhabiting different parts of the globe and which for us has been an event of deep national sorrow,—I mean, the death of the late Queen of England and Empress of India. There have been women famous in history, who presided over the destinies of nations—the splendour of whose reign, the brilliancy of whose court, and the dazzling excesses of whose lives have fascinated the imagination of men; and the world loves to call them great. Their virtues were those of men—strength, courage, great intelligence and indomitable will; and their defects those of women—impulsiveness impetuosity of character, violent passions, and all the weaknesses that feminine flesh is heir to. But in Victoria, the sovereign, the mother and the wife—all those noble and sweet qualities of mind and heart, which we associate with the best of her sex—were ever conspicuous. It was the fine and noble instincts of the women in her that led her to issue the proclamation of 1858—which we her Indian subjects *rightly* cherish as our Magna Charta (*cheers*)—because it enunciates once for all the broad principles of Humanity, Liberty, and Justice according to which this country is to be governed by England. If Her late Majesty had done nothing else, that single message of hers addressed to us after the sanguinary days of the Mutiny—when we lay completely at the mercy of our conquerors—that message so full of deep sympathy for an alien subject race, so noble and liberal in its spirit, so magnificently just in its policy, would alone have won the eternal gratitude and unflinching loyalty of her Indian subjects. But the proclamation is only the prelude of a reign covering nearly the half of a century, which will ever remain the most unique and momentous period in the history of this country. The close and intimate contact with the more powerful and vigorous races of Europe has been the one dominant factor in the life of the people of the East during the century which has just closed. The irresistible pressure of the forces of modern civilization has been felt in every fibre of its society by every nation in Asia. It has become almost physically impossible for any country of the East to remain in isolation, splendid or obscure, from the life-giving or death-dealing contact of the West. Even the Celestial Empire has been shaken to its foundations by very very mundane external forces. With the solitary exception of inaccessible Thibet, every country of Asia has been brought within the sphere of influence of Europe. But whereas in the case of other countries such influence is wholly or mainly political or economical, with us it is also intellectual and moral. It is a matter of deep congratulation for us that Providence has placed our destiny in the hands of a European race who by their actions and their institutions, have raised legitimate hopes of our rising once more in the scale of nations. (*Applause*). Victoria's reign has seen the birth of a new civilization in India, and has awakened new hopes and new aspirations in our minds, of which, in fact, the National Congress

is the product and the embodiment. (*Enthusiastic cheers*). Future generations will always look back upon our age as one illumined by the dawn of a larger hope, and quick with the touch of a new spirit. And this age, so unique and so important in the history of our race and our country, will be known to all posterity as the Victorian age of India; and the name of our late sovereign will be for ever indissolubly associated with the destiny of our people.

When Victoria, however, in the fullness of her years was gathered to her fathers, that sorrowful event did not bring despondency to our hearts; because we could all rejoice in the fact that Her late Majesty's successor to the throne was equally an object of universal love and affection. His Majesty King Edward VII. has been before the public eye for the last forty years; and when as Prince of Wales he visited our country, he won the hearts of his Indian subjects by his charming personality. As sovereign, he, by his words and acts, has already proved his determination to follow in the footsteps of his great mother. (*Hear, hear*). His reign, we hope and trust, will be a fitting sequel—nay, a continuation of the glorious reign of Victoria. That hope and that belief are alone sufficient to evoke in us feelings of the truest loyalty.

When we meet our friends after a period of separation, we naturally begin by talking of those who are dead and whom we cannot forget, and lovingly dwell upon their pious memories. But gradually joyful interest in the present gets the better of sad memories of the past. So, permit me, gentlemen, once again to give expression to the deep feelings of joy which we all experience in welcoming you amongst us. Even if the purpose for which we have met is destined to be defeated, even if our efforts to secure larger political rights prove futile, and our representations do not attract the attention of the powers that be—even then these annual national gatherings would continue to perform a very useful function in bringing the people inhabiting the different parts of this vast continent into more intimate contact, in making them better acquainted with one another, and in tightening their existing bonds of union—in a word, in creating, keeping alive, and fostering a true national sentiment. (*Cheers*). I know there are men who deny us the right of calling ourselves a nation. According to these superficial observers we can have nothing in common because we talk different dialects, all equally unintelligible to the foreigner, and because the shapes of our turbans are striking in their diversity. But these people do not care to ascertain, and prefer to remain in blissful ignorance of, the fact that in all these various dialects we express much the same sentiments, the same prejudices, the same ideas and ideals of life—that turbans of various shapes and colours cover heads cast more or less in the same mould which produce and develop similar thoughts. Does the want of uniformity in our creeds present a formidable obstacle to our uniting into a nation in the modern sense of the word? I doubt very much whether there exist any two sects of Hindus who are divided by the same wide gulf of doctrinal and ceremonial differences,

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that separates the Roman Catholic from the Unitarian. Moreover, if our religious opinions do not unite us, they at least do not divide us, as they do in Europe where everybody is anxious for the salvation of everybody else's soul. As for Hindus and Mahomedans, they have lived for hundreds of years side by side, and have had sufficient time to settle their differences. Now, Hindus as well as Mahomedans, have all become involved in one common destiny. Since the establishment of the British Government in this country, the common political and economical conditions amidst which we live, move, and have our being, will inevitably bring about a greater solidarity amongst the various communities ; and it is the bounden duty of every one of us to hasten the desired result by helping the process of fusion with our conscious efforts.

The most convincing proof of our national kinship has been brought home to us by disease and hunger. It is said that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin. Within the last few years, we, the people of India, have felt not the mere touch, but the painful grip, of not one, but many, natural calamities. Although, in Bengal, we have not had a regular famine, yet the shadow of it has been hovering over our heads, spreading gloom and consternation over the minds of men. But since you met here last, plague has come amongst us—to stay, we know not, for how long. Because the officers of the Government in whose hands has been placed the management, or if you prefer it, the administration of the plague, have communicated to us the extremely reassuring information that it is as impossible to drive out the plague as to control it ; and we have been asked to take it coolly. Well, we esteem ourselves fortunate in not having been made over to the tender mercies and loving kindnesses of scientific philanthropists. In Calcutta, persons wholly ignorant of the cause, nature, and cure of this terrible epidemic, are not permitted in the sacred name of science to indulge in their fads of isolation, segregation, and inoculation. When science fails us, we naturally fall back upon philosophy. We are thankful to the plague authorities for recommending us to cultivate the philosophic temper. We can appreciate this method, because it falls in with our humour. Plague, we have been told, is a problem of Bacteriology, and famine of Meteorology ; (*Laughter*), and as both these sciences happen unfortunately to be in their infancy, we shall have to wait long before any solution can be found. One thing is certain—their solution is to be sought in the laboratory and the observatory, and not in the cabinet or the council-chamber. And in the meantime, I suppose, we had better follow the good old doctrine of live and let die ! Let us derive all the consolation we can manage to extract from these authoritative pronouncements, and rejoice in the fact that the deep woe which has fallen upon the land has brought our hearts nearer to one another. That common adversity has deepened and intensified the sympathy and love we feel for our fellow-countrymen.

I do not think that it falls within my province, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, to discourse on the political questions which you have

met here to discuss. But I am persuaded that our critics deserve a certain share of our attention. We welcome criticism even if it be frankly hostile, provided it do not exceed the bounds of truth and fairplay. We welcome opposition even if it be unreasonable, provided it be not overpowering in its strength. Nothing worth doing in this world can be done by following the line of least resistance. Opposition is doubly useful to us, because, on the one hand, it strengthens the nerves and brings out the sinews of the strong and the capable ; and, on the other hand, it eliminates from our ranks the weak and the irresolute. Our only grievance is that we do not know the case against us. Vague accusations cannot be met. We have been told over and over again that it is ridiculous presumption on our part to talk of rights—that we do not deserve any. A great English thinker, Walter Pater, has somewhere said that to be sentient is to have rights ; and who can deny the profound wisdom embodied in that one pregnant sentence. Much of the current criticism is of this dogmatic type, expressed in more or less unrestrained language. Whilst invectives have become the monopoly of irresponsible journalists, responsible officers of Government have fallen back upon raillery. A dilettante Viceroy once entertained a convivial gathering of Caledonians in this city with a satirical dissertation on our humble selves. Since Lord Dufferin's days it has become fashionable in high official circles to pelt us with epithets. Occasional sneers are all that we are honoured with, here accompanied with a grin, there with a frown. A high official has been pleased to describe this assemblage as a Christmas pantomime. Well, the Congress may congratulate itself in having served at least one useful purpose in calling back to the mind of at least one big boss of Anglo-India the early and fond associations of Drury Lane and its neighbourhood.

That officials whose ideas and methods we have failed to appreciate, should now and again give vent to uncharitable feelings towards us is only too natural. The mischief is that the attitude of an individual is apt to be misunderstood by some of our countrymen as representing the attitude of the Government. In fact, it deprives us of the open and active co-operation of a certain number of individuals—mostly recipients of, and aspirants to, *mere* titles—whose aloofness is freely construed in ignorant and adverse quarters as due to apathy and antipathy to our movement. So far as the majority of our men of rank and wealth are concerned, it would be ungracious and ungrateful on our part not to unhesitatingly admit that had it not been for their sympathy and generous help, this organisation would have died of inanition. We all know what a stalwart friend and munificent benefactor we have lost by the death of the late Maharaja of Durbhanga, the premier nobleman of Bengal. (*Cheers*). But those whose fidelity to officialdom must, like the chastity of Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion, feel bound to refrain from taking part in, or showing open sympathy with, a political organisation which is supposed to have incurred official disfavour. And those whose interest it is to throw discredit on the Congress are not slow to make much of this supposed antipathy of a supposed influential class. The pity of it

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all is that the titled men of this country, by reason of being often told so, may eventually delude themselves into the belief that they form a separate class—a class having some pretensions to calling itself an aristocracy. It is an obvious fact that the old hereditary aristocracy of the land is dying out, and no new one is likely to be formed which can take its place. Titles are now-a-days mere personal distinctions conferred on all sorts and conditions of men belonging to all ranks and strata of society. It is not reasonable to expect that a fortuitous concourse of atoms can ever result in a living organic body.

Before I resume my seat, I have much pleasure in announcing that this year we have opened an Industrial Exhibition in connection with the Congress, which, I hope, will in future be a permanent feature of our annual meeting. We cannot live in ignorance of the supreme importance which industry has assumed in modern civilisation. In these days every political question is at bottom an economic one. It seems that henceforward markets are to be the battle-fields where destinies of nations will be decided. With the average European, it is a fixed idea that in the pre-established harmony of the Universe, Europe is to sell and Asia to buy. But *we* cannot help feeling that our thoughts and energies cannot be better employed than in the work of effecting a revival and development of our industries. The Exhibition that we have got up cannot fail to be useful in that it will keep the industrial problem before our eyes; and the poverty of the show will impress us with the "little done and the vast undone." (*Hear, hear*).

Ladies and gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. After the lavish hospitality to which we have been accustomed when guests in other provinces, what we have to offer seems poor, indeed. The systematic kindness, however, with which our little efforts have been appreciated on previous occasions, encourages us to hope that once more the sincerity of our welcome will make up for the deficiencies of our arrangements.

Now, gentlemen, you will proceed to formally elect your President, and go on with the business of this the 17th

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Loud and Prolonged cheers.

Chairman of the Reception Committee,—I beg to call upon Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to propose the name of the President of the Congress.

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Election of a president.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, in proposing the name of the President said :—

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, and gentlemen, I rise to propose, what is a very formal but at the same time an extremely pleasant duty, that is to request you to elect our friend Mr. D. E. Wacha (*cheers*) to be the President of this the 17th Session of the Indian National Congress. (*Cheers*). They say in Europe that good wine needs no bush. Mr. Wacha is not accustomed to wine and therefore I cannot say whether he will appreciate what I have just said. But we have been familiar with the name of Mr. Wacha ever since the Congress movement began. For years he has been the life and soul of this movement, as for years the life and soul of this movement in England has been our great friend and leader Mr. Allan Octavious Hume. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, Mr. Wacha has not only distinguished himself in the ranks of the Congress but has had high honour conferred upon him in civil affairs in his native town of Bombay. (*Hear, hear*). If we had looked for a man to preside over the deliberations of this Congress far and wide, throughout the British India, we could not have come across a man better fitted to do this duty than Mr. Wacha. (*Hear, hear*). I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything more on the subject and I am sure that you will receive my proposal and pass it with acclamation. (*Hear, hear, loud cheers*).

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee proposes Mr. D. E. Wacha.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee :—I now beg to call upon Mr. Ananda Charlu to second the resolution.

Mr. Ananda Charlu, in seconding the resolution said :—

Gentlemen ;—I need hardly place before you the proposition that has been put with so elegant and admirable language. Mr. Wacha is well-known to us all. He has spent the best part of his life in his country's cause. He has been one of our sturdy patriots. He is in our midst as a certified copy of our great and old man Mr. Dadabhai Narroji (*cheers*). Like that grand old man of ours he has been and will continue to be our Encyclopedia Britanica bearing all the best interest of the country. He has been also our out-spoken spokes-man. No doubt he has not many titular decorations but what we know is that he has virtues, far above all that entitle him to titular decorations. In the words of the Poet he belongs to one of those who "unadorned adorn the most." I recommend him to you with the same language that my predecessor has done, that is, the acceptance of his name with acclamation (*loud cheers*).

Mr. Ananda Charlu seconds.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee :—I now call upon Mr. Mudholkar to support the proposition.

Mr. Mudholkar in supporting the proposition said :—

It is with feelings of very great pleasure that I rise to support the proposition, moved by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and seconded by Mr. Ananda

Mr. Mudholkar supports.

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Mr. Mudholkar supports.

Charlu, that we should elect Mr. Wacha to be our president of the 17th Indian National Congress. Gentlemen, in higher intellectual ability and what is still more important, in high moral qualities Mr. Wacha is one of the worthiest sons of India. (*Hear, hear*). So far as his onerous, hard, unostentatious work is concerned, I think, I can say with confidence, there is none in India who comes up to him. Gentlemen, Mr. Wacha has been working for the Congress since the last 16 years. But long before the organization of the Congress he has been working for the city of Bombay and for the Presidency of Bombay. Mr. Wacha's services to his city have been acknowledged by them in the manner most fitting by according to him the honour of the President's position of the Bombay Corporation. In doing so, in trying to do honour to Mr. Wacha, the city of Bombay has conferred on itself the honour; and similarly, Gentlemen, by honouring a man of Mr. Wacha's type, of his modest character, of his indefatigable energy, of his sturdy independence, of character, we shall be honouring ourselves and I am sure, Gentlemen, that you will find that Mr. Wacha will be worthy of the high name of his predecessor.

With these few words, gentlemen, I commend this proposition to your acceptance (*cheers*).

Mr. D. E. Wacha declared duty elected.

Chairman of the Reception Committee,—Your President has been duly elected. I now ask you to carry this resolution unanimously.

The resolution was put and carried with acclamation.

President's Address.

Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha then took the chair and delivered the following

Address.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—From my heart I thank you all for the honour you have done me in calling me to preside over the deliberations of your assembly which, to-day, enters on the seventeenth year of its career of national usefulness. It is indeed most kind of the gentlemen who, on your behalf, just proposed, seconded and supported my election in such complimentary terms, to observe that I have earned the honour by my steady devotion to the work of the Congress. For this mark of confidence I feel grateful to you, though you will believe me when I say that that work to me has been all through a labour of love. Let me hope that so long as health permits and this life lasts, it may be in my power to devote myself to that work with the same love, unflinchingly and unselfishly.

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE RANADE.

I now crave your indulgence for a few minutes to refer to some of the mournful occurrences which have taken place since you last met at Lahore, and which have, eclipse-like, cast their dismal shadow over the land. The hand of death seems to have been specially busy during the interval, reaping a harvest which has filled us with the greatest grief. No sooner had the new century dawned on the horizon than the Reaper claimed as his own one of the greatest and noblest sons of India, the like of whom she may not see for many a year to come. Suddenly and without

warning, Mr. M. G. Ranade breathed his last on 17th January. The country was at once plunged into the deepest sorrow at this national calamity. Mr. Ranade,—the erudite judge, the profound scholar, the keen student of Indian economics, the philosopher cast in the Hellenic mould, reminding us of Socratic intellect and Socratic simplicity, the pure patriot, of glowing zeal, and above all, the spotless citizen of boundless faith and hope, is no more. Whether, as the poet says, he has gone to swell the fulness of the eternal psalm, or rise slowly to a higher birth or, as George Elliott pathetically sings, to join the Choir Invisible of the Immortal Dead who live again, his voice shall always remain with us, reminding us, and the generations to come after us, of the great unselfish career in the cause of his country, stimulating us by his example to follow in his wake, and urging to leave our footprints, however slight, on the sands of time. Like Mr. Gladstone, he showed, as Mr. Morley informed his audience at Manchester eight weeks ago, the great things which a great man may make of life. Like our veteran living patriot, who still labours for his country's good six thousand miles away, perseveringly and patiently, Mr. Ranade also made the public good the ruling motive of his life from the beginning of his public career to its end. May India cherish his memory for ever and ever !

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THE LATE QUEEN VICTORIA.

Ere, however, the tears on the death of Mr. Ranade were dry, the whole country, along with the rest of the British Empire, was overwhelmed with greater grief at the demise of our late gracious Queen-Empress. Universal lamentation followed the event, from which we have not yet finally emerged. Such was the beneficent influence of that illustrious Sovereign during her lifetime that, though she never paid a visit to India, her people,—men, women and children—seemed, as if by magic, to feel her gracious presence and be gladdened by the thought that she really moved and lived among them. Such magnetic attraction, from so long a distance, was indeed marvellous, and could only be accounted for by her uniform solicitude and regard for her Indian subjects. One touch of her love for them had made the whole world of India aglow with deep reverence and respect for her. Thus it is that in the death of Good Queen Victoria Indians mourn not only the loss of a unique Sovereign, of great benignity and greater grace, but of an affectionate mother and the type of the highest and most exalted womanhood. Already history has enshrined her memory as the greatest of English sovereigns who, for the unprecedented period of sixty-four years, had bravely and majestically borne the yoke of a mighty empire which had grown with the growth of her rule, east and west, and counted well-nigh one-fourth of the human race. As far as her Indian subjects were concerned, every important domestic event in the Royal household, or historical occurrence in the country had had the influence of attaching them closer and closer to her throne, and deepening their loyalty towards her person and rule. Her solicitude for their moral and material welfare, her sincere Royal wish for equal and impartial justice, and her spirit of religious toleration are now matters of history. They have proved the strongest links in the chain which binds them to the beneficent British rule. And it may be said with truth in her case that in their contentment and security and in their gratitude for her government she had, in the words of her own memorable Proclamation, twice re-affirmed, her "best reward." The Queen-Empress is no more, but in words of the late Poet-Laureate, it may be observed that if she has now laid aside her terrestrial crown, she now wears another and truer one than any wreath that humanity can weave for her. In every part of the country memorials are being raised which are destined, like those ancient monoliths of the great Ashoka of happy memory, to perpetuate her name so long as the sun and moon endure. But more

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than monuments of marble and bronze, it may be unhesitatingly observed that the name of Victoria the Good will live for ages to come in the hearts and affections of the Indian people.

THE LATE MR. MCKINLEY.

The death of another exalted personage, by the hand of a dastardly assassin is also greatly to be lamented. Though not directly connected with India, the Indians have a genuine love and regard for the Americans, who are, after all, the kith and kin of the English beyond the Atlantic. We are specially grateful to them for their generous sympathy and support during the dark days of the two severe famines which closed the nineteenth century. It was an act of international sympathy which we Indians can never forget. The death of Mr. McKinley, late President of the United States, is, therefore, greatly deplored by us. It is indeed mournful to reflect that so good, so capable, and so popular a President should have fallen by the hand of one of the bands of that fanatic brotherhood, who entertain the frenzied cult that Society and Order are best served by anarchy and shooting down or stabbing princes, potentates and presidents. That such ideas should now and again take practical shape is deplorable. They sully the fair fame of the West, which, it is to be hoped, Civilization and Humanity may soon put an end to.

THE LATE SIR SHESHADRI.

Lastly, we cannot but be sorry for the death, at the early age of fifty-seven, of Sir Sheshadri, the distinguished Dewan of the Mysore State. In him the country loses an administrator of the highest capacity and most matured experience. He was the latest instance of the Indian statesman, who had shown himself capable of governing fully an indigenuous State with as much skill and sagacity, judgment and determination, tact and sympathy as some of the greatest of English administrators who have left their mark on British Indian history. Sir Sheshadri has now gone to swell that illustrious roll of modern Indian statesmen at whose head shines the ever-to-be-remembered Sir Salar Jung; but let us hope that all our Native States may from time to time produce administrators of similar ability and renown to demonstrate, if demonstration be still needed, that statesmanship is not a monopoly which is confined to one race and one country alone.

THE COMING CORONATION.

But let me now turn from the mournful past to the gladsome present. The Prince of Wales whose respectful acquaintance this country made over a quarter of a century ago is now the King of England and Emperor of India. We are greatly rejoiced at the fact that there now sits for the first time on the venerable throne of King Alfred the Great, whose millenary was so enthusiastically celebrated a few months since, a Sovereign who had visited this great Empire which is justly said to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown, and won the hearts of its princes and people by his unaffected simplicity, his incomparable grace, and his sterling sympathy. The circumstance is unique indeed in the annals of England and India alike which History will not fail to record in the fulness of time. Our only regret is that the gentle and popular Queen Alexandra did not accompany her royal Consort on that occasion. All the same the great esteem and regard in which she is held is no less than that in which Indians held her late illustrious mother. Exactly six months from this day the country will have the pleasure of laying at the foot of the throne of their Majesties,

on the auspicious occasion of their Coronation, its sincere congratulations and further expressions of its attachment and devotion to their rule. It becomes, therefore, the duty of this Congress, now assembled in session, to take the necessary steps to be able to offer at the time its dutiful address of congratulation to their gracious Majesties and wish them a happy and brilliant reign. And let us fervently hope that reviving the immemorial usage of former sovereigns of this ancient country. His Majesty may be pleased to take occasion by the hand and confer on the people some mark of his royal justice and beneficence, which shall not only evoke unbound enthusiasm among them but hand down his august name with feelings of the greatest gratitude to their children's children for many a generation to come.

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FAMINE SLOWLY PASSES AWAY.

Turning now to a retrospect of the year just coming to a close the first important event which attracts our attention is the passing away, slowly but steadily, of the famine conditions which unhappily prevailed to a deplorable extent during the preceding twelve months. The decent monsoon, with its fair harvests, has greatly tended to improve those conditions though it is a fact that parts of Gujarat and the Deccan as well as Kathiawar are in the throes of a third famine. The situation there is not only gruesome but positively heart-rending. Apart from the holocaust the two previous seasons of insufficient rainfall have claimed, both in men and plough cattle, there is apprehended this time a dearth of drinking water as the season advances. This contingency is awful to contemplate. But it is to be devoutly hoped that the winter rains may tend to alleviate the aggravated condition of hardship and distress from which the peasantry is suffering at present. We are, however, aware of the anxiety of the Government in reference to the grievous situation of the two provinces. It is indeed gratifying to record the fact that since the date of the assumption of his high office, the Viceroy has been able to infuse among the officials not a little of his own spirit of greater watchfulness, solicitude, sympathy, and, above all, of speedy action for those suffering from the visitations of famine. That spirit will, no doubt, be able, as far as human efforts can go, to alleviate in a great measure the affliction of those who are now unhappily subjected for the third time to the appalling inroads of the drought.

EFFECTS OF FAMINE.

It goes without saying that the two admittedly severest famines of the century have greatly taxed the energy and resources of the Government. We have been officially informed that the total cost of relief on their account has amounted to 25 crores of rupees, whereof 17½ crores are direct expenditure. But great as this cost is, it is nothing in comparison with the loss of crores entailed on the peasantry in the afflicted parts by reason of deficient crops and almost total destruction of agricultural cattle. It is to be greatly feared that the restoration of the live stock to the number which was estimated before the famine commenced will take some years. Meanwhile this diminution of the ryot's capital is certain to tell upon his industry and bare annual income. So that the sacrifice the state has undergone cannot be considered to be abnormally heavy relatively to the losses which the impoverished ryots have suffered. Already the Government has told us of the returning prosperity to its finances. Unfortunately the same can in no way be predicated of the peasantry, who will be more closely chained to the wheel of toil for the next ten years at the least in order to be able to retrieve the utterly destitute position into which they have been plunged by the double calamity. It would,

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however, be illogical to jump to the conclusion that because State finances are supposed to prosper, therefore, the mass of the cultivators are prospering also. Nothing is more delusive or opposed to facts.

STATE AND PRIVATE RELIEF.

Again, it is of importance to remember that all over the world, State expenditure has to be derived from the annual produce of the land. In India especially nearly 28 per cent. of the gross revenue is derived from the tillers of the soil, who form the bulk of the population. It is not as if the State by its own diligence were able to accumulate 25 crores of Rupees, which it afterwards sacrificed for the relief of millions of distressed and starving humanity. All the money comes from the labour of the sweating cultivators themselves. Practically, therefore, in spending the monies on the famine-stricken, the Government, as an enlightened but alien and Christian Government, was doing no more than the duty it owed to those who yearly contribute crores to its treasury. But the spirit of humanity which prompts so large an expenditure, when famine unhappily overtakes the land, is beyond all praise. Organised State philanthropy is, however, known to be a plant of too recent growth. It is needless to remind you that up to the date of the Behar famine of 1866 there were no systematic relief operations of the character which we have since witnessed. This methodical system of relief has developed with the march of civilization and the progress of humane ideas all over the world. Just as in matters of jail discipline and reform there has been a great evolution in the mind of the British people, so in reference to famine relief. England herself, half a century ago, would have hardly thought of such a perfected standard of relief operations as was practically carried out in India during the two recent famines. But not to go too far, take the case of Russia of to-day. It is well known that there has been a prolonged famine in that country for the last seven years consecutively. Can it, however, be said that even now she has realised the standard of relief organisation which the British Indian Government, despite many mistakes, has on the whole so successfully carried out? Thus, in judging of the relative efficiency of relief in matters of famine, it is essential for purposes of a just comparison to take into consideration the standard of charity and philanthropy which may have prevailed in a given country at a given age. It would, however, be unfair to judge of the results of one period by applying to it a standard prevalent in another.

INDIA'S GRATITUDE, AND PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE OF THE FAMISHED.

None will have the temerity to deny that the Government of India, in coping with the two recent famines, has achieved a success never before attained. The key to that success may be principally discovered in that lofty standard of duty and responsibility which it prescribed to itself, no doubt, prompted by the humanitarian views which the civilisation of the nineteenth century has almost crystallised all over the world. Secondly, it may be perceived in the solicitude of the authorities to profit by their previous experience. For this act of State humanity India acknowledges with unanimous voice its warmest gratitude. And, while it is a pleasure to record this memorable fact, it is equally a pleasure to refer to that private charity and beneficence which were visible during the dismal period. Despite bad trade and diminishing prosperity in our staple arts and manufactures, the fountain of that charity constantly flowed. State relief was most liberally supplemented by private, as the recent publication of the Report of the Central Committee of the Famine Relief Fund

informs us. But what greatly adds to the merit of this private charity is the magnificent fund raised by the Lord Mayor of London by Lancashire, by other counties in England, by Australia and by the United States. Indians are not insensible to these foreign donations in money and grain. They feel extremely grateful to England and England's kith and kin beyond the seas for what they have done with regard to the alleviation of starving humanity in this country. Barring the "melancholy meanness" of the British Exchequer in persistently refusing to render financial justice to India by giving a grant of 5 millions sterling, it is indeed a bright episode in our mournful annals, which is certain to be remembered for many a year to come. But if the State has nobly discharged its duty, it is indeed a matter of the greatest satisfaction to notice the testimony borne by all who have visited the famine camps, from His Excellency the Viceroy down to the humblest person, to the exemplary powers of patience and endurance displayed by the unhappy famished themselves all through the most trying periods through which they endeavoured to struggle for existence. In the words of the Finance Minister as recorded in his last budget, they are certain to "leave a memorable record in the history of mankind."

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DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF THE FAMINE POLICY OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

The lessons, however, which the two famines have taught will, it is to be devoutly hoped, be carefully borne in mind. Much has no doubt been done, and done with success. But much more still remains to be done. The defects pointed out by the Commissions of 1898 and 1900 should be removed, especially those revealed in Bombay. No doubt, the Government of that Presidency has attempted an elaborate defence of the details of its famine management, which had been severely criticised by Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues. But much of that laborious rejoinder is unconvincing. Anyhow, it has not improved the position of that Government if public opinion expressed on that *apologia* is to be taken into consideration. But be the defence right or wrong, it cannot be gainsaid, broadly speaking, that the Bombay Government had misconceived its true functions as regards famine relief operations both in 1897 and 1899—the result, in my personal opinion, of a too illiberal and narrow view of the situation. In that Presidency there was some strange infatuation on the part of those responsible for the relief which led to the many deplorable incidents in Gujarat. The primary idea was to run famine on the cheap. Hence there was considerable false economy of a most grievous character, which ultimately resulted in heavy mortality at a most acute stage of the famine. The tests were hard and unreasonable, while the system of wages and task work was unusually rigorous. But on this subject, and on that of the appalling inadequacy of the medical staff employed—an inadequacy of which His Excellency the Viceroy was himself personally convinced when visiting the Gujarat Relief Camp—the Commission so ably presided over by Sir Antony MacDonnell have commented so freely that I would fain refrain from repeating them here. Apart from the mortality caused by the most illiberal policy pursued for a time by the Bombay Government, but eventually modified under severe pressure of public opinion, there was a large number of deaths from cholera, owing to the inadequacy of medical hospital assistants. "Cholera raged in May," say the Commissioners, "and did not finally abate till August. It is stated by all witnesses that much of the mortality due to cholera was wrongly assigned to other diseases, and it is evident from the figures given below that to a large extent this was so." But even apart from cholera the excessive mortality from famine in Bombay Presidency was deplorable. "Making allowances," again say the Commissioners, "it is not possible to dissociate the mortality from the famine or to regard it as inevitable. We have no doubt that the mortality in the period up to May would have

been less had more works been opened near the peoples' homes in the Kaira and the Panch Mahal Districts, and had the provisions of the Famine Code in regard to the distribution of gratuitous relief in the villages been acted upon with due liberality. We are also of opinion that much of the cholera mortality would have been avoided had the provision in reserve of a scheme of village works enabled the authorities to split up the large works and return people to their homes, and had the organization on the works been more efficient." Thus, it will be seen how the famine policy of the Bombay Government was comparatively a failure. That authority, which was taken to task from the very beginning by its critics, was too self-sufficient to modify its mistaken policy, which eventually resulted in such heavy and lamentable mortality. Nay more. An attempt was seriously made in the Press to contradict public opinion as if it were valueless or unfounded. The results of the Commission's investigation have now demonstrated the fact that, after all, the public were in the right, and those responsible for the famine operations grievously in the wrong. That error has now been admitted by the Bombay Government, but it is indeed most extraordinary that it should have pleaded it as a justification of the policy it pursued. In its defence it has laid the blame of that error at the door of the Government of India. It puts forth in its extenuation the circular of Mr. Holderness which prescribed economy. It did nothing but faithfully follow it, practising economy with a vengeance. This part of the defence has already been severely criticised. Commenting on it, the *Advocate of India*, in its issue of the 22nd November last, justly observed: "It is unconceivable to our mind that the Executive should have been so overpowered by this perfectly legitimate act of the Government of India that it felt bound to shirk its obvious and plain duty at a time of emergency and to hold tight on the public purse-strings whilst the people were dying in thousands from sheer want." In plain words, the defence of the Bombay Government amounts to this—that it refused to do its obvious duty because it had been warned by the Circular to be careful how the money given to it was spent. "If doubt actually existed as to the meaning of the Circular," proceeds the *Advocate*, "this could have been brushed away in half an hour by the simple process of wiring to Simla for specific instructions. To openly declare at this date that they feared to incur censure is an admission of neglect of a precaution which would have entirely obviated any such criticism of the Bombay famine policy."

A HOLLOW DEFENCE.

Again, the *Times of India*, which also throughout fairly criticised that policy on the basis of the authentic information carefully supplied by its own representative and other correspondents, is constrained to observe in reference to this extraordinary self-incriminating defence that "it is more in the nature of a statement of the difficulties which the Bombay Government had to encounter in meeting the last famine, than a vindication of what they actually did. * * It is not easy to distinguish between the excuses of the Bombay Government and the accusations brought against them by critics of their famine policy. * * They admit that their arrangements were not sufficient to meet adequately the emergency which arose." And what was the reason? The Government of Bombay pleads the following:—"The recurrence within two years, of a more extensive famine than those of 1876-77, and 1896-97, was not considered to be a danger to be seriously anticipated." How fatuous is this reasoning and how strange indeed that a responsible Government should give it currency, when common sense informed the Presidency at large that one famine following closely at the heel of another, without having afforded any breathing time to the ryot to recuperate himself to however small an extent, cannot but hit him harder, and suggested that, therefore, the State should be fully prepared for the more distressing emergency

certain to arise. On this defence of the Government of Bombay, just quoted, the *Times of India* (22nd Nov.) had the following further scathing commentary: "We have only to substitute war for famine, and the Commander-in-Chief for the Government of Bombay, to illustrate the utter untenableness of this explanation. * * The collapse of Gujerat was to some extent unexpected, but how do Government reconcile the confession in the fifth paragraph of their letter, that they under-estimated the resources and staying power of the inhabitants of that province, with the statement in the third section of the next paragraph that the relations of the Collector with the subordinate officers are so close that nothing abnormal should long escape his notice, and there is no chance of any distress occurring without his having had an opportunity for preparing for it." The abnormal did happen. It was pointed out at the earliest stage by all outside critics, even the most friendly, that the second famine was of abnormal intensity, and yet the Government of Bombay obstinately adhered to that attitude of non-chalance, as if the thousands of deaths by starvation which undoubtedly resulted from that attitude were nothing to it! Every just critic of that Government will, therefore, agree with the perfectly fair observation of the *Times of India* that "the mistakes of the famine administration are all traceable to the absence at headquarters of sufficient appreciation and knowledge of the conditions and economy of district administration."

GUJERAT INQUIRY AND GENERAL WHITE-WASHING.

Neither has the Bombay Government presented an edifying figure by its extraordinary action in the matter of the Gujerat Inquiry. Its Resolution thereon is even more indefensible than the excuse of its famine policy. After having instituted a judicial inquiry and received the verdict of the trying authority, it seems to have gone behind the judgment of Mr. Maconochie, and, by a procedure which has been universally pronounced to be utterly illogical, if not something worse, tried to white-wash itself and the subordinates implicated from the allegations made in the Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, namely, tyrannising the destitute ryot and exacting revenue with the left hand, while doling out takavi advances with the right. Public condemnation of this way of disposing of the scandal is great, and I need not say that it has in no way enhanced the reputation of that Government. If at all, it has by its impatience of enlightened and even authoritative criticism done its best to diminish the confidence of the people in the impartiality of its administration. Only two individuals stand out in shining relief in this matter—Mr. Maconochie and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh. The verdict of the former is accepted as being independent and impartial, while the great courage displayed by Mr. Gokuldas in proving his allegations to the hilt at immense sacrifice is universally praised. He has, in fact, fully vindicated himself and "Gujerati," his original informant.

IS THERE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE GOVERNMENT?

Gentlemen, I think I have now referred at sufficient length to the extraordinary and most unconvincing defence the Bombay Government has made with regard to its famine policy, and would, therefore, refrain from further animadverting on it. We may leave that Government to derive such consolation from it as best it may. The more serious constitutional question, however, which arises from it should not be allowed to escape our attention. What we have to ask is, whether there is any responsibility with any authority whatever in this serious matter? Or is it still the case, as was stated years ago, by John Bright in one of his memorable speeches, that in India it would seem

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that there are three kinds of responsibility, namely, "the question of divided responsibility, of concealed responsibility, and of no responsibility whatever." It should be borne in mind that there is great danger in a repetition of such error of judgment in future in any provincial Government. It is, therefore, to be devoutly hoped that the beneficent intentions and instructions of the Government of India with regard to famine will everywhere be followed with scrupulous care and faithfulness in future operations, which we all hope may now be remote.

FAMINE CODES DO NOT PREVENT FAMINE.

This subject naturally leads us to the Famine Code itself. In all human affairs it has long been recognised that, however perfect the measures may be, the value of their perfection greatly depends on the men who eventually happen to carry them out. In matters of State the same proposition holds equally good. Hence, the Government of India may go on tinkering and perfecting its Code, never so long, but it is hopeless to expect that while the men to carry out its excellent provisions in practice are not of the right type, all the good that might be expected will be achieved. And, after all, what may the most perfect Famine Codes accomplish? They will *not prevent* famine. At the best they are a set of instructions to guide and direct the famine officials how to act under given circumstances and how famine may be allayed. Though, therefore, the efforts which the Government of India makes, on the recommendations of each Famine Commission, to improve the Famine Code, are praiseworthy, it must be candidly observed that they are in a way futile. Not all the Codes and pandects on famine relief will ever go to *prevent* famine by a hair's breadth. Statesmanship lies not in devising these Codes but in concerting far-sighted measures which shall *prevent* famine. Famine Codes are most useful when famine actually prevails; but by themselves they do not avoid famine.

IMPOLICY OF RUNNING FAMINE ON THE CHEAP.

Another point in the same connection may here be touched before I proceed to make a few observations on the prevention of famine. The Famine Commission compute the total direct expenditure on the last famine at ten crores of rupees, and the indirect at five crores more. But this aggregate expenditure of fifteen crores is characterised as excessive. They say it "far exceeds that incurred in any previous famine." Evidently, it is implied that the State in future should take care that such a large expenditure is not incurred. They, however, felt conscious while making the remark that it was liable to be misunderstood. So immediately follows the qualification, namely, that they "do not for a moment advocate a departure from the humane policy of famine relief laid down by the Government of India; but experience has shown that the object in view can be attained at a moderate cost with little demoralization, if prudence and foresight be duly exercised, and if means be properly adjusted to ends." As laid down in the abstract, the principle is indeed admirable. But who is to be the judge of moderation? It will all depend on the view the chief officials at the seat of the Central Government may take at a period of famine. The Imperial treasury may be far from full; or it may be that it has to disburse large sums on other undertakings or on warlike operations. Under such a condition of affairs the Imperial fiat might go forth that famine expenditure should be kept well in hand—in other words, most niggardly incurred. The practical result of such an order may be easily anticipated. The provincial administrations would readily fall in with the views of the Central Government and endeavour to do all in their power to run famine on the cheap, as the Bombay Government actually did. The last found a convenient excuse for its own condition of unpreparedness by laying

the blame at the door of the Government of India. This is the great evil to be avoided. In the case of Mr. Holderness' Circular alluded to, it is superfluous to observe that it was the subject of much hostile criticism throughout the country. In substance, it enjoined expenditure to be kept as low as possible, no doubt consistent with safety to the life of the famished (which was *the* point the supine Government of Bombay grievously missed) under the pretext of preventing people not in need of State aid flocking to the famine camps. That plea had really no solid foundation in fact, and remains unsupported even after the report of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission. As a matter of fact, if people began to crowd at the very outbreak of the famine in relief camps, it was because they found themselves utterly prostrate and destitute after the effects of the earlier visitation of 1896-97. They had absolutely no breathing time to recuperate themselves. Evidence of the crippled and helpless condition to which most of the peasantry in the afflicted parts were reduced by the famine of that year is not wanting in Sir James Lyall's report. It is, therefore, quite intelligible the greater influx of the starving at the very outbreak of the second visitation. But such a phenomenon should have been carefully investigated and its causes verified before taking unnecessary alarm and issuing that ill-fated Circular, which, in Bombay at least, worked so disastrously.

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PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE.

Having observed so much, it should not be understood that the abstract principle laid down by the Government of India is unsound, namely, that famine expenditure everywhere should be judiciously regulated, with a due regard to the conditions of each locality. On the contrary, it is but right and proper that the State should safeguard the interest of the general tax-payer. But will all know how in Indian affairs principles laid down in the abstract are one thing, while their practical carrying out is another. In famine matters it is the case that some of the Provincial Governments, with their finances at a low ebb, are naturally prone to economise expenditure to a dangerously narrow limit. They always try to be one better in the exercise of their economic conscience than the Central authority itself. This tendency on the part of subordinate Administrations needs to be carefully watched and checked, as if unwatched and uncontrolled from above, it is prolific, of the greatest mischief to the starving population. Again, in carrying out the instructions of the Central authority for a judicious expenditure, it is highly essential that the human factor should on no account be overlooked. In famine relief operations finance has to be subordinate to humanity itself. Discrimination and human sympathy for the woes and sufferings of the starving and dying, of orphans and widows, of the sick and the infirm, of the less able-bodied and the helpless women—these demand paramount consideration. It is to be feared that it is a disregard of this special aspect of famine which eventually leads to illiberal expenditure every way and exposes all Administrations to the adverse but justifiable criticism of the public. So much for the evil of circulars of the character just alluded to.

HOW THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ITSELF SETS A BAD EXAMPLE.

But provincial Administrations are also apt sometimes to be carried away when, in obedience to so-called "confidential" circulars, issued by the Central authority, called upon to practise economy of a penny-wise but mischievous character. This specially happens when the Imperial Government finds itself financially embarrassed by one reason or another. I need not re-call here the two historical instances which occurred

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during 1877-78, with reference to the famine in the Madras Presidency and in the North-West Provinces. The Indian Government was then in a state of hostility with the Amir of Afghanistan. The Imperial treasury wanted all the money for the last object, but you cannot have forgotten what the sequel was. I pass over in silence the narrative of that most lamentable famine, which resulted in the terrible mortality of 12½ laks in the N.-W. Provinces, and of 20 laks in Madras, as related in the Famine Commission Report of 1880.

RATIONAL WAY OF EXPENDING MONIES ON FAMINE RELIEF.

It would be thus seen how dangerous is it to lay down a hard-and-fast line with regard to famine expenditure. Moreover, just ponder for a moment on the monies, which the State spends like water on a border or trans-frontier war, the *raison d'être* even of which may be more than doubtful. Crores are spent on warlike operations, the ethics of which may be most questionable, on the plea of repelling external enemies; but when at our own door, our own enemy claims victims by thousands and millions, the economic conscience of the Government seems to undergo a sudden evolution, the purse is at once tightened, and all economic lessons are at once remembered! In fact, the policy would seem to be that you may spend as many crores as you like on frontier scares and wild goose expeditions, but when it comes to laying low the internal enemy of famine at your very door, the man in charge of the Imperial treasury must sit tight and discourage all judicious expenditure! Let us hope such a policy will no longer find ascendancy in the Council of the Government of India. Expenditure on famine must be regulated in each instance according to its extent, its intensity, and the local circumstances accompanying it. It is the only rational method to pursue if the ultimate object is to see that not a single soul, as the Viceroy, be it said to the credit of his humanity, justly said, dies of starvation. And here it may be worth remembering that the monies spent, whether they be 10 crores or 15 crores, are, after all, the monies contributed by the very people for whose relief that expenditure is incurred. Cheese-paring expenditure and low mortality are never compatible. It is only by a discriminate and liberal expenditure that the starving millions can be saved from the jaws of death. We are, however, told that the Government is bound to watch the interests of the general tax-payer. But may it be asked *who* is that entity? Is he not the same individual whose class annually contributes well-nigh 50 crores to the Imperial Treasury under the following heads?—

Land Revenue	...	...	...	...	Crores	26
Salt	...	...	...	...	"	8½
Stamps	...	...	...	...	"	4½
Excise	...	...	...	...	"	5½
Provincial Rates	...	...	...	...	"	3½
Registration	...	...	...	...	"	½

And is it not the case that it is the same mass of people who contribute those 50 crores who flock to the relief camps in times of famine when driven by sheer desperation and want? One-fifth of this annual contribution only comes to 10 crores. But, as is officially declared, famine recurs in the land once every 11 years, though, of course, the late famine was an exception. So that 2 per cent. of his own contribution once in 11 years, is certainly not an extravagant expenditure to alleviate his distress in times of scarcity or famine. In other words, if you reserve one-fifth per cent. of 50 crores per annum, is it a great or extraordinary sum? Let me inform you, gentlemen, that in the matter of Railway finance alone, the State incurs a net loss

to the extent of a crore of rupees per annum, which is met from the ordinary revenues of the Empire. This fact may be ascertained by anyone desirous to verify it from the Administration Reports of Railways. It was brought out, again, in evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, and I would draw the attention of you all to Appendix No. 28, at page 225, Vol. II of the Report. But this crore is *unseen*, and, therefore, attracts no attention.

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SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT ON FAMINE EXPENDITURE.

It is, therefore, to be sincerely hoped that famine expenditure will be incurred in conformity with the peculiar conditions attendant on each famine rather than on any hard-and-fast lines which the Imperial Government may choose to dictate to suit its own peculiar exigencies of the hour. In this connexion I am disposed to agree with the remarks made by Sir Charles Elliott in his second contribution to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last, which critically examines the report of the famine Commission. It is to be presumed most of you, if not all, have learned what views Sir Charles holds on the alleged excessive cost of the last famine. That distinguished official is a recognised authority on the question of famine. His experience of famine expenditure may be said to be even greater than any member of the Famine Commission. Sir Charles is not at all convinced from the evidence collected by the Commission that the cost was at all excessive, bearing in mind, firstly, the intensity of the famine, following as it did the one of 1896-97, and, secondly, the extent of the relief that was administered and the duration of it. Having said so much on this financial aspect of the Famine Commission's report, we may congratulate Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues on other matters on which they have expressed their candid opinion. No doubt, almost all of us will differ as regards their pronouncement on the incidence of land revenue assessment and the burning question of restriction of transfer. But it is satisfactory to note that in the main the Commission has endorsed almost all the objections urged by leading exponents of Indian thought in the country, and specially those raised in my own Presidency as regards suspensions and remissions of revenue and the concentration, as far as possible, of famine labour on village relief works and other cognate matters. It is also satisfactory to note the genuine testimony borne by the Commission, as all other experts in agricultural matters have done, to the skill of the Indian peasant. Here is a pregnant sentence which may be well borne in mind:—"In the mere practice of cultivation, Agricultural Departments have probably much to learn from the cultivator."

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN THEIR FULL SPIRIT.

As regards the many practical recommendations made by the Commission it is not possible to refer to them in this place at any great length. This, however, may be observed: that if they are carried out in the spirit in which they are made, a wholesome change in the conditions of the impoverished peasantry may be slowly discernible. As matters stand at present, it is to be feared, that it will be long before all traces of the evil effects of the last two famines disappear from the land. But meanwhile all the State can do, in pursuance of the recommendations now made, will, no doubt to a certain extent, tend to ameliorate his condition. At present he is so far crippled as to be scarcely able to stand on his legs. As the Commission says, the State will have to "put heart" in him with a view to rehabilitate him. Anything which contributes to bring back his former staying powers, the absence of which drove him, at the very threshold of the last famine, to the relief camp, will be considered as the first hopeful sign of returning prosperity.

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THE CONVERTS FAMINE HAS MADE.

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This brings me, gentlemen, to the subject of the *prevention* of famine. Till within the last twelve or fifteen months the entire official classes in the country and their supporters in the Press, as well as not a few outsiders, Europeans of course, were so deeply ingrained in their belief as to the absolute impossibility of controlling famine that it had become well-nigh a hopeless task to reason with them and bring conviction home to their minds that however unkind Nature may be, and however harvests may be deficient owing to the inadequacy of the rainfall, famine itself, that is, the condition of destitution and suffering to which masses of people are reduced by drought, was preventible.

But the phenomena presented in all the afflicted localities during the last calamitous visitation, it is satisfactory to note, have spontaneously brought home that truth which arguments had vainly sought to teach. The conditions prevalent during 1899-1900 have themselves been the greatest teachers, and those who were so stubborn of conviction have been the first to acknowledge themselves as converts. It was observed that there was sufficient store of food in the country, the surplus of the grain produced by the more favoured provinces, to feed the hungry and the starving. But though the food-grains were there, there were no means for the famished to buy them. It was the revelation of this fact which wrought the conversion. And among those who were perforce obliged to admit the inexorable logic of that fact was the Secretary of State himself. After having persistently denied, no doubt from want of accurate knowledge of the real economic situation prevalent in the country for years past, that famine was preventible, his Lordship had to admit what the school of the pessimists had been endeavouring since 1896 to instil into his mind, that it was. That recognition was indeed no mean conquest of truth over the forces of ignorance, which had contributed so largely to a complacent belief in the optimism which declared that all was going well and nothing could improve so happy a condition of affairs. In reality there was a confusion of ideas in the minds of the optimists. Drought itself was identified with famine. Sir William Wedderburn and others, with a clear insight into the questions, derived from their superior knowledge and experience, pointed out time out of mind that drought, aye of the severest character, may befall a country, and yet there may be no famine, in other words, no sufferings to which the poor tillers of the soil, numbered by millions are subjected by reason of the effects of the drought. In short, none has rendered greater service in dispelling that confusion than Sir William. And next to him we may offer our warm and grateful thanks to Mr. Leonard Courtney, a statesman and an economist, whose views are listened to with the greatest respect and attention by both the great parties in Parliament. At the preliminary conference of the Indian Famine Union held on June 7th, at Westminster Palace Hotel, he took special care to make it clear in his presidential address at the very outset what famine was. I think the observations he then made deserve to be repeated on this occasion, if only to emphasise their significance once more, and doubly convince that school which till late thought that famine was an act of Providence, and therefore, as impossible of check and control as the planetary system. "He saw an objection that would at once be raised by some, arising out of the improper meaning which was attributed by many men to the word famine. They would say that it was sought to abolish the alternation of the seasons, that there would be periods more or less of drought, that all the wise men in the world would not be able to prevent that in the future, and that they must, therefore, expect famine as a necessary thing in the future history of the world. But that phase did not cover the proper use of the word famine. He would not say that

it was beyond the reach of human thought to abolish droughts; it might be that by the partial reafforestation of India the risk of drought might be diminished: it might be that by the continual conquest of Nature we might be able to do away with the effects of that scarcity of rain which happened in a particular season. But famine was not drought, or even the lack of produce which followed from drought; it was the suffering of human creatures which was consequent upon these varying seasons, the deprivation of the means of sustenance that such seasons of calamity brought."

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CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO FAMINE.

Having thus cleared the ground as to what constitutes famine, the next question which we have to consider is the causes which lead to it. For it is only when the physician has diagnosed the disease that he is able to prescribe a cure. To probe, therefore, to the bottom of the cause or causes of the severe famines which have recently visited this country and which threaten to be more frequent than before, is the paramount duty of the citizen and the State alike. Practical remedies which in a measure may tend to minimise the sufferings of famine in the future are only possible and feasible when the true causes have been accurately ascertained beyond all contradiction. And here it may be not unuseful to remind you that famine is not a calamity known to India alone. Famines have prevailed all over the world from time to time. But we have heard very little of them during the last fifty or seventy years, save now and again in Russia, and sometimes in Ireland and Italy. Leaving aside all other countries, let us take the case of England alone. How is it that there at least for half a century past there is no such calamity as famine, though the country depends for two-thirds of its food-supply on foreign nations? Is it not the case that it is the vast and most satisfactory improvement in the economic condition of the English labourer and artisan which has banished the sufferings? There might have been any quantity of food-supply from foreign parts; but so long as there was the lack of the necessary means to buy that supply, the food for all intents and purposes might as well be at the bottom of the sea. Now the one phenomenon, above all others, which was discerned on the surface in India in reference to the last famine, was the almost total disability of the masses to maintain themselves and their families no sooner than the conditions of a deficient harvest were established. This phenomenon was not a new one. But what happened in previous famines was that the famished did not resort to the relief camps in large numbers at the very outset. They did possess *some* staying power, some means which enabled them to subsist for a time without State relief. It was only when the pinchings of poverty became acute and began to be seriously felt, with the approach of the summer season, that they were to be noticed seeking relief. Why, then, this difference during the last famine specially? The universal belief is that the staying power of the masses has vanished. That belief would naturally lead us to conclude that their economic conditions must have deteriorated. Here it seems there is a difference of opinion. There is the majority, more or less in full touch with the masses and their condition, which ascribes it to the growing impoverishment of the ryots, while there is the minority, chiefly the official classes, who attribute it to their imprudence and improvidence. In spite of this difference it appears that there is one agreement underlying the contentions of both. It is not denied that the ailment of the peasantry is an *economic* one. Economic causes, whether superficial, as one set of thinkers aver, or deep-rooted, as another set assert, are undoubtedly at work which have prevented the cultivator from saving enough in fat years to provide against the lean ones. Of late these lean years have been many. The peasantry, in one locality or another, has not thriven since 1891. Bad harvests or woefully deficient harvests have been frequent, which have plunged them into a heavier load of debt,

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from which they have barely found time to relieve themselves and be on their legs again. This much is generally acknowledged. But most of us, from our closer contact with the masses—a contact which it is scarcely possible even the best of officials can ever claim—are further of opinion that in addition to the misery and destitution arising from deficient harvests, there is the burden of the State demand for enhanced land revenue assessments which is gnawing into the vitals of the peasantry. This demand is rigid and is collected with all the hardness of the cast-iron system which British administration has introduced into the country. It is to be feared that periodical revisions of the Survey Department have not a little to answer for agricultural indebtedness. Instituted with the best of motives, it is now admitted by those who have carefully studied its history, say, from Lord Salisbury downwards, that revisions have been far from beneficial to the ryot. That great authority has observed in his memorable minute of 1879 that “we may fairly discourage scientific refinements in the work of assessment which are a natural exercise of the intellect in highly cultivated officers but which worry the ryot, distribute the burdens of State with needless inequality and impose a costly machinery on the State.” Thus, the periodic enhancements have been oppressive and beyond the means of the payers who, over a greater part of the country, own on an average seven acres of land. To satisfy the burdensome call at inconvenient seasons the ryot is driven into the arms of the money-lender. Once in the clutches of that entity it is almost hopeless for him to extricate himself. But this cause is denied by the officials. It is declared that the assessments are light, and that the ryot, if he suffers at all, suffers from other causes. Here, then, is a difference of opinion. Now and again departmental or other committees have sat to trace the causes. These have demonstrated that the agricultural indebtedness of the peasant is chiefly to be attributed to rack-rents. More, there have been a few careful observers, who, having fully studied this agricultural problem, have independently come to the same conclusion that we have been entertaining these many years. I have to refer you, gentlemen, to the minutes of Sir Louis Mallet and Lord Salisbury on the subject, made as far back as 1879, and which are officially embodied in the appendices to the Famine Commission Report of that year. I would be taxing your patience and time too much if I here cited even a hundredth part of what they said. Suffice it to say that Sir Louis Mallet was strongly opposed to Survey Settlements and the enhancement of land revenue, which was their logical resultant. He had no hesitation in observing that “the policy of further taxing the land might easily become a political danger.” From the economical point of view he regarded such a policy as “mischievous,” and directly tending “to a progressive pauperisation of the community.” This was said twenty years ago, but who will deny the prophetic character of Sir Louis Mallet’s observation, with the knowledge and light of the two famines? Progressive pauperisation is a fact which cannot be ignored. But it was not Sir Louis Mallet alone who had scented the economic mischief from afar and sounded the tocsin of “political danger.” As early as 1883, a thoroughly able writer, fully conversant with economic situation of the peasantry of the country, gave an equally serious warning in more unmistakable terms in the columns of the *Spectator*. It was observed that “the ultimate difficulty of India, the economic situation of the cultivator, is coming to the front in a most disheartening way and is exciting among the most experienced officials a sensation of positive alarm.” That was “the great Indian danger” of the future. He accurately described the situation as follows:—“Tens of millions of persons there either can do or will do nothing but cultivate; and if cultivation does not pay what hope have they? The traders do not buy more food of them for being rich, and they have only food to sell. They can get their clothes cheaper through free trades and railways, but they have reduced

clothes to such an appreciable minimum that the saving is not a rupee a year per house. They need nothing save only land, and land, under the pressure of numbers becomes so dead, that either the profit per acre will not keep them, or they get too few acres for a maintenance. Other occupations would save them, but they must be occupations for millions, and where are they? I ask you, all, the same question which the writer put eighteen years ago: "Where are they?" We should be all glad if there be a single official in the country who could unhesitatingly and courageously declare to-day that the description of the masses just related has been in any way exaggerated. Was he at all drawing a pessimistic picture when the same experienced writer further described the economic condition of the cultivators? "Five people cannot live and pay a direct tax in money and the interest of old debts at 16 per cent. upon five acres of over-cropped soil, without danger in bad years of a catastrophe. That is the position of the whole districts in India. All, however, that we want is a thorough examination of the subject by men who can lead opinion."

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LORD SALISBURY ON LAND ASSESSMENTS.

Let me now refer to one more authority, the present Prime Minister. As Secretary of State for India, it fell to the lot of Lord Salisbury to review the whole land revenue policy of the Government of India in the seventies. Referring to the minutes of many of his colleagues on that policy, as questioned by Sir Louis Mallet, his Lordship observed that "they mostly shrink from the general discussion" to which he has invited them. On his part, however, he gave his opinion in a most decisive way. "So far as it is possible to change the Indian fiscal system, it is desirable the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts, where capital is scarce, sparing the towns, where it is often redundant and runs to waste in luxury. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it."

HOW ENHANCEMENTS HAVE GONE ON MERRILY.

Gentlemen, it will be thus obvious to you that even, as far back as 1879 the condition of the peasantry was such that so well-informed a Secretary of State, as Lord Salisbury, who was capable of forming an independent judgment on the merits of the land revenue policy of the Government of India, recognised the necessity of moderating the assessments. But what has been the actual fact? You have only to discover what has been the revenue derived from land in every province save Bengal to learn for yourselves how much of the increase is owing to normal causes, to improved communications and to the law of unearned increment, and how much to pure enhancement unaccompanied by any reasons whatever. An exhaustive inquiry into this matter will, no doubt, bring facts to the surface to confirm the view universally held. Lord Salisbury would have a difficulty in pointing to the congested parts where he could apply the lancet with safety, for the body has grown feebler and feebler and is now in an utterly prostrate condition.

AN EXHAUSTIVE INQUIRY INEVITABLE.

If such, then, be condition of the peasantry, is it not time than an exhaustive inquiry of an open and independent character, long since demanded, should, be instituted, so as to collect all evidence which may decisively determine the principal causes of the

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present agrarian situation? For it is superfluous to add that any palliative measures to superficially remedy the actual disease can never lead to the improvement which we are all anxious to seek. The misfortune is that in the first instance the Government of India has shrunk from doing so. It has long since dreaded to drag into daylight this great skeleton in its cupboard. But the irresistible march of circumstances is certain to leave it no alternative but expose it. A public inquiry, therefore is inevitable. Government cannot any longer play the policy of the ostrich. It is more statesman-like to face the ugly question and find out the truth. It is the safest as well as the speediest course. For the longer it is delayed the worse will be the agrarian situation. And not all its legislative measures will be able to avert what Bacon calls the "rebellion of the belly," when it sets in in right earnest. As the *Manchester Guardian* (Nov. 2) has tersely put it: "We are forced to ask ourselves whether these economic evils may not be traced directly or indirectly to that famous system of government which has been slowly built up by the labours of many great Englishmen, and whether, while anxious to do our best for India, to give her a thoroughly just and good administration, we are not unconsciously undermining the foundation of Indian Society, which rests upon the peasant cultivator in his village Community. * * The whole system of land tenure and of taxation is called in question by the repeated famines, each worse than the one before it, which we have witnessed of late years."

RECOMMENDATION OF THE INDIAN FAMINE UNION.

It is, therefore, to be devoutly hoped that the inquiry which the Indian Famine Union has prayed for in its most influentially signed memorial will be speedily granted. It is similar in principle to the inquiry which the Congress itself has asked for. The time for criticism has passed by, and that for constructive statemanship has arrived. But the construction can only proceed upon a solid foundation of ascertained facts. The materials for the foundation, therefore, are the first essential. The inquiry should consist of an examination into the economic condition of a limited number of selected villages by means of Provincial Commission of officials and non-officials in whom the public have confidence specially chosen for each province. I am inclined to the view that a single roving commission going all over the country is most unlikely to achieve that object. Each Indian province differs from another. Each has its own idiosyncrasies and conditions. It is therefore essential that a Commission of experienced persons of local knowledge should inquire into the agricultural condition of each of the typical villages in their own respective provinces. Perhaps the expenditure of such Provincial Commissions may be somewhat large, but, in my opinion, it will be more than re-paid by the valuable recommendations they may make. It would be grievous in this matter to have a dead uniformity all over the country when each province differs so much in economic conditions with another. What may suit the villagers in the districts of the Punjab can hardly be said to suit those residing in the districts of Southern India. When the exact economic position of the different provinces with their history and the causes of their difficulties is ascertained we shall be on solid ground. In my opinion, the best way to proceed would be to ascertain from the books of Sowcars traders and others, the prices of wages, corn, and so forth, and the cost of cultivation and maintenance at one period, and compare it with similar statistics of the latest year before the outbreak of famine. It may be also important to learn which may be the villages which can boast of tiled roof houses instead of the humble thatched ones; what may be the general quality of the food; what may be the domestic furniture, whether metallic things have replaced the primitive earthen ones and so on. Lastly,

the percentage of households which may have shewn these increased marks of prosperity. It is only by such a comparative compilation of statistics that the increasing prosperity or growing impoverishment of each of the typical villages can be found on which to build a fairly stable inference and proceed thereafter to prescribe the necessary remedies. Meanwhile, it is advisable to suspend all further land legislation of the mischievous character of the Bombay Land Revenue Code. It cannot be said that the agrarian legislation of the last twenty years for the amelioration of the peasantry has rendered any good. Look, at the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act alone, which Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission has pronounced to be a failure, for it has come to the conclusion that indebtedness has increased, rather than diminished, in the four districts which have been under the operation of the measure for the last twenty years.

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CERTAIN MISCHIEF OF RECENT AGRARIAN LEGISLATION, SPECIALLY FOR BOMBAY.

Nothing at this juncture in the administration of India is more to be deplored than legislative measures for the so-called improvement of the peasantry. History teaches a painful lesson in this respect which, it is to be hoped, the Government of India will bear in mind. Agrarian reforms, to cure a desperate agrarian situation, whenever undertaken in opposition to the views and the interests of the peasants, have ended in great political disasters. We need not refer to what distinguished Roman writers have said of the agricultural conditions of their own times. Again coming to modern times, we need not refer to the condition of affairs in France, in Turkey and in the United States. In my opinion the less there is of agrarian legislation in which is to be discerned more of the arbitrariness and cupidity of rulers than their moderation and justice, the better for the peasantry and the country. Justice must be respected. Let him who sows reap, and let him who plants the tree eat its fruits. Such injustice in agrarian legislation, where the cultivator is sought to be deprived of a larger and larger portion of the fruit of his labour, must eventually culminate in slavery. The ultimate result of this policy is that the labour of the peasant is blighted and becomes barren leading to those economic evils from which he now suffers. It is to be feared that so far as the new land revenue legislation of the Bombay Presidency is concerned these evils are likely to show themselves in all their ugliness as its operations extend. None doubts the beneficent intentions of the Government. But, after all, such intentions are judged by results. That there will be no such result as the Government affects to believe will follow the measure seems to be the firm conviction of the people at large, even after the debate that has taken place in the Council. It is greatly to be regretted in this matter that no attention has been paid to the popular voice. The Viceroy himself declared at Bombay, in that memorable speech he delivered at the Town Hall in reply to the address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, that he was most anxious to listen to that opinion. And yet he refused to consider the appeal of the public to suspend the sanctioning of the Bill and allow them reasonable time to examine and consider the provisions of the amendment, which is undoubtedly of a revolutionary character, and which seeks to establish State landlordism in the country, which one of his predecessors, twenty years ago, repudiated on behalf of his Government. I have no inclination to enter into any disquisition on the subject of land tenures in the country. This is not the time nor the place for it. I only beg to draw your attention to one fact, and it is this: that, as Sir Louis Mallet observed, there is absolutely no fixity in the land revenue policy of the Government. Everything varies with the views of successive Governments. Hence have arisen a mass of inconsistencies in its land revenue system. Lord Salisbury cynically observed: "Have we any grounds for thinking they will cease?"

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They are not merely subjects of reproach; they are a warning of the fashion after which our Indian Government is made. By the law of its existence it must be a Government of incessant change. It is the despotism of a line of kings, whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years." But the despots return to their homes, while the effects of their despotic action remain to harass and annoy a much enduring and patient people. Consider, gentlemen, the action of the Government of Bombay, and confirmed by the Government of Lord Curzon, in the matter of this Land Revenue Amendment Act, whereby the perpetuity of tenure in survey lands has been "by a stroke of the pen" abolished. It is the first forcible attempt at the assertion of State landlordism, which the Government of Lord Lytton indignantly repudiated:—"We do not accept the accuracy of the description that the tenure of land in India was that of cultivating tenants, with no power to mortgage the land of the State, and that land is the property of the Government, held by the occupier as tenant on hereditary succession so long as he pays the Government demand. On the contrary, the sale and mortgage of land were recognised under the Native Governments before the establishment of British power, and are not uncommon in Native States at the present time. It has been one of the great objects of all the successive Governments of India since the days of Lord Cornwallis, if not to create property in land, at all events to secure and fortify and develop it to the utmost. The Government undoubtedly is the owner of a first charge, the amount of which is fixed by itself on the produce of all revenue paying land in India, but over the greater part of the Indian empire it is no more the owner of the cultivated land than the owner of a rent charge in England is the owner of the land upon which it is charged!" (Despatch, 8th June 1880, para. 31.)

FAILURE OF ALL LEGISLATION.

It was, thus, against the revolutionary character of the legislation that the Bombay public prayed for delay, but which was refused, while those non-official members who took a leading part were characterised by the Honorable member in charge of the Bill as incapable of comprehending the very elements of reasoning, and by another as guilty of reckless and perverse misrepresentation. Such language would not, on behalf of Ministers, have been allowed to go unchallenged in the House of Commons. But in India it seems that the amenities of our expanded Councils where representatives of the people are invited to advise and aid Government in law-making, demand that those in power and authority should flout the representatives of the people and charge them with dishonesty when they attempt to express their honest opinion. That the representatives were offended is shown by the way in which the foremost of them, in giving his reply, expressed himself on the unpleasant incident. The Honourable Mr. Mehta observed, addressing the President: "My Lord, I acknowledge, as I said in answer to the remark of Mr. Monteath, that it is open for the people who take another view of a question to be intolerant enough to doubt the capacity, ability or intelligence of those opponents; but it is going altogether beyond the bounds of decorum and propriety, to say nothing stronger, to question their honesty. Speaking on my own behalf of my colleagues who think with me in this matter, I lay an emphatic claim to having devoted such ability and intelligence as we possess to the consideration of this question and to laying the view which we have thus formed before this Legislative Council. I lay a still stronger and more emphatic claim to the integrity and honesty of purpose as well as of myself, however, egotistical it may seem, as of those colleagues who hold the same views as I do upon this subject." There is not the slightest doubt—and I have the best authority for saying it—that it was this breach of decorum that contributed not a little to accentuate the previous determination, openly declared in the Council, of the dissenting members, to retire from

the Council Hall as soon as the amendment was lost. All enlightened and self-respecting Indians have approved of that course, and I refrain from saying anything more on the subject. But I repeat, gentlemen, my conviction that for a genuine improvement in the material condition of the Indian peasantry the less of legislation there is the better. And what, may it be asked, has been the effect of our land laws during the past twenty years? Were not each and all of them enacted with the single object of bettering the condition of the peasantry? Has that object been attained? The very fact that they are still tinkering and tinkering them, now in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, now in Bombay and the Central Provinces, now in Bengal and Madras, under one form or another is evidence conclusive of the non-fulfilment of that object. In short, the statute book is groaning under the accumulated weight of the agrarian legislation of the last quarter of a century, without the slightest benefit to those on whose behalf it has been undertaken. Their net effect has been to aggravate the original economic evils which it was intended to cure. The legislative remedies have proved worse than the disease. While the peasant wants bread, the State makes him a present of its legislative abracadabras. Gentlemen, you cannot be unaware of the official reports which reach us from time to time of the return of material prosperity to the fellaheen of Egypt. What may have been the chief cause which has led there, especially during the last seven years, to that prosperity? Has there been any land legislation of the character the various Indian administrations have passed within recent years? No; legislation is the last thing which Lord Cromer has thought of while improving the condition of the Egyptian cultivator. Why? It should be remembered that his Lordship was not unaware of the land laws of this country. As a matter of fact he was no unimportant a member of the Viceregal Legislative Council, which introduced the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1883. Again, it was he who had, with the help of Sir David Barbour, made a semi-official enquiry into the condition of agriculture in the various provinces, the gross income of the ryot per acre, and collected all other kindred statistics. And yet Lord Cromer, as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the English Government in Egypt, in spite of his Indian experience, has eschewed all land legislation. Why? The answer is not far to seek. Because he was quite convinced that paper statutes never advanced the welfare of the Indian ryot. The means he employed were more practical. Firstly, he thoroughly understood that throughout the world the agriculturist suffers for want of the necessary credit and capital. With the assistance of these, the agriculturist could always be kept free from debt, and be enabled to labour assiduously to improve the outturn of his produce, with benefit to himself and the State. Secondly, Lord Cromer also knew that irrigation was the first essential where Nature was freakish in her seasonal bounties. No doubt, they have the Nile in Egypt, but that river has existed from times immemorial. It did not, however, prevent famines. What was wanted was a judicious distribution of water, and a system which stored it for use during a season of deficiency. Irrigation, therefore, was of paramount importance. The fellaheen may have all the capital needed to till their land, but if the necessary water was not there, they could do little. Lord Cromer, with the eye of the practised and far-sighted statesman, devoted his attention to extended and improved irrigation. You all know the colossal irrigation works on the Atbara now going on. Thus by the establishment of a national bank, on rational principles which immediately meet the requirements of the Egyptian cultivator, and by extended irrigation works, Lord Cromer has been able most successfully to achieve the amelioration of that entity, and lead him on to the path of comparative prosperity. But you will observe that if he has been able to accomplish so much it is owing to the entire absence of the agrarian legislation of the kind which the autocrats who reign for five years in this country are so fond of introducing. Egypt for the last fifteen years has been singularly fortunate in possessing as its virtual

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ruler without interruption a British statesman of great pluck and energy, of foresight and immense experience, who unhampered has been allowed to work out his benevolent project for the benefit of the millions of Egypt. Once for all a broad and generous policy, far reaching in its beneficent and vivifying influence, was laid down, and it has been allowed to be carried into practical operation uninterrupted and unfettered by circumlocution, red tape and a dozen other obstructive and contradictory elements more or less of a character how not to do it, which are so rife in India.

EXTENSION OF VICEREGAL PERIOD.

This fact leads me to offer one observation in this place. In India, it is highly expedient as the *Times of India* sagaciously observed two years ago in an article which may be read with profit at this juncture, that when we have a good Viceroy of a practical turn of mind, imbued with a deep sense of his responsibility, and intent on rendering lasting good to the masses, as Lord Curzon seems to be by universal consent, that he should be allowed to remain at the helm of affairs for a longer period than the orthodox of five years, so that he may be in a position to achieve all the good which his knowledge and experience may have derived during the first term of his office. It is indeed most curious that a capable Viceroy, who is known to be rendering good, should have to lay down his office at the very time, or the psychological moment, when India has the greater need of utilising to her best advantage his previously acquired experience.

EX PARTE OFFICIAL REPORTS ON LAND ASSESSMENTS.

If, then, you ask me what remedies may be recommended to Government for extricating the ryot from his present condition of indebtedness, and gradually leading him on to the path of prosperity, I should reply that the fundamental reforms, whence all other reforms must naturally flow, is a modification in the present policy of land revenue assessment in vogue in the different provinces. For the last two years and upwards, thanks to Mr. R. C. Dutt and his untiring perseverance and patience, the controversy has been going on as to the oppressive character of the assessment. Here, too, there are two schools of thought—the official—which contends that the assessment are light, and the non-official, which avers to the contrary. Where there is such a diametrical difference of opinion it is always best to find out the truth by exploding the fallacies lurking in the facts and arguments of either side. There ought to be a judicial pronouncement of the moot question, on the basis of reliable evidence which may be collected by means of an impartial tribunal specially appointed for the purpose. Unless such a judicial and exhaustive inquiry is undertaken and a final verdict pronounced, it is to be feared this controversy is likely to remain interminable. But it is wisdom that the sooner it is closed in the manner suggested the better. The future land revenue policy should, then, be based on the ascertained opinion of that tribunal. But it will never do to flourish before us a mass of one-sided facts and arguments of Commissioners and Collectors as are to be found recorded in those precious serials of Survey Settlement Officers published from time to time. They are purely *ex parte* and not subject to the cross-examination necessary to arrive at the truth.

IRRIGATION *versus* RAILWAYS.

Meanwhile extended irrigation works of all kinds, small and large, by means, of canals, tanks, reservoirs, wells wherever practicable, and the harnessing so far as possible, after careful investigation, of some of the large rivers after the manner of Godavery in the past by General Sir Arthur Cotton, are essential. Next, of course, is

the stimulation credit and capital, and, lastly, elementary education suited to a large rural population. It is, however, satisfactory to notice that, after the experience of the two severe famines the State has now taken the first step towards improving and extending existing irrigation and taking new works in hand. A Commission is already sitting on the subject, taking evidence under the presidency of a talented engineer, who has been mainly instrumental in achieving success with irrigation works in Egypt. It is to be hoped that the report of Sir Colin Scott Moncreiff and his able colleagues may prove most practical. Our only regret is that the State should have for so many years subordinated irrigation works to railway construction at railway speed—a procedure against which your representatives entered their protests before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. I would quote only one or two passages from the report of the Commission of 1879 to inform you how far the Indian Government had neglected the golden recommendations of that Commission, with the late Sir John Caird as its most expert member. It observed:—"That among the means that may be adopted for giving India direct protection from famine arising from drought, first place must unquestionably be assigned to works of irrigation." But the Government assigned it a second place only. Instead of appointing an Irrigation Commission which was the first essential there was appointed in 1883 a Parliamentary Select Committee on Railways. Thus while 150 crores of rupees have been spent on Railways since 1884 only twenty crores have expended on irrigation. But I need not tarry to inform you of the beneficent results which by this time might have arisen from spending on wells and tanks even fourth the sum incurred on railways. Not that the Government was not made aware of the economic advantages to the State and the ryot alike of irrigation. For the Commission of 1879 further remarked that, "It has been too much the custom, in discussions as to the policy of constructing such works, to measure their value by their financial success, considered only with reference to the net return to Government on the capital invested in them. The true value of irrigation works is to be judged very differently. First, must be reckoned the direct protection afforded by them in years of drought, by the saving of human life, by the avoidance of the loss of revenue remitted, and of the outlay incurred in costly measures of relief." Unfortunately this golden counsel, I repeat, was never taken into serious consideration till the second Famine Commission of 1898 once more accentuated the advice, with some further pertinent observations to answer those who in the interval had waxed most eloquent on the wonderful miracles of railways. In paragraph 536 of its report the Commission observes, after referring to the expenditure on famine protective works, that "experience has shown that on the occasion of a widespread failure of the rains, railways, however useful and necessary they may be, do not keep down prices to a point at which the slightest pressure only is left. So far as they equalise prices, they widen the area of scarcity, though lessening the intensity elsewhere of famine. Though they bring grain to tracts liable to famine in years of drought they also prevent large accumulation of grain in those tracts in years of plenty." Thus railways have been no unmixed blessing. Moreover, it is now recognised that, after all, they are only a means of speedy distribution of grain from one place to another, but they in no way add a single rupee to the wealth of the country. But it has taken years to explode this fallacy at the seat of the Central authority. In these matters it would seem that the Government has been far behind the march of enlightened Indian opinion. It required three Commissions and two severe famines to recognise and become alive to the supreme importance of extended irrigation, wherever possible and practicable which in the long run actually stimulates agricultural wealth. The Famine Commission of 1879 openly said: "It is not only in years of drought that irrigation works are of value. In seasons of average rainfall they are of great service and a great source of wealth giving certainty to all agricultural operations, increasing the outturn per acre of the crops and enabling

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more valuable descriptions of crops to be grown." Next, in para. 544, the Commission of 1898 has pointed out that since 1880 an average return of 6 per cent. net on capital outlay has been realised on irrigation works, which can hardly be said of railways. On the contrary the last are still losing something like a crore of rupees per annum to the general tax-payer. That I am not speaking at random on the subject of this net loss by railways; I have to draw your attention to the Appendix in the Report of the Royal Commission to which I have already alluded. It will be seen from it that in fifty years there was a loss of over 51 crores. That, owing to low exchange, in late years there was a heavy loss on guaranteed railways may be admitted. But I may inform you that apart from these railways almost ninety per cent. of the State lines have been hitherto losing concerns. The following statistics, which are worked out from the latest table officially published in the *Gazette of India* of 6th July, 1901, will make it evident to all what a drag on the annual revenue are the railways. In all there are fifty-one railways (excluding the East Indian) which lost from the date of their construction up till 1900 to the State, Rs. 43,34,72,459. Of these six only show a net gain :—

(1) Rajputana-Malwa ...	...	...	...	...	7.26 Crores.
(2) Warora Colliery ...	...	...	...	...	0.10 "
(3) Eastern Bengal ...	...	...	...	...	1.10 "
(4) Nalhatti ...	...	...	...	...	0.01 "
(5) Patna-Gaya ...	...	...	...	...	0.09 "
(6) Lucknow-Bareilly ...	...	...	...	...	0.01 "
					8.57 "

The rest, namely forty-five lines, have lost between them 51.91 crores. Thus, deducting the gain of the above six lines, the net result was a loss of 43.34 crores to the State! The total capital outlay of the six lines was 40 crores. The capital of the losing lines was 167.46 crores. The total capital equalled 207.46. On this the net loss was 43.34 crores. All these lines began to be constructed after 1870. If, therefore, we take it that they generally began to earn profits five years after the date of their completion, and allow the older and new lines, an average earning period of twenty years, we shall in no way be exaggerating the loss. Thus, these railways have lost on an average 20 per cent. in twenty years or, say, 1 per cent. per annum! This is the result. But it will interest you to know something of the principal losing lines.

	Capital in crores.	Loss from the beginning in crores.
(1) North-Western Railway ...	50.70	25.33
(2) Oudh and Rohilkhund ...	12.56	3.39
(3) South Indian ...	7.63	2.79
(4) Southern Maratha ...	9.82	4.36
(5) Indian Midland ...	10.31	2.86
(6) Bengal-Nagpur ...	17.41	2.00

I beg to draw your attention, gentlemen, to the enormous loss on one line alone the North-Western Railway, which, on a capital of 50.71 crores has lost 25.33 crores. Of course, it is to a large extent a Military railway. But I ask why the annual loss on such a railway which is purely constructed for Military purposes, is not debited to the Military Department just as all charges for mobilisation. You will observe that the above six lines alone make up more than half the total capital outlay and that they have managed to lose between them 40.73 crores or, say, nearly 40 per cent.

of their capital! Contrast this railway finance, gentlemen, with the total capital outlay from the beginning of 32 crores on irrigation works which, even after taking into account the non-productive or losing ones, have paid net 6 per cent. ! It should be remembered that even the East Indian Railway, with all its profits, does not yet yield to Government, after deducting the amount of profits payable to the Company which manages the line, more than 2½ per cent. per annum, on its capital, according to the latest official return. Of course, I am aware of the fact that 50 years hence this railway would be the entire property of the State and would then form a most "valuable asset" against State liabilities. But, meanwhile, I think it is but right that I should point out to you its present paying character. You will thus see what has been the financial burden on the tax-payer of extended railways at breathless pace. Even admitting their utility, is it possible that any country, much less so poor a country as India, can afford the luxury of the annual losses described above? And what, it may be asked, is the fair market value of the losing concerns? Does the Government expect to realise anything near their respective book cost?

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AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

As to the agricultural banks, it is some consolation to notice that after well-nigh twenty years the project, due to the initiative of Sir William Wedderburn, has been revived and that the Government has recognised its importance. It is satisfactory also to notice the institution of an expert Committee to consider the practicability of the scheme from the point of view presented by the existing conditions. Opinions, however seem to differ. The Committee has framed its scheme on the basis of the Co-operative Credit Societies on the Continent. Their principal object is, no doubt, co-operative banking on a modest scale, with safeguards of a rigid character. Its principle is entirely voluntary. Friendly co-operation must take the lead. Where such co-operation is formed it will have to regulate its practical proceedings on the lines formulated by the Committee. No doubt here and there some rudimentary co-operative societies are already in existence. The one in Multan is supposed to be doing well. On our Bombay side there is an agricultural syndicate, which has done some useful work and which needs development. These small institutions now in existence lead one to hope that after the passing of the present scheme by the legislature, there may be a genuine movement for the establishment of such Co-operative Credit Societies. A good start, with good management, is the first element of success. The Sowcar, I mean the honest usurer, is not likely to view his rival with anything like friendliness or favour. At any rate he will closely watch its proceedings. And if he finds in the end that the new credit institution is in no way inimical to his interests, he will slowly endeavour to recognise its importance. Whether in the process of time, which may be many years, he will entirely identify himself with these societies and become its guiding spirit and beneficent fairy is a problem. But anyhow the most satisfactory feature of this new scheme is the wisdom the Committee has exercised in recognising the absolute importance of the Sowcar in the domestic economy of the ryot. To the Committee he is not the black tyrant and blood-sucker that he has often been represented. After all, the Committee is aware that the enlightened self-interest of the State in India demands the existence of the Sowcar. Without his aid it would become impossible that the crores of land revenue could be so punctually gathered from year to year.

CREDIT.

So far, then, the scheme promises to be hopeful. Whether this kind of banking will eventually become popular and stimulate thrift and industry remains to be seen.

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In fact, thrift and industry are the two cardinal virtues of the Indian peasantry, despite all assertions to the contrary. What the ryot badly wants is capital and credit. As to capital, it must first exist in the country and as to credit it is a serious question whether with the new fangled legislation in vogue which has sought to restrict the right of transfer in land, credit will be improved. Good security means good credit. But where the former is next to non-existent how the latter may be established is a question difficult to answer. The Sowcar, whom the Committee invites to help the co-operative societies, will think twice and thrice how he may foster credit on nothing.

WANTED ELASTICITY AND SUCCESS OF THE EGYPTIAN SYSTEM.

It is also a moot point whether the scheme has in it all those elements of elasticity to ensure fair success. Anyhow is it possible that, even after a full and fair trial, these societies will prove a success and not a failure as the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. Again, my fear is that what is easily understood and practised by a European peasant is not possible to be understood and practised by an Indian ryot. The German farmer, for instance, thoroughly understands the principles of the Raiffesen System and profits by availing himself of the advantages offered by it. But is it possible that the illiterate Indian peasant can do so? Are not all his agricultural environments cast in a different mould from those of the German or Italian? It is a great mistake to slavishly follow the European system in this respect when on the face of it, it is recognised as most unsuitable. I am, gentlemen, personally more inclined to look with favour on the monetary system in vogue for the last six or seven years in Egypt to help the rural classes there. One reason, of all others, which inclines me to it is the great success that has already attended the operations of the Egyptian system. Bearing in mind that the Egyptian cultivator differs little from his Indian brother, it is safe to assume there are more chances of success in following it than the one about to be tried here. The National Bank in Egypt has an autonomy of its own, and is every way unshackled in its operations save so far as the collection of instalments brings it into contact with Government. In its nature, I take it to be a refined edition of the Sowcar, but without the Sowcar's cupidity. The bank is quite content to earn but ten per cent. on its monies, out of which it fully spends four on charges of collection and rural agency. It sends like our local Insurance Companies, a large number of experienced and trustworthy agents to the various villages to ascertain the position of the applicants requiring capital. After due enquiries reports are made. On the basis of these reports advances are made, and instalments of an easy character are fixed. Collection of instalments is made, in which Government aid is taken. Hence there is a Controller appointed by Government to scrutinise all transactions. But beyond this there is no other State supervision. Such a practical scheme, already a great success, would have been preferable. I would recommend instituting one national bank at least of the character established in Egypt in each province of the empire with its branches in the districts. But I entertain no dogmatic opinion on the subject. Nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to see a modest beginning made on the right lines, which would attain the principal object we have all in view for the better improvement of the pecuniary condition of the Indian peasantry. Hence, a full and fair trial is essential. Experience may discover defects which might be remedied, and thus give greater permanence to it and offer better chances of success as years roll on.

As to education of the rural classes, it is unprofitable at present to say anything. The question of education is our despair. If even after well-nigh fifty years the provincial Governments, in spite of growing revenues, cannot afford to spend directly from their respective treasuries an amount in the aggregate larger than a crore on all kinds of education, it is hopeless to expect that they would spend anything like a reasonable

sum for the education of the rural classes. I, therefore, refrain from making further observations on this melancholy subject, though Lord Curzon has of late revived some hope in this direction, which it is much to be wished may be fairly realised.

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GRAIN STORAGE.

In connexion with this question of famine prevention, it is also essential to bear in mind whether the annual export of food grains, chiefly wheat and rice, to foreign countries does not contribute somewhat to increase the intensity of famine when drought occurs. The quantity exported varies from year to year according to the demand, but the average of the last five years may be taken as 21 lakhs of tons per annum. The surplus left is not much. The Commission of 1898 came to the conclusion, after most elaborate calculations and searching tests, that "having regard to the degree to which the increase of population appears to have surpassed the increase of food crop areas, we are inclined to the belief that whatever may have been the normal annual surplus of food grains in 1880, the present surplus cannot be greater than that figure." The quantity was five million tons, but both Sir James Caird and Mr. Sullivan observed that they were "unable to place any confidence" in those figures. They computed that at the best the surplus was just enough to last ten days for the whole of the Indian population! Under the circumstances they strongly recommended the storage of grain, which was the immemorial practice in the country, and which continued till the system of payment of the State dues in cash instead of kind, and the indebtedness of the ryots, chiefly arising from enhanced revenue assessments, swept it away. Sir James and his colleague remarked that, "In a country where the annual surplus of grain is so small, and where it cannot be increased by foreign importation, the absolute need of reserves in seasons of scarcity for the supply of places difficult of access, becomes almost imperative. The most effectual remedy for this would be to encourage the storage of grain in such localities in seasons of plenty." They recommended that Government should do, through the village officials, for the safety of the poorer class, what the wealthier now do for themselves. The people live on different varieties of dry grain, grown in their several districts, which is the specific food they are accustomed to. As this common grain is rarely an article of export its storage could in no way interfere with the operation of foreign trade, and, as the storage would be subdivided in every village, it could be done without disturbance to the usual operations of husbandry. In seasons of abundance stores may very conveniently be made. A village of 400 inhabitants, cultivating 400 acres of grain, may be reckoned to have 40 of the class for whom the storage is proposed. It was estimated that a store of 7 tons would suffice for this number during a year of famine, and the quantity required might be secured out of two years of good crops during the interval at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons for each year, without any pressure on the rest of the people, while the storage of that quantity of grain would be a simple and inexpensive operation. The value of these practical suggestions has in no way been diminished even after the lapse of twenty years. On the contrary, the importance of storage is deemed of more paramount necessity for the future than in 1880 after the experience of the two recent calamitous visitations. Storage is an indispensable condition of safety, specially having regard to the continued exports and the greater poverty of the masses. The less the stocks of surplus grain, the higher the prices when a severe drought overtakes the country. But a large rise in the prices of food grains signifies so much starvation to the poor who are unable to buy them. It is a matter of regret that this point of view is seldom borne in mind by the officials. Even if present to their mind, they take no steps to remedy the evil. The depletion of food-stores is an evil. The abundance of it means low prices, as the deficiency of it means the contrary.

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Then, as the masses are poor, they cannot buy the grain at famine prices, so that the inevitable result is starvation and death. Hence it is essentially imperative that, situated as the Indian masses are, storage in the simple and inexpensive way suggested by Sir James Caird should be one of the means whereby famines may be prevented, and hitherto I do not think I have noticed any very serious objection being raised against it.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS.

It is not suggested that Government should have public granaries at special centres. Neither is it suggested that arrangements for storing grain should be made for the benefit of "thieves and rats" as Mr. O'Connor cynically observed when replying to a question of the Famine Commissioners of 1898. No; the latest Famine Commission has strongly recommended relief works as far as possible nearer the homes of the famished. Relief within a short distance of villages is advocated. And it is in this connexion that the system as recommended by Sir J. Caird, or in its more modified form, free from all objections, as was very wisely suggested in the columns of the *Statesman* in August 1900, fits in admirably well, and is, therefore, deserving of a fair trial, and I say this, in face of Lord Curzon's declaration at Budget time that he would doubt the sanity of those who recommended grain storage. We have an eminently successful trial in this matter, which also can be easily followed. Mr. Parvati Chowdry,—a zemindar, has admirably succeeded, by establishing "Dharma Gola" in his own villages, and his "Note" on the same subject, alluded to in a recent issue of the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, requires respectful attention from the authorities. I have now exhausted the subject of the prevention of famines. It is to be earnestly hoped that the practical lessons of the two famines will be seriously borne in mind, for, it goes without saying that the consequences of another visitation of the character and intensity of the last is certain to add to the difficulties and anxieties of the Government. Even the *Times*, with all its desire to echo the optimism prevailing at Calcutta and Westminster, is constrained to observe that "it may well be doubted whether a day is not coming when not all the resources of the British Empire will suffice to cope with a succession of bad seasons and a final failure of the rains over an extended area." This is an ominous warning, of which those responsible should not fail to take a note.

CONDITION OF THE MASSES.

I would now crave leave to rivet your attention on what has been a burning question for many a year—I mean the condition of the masses. All are agreed that India, compared with the countries of Europe and the Far West, is poor. At the same time it is alleged that the standard of living is low, and, therefore, the prevailing poverty is not of an appalling character. It is, indeed, natural for our alien rulers that they should resent any serious allegation which might in any way reflect on the character of their rule. It is certainly not pleasant for any civilised government to be told that its people are steeped in abject poverty and that that poverty, according to all symptoms, is growing. But when such a disagreeable statement is made, practical statesmanship suggests that its correctness or incorrectness should be conclusively demonstrated. For such a purpose two courses are open. Either the Government against whom the allegation is made should court a full and fair inquiry in *coram populo*, say, by means of a disinterested and impartial tribunal of experts, reputed for sifting evidence of irrefragable facts gathered from each district, and probing the truth to the bottom; or it should collect through its own trusted officers such reliable statistics as shall enable the public to draw its own inference

one way or the other. In my own opinion, the first method is preferable to the second. An open inquiry in broad daylight, conducted from district to district, where witnesses could be put through the searching test of cross-examination as regards average produce in a given series of years, their average value, the range of wages, the cost of leaving, the saleable price of land itself, and all other circumstances essential to a right understanding of the true conditions of the people, is the most satisfactory. If the seal of public confidence is to be set on such an investigation it is superfluous to observe that publicity and close examination of facts are absolutely essential. Unfortunately, for reasons best known to itself, the Government has shrunk from instituting such an open inquiry, though more than once appealed to. In India it is always so difficult to conquer the hydra of hide-bound officialism.

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METHOD OF COMPUTING NATIONAL WEALTH.

The second method is departmental. It is the one which the Indian Government has twice adopted, once in 1882 and another in 1888. But it is deemed extremely unsatisfactory, for in its nature it is secretive. Circulars are sent round to the district officers to make inquiries. The public never knows what are the instructions conveyed to them and what may be the scope allowed to the officers, because the circulars are marked "confidential." Accordingly, "confidential" reports are made to which "confidential" replies are given. The results are embodied in a "confidential" despatch to the Secretary of State. If some member of Parliament is inquisitive enough to ask that functionary whether he would place it on the table of the House, he obligingly answers in the affirmative on the understanding that the papers should be considered "confidential." They are never allowed to be published for general information. This bureaucratic mode in State affairs, in which the public are vitally interested, can never inspire any confidence. And the publication of mere extracts which their own self-complacent optimism may choose to select cannot satisfy public curiosity, much less carry conviction home. Of this nature was the inquiry very hurriedly made during the closing months of the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin. Selected facts and extracts from the "confidential" reports of district officials were afterwards published in the official *Gazette*. But it cannot be said that there was any systematic attempt at computing the annual income, agricultural and non-agricultural. That was only done once during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon in 1883. Sir David Barbour was entrusted with the work. He calculated that the income from all sources was Rs. 27 per head against Rs. 20 computed by Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. But the details of the figures by which the aggregate was arrived at were never disclosed. Some official figures, however, had found publicity through members of Parliament. And ten years later, Mr. Dadobhoy, when in the House of Commons, put a series of elaborate interpellations in the matter. On 6th April, 1893, he asked the Under-Secretary "whether in 1882 the Finance Minister of India estimated the average income of each inhabitant of India at Rs. 27 per head; whether the estimates were based upon the contents of a Note entitled 'An Enquiry into the Incidence of Taxation in British India,' prepared by Sir David Barbour; and whether the Note contained the following particulars":—

Agricultural Wealth per Head of the Population.

Presidency or Province.	Rate per head, Rupees.
Bombay	22.4
Central Provinces	21.6
Madras	19.0
Punjab	18.5
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	16.4

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Presidency or Province.	Rate per head, Rupees.
Bengal	16·9
Burmah	27·6

I may mention that Sir Evelyn Baring had referred to the above identical figures in his speech in the same year that they were worked out at the introduction of the Bengal Tenancy Act. At the time the value of the agricultural income was calculated at 332 crores of rupees. Including Burmah and Assam it was 350 crores. The non-agricultural income was put down at 175 crores. The total was 525 crores. This sum, divided by the population of the day, *vis.*, 19·45 crores, gave Rs. 27 per head. In the same Note the value of the gross produce of the different provinces was given as follows:—

	Crores.
Punjab	34·15
N.-W. Provinces & Oudh	71·15
Bengal	103·50
Central Provinces	21·25
Bombay	39·00
Madras	50·00

HOW GOVERNMENT SHRINKS FROM PUBLISHING DETAILS FOR CRITICAL EXAMINATION.

The result of the interpellation was that the Secretary of State declined to lay the full Note of Sir David Barbour, referred to by Mr. Dadabhoy, on the table of the House. Mr. Dadabhoy further moved to have a similar return made for submission to Parliament, based on the latest statistics available till 1893; but this also was refused. So far, it will be seen that the Government was disinclined to take the public into its confidence, much less to allow it to offer by the publication of all the details a sound and healthy criticism thereon. The estimates, moreover, were all made out in secret and the broad results alone were made known. What were the actual details of each province, namely, the quantity of agricultural produce, the several prices at which it was computed, and so fourth, were never disclosed. Hence there was no means of testing the accuracy of the figures. In October, 1900, at Simla, and later on, at Budget time in March last, at Calcutta, Lord Curzon observed that his latest estimates of agricultural income showed Rs. 20 per head against Rs. 18 in 1880. Here, too, we have practically not been informed of the details on which the estimates have been worked out. Hence the public interested in the question have no means of testing the accuracy of the statement. Both, frankly admits Lord Curzon, are mere estimates. The data are not "incontrovertible." "There is an element of conjecture in them, but so there was in the figures of 1880." It will be thus perceived that after all both estimates have been pronounced by the highest authority as mere conjectural. But Mr. O'Connor, the Director-General of Statistics, whose department furnishes all statistics, goes even a step further than the Viceroy. Asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Bose, one of the members of the Famine Commission of 1898, whether, as matters stood, it was possible "to estimate with any degree of total accuracy the total food-supply in the country" he replied as follows:—"I tried to make an estimate when the famine broken out a year ago, but abandoned the attempt finding it was not possible to work it out satisfactorily. We do not even know accurately the area of production of food-grains. I think the estimates in Bengal are extremely defective; then, we do not know the areas in the Native States; in the Madras Presidency we have no information as regards large tracts, in fact our

information is fragmentary" (*vide* page 5, Indian Famine Commission Report, 1898, Appendix 7, Vol. I). After such an authoritative declaration by the Director-General of Statistics himself it is needless to observe that no scientific statistician or any statistical society of reputation, such as the Royal Statistical Society of England, would accept either set of statistics of agricultural income, unless they could be scientifically verified. But verification implies, in the first instance, all details; and in the second place, absolute accuracy. When we bear in mind that the different provinces are differently situated, with different out-turns of food and non-food crops, with varying prices and wages, it is no light task to bring the data of all the different provinces to a common denomination and deduce results therefrom which might be reasonably accepted as correct. Moreover, the very method of computation should proceed on recognised scientific principles. Next, if one period is to be compared with another, it is necessary to take into consideration a series of good and bad years so that there may be every probability of coming nearer to the truth. For instance, if the last computation of the annual income was made in 1880, and if for purposes of comparison another is to be made at present, it is essential to take into account the total agricultural income during the last twenty years and strike an annual average. We do not know whether the figures quoted by Lord Curzon have been worked out on this principle; otherwise it is entirely misleading to take the year 1900 only and base a comparison thereon. Indian harvests are subject to such violent fluctuations that unless a series of fat and lean years are taken together it would not be right to select certain years and reject others. So far as to the statistics themselves. But further care is necessary to see that the system of computation itself which may be adopted in one period is the same as that is adopted in another if a fair comparison is to be made. All exceptional factors in each period should be eliminated and the constant factors brought on an identical level. For these reasons it would be unsafe to accept the estimate given by Lord Curzon at last Budget time. And more unsafe still would it be to institute a comparison with the figures of 1880 and attempt to draw an inference therefrom, be it favourable or unfavourable. To take one instance only. What may have been the produce per acre in 1880, and what may it have been on an average during the twenty years which ended with 1900? Lord Curzon has told us that in 1880 the yield was computed at 730 lbs., while his own estimates are based on 840 lbs. But he offers us no proof in support of the statement! Here, too, the public is not made aware of the details which could be verified. We are always advised by the authorities to verify our own facts before submitting them for their consideration. Are we not in turn entitled to ask Government to give us conclusive proofs of their own facts touching agricultural income? Even, assuming the out-turn of 840 lbs. per-acre for both periods, it would seem that taking the quantity produced per head of the population the result would show that in 1880 it was 793 lbs. and in 1900 it was 740 lbs. Then, again, can we rely on the prices as annually recorded for food and non-food crops published in the yearly statistical serial when experts discard them as valueless, they being all the figures on a fixed day either in January or July? Again, the retail prices which are more or less compiled on hearsay by the semi-illiterate village accountant, can hardly be relied upon.

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AN EXPERT COMMISSION IMPERATIVE.

It is almost unprofitable under the circumstances, to pursue these official statistics, of which no details are offered for purposes of examination and verification. If the Viceroy is anxious to prove to the world that both agricultural and non-agricultural income has increased during the last twenty years, he would be greatly assisting the

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independent public by placing before it all evidence in full detail which could be tested on principles which scientific statisticians have formulated. Either, then, this evidence must be made available to the public, or a public inquiry should be instituted. The value of the latter method of investigation cannot be too highly rated. For what has been the case for years past? The school of pessimists, at whose head is the veteran Mr. Dadabhoj, observe that their own detailed inquiry, based on statistics supplied by the officials themselves, leads them to infer that the annual income now is less than what it was in 1880. Mr. Digby is the latest and most capable exponent of that statement. I need not refer to the elaborate open letter he addressed some months since to Lord Curzon. You have all perused it and each of you could judge for yourself after verifying his figures. On the other hand, the optimists, who almost all belong to the governing class, contend, as Lord Curzon did in March last, that "the movement is for the present distinctly in a forward and not in a retrograde direction that there is more money, not less, in the country; that the standard of living among the poorer classes is going up, not down." Thus the one school directly contradicts the other. As far as the pessimists are concerned, I have already stated that they were for testing the accuracy of the figures of 1880, and hence an appeal was made to the Secretary of State in Parliament to publish all the details. But that official shrank from courting the critical examination for which they were wanted. It is scarcely intelligible why that functionary should have adopted an attitude of *non-possumus* in this respect. The object of both schools is to reach the bottom of the truth. If, then, the truth regarding the present condition of the people, as compared with what it was in 1880, is to be ascertained and placed beyond all cavil, why should there be such a reticence about making all information available to the public? It is the duty of every just and well-organised government to find out whether prosperity is decreasing or increasing among its subjects. If it be decreasing, the causes of such should be discovered so as to remove them. Shepherds of people, as Bacon says, must needs know the disorders in a State, of which economic ones are the chief. If that be the political axiom of all governments, ought it not, *à fortiori*, to be the axiom of an alien government like that of the British? Gentlemen, I will give you an instance. Italy, after the return of King Victor Emanuel to Rome, was in an extremely bad plight. The condition of the people was miserable. For some years things went on from bad to worse. The tendency was to allow the economic situation to drift. But at last the day of reckoning came, and the Government was forced to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition and discover what was the real national wealth. It was presided over by Count Jacine, and the investigation proceeded on lines suggested by scientific statisticians. Lord Curzon has, during the three years of his Viceroyalty, nominated at least four Commissions. What is there to prevent him from appointing a fifth one, of independent experts, European and Indian, to determine the true national income and set at rest this long pending controversy? In my opinion, such an inquiry has become imperative, and that would be the wisest statemanship which could adopt such a course. It is, however, a matter of regret that on the one hand the Government and its apologists in the Press, both here and in England, resent the statement of the pessimists, and try to discredit the figures, which are really supplied by itself; on the other hand, it refuses to give publicity to all the details on which it founds its own deduction as to the improvement in the condition of the masses. It is not unnatural if under such a condition, there is no popular confidence in official statistics, while popular pessimism grows apace and derives fresh emphasis from the actual economic phenomena to be witnessed before their very eyes. The Government should not, therefore, fight shy of the proposed inquiry, be the result what it may, for it is a serious question, vitally affecting the welfare of millions of people. If, on the one

hand, it is found that the national income has increased, the present bogey of the pessimists will at once be laid low. The people will be rejoiced to learn that, in spite of calamitous visitations, they are progressing favourably. On the other hand, if it is ascertained that after all there is growing impoverishment, it would be well for the optimistic school, at whose head are the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, to drop their complacent optimism and strive to remedy the evil by stimulating agricultural and other industries. The Government of India years ago accepted the postulate, as was laid down by the Famine Commission of 1879, that the ultimate object of the Government should be to maintain agricultural and other operations at the highest attainable standard of efficiency. In its despatch twelve years ago, it fully acknowledged its responsibility in the matter. It admitted that the cultivators and their families, and their cattle must be properly fed, and their needs for labour, irrigating, machinery and agricultural implements adequately met. Insufficiency of food, as well as deterioration or lack of such mechanical appliances, must diminish the effectiveness of labour, and thereby reduce the produce of the country. Hence the Government cannot divest itself of the responsibility of allowing agricultural operations to be maintained at that high standard.

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LATEST AUTHORITATIVE EVIDENCE ON THE CONDITION OF THE MASSES.

This being the recognised responsibility of the Government, let me put before you the evidence which is to be found in official papers and reports as to the actual condition of the masses at present. I need hardly refer to the result of the inquiry made during Lord Dufferin's time, fully familiar as you are all with it. It was bad enough in all conscience, though, to avoid disquietude at home, it was represented that it need cause "no anxiety at present." But what has been the condition of the self-same masses since? Let me quote the words of the report of the Famine Commission of 1898. "This section is very large, and includes the great class of day-labourers and the least skilled of artizans. So far as we have been able to form a general opinion upon a difficult question from the evidence we have heard and the statistics placed before us, the wages of these people have not risen in the last twenty years in due proportion to the rise of prices of the necessaries of life. The experience of the recent famine fails to suggest that this section of the community has shown any large command of resources or any increased powers of resistance. Far from contracting, it seems to be gradually widening, particularly in the more congested districts. Its sensitiveness or liability to succumb, instead of diminishing, is possibly becoming more accentuated, as larger and more powerful forces supervene and make their effects felt where formerly the result was determined by purely local conditions." The accentuation, it is needless to say, came two years later on with a vengeance, and it is now a matter of history how at the very outset of famine conditions in 1899, millions swarmed to the relief camps, absolutely prostrated and without any means whatever to buy food. I leave it to you, gentlemen, to contrast this dismal state of affairs with the general statement made in the Council by Lord Curzon in March last, as to growing improvement and better-standard of living. I leave it to you to judge whether you can reconcile the one condition with the other.

TWO SALIENT STATEMENTS OF THE VICEROY TRAVERSED.

Leaving this question alone, it may not be amiss to refer to one or two other salient points in Lord Curzon's Budget speech. He is reported to have said that in a country largely dependent for its maintenance on agriculture, the time must come when the agricultural income must cease to grow by reason, firstly,

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of increase of population and, secondly, by the limit of land further available for cultivation. Under such a condition, it is prudent for a far-sighted Government to stimulate non-agricultural sources of wealth. None will dispute the general accuracy of the second statement, but is it proved that after a certain limit is reached there cannot be any more agricultural productivity? It may be that the land is not so well cultivated as it ought to be; that owing to variety of reasons, want of capital, manure, and so forth, a plot of land may be capable of growing a larger quantity of product but cannot do so. As far as India is concerned the best experts, from Sir John Caird to Mr. Voelcker and Mr. Leather, have unhesitatingly declared that there is every reason to expect that, with better means and resources, the productivity of the soil might be largely increased. When India can only grow 9 bushels of wheat per acre for instance, against 30 and more produced in Europe and America, it goes without saying that the proposition, as laid down by the Viceroy, cannot be universally predicated. Certainly, it cannot be so predicated of India. It is, therefore, the duty of his Lordship's Government to do all in its power to stimulate that productivity. In the proportion that the economic condition of the ryot is improved, will there be a corresponding improvement in the country's agriculture. Unfortunately, it is notorious that up till now the Indian Government has practically done next to nothing to promote agricultural industry in a way to induce greater prosperity to the peasantry. On the contrary, the evidence almost everywhere is to discourage that industry by a variety of harsh measures, legislative and executive. A considerable relaxation or modification of those measures is the first necessity. But so far the State seems to stuff its ears with cotton when appeals are made to it for lightening the burden of land assessments. It should not be forgotten that the revenue was formerly paid in kind, which in times of drought was every way better suited to the ryot than the present one of cash. Moreover, now-a-days the ryot's crops are mortgaged, even before being harvested. However high the price may be for its crops, he realises little profit out of it for himself. He is in no way better, perhaps worse. It is the middleman who is enriched. To the ryot only the load of indebtedness becomes greater. All these facts have to be duly weighed when it is light-heartedly asserted that it is impossible for Government to further stimulate agricultural industry. It is in its power to do so, as I have just suggested. If I may be allowed to offer an opinion on this subject, I would venture to say that agriculture in the country can still be made a great deal more productive. But this is not possible so long as the Government fails in its primary duty. The pressure of the land-revenue system being relieved, and other undue severities of forest and other laws which affect the domestic economy of the masses being relaxed, agriculture must materially improve. But the State refuses to recognise that assessments are heavy. As a matter of fact, however, it arrives at that conclusion because it has not yet cared to find out what is the real ratio which the gross produce bears to the assessment, and what surplus actually remains in the hand of the ryot after all charges of cultivation, interest on loans, etc., are deducted. It is quite possible to conceive of the gross agricultural income increasing and yet the net income of the producer a diminishing quantity. This aspect of the question also demands attention.

THE MONOGRAPH OF SIR EDWARD LAW ON "ECONOMIC PROGRESS."

Then let me briefly refer to the so-called facts of "economic progress" with which the Finance Minister so regaled us in his last Financial Statement. He says that, "close examination of certain material facts will afford further proof that recuperative powers are no idle assumption." Sir Edward Law then refers to a few

figures of recent imports and exports, to the consumption of salt, savings bank deposits and so forth. As to imports and exports, can any sound inference as to the real commercial progress of the people be drawn from merely exhibiting superficial figures of a triennial period? But Sir Edward's statements are open to so many challenges that all I can do in this place is to put the following queries to which, it is to be hoped, he will make an effort to reply fully, supported by irrefragable evidence, next Budget day. None will be more glad than myself to see a very satisfactory answer to every one of them. What are the scientific data on which to base the theory of the commercial prosperity of any country? Can India, which is a debtor country, and withal subject to foreign rule, be ever commercially prosperous when the naked fact of an annually increasing indebtedness and a large ballance of exports, for which there is no return, is to be clearly seen? Can the abstraction of at least thirty crores of the national produce of the country, year in and year out, without the slightest hope of return, ever point to "recuperative" resources or tend to any material accumulation of the surplus national capital which, in other countries, develops true trade, arts, industries, and manufactures? Is it true that the large imports in piece-goods, in metals, in railway and building materials, in sugar, and so forth, are entirely or mostly on account of foreign capital, temporarily invested in the country? Is it true that the large exports in rice, in cotton, in jute, in oil-seeds, in tea, and so forth are entirely or mostly on account of foreign capital, temporarily invested in this country? If true, where would the so-called commerce of the country be if there were an absolute withdrawal of that foreign capital? Apart from these facts, where is the evidence that, in the consumption of the articles required by the masses, there has been any progress worth speaking of during the last twenty-five years, *pari passu*, with the growth of the population? Are the masses in a position to buy to-day even a single yard more per annum of Lancashire goods than they were in 1875? How much of the metals now imported belong to foreign capital, and how much to indigenous capital? Has the State ever taken out fair statistics of the percentage of imports and exports belonging to Native States? Has it done so similarly for the foreign capitalists? And has it found out what is the real share of the people of British India; and, if so, what was that share per head of the population in 1875 and in 1900? Has the consumption of salt per head of the population since 1886-87 increased or diminished? Was it not 33,729,954 maunds in that year, and was it not 35,727,256 maunds in 1900-1901? In other words, is it not the fact that in 1886-87 the consumption per head was 13.9 lbs. and in 1899-1900 12.7 lbs.? Is that a sign of the prosperity of the masses or a deterioration in their condition? Is it true that larger balances at post office savings banks signify greater prosperity? If so, may it be asked how is it that the deposits per head, which came in 1889-90 to Rs. 164, have since steadily gone down till ten years later they came down to Rs. 125? Is that phenomenon to be seen in the savings of people in Europe, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States? On the whole it would be rash to share the opinion of the Viceroy and his Finance Minister that the condition of the people is undergoing improvement. The positive evidence is against the statement. Where there is no reserve, no accumulation, no wealth, where millions live from hand to mouth on a bare wage, from season to season, on a low diet, it is rather bold to assert that there is increasing prosperity. Rather we are obliged to agree with the Duke of Argyll, who had not studied in vain the economics of India, that "of poverty and of destitution, more or less temporary and among individuals in European countries, we know. But of chronic poverty, and of permanent reduction to the lowest level of subsistence, such as prevail only too widely among the vast population of rural India, we have no example in the Western world." Thus, poverty must be admitted as the normal condition of India.

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It can only be dispelled by a wise, gradual and continuous betterment of the poor. The three E's of Count Tolstoi are necessary for the country's welfare, namely, Enrichment, Enlightenment and Emancipation from superstition and oppressive burdens.

THE ECONOMIC EVILS OF ABSENTEEISM.

It is to be feared, gentlemen, that so long as absenteeism, which is the principal feature of British rule, exists, it is not possible to see any improvement. The abstraction from year to year to foreign parts of the national produce to the extent of thirty or forty crores without any hope of return, is considered the greatest obstacle in the way of national prosperity. The fact cannot be denied that the sterling obligations have increased from ten millions in 1874 to eighteen millions sterling. It must be admitted that the annual resources of the Indian people to that extent are drained away to foreign parts for which there is absolutely no return. Whatever the causes which lead to these obligations, there can be no gainsaying the economic results of that process of abstraction. The obligations we all know consist of pensions and allowances to European officials, interest on railways, stores, and so forth. But it should be remembered that the payments are compulsory, that is to say, they have not been voluntarily incurred by the people. In fact, the consent of the Indians has never been taken in the matter. Secondly, the payments by themselves are considered excessive. Nowhere in the civilised world are higher salaries, and pensions paid than in England. But as a matter of fact the salaries, pensions and allowances paid to the European agency in this country are even greater than those allowed in England. So far they are unparalleled. The difference between the present rulers of India and their predecessors consists in this, that while the latter employed the indigenous agency and lived in the country, the former govern by their own, which is imported. However heavy or burdensome or tyrannical the taxation may have been in the case of the former rulers, the economic effects were not so disastrous as they are at present. I do not here raise the question even of the *justice* of the payments. That again would lead us to another branch of the controversy. My object here is to point out, solely and exclusively, the mischievous economic aspect of the costly foreign agency. Let us, for argument's sake, admit that the payments are just; but I ask every enlightened and fair-minded person, official and non-official, whether or not a country must grow poorer for the ceaseless drain of 30 to 40 crores of its annual wealth—the fruit of the children of the soil—without any return. Just consider the aggregate amount of this drain since 1860. It comes to 624 crores, without taking into account all private remittances in shape of profits of merchants, traders and planters. At the very least these should come to 300 crores, say a total of 900 crores. But I entirely leave the last out of account and confine myself to the officially recorded figures of the Government's Home remittances only, and I appeal to the economic sense of our rulers to say whether such a colossal abstraction from year to year is not the real cause of the poverty of India. If these 624 crores had remained in the country, what might have been the condition of the people to-day? Capital accumulates capital. Take a single instance of a specific character. Here are 180 indigenous cotton mills; of these 81 are in the city of Bombay. How have they multiplied? Is it not the case that the very earnings or savings of capital made by the dozen or two dozen at the beginning have tended to a large extent to multiply the concerns? But if capital accumulates capital, how may it be possible without any accumulation worth mentioning that India can grow richer, that it can embark on new and profitable industrial enterprises? It is superfluous to refer to the axiom of the economists that industry is limited by capital; that where there is lack of capital it is not possible to foster arts

and manufactures and industries. If, then, the fountain source, instead of being replenished, is annually being drained away, is it an exaggeration to say that the time may come, unless other intervening factors neutralise their effect, when the process of exhaustion must bring its own nemesis. The fact is India is not free to choose its own administrative agency. Were it free, is there the slightest doubt that the entire administrative agency would be indigenous living and spending their monies in the country? India, I repeat, is not free, and, therefore, it has no choice in the matter. The governing authorities in the first place have most strangely willed that almost all the higher posts shall be held by men, who live a while here, and then retire to their own country. Even another great modern Asiatic power, Russia, is not known to import wholesale Russian agency to carry on the work of administration in the distant provinces of Central Asia! But we are told that the European agency is extremely limited. It counts no more than 17,300 persons. True. But contrast the annual expenditure of 16 crores incurred on their account with the 2½ crores earned by Indians. Did England sit quiet while the Plantagenets were filling all the high offices from France to the great disadvantage of the English themselves? Was not England pauperised when the Papacy was rampant and abstracted millions from it annually, as history has recorded? Would England refrain from complaining, supposing that the position of India and England was to-day reversed?

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ASIATIC POVERTY.

The grievous error is that the present system of administration is not regulated by economic laws. Again, while India is characterised by what may be called Asiatic poverty our rulers govern it on principles of what may be called Asiatic immoderateness. In Asia everything is on a colossal scale, its mountains and rivers, its seething population, and so forth. In fact, as an accomplished writer has observed: "Nothing in Asia is sufficiently restricted; empires are too big, populations are too vast; all features of nature are too huge; the arts are too gigantesque; the powers entrusted to men are too powerful; calamities are too widespread; all things have in them a trace of immoderateness as if gods and men alike had lost the sense of wise limitation * * * Everything from the powers of kings and the conceptions of men to the forces of nature is gigantic, enormous, fatiguing to the brain. In fact, when measured, as all things must be measured, all things by a standard of which man is the unconscious unit, is immoderate." While the country is poor it is ruled at a cost unheard of in any part of the civilised world. It is thus that poor as India is, it is being made poorer by the economic anomalies which our Western rulers have unfortunately introduced into the country. It is, of course, argued on the other side that though the administration is costly it is of a superior character to that which the Indians, had they been free, might have had. True. But the Indians then would have cut their coat according to their cloth. And as they grew richer by commerce and manufactures, they might have, in a natural way, aspired to higher standards of civilised government. But it would have been folly for India to have risen at once to a pitch of the highest form of civilised government without counting the cost—millions which it could not have afforded and which must have eventually ruined it. In short, no country can with impunity continue to offend the laws of economy, which are based on Nature herself. The justification urged therefore, can hardly stand. As an able economist has observed in the *Statesman* on this question, I will say:—"Admitting, for argument's sake, that the defence of the existing system, so far as it rests on facts, is a good one, it is good in respect only of payments to Europeans made for such services as could not be performed by Indians consistently with the country's

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welfare, and in respect of such payments only so far as they are not excessive. Any other payments made for the services of Europeans are clearly payments made for the benefit, not of India, but of the ruling race." But I cannot further expatiate on this burning question. All I can say is that England is doing the greatest injustice in this matter to India for which she shall have one day to pay most dearly. The whole question of the agency of administration demands radical reform. As Mr. N. N. Ghose shrewdly observed in his able Provincial Conference address at Midnapur, the two great branches of the Service are now an anachronism, and the time must come, however it may be artificially protracted, when there will have to be a fundamental change based on justice and equity, in spite of monopolies and powerful vested interests. Meanwhile it is our duty to press this subject from time to time before the British public and educate it to realise the enormity of the economic evils arising from the erroneous policy pursued at present and the incalculable advantage of economy and efficiency for the welfare of the masses, certain to accrue from the full and free employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Services.

INDIAN FINANCE.

This brings us to the question of Indian Finance generally. At so late an hour, it would be tiring your patience to dilate at length on it. But when we are exultingly told of the recuperative resources of India, and the miracles which a succession of Finance Ministers are supposed to have wrought, we cannot but smile at the complacency of those who indulge in such high-coloured optimism. Our attention is directed to fat surpluses, which are no more surpluses than indirect transfers of property from the pockets of the voiceless tax-payers to the coffers of the omnipotent tax-eaters. It may be an ingenious, but not an ingenuous, way of rasing the wind—this device of creating a surplus by debasing the currency and putting into circulation the rupee at 16 pence when it is only worth 11 pence. It is further observed that this nostrum has steadied exchange and relieved in a measure the Indian treasury of the heavier burden of the Home remittances. It is, however, curiously forgotten that not all the steadiness of exchange in the world can reduce by a feather's weight the true burden of the tax-payer. He has, anyhow, to remit 18 millions sterling annually. As things go, the remittance has to be made in the shape of exports of produce, which is part of the annual wealth of the country. In reality, produce equivalent in value to that amount has to be sent year after year, be the exchange what it may. Be it 12 or 24 pence it makes not the slightest difference to the tax-payer in the burden he has to bear.

NO TRUE SURPLUS.

But apart from the meretricious methods of balancing the annual Budget, whereby deficits are converted into surpluses and *vice-versa*, let me enquire whether India has anything like a *true* surplus of revenue. Such able and accomplished Finance Ministers as Sir John Strachey and Lord Cromer have placed on record their deliberate opinion that there is none. When the State incurs debt from year to year, and has managed to pile quite an Ossa of loans, whether for productive or non-productive purposes, amounting to 317 crores without the slightest attempt at repayment of it by means of a sinking fund, it is idle to talk of surpluses, more especially when the "assets" do not represent "the commercial value of the undertakings"—mostly your losing railways—as the Secretary of State is obliged to remind members of Parliament in his annual "explanatory memorandum."

TAXATION, ARTIFICIAL CURRENCY AND ITS MULTIFOLD EVILS.

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Moreover, it is forgotten that the so-called surpluses of recent years have been obtained by means of extra taxation, which has been raised from time to time since the era of the Penjdeh scare and the seizure of Upper Burmah. The license tax was converted into income tax in 1886; next the salt duty was enhanced by 8 annas per maund; later on the import duty of 5 per cent. on all articles of merchandise, save coal and machinery, was levied; and, lastly, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty on cotton fabrics. Each time the taxation was levied or enhanced the plea put forth was low exchange, though it was pointed out that the plea was a hollow one. The annual average increase in this new and enhanced taxation comes to 7 crores of rupees. It was all ear-marked, successive Viceroys having openly promised, as may be ascertained on a reference to their speeches in the Council, that it would be remitted as soon as the finances permitted. Exchange was the continuous burden of their song; but exchange, according to their own boast, is now stable. The necessity, therefore, of the enhanced taxes has ceased to exist. But it is matter of regret to have to state that the public faith in the matter of this taxation has not been kept. Public faith has been greatly shattered by the additional indirect taxation that has now been levied by means of the artificial appreciation of the rupee, against which the whole country has protested. While millions have to pay dearly for a pinch of salt, a handful of fat people are still allowed to draw exchange compensation, on the principle, it is presumed, that to him that hath shall be given. The evil effects of the artificially managed currency on the producers were fully pointed out by me on this platform at the time and even before the closure of the Mints. I had forecasted the evils which have been now realised. Those engaged in industrial pursuits, chiefly tea and cotton, have not been slow to point out how the evil effects have told tangibly on their earnings. Their spokesmen and recognised organisations have publicly drawn attention to the injury entailed on them. In the Bombay Presidency the wail is that Japan has benefited by the closure of the Mints. The yen has still a better purchasing value than the Chinese dollar. Hence Japan is better able to compete with, if not undersell, Bombay yarn in the common markets of China. The tea-planters of Calcutta and Assam, too, have similarly complained. Their grievance is that the artificial rupee gives a poorer return for their sales in gold-using countries, and that this poorer yield is in no way compensated for by cheaper cost of production. An intelligent controversy is still going on in the Press, specially in *Capital*. In Bombay, Mr. J. A. Wadia, a shrewd millowner, has been inditing a series of letters on the subject. Again, we have the outside independent testimony of Mr. Kopsch, late Commissioner and Statistical Secretary of Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, as related in the pages of *The Empire Review*. He observes there that "the marked falling off in Indian textile fabrics suggests a rise in price owing to the fictitious value of the Rupee, and consequent decline in demand, whereas the Japanese exchange still remains about *par*." Again, speaking of the falling off of British export trade generally with the Far East, Mr. Kopsch remarks that the "real explanation appears to be that the enhanced silver price of our goods, due to the demonetisation of the white metal, completely nullifies every advantage acquired by extended and free markets, as one example will show. Our shipments to China in 1890, when exchange averaged 5s. $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. aggregated £9,138,000, and ten years later (1899) when the tael only yielded $3\frac{1}{8}$, our exports for the year, remained the same, say £9,038,000, though possibly larger in bulk, notwithstanding that we have now a vastly greater field to supply. But if we convert these sterling shipments into Chinese currency, it will be found that merchandise of the same sterling value which cost 35,232,497 taels in 1890 now requires a payment of 60,046,186 taels, or an increase of 70 per cent.—an impost calculated to stunt any possible growth." These remarks are worthy of serious consideration.

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Mr. David Yule, of your city, has in more than one speech of his as Chairman of the Calcutta Bank referred to this evil effect of the artificially inflated Rupee. The opinion of so sound and level-headed a critic of the Government policy of currency demands consideration and is entitled to respect. But while this is the complaint of those who lay the principal cause of the depression of the tea and cotton industry principally at the door of recent currency legislation, I am not unaware of the arguments urged on the other side, namely, by those who refuse to accept that proposition. It is urged that much of the depression of which both tea-planters and cotton manufacturers complain has its origin in over-production and other causes. As far as the former are concerned a statement, prepared by Mr. George Seton, touching forty-five tea companies and their price has been published to demonstrate what little foundation there is for attributing the depression in the trade to the artificial Rupee. To me it seems that both causes have combined to bring it about. I cannot bring myself to the belief that the altered currency has rendered no injury whatever. The injury has been done though possibly not to the exaggerated extent alleged by the complainants. In the case of the Bombay cotton mills, it may be worth while inquiring, how much of the depression is owing to over-production, how much to improvident management, how much to heavy interest on a debt beyond the original capital outlay and how much to short time consequent on plague and famine. A careful survey of the earnings of Bombay cotton industry will show that the average profits do not go beyond 5 per cent., and a greater portion of the earnings of weaving mills is swept away by the excise duty brought into force by the currency nostrum. In the case of the planters, too, it may be enquired how much may be due to the currency nostrum, how much to the condition of the tea soils themselves, as Mr. Horace Mann observes, and how much to over-production. It will be thus seen, that the subject is an arguable one from both sides. That the producers and manufacturers have been hit cannot be gainsaid. The former, the bulk of whom are our impoverished agriculturists, are now paying a larger amount, into the State treasury by way of their land revenue in the shape of indirect taxation. For every Rupee now paid into the Treasury by the ryot represent, at least 30 per cent. more of the produce of his land. All other taxes are similarly raised, so too, all debts. Practically there is a sweeping transfer of property from the working millions who create the wealth and make the prosperity of the empire to the tax-eaters. But on the other hand it is observed that the producer in turn is benefited in his purchasing power by the same enhanced Rupee. The question is where lies the greater advantage—on the side of the State or the producer? Again, what about the silver ornaments of the masses? What are their losses to-day when silver is sold for Rs. 67 instead of 100 Rupees per 100 tolas? These are questions which have to be duly weighed. As I have just remarked the matter is perfectly arguable and could be well threshed out by a committee of really competent and disinterested experts. Meanwhile it may be noted that the coinage of over 14 crores of new Rupees last year for British India has completely exploded the fallacy of a former Finance Minister as to the "redundancy" of that coin. The stringency of the monetary market, from the date of the closure of the Mints till late, clearly demonstrated, apart from the factor of famine expenditure, that the redundancy argument was a romance of our currency doctrinaires. The Rupee is indispensable to millions of the population, and it is impossible that it can be driven out from the ordinary transactions of business people and the domestic economy of the masses, and so long as the huge amount of the coin in circulation remains unabsorbed by our new fangled currency, the policy of the Government can hardly be pronounced a success. With an increasing population an increasing number of Rupees will have still to be added to the existing circulation. What has happened in the case of Germany

as regards thalers, after the demonetisation of silver in 1873, is actually happening in India with regard to Rupees. For fully twenty-six years the German Government did its level best, by all kinds of makeshifts to drive away the thalers from circulation and substitute gold, but was repeatedly foiled. At last that Government has had to increase rather than diminish the coinage of thalers, owing principally to the fact that the people could not do without them and the demand per head of the population had greatly increased. Whether the demand in future in India will be larger per head may be questioned. It depends on the greater material prosperity of the people. But the growth of the population itself must oblige the Indian Government to coin at the very least at the rate of 4 crores per annum. Had they continued to coin at that rate during the last seven years, there should have been an additional circulation of 28 to 30 crores. But the panic-stricken short-sightedness which closed the Mints could not see its way to this coinage. Meanwhile, stringency during the busy season became chronic till the different Chambers of Commerce eventually compelled the Government to coin afresh. The fact conclusively demonstrated the fallacy of redundancy, and established the necessity of an annual coinage in proportion to the popular demand. We have already about 17 crores of additional circulation which has had the effect of allaying the stringency. But these facts inform us how far the State is behind in matters of finance and currency, and how its ignorance and stubbornness entail incalculable injury on all classes of the community, save the tax-eaters.

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MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Reverting to finances again, it is a matter of regret that military expenditure, against which the Congress from the very date of its inception has vigorously entered its protest, and against which your representatives as well as the Chairman of the British Committee made a strong fight before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, has undergone no diminution. I pointed out in my evidence before that body that but for the increased military expenditure which has steadily grown since the seizure of Upper Burmah and the Penjdeh scare, there might have arisen no necessity for additional taxation; and that the pretext of low exchange was utterly unfounded. The increased burden of exchange by reason of the fall in the value of silver, at which the Government was needlessly alarmed, could have been easily borne without a pie of additional taxation. The expenditure of 25 crores per annum against the former one of 16 has only been made practicable by this taxation. The question is whether there is any necessity for the large increase in the army which has been witnessed since 1886. The Government of India itself has been of opinion that it is not, and that India is made to maintain so large an army for British Imperial interests. In the latest despatch which was submitted by that authority itself to the Royal Commission it is observed:—(Para. 21 of Government of India Despatch of 25 March 1890, Appendix 45, Vol. II, Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure.)—“Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, on armaments and fortifications, to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies or to prevent the incursions of the warlike people of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all these great and costly measures reaches far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is an Imperial policy. We claim, therefore, that in the maintenance of the British forces in this country a just and even liberal view should be taken of the charges which should legitimately be made against Indian revenue. The people of India, who have no voice in the matter, should not be able to complain that an excessive military tribute is demanded from the revenues of this country, while, on her side, England, with whom rests the final decision, should be able to show that this settlement has been effected in a spirit of justice and consideration to India.”

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MINORITY OF THE ROYAL
COMMISSION ON INDIAN EXPENDITURE,

It is clear from the above extract that it is owing to the maintenance of British supremacy in the East that this army is maintained. Equity therefore demands that the British Treasury should bear all the expenses. What we have to incessantly urge on the Government and Parliament is the injustice of making India pay the piper while the British nation calls for the tune. No doubt, some relief has been given to Indian finances by carrying out the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission in reference to capitation grants. But we should never lose sight of the fact that the majority's recommendations under this head are of a flea-bite character and that they have ignored the larger question of the equitable apportionment of all military charges. We have to look, therefore, to the recommendations of the minority, who have made their report from the Indian point of view. The principle propounded is a very reasonable one and ought to commend itself to those who are anxious to see that there should be absolute financial equity in the matter of all England's relations with India. Since British Imperial requirements and British supervision are urged as absolutely essential, it is but fair that Great Britain should share equally with India all expenses of British agency, Civil and Military. As the minority report recommends: "The cost of all European agency, wherever employed, might be divided half and half between India and the Imperial Exchequer." The British tax-payer, would thus, equally with the Indian tax-payer, become interested in checking the excessive employment of costly imported agency and a useful spirit of inquiry would be aroused with reference to efficiency and economy of the Indian administration. The salary of the Secretary of State himself would thus come under purview, which would at least have this effect; that all the inflated optimism which is often aired at Budget debates and elsewhere in matters of Indian finance would find no place in that functionary's recitation. "On such a broad and equitable principle it is practicable, without even withdrawing a single European soldier, who, it is alleged, is needed for Imperial purposes in which England alone is interested, to agree to the recommendation of the minority that "the revenues of India should be relieved of their entire charges, and that they should be treated as part of the reserve forces of the Eastern portion of the British Empire generally, and borne in future upon the army estimates in that capacity." It should be remembered that since 1885-86 the Military expenditure has shown a growth of nearly 33 per cent. In other words, it may be said that the army expenditure absorbs the whole land revenue of the empire. It is the principal obstacle in the way of all other domestic reforms of vital importance to the welfare of the masses. The separation of judicial from executive functions hangs fire, though Mr. Stephen Jacob observed that the increased expenditure on this account will only cost half a crore per annum. Similarly with the crying reform in the administration of the Police, on which there is a universality of opinion. Again, there is the necessity of a liberal expenditure on education, on which the different Provincial Governments spend just one crore of rupees, which, to say the least, is miserable compared with the immense sums spent in Europe and America. To us all it is a matter of profound regret that the State expenditure on education is hardly commensurate with the reputation of the British for enlightened liberality.

ECONOMY IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

But, gentlemen, it is not necessary for me to say that expenditure depends on policy, and so long as the policy in this country is erroneous and calculated to promote Indian interests only in a secondary degree, it is not expected that we could have a

chance of reduction in the expenditure. Economy and efficiency are nowhere, though we, no doubt, hear of the Government constantly saying that economy is practised to a remarkable degree. It has to be remembered that this assertion emanates from the tax-eaters, who are aliens and masters of the situation. Indians have no voice in the expenditure and taxation of the country. Otherwise they may show how with a minimum of taxation, the maximum of economy and efficiency may be established. But there is the overweening conceit of the governing classes that we are an inferior race and hardly capable of carrying on the government, much less of steering State finance. Monopolists as they are, it is natural that they should view all Indian matters from their own selfish point of view. Hence they think that all monopoly of State wisdom and State finance is concentrated in them alone; and that we are no better than mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. In this connection, however, it may be most instructive at this juncture to quote from that famous letter which Turgot addressed to Louis XVI on 24th August 1774: "The question, Sire, will be asked incredulously, 'on what can we retrench'? and each one speaking for his own department will maintain that nearly every particular item of expense is indispensable. They will be able to allege very good reasons, but these must all yield to the absolute necessity of economy * * Your Majesty is aware that one of the greatest obstacles to economy is the multitude of demands by which you are constantly besieged. It is necessary, Sire, to consider whence comes to you this money which you are able to distribute among your courtiers, and to compare the misery of those from whom it has to be extracted (sometimes by the most rigorous methods) with the situation of the class of persons who push there claims on your liberality. * * It may reasonably be hoped, by the improvement of cultivation, by the suppression of abuses in the collection of the taxes, and by their more equitable assessment, that a substantial relief of the people can be attained without diminishing greatly the public revenue: but without economy being the first step all reforms are impossible. So long as finance shall be continually subject to the old expedients in order to provide for State services, your Majesty will always be dependent upon financiers, and they will ever be the *masters*, and by the manœuvres belonging to their office they will frustrate the most important operations. * * When you have recognised the justice and necessity of these principles, I implore you to maintain with firmness their execution, without allowing yourself to be dismayed by the clamours which are absolutely certain to arise on such matters whatever system we adopt, whatever line of conduct we pursue." It is to be hoped that those in the highest authority will bear constantly in mind these wise sayings of Turgot, between every line of which much has to be significantly read. Indian finance would then certainly undergo a vast change for the better. At present, it is neither here nor there: We are not even fortunate in having trained financiers with true grasp of the first principles of public finance at the head of our finances. But it would be well if those in power and responsibility not only bore in mind Turgot's memorable counsel to his King, but the sage declaration of the far-sighted and practical Sir Robert Peel on the same question. Speaking of Indian finance, he observed that it is "a superficial view of the relations of England with India," that there is no direct immediate connexion between the finances of India and those of England. "Depend upon it," observed that thoughtful Chancellor of the Exchequer, "if the credit of India should become disordered, if some great exertion should become necessary then the credit of England must be brought forward to its support, and the collateral and the indirect effect of disorders in Indian finances would be felt extensively in this country." I presume that not until such a financial catastrophe occurs that the responsible authorities in England and India will ever learn to practise economy in State expenditure.

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INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

This address would be incomplete without mention of another cognate topic, namely, the industrial development of the country. The subject is vast and demands not only a paper but a ponderous volume by itself. I can even hardly touch the fringe of this great problem, on the solution of which many a person and Government itself have been intent for sometime past. How to revive old industries, already extinct or on the verge of extinction, and to foster new ones—these are the two questions. The revival of the former may be most problematical for the simple reason that steam and electricity have entirely revolutionised arts and industries of the old fashioned type, which almost wholly depended on manual labour. The arts and industries of India, which flourished and prospered so well prior to the period which wrought the industrial evolution of Europe, and especially of the United Kingdom, were all attended to by manual labour, especially the finer class of cotton fabrics. So long as this country was on a par with Europe previous to the age of steam and mechanical science, it was no doubt able to hold its own. But it so happened that with the introduction of those two elements in the economy of the older Continent of the West, there was simultaneously wrought a change in India's political destinies. There was a change of rulers, who first came as traders, but stayed to remain as masters. The instinct of the shopkeeper was, of course, predominant; so, too, was that of self-interest, which, as moral philosophers say, is the motive of all action in the domestic economy of human affairs. Those instincts had a powerful influence on the industrial situation as it existed, say a century ago. With the aid of steam they were able to manufacture and import goods slowly, of course, at first, which could be undersold in competition with the handiwork of the Indian skilled artisan. Self-interest and supreme power combined. However, to accelerate the process, which ultimately had the economic effect of diminishing to a vast extent the indigenous manufactures. The early traders, who were also politicians and masters of the situation, killed the industries by means of tariffs at both extremes. Heavy import duties were levied in the United Kingdom, thanks to the influence of the East India Company with the British Government of the day, on many a goods and manufacture of India. There is ample evidence of the fact in the numerous petitions which Indians and non-official Englishmen, who were allowed to trade in the country, presented from time to time to Parliament and the King. These may be read in the voluminous reports of the several East India Parliamentary Committees which sat between 1813 and 1853. On the other hand, comparatively light duty was imposed on cotton manufactures and other articles imported into India. Thus it was that year after year, as steam helped new inventions, and successfully applied Science to practical use, Indian manual industries, which once flourished and brought home profits from foreign parts, languished till at last most of them became extinct. This is the net economic result to India of a century of the progress of science in the West. Whether India would have worked out its own industrial salvation in obedience to science, had it been left to be governed by its own native rulers, is a speculation on which it is not necessary to enter. Suffice to say that those who could not prosper by their handicraft, were necessarily driven to agriculture. Railways partially drove many more, who plied their trade as carriers, to the same industry. Thus it is that India is now almost an agricultural country. The hand of the dial was set back for a century. But a century of British rule and a century of practical science have wrought new ideals, one of which is the industrial regeneration of the country, without which it is impossible that wealth may be stimulated in a greater degree. It is universally admitted that if the disheartening phenomena now to be seen are at all to undergo a change for the better, if, in short, prosperity, is to be induced among the vast

masses of the population, the only solution is the development of industries and manufactures.

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How is that object to be achieved? The more we think on the subject the more we are driven to the conclusion that capital is the first essential. And where may capital be? Imagine, gentlemen, for a moment the following situation. Suppose that the English withdraw from the country bag and baggage, that is to say, that they withdraw all their capital and retire. What may be the condition of the trade and the people? And what may be the amount of capital left in the country? If, as I have already stated, there have been in operation for years past economic laws which are opposed to Nature, the net effects of which is the drain of the surplus national wealth, which ought to be laid out for greater progress in this country in industries and manufactures, to foreign parts, without any hope of return, is it possible that under the hypothetical event I have asked you to consider, there could be anything left by way of capital to work out our industrial regeneration? Thus what India is suffering from is want of capital, which at present is nowhere. What little there is, is undoubtedly of much use and is greatly prized. We feel all the better for it. Otherwise it is certain that the country would have been in a worse plight. As a proof of the extreme paucity of capital, you have only to refer to the "Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India" and the combined amount invested in cotton and jute mills and other industrial concerns, including tea plantations and coal mines. Deduct therefrom the sum of foreign capital and compare the residue with the capital of the rest of the commercial countries of the world. You will then have some definite notion of the immeasurable depth of India's poverty. And since economists tell us that industry is limited by capital, I have to ask you further whether any very serious hopes can be entertained of industrial regeneration, as you all earnestly wish, so long as this is the condition of affairs want of adequate capital? It has of late been pointed out how Japan fares, and how the Japanese have displayed remarkable industrial development. True. None can gainsay the fact. But it should be remembered that both China and Japan are independent nations, and that there is not that exhausting process going on in those two countries, of the annual abstraction of the national surplus of wealth to the extent of 30 to 40 crores, as has been the fact in India for half a century and over. You may send the most intellectual and practical of your countrymen to instruct themselves in the mechanical arts, industries, and manufactures of Europe, America and Japan; but of what avail will their knowledge and experience be if on their arrival private capital and private enterprise be not forthcoming or will not help them? As a matter of fact, I am one of those who think that the chill penury of the land has to a certain extent repressed even the mental faculty, though, no doubt, we have occasionally such trained men as Mr. Bose and others. It freezes the currents which ought to flow. The mournful truth must be acknowledged that slow rises the country which is depressed by poverty which has for its root political causes.

But having said so much, we should not despair. Be the causes of India's economic condition what they may, we are bound to put our shoulders to the wheel. It would not do to cry over the past. It is more manful to tuck up our sleeves, gird up our loins and work like heroes to regenerate our country by arts and industries, and raise it once more to a zenith of prosperity. There are undoubtedly formidable lions in our path, the foreign exploiters and the monopolists in place and power; but we need not be deterred by them. We cannot allow ourselves to lie in the Slough of Despond or take up a permanent residence in the Castle of Giant Despair. We have under existing conditions a double duty to discharge. Firstly, by our

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legitimate and reasonable agitation of a persistent character, to alter the economic policy of the Government, which has proved so fatal to our prosperity hitherto, and, secondly, to work out by all means in our power, to the last atom of our physical and mental energy, our own economic salvation. Increased means and increased leisure are the two prime levers necessary to achieve the object. But it is essential at first to have distinct and clear ideas on the subject. A variety of loose talk has been going forward for sometime past, and technical education is suggested or recommended as a panacea for industrial revival. But it is disappointing to get no satisfactory answer from those who talk of that education when we ask them to practically propound what they mean. For instance, when we ask them how even six per cent. of the agricultural population, say a crore, may be diverted to industrial occupation there is no rational reply. Hence I entreat you all, gentlemen, not to be carried away by the parrot cry of the reformer, be he Parliamentary or any other, who talks superficially of technical education without pointing out the practical means whereby even six per cent. of the masses can be weaned from agricultural pursuits. The question of technical education so glibly talked now is nothing new. It was originally mooted some twenty years since and one of the very first to draw up an elaborate and practical paper was Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji himself. It was as early as 1885 that he wrote that paper and submitted it to Lord Reay. The late Mr. Justice Telang had also said a great deal on the subject. But, gentlemen, do not be carried away by the catch phrase. Technical education which shall result in large and profitable industrial development signifies higher education, specially of Sciences. What has made Germany, which was poor a quarter of a century ago, so advanced, above all other countries on the Continent and brought it in the front rank of industrial and manufacturing nations? Why is it now surpassing England? The answer is that Germany has paid the greatest attention to the mechanical sciences. The country is a net work of laboratories. Are you prepared to have Technical schools of the highest grade as they have in Germany? Why those who talk fall about technical education are the very persons who decry higher education! It is idle to talk of mere small industries in carpentry and brick-making and so forth. If there is to be an industrial revival of a practical character which shall change the entire surface of this country you will have first to lay the foundation of teaching in the applied Sciences. You cannot have the cart before the horse. Higher education must precede industrial development. But let alone higher education. Where is even mass education in the humbler sort of industries? When not even five per cent. of the population is literate do you expect that there can be any industrial development without education, even assuming that capital be forthcoming? The subject is not so simple as is light-heartedly imagined. It is most difficult, and the best way of apprehending the difficulties is to ascertain the views of those who are most capable of advising on it. Many a vague idea is now floating in the air which requires to be definitely formulated, and many crude and ill-digested recommendations need to be put into the crucible of the practical with a view to being thoroughly tested before we can all agree upon a common basis on which a fair attempt at industrial development might be made. Let me request you also to remember the sage counsel of Mr. Morley—"that the interest of human progress is bound up with man's willingness to strive after ideals which seem to be attainable. The mere fact of striving exalts the character, disciplines and develops the faculties, and by gradual and almost imperceptible degrees approaches always more nearly to the goal." First and foremost, then let us be so far prepared by a close study and consideration of the question as to be able to equip ourselves with the ideals we wish for. That is the fundamental essential.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

First Day.

President's Address.

And now, gentlemen, I must bring this address, already lengthened out beyond what I wished and expected, to a close. You will pardon me if I have taxed your patience overmuch, and you will pardon me still more if I have left out of my purview many another important topics on which the Congress has been incessantly attracting the attention of the rulers, such as the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, the reform of the Police, of Excise and Forest laws, the question of juries, the further modification of the constitution of our Legislative Councils, which are still a solemn mockery, higher education, provincial finance and other equally important matters. But with a session limited to three days and with the orthodox hour and a-half for a Presidential address, it is not practical to do justice even to a tithe of the topics enumerated in the way they ought to be, despite all efforts at condensation. But I trust I have this time endeavoured, in pursuance of the general voice of our enlightened countrymen, to rivet your attention on such topics alone as are of absorbing interest at present. They are topics on which the attention of the Government is greatly concentrated. And if any Viceroy could listen to our prayers on these special subjects with the respect and attention that they deserve, I am sure you will agree with me that that Viceroy is Lord Curzon, whose zeal for the advancement of the general welfare of our people is beyond all praise and whose uniform sympathy and burning desire to hold the scales even and render us all that justice, on more than one matter, which is our due and for which we have been knocking at the door of Government these many years, are unquestionable. May it be the good fortune of his Lordship to render this country lasting good before he lays down his exalted office, and earn the gratitude of its people. The course of a wise and just Government in this matter is straight, be the opposition what it may. The Government has neither to look to the right nor to the left. It has one goal straight before it to reach. It has to discharge its duty by the people, how to promote their contentment and prosperity. I would repeat here what I stated in my Presidential address at the Belgaum Provincial Conference. It is needful, nay imperative, in order to stimulate the Government to action, to have the motive power of well-informed and disinterested public opinion. This can only be created by arousing the British people through the influence and instrumentality of Englishmen, sympathising with our aspiration as the British Congress Committee has been strenuously doing these few years, with an energy, capacity, and self-sacrifice, which are beyond all praise. It is needful to strengthen the hands of that Committee, extend its operations and enlarge the scope of its undoubted utility in this direction. For such a purpose heavy sacrifices will have to be made. For it would be absurd to attempt to achieve such an object without any sacrifice at all. Hence, I repeat, we shall never be able to bring the reforms we ask for within the range of practical politics till the English are sufficiently and correctly educated as regards our demands. We are at present in a transition state. We are passing from the old order of things to the new. But the process of transition, as history teaches us, is invariably beset with obstacles. Thus it is that the broad and liberal statesmanship which characterised British rule in India till late has been somewhat arrested. "Insane Imperialism," to use Mr. Morley's phrase, with its mischievous policy of retrogression and repression, is in the ascendant for the moment. But this policy of political insanity, I am firmly of conviction, must sooner or later give way to the former policy of sound liberalism, modified in conformity with the march of time and the irresistible logic of events. The policy should be constructive, having for its foundation the material and moral improvement of the masses. All else is doomed to failure. Indians have never been slow to recognise the benefits of British rule. But it would be unreasonable to ask them to sing eternally its praises and transform themselves into its

First Day.
President's Address.

unqualified panegyrists. No doubt we have a good Government, but it is not unmixed with many an evil. The desire is that the evil may be purged away, and that in the course of time we may have a better Government. So far we are not asking for the impossible. The impossible will be asked only, when as Mr. Lowell says, the reasonable and the practicable is denied. For it is only when the possible is made difficult that people fancy the impossible to be easy. I repeat, gentlemen, that the liberal statesmanship of the Nineteenth Century has infused a new life into us. It has made the national pulse to throb quicker. It has raised aspirations which can never be allayed till they are reasonably satisfied. I have enough faith in the virtue of time and in the stern sense of British Justice. Patiently we should await for the fruition of those efforts which the national party all over the country have been putting forth these many years. Time, as the poet says, is the artificer of all nations. It is only when our demands are fairly fulfilled that the existing dissatisfaction generally prevailing will cease. Then alone will contentment on the foundation of which alone rests the permanence of British rule prevail. There is a providence watching the destinies of this hapless and helpless country. May that Providence inspire its rulers with wisdom, justice and sympathy to add another but brighter and purer page to the history of India. In the burning words of the eloquent Macaulay, let it record in the maturity of time that the British found a nation sunk in the lowest depths of degradation, ignorance and superstition, and raised it to the highest pinnacle of freedom and civilisation which it was in their power to confer. (Prolonged cheers.)

Election of a Subjects Committee.

The President,—The next duty I have to do is to call upon you to appoint your Subjects Committee. I ask the delegates of the different provinces to send up on this table the list of their representatives to the Subjects Committee.

Mr. J. Ghosal then read out the names of the members of the Subjects Committee, who with a few additions having been elected by the Congress the meeting was adjourned to the next day.

The following are the names of the members of the Subjects Committee and the Congress Circles they represent.

EX-OFFICIO	1	W. C. BONNERJEE ESQ.,	Councillor.
	2	THE HON'BLE MR. P. A. CHARLU, Roy Bahadur...	do.
	3	" " " P. M. MEHTA	do.
	4	D. E. WACHA ESQ.,	President.
	5	MOHARAJAH JAGADINDRA NATH ROY, Bahadur	Chairman R. Committee.
	6	J. GHOSAL ESQ.,	Secretary R. Committee.
	7	BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE	do.
CALCUTTA	1	J. CHOWDHURY ESQ.,	Calcutta.
	2	K. B. DUTT ESQ.,	do.
	3	BABU BAIKANTHA NATH SEN	do.
	4	" AMBICA CHARAN MOZUMDAR	do.
	5	DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSE	do.
	6	RAJA BENOY KRISNA DEV BAHADUR	do.
	7	K. S. BONNERJEE ESQ.,	do.
	8	LAL MOHUN GHOSE ESQ.,	do.
	9	BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE	do.
	10	A. M. BOSE ESQ.,	do.
	11	BABU KALI GHARAN BANERJEE	do.
	12	" SARODA CHARAN MITTER	do.
	13	SALIGUAM SINGHA ESQ.,	do.
	14	S. P. SINGH ESQ.,	do.
	15	A. CHOWDHURY ESQ.,	do.

CALCUTTA	...	16	BABU BASANTA KUMAR BOSE	...	...	Calcutta.
		17	" NALIN BEHARY SIRCAR	...	...	do.
		18	" MUTTY LAL GHOSE	...	...	do.
		19	" NARENDRA NATH SEN	...	...	do.
		20	DR. NILRATUN SIRCAR	...	...	do.
		21	BABU JOGENDRA CHANDER GHOSE	...	...	do.
		22	R. D. MEHTA ESQ.,	...	...	do.
		23	BABU ATUL CHANDER GHOSE	...	...	do.
		24	" DWIJENDRA NATH BOSE	...	...	do.
		25	DR. S. P. SARVADHICARY	...	...	do.
		26	R. G. KER ESQ.,	...	...	do.
		27	P. N. GHOSE ESQ.,	...	...	do.
		28	BABU GOBINDA CHANDER DAS	...	...	do.
		29	" AKHOY COOMAR BOSE	...	...	do.
		30	" HIRENDRA NATH DUTT	...	...	do.
		31	" PRITHWIS CHUNDER ROY	...	...	do.
		32	" CHARU CHUNDER GHOSE	...	...	do.
		33	DR. J. N. GHOSE	...	...	do.
		1	BABU CHARU CHUNDER GHOSE	...	...	24-Pergunnahs.
		2	" JOTINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY	...	...	do.
		3	" LOLIT MOHUN GHOSAL	...	...	do.
		1	" BISHNU PADA CHATTERJEE	...	...	Hughly.
		2	" KISHORI LAL GOSWAMI	...	...	do.
		3	MOULVIE MAZHAN-UL ANWAR	...	...	do.
		1	BABU MOHINI MOHUN MITTER	...	...	Burdwan.
		2	RAY NALINAKHYA BOSE, Bahadur	...	...	do.
		3	ABUL KASIM ESQ.,	...	...	do.
		4	BABU PANCHKARI BANERJEE	...	...	do.
		5	" SARAT CHUNDER BOSE	...	...	do.
		6	ABDUL KHALEK ESQ.,	...	...	do.
		1	BABU PROMOTHA NATH CHATTERJEE	...	...	Birbhum.
		2	" NOBIN CHANDER BANERJEE	...	...	do.
		3	" KRISNA NATH MUKERJEE	...	...	do.
		1	" RAGHU NATH DAS	...	...	Midnapore.
		2	" PEARY LAL GHOSE	...	...	do.
		3	" HARADHAN CHOWDHURY	...	...	do.
		4	" NARAYAN CHANDER SIRKAR	...	...	do.
		5	" BEPIN BEHARY SASMUL	...	...	do.
		1	B. PALCHOWDHURY ESQ.,	...	...	Nadia.
		2	BABU TARAPADO BANERJEE	...	...	do.
		3	" HARI PROSAD CHATTERJEE	...	...	do.
		1	" JADU NATH MUZUMDAR	...	...	Jessore.
		2	" HEMENDRA PROSAD GHOSE	...	...	do.
		3	" MOHENDRA NATH SEN	...	...	do.
		4	" AKHOY KUMAR MITTER	...	...	do.
		1	" NOGENDRA NATH SEN	...	...	Khulna.
		2	" BENI BHUSAN ROY	...	...	do.
		1	DR. GOLAP BEZBARUA	...	...	Assam.
		2	BABU KAMINI CHUNDER CHUNDER	...	...	do.
		3	" BASANTA KUMAR CHOWDHURI	...	...	do.
		4	" HARI PROSAD NATH...	...	...	do.
		5	" BEPIN CHANDER PAL	...	...	do.
		1	" HEMENDRA NATH SEN	...	...	Murshidabad.
		2	" NIKHIL NATH ROY	...	...	do.
		3	" NAFAR CHANDER ROY	...	...	do.
		4	" SRISH CHANDER SARVADHIKARI	...	...	do.
DACCA	...	1	" MOHENDRA KUMAR GHOSE	Dacca.
		2	UMA KANTA NANDI ESQ.,	do.
		3	BABU SARAT CHANDER CHAKRABARTY	do.

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Election of a Subjects
Committee.

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Committee.

DACOA	...	1	BABU NOGENDRA NATH ACHARJEE	...	Mymensing.	
		2	" BROJO NATH BISWAS	...	do.	
		1	" KALI PROSONNA SIRKAR	...	Furridpur.	
		2	KAVIRAJ JOGENDRA NATH SEN	...	do.	
		3	BABU MATHURA NATH MOITRA	...	do.	
		4	CHOWDHARY ALIOZZUMAN ESQ.,	...	do.	
		5	BABU KULA CHANDER ROY	...	do.	
		1	" PROSONNA KUMAR ROY	...	Chittagong.	
		2	" NAGENDRA KUMAR ROY	...	do.	
		1	" RAJONI NATH NUNDY	...	Comilla.	
		2	" KOYLASH CHANDER DAS	...	do.	
		1	" RAJONI KANTA DAS ...	...	Barisal.
		2	" PREO NATH GUHA ...	...	do.
		3	" NIBARAN CHANDER DAS	...	do.	
		4	" HARA NATH GHOSE	...	do.	
	RAJSHAHI	...	1	BABU MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRABARTTY	...	Pubna.
			2	" UMA GOTI ROY	...	do.
			1	" KISHORI MOHAN CHOWDHURI	...	Rampore Boalia.
	BEHAR	...	1	" BISWA NATH MITTER	...	Mozafferpore.
		2	" RAMENDRA NATH MOKERJEE	...	do.	
		3	" GAJADHAR PROSAD SAHU	...	do.	
		4	" PARMESWAR NATH MAHTA	...	do.	
		1	NANDA KISSORE LALL ESQ.,	...	Gya.	
		2	Dr. SARAT MULLICK,	...	do.	
BHAGALPORE	...	1	BABU SURESH CHANDER ROY.	...	Bhagalpore.	
		2	" RASH BEHARY MANDAL	...	do.	
		3	" CHARU CHUNDER BOSE	...	do.	
		4	SURJA PROSAD ESQ.,	...	do.	
CHOTANAGPORE	1	1	BABU SAKTI CANTA BHATTACHARJEE	...	Hazaribag.	
		2	MONORANJAN GUHA ESQ.,	...	do.	
		1	BABU JOY KALI DUTT	...	Ranchi.	
		1	" RAJONI KANTA SIRKAR	...	Manbhum.	
		2	" SARAT CHUNDER SEN	...	do.	
BOMBAY	...	1	THE HON'BLE MR. P. M. MEHTA	...	Bombay.	
		2	" " " H. S. DIXIT	...	do.	
		3	" " " L. B. JOGLEKAR	...	do.	
		4	NAROTTUM MORARJEE ESQ.,	...	do.	
		5	N. M. SAMARATH ESQ.,	...	do.	
		6	THE HON'BLE MR. D. A. KHARE	...	do.	
		7	CHIMAN LAL SITALWAD ESQ.,	...	do.	
		8	J. A. WADIA ESQ.,	...	do.	
		9	B. N. BHAJEKAR ESQ.,	...	do.	
		10	V. K. RANADE ESQ.,	...	do.	
		11	KAMA ESQ.,	...	do.	
		12	TAHILRAM KHEM CHAND ESQ.,	...	do.	
		13	HAR CHANDER KISANDAS ESQ.,	...	do.	
GUZERAT	...	1	THE HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE	...	Poona.	
		2	B. G. TILAK ESQ.,	...	do.	
GUZERAT	...	1	JOSEPH BENJAMIN ESQ.,	...	Guzerat.	
		2	THAKURLAL H. DESAI ESQ.,	...	do.	
CENTRAL VINCES.	...	1	H. S. GOUR ESQ.,	...	Raipore.	
		2	RAJI GOVIND ESQ.,	...	do.	
		3	G. P. DOBE ESQ.,	...	do.	
		4	D. N. CHOWDHURY ESQ.,	...	do.	
		5	MR. RAGHURAM SITARAM DIKHIT RAO Bahadur	...	do.	

MADRAS	...	1	S. HANUMANTA RAO ESQ.,	...	Masalipatam.
		2	A. RAMIAH GARU ESQ.,	...	Gunter.
		3	THE HON'BLE P. ANAND CHARLU	...	Madras.
		4	C. VIJYA RAGHABA CHARIER ESQ.,	...	Salem.
		5	D. WILSON ESQ.,	...	Madras.
		6	V. SREERAM MOORTHY CHETHIER ESQ.,	...	do.
		7	THE HON'BLE MR. G. SREENIVASA RAO	...	do.
		8	G. SUBRAMANIA IYER ESQ.,	...	do.
		9	T. ADINARAYAN CHETHIAR ESQ.,	...	do.
		10	T. A. SUTHARAM IYER ESQ.,	...	do.
		11	V. RYAR NAMBIAR ESQ.,	...	do.
		12	P. N. RAMAN PILLAY ESQ.,	...	do.
		13	P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER ESQ.,	...	do.
		14	K. VENKATO RAO ESQ.,	...	Bellary.
		15	N. SRINIVAS VARDACHARY ESQ.,	...	Chittoor.
		16	S. PALARI ANDI MUDALIAR ESQ.,	...	Tinnevely.
		17	M. G. AROGIASWAMI PILLAY ESQ.,	...	Coimbatore.
		18	S. SRINIVAS IYER ESQ.,	...	do.
		19	C. CHINTAMONI ESQ.,	...	do.
		20	G. RAGHAVRAO PANTALU GURU ESQ.,	...	Ganjam.
		21	M. V. CHALAPATE RAO PANTALU GURU ESQ.,	...	do.
		22	P. VENCATA PATE RAJA GARU ESQ.,	...	Vizagapatam.
		23	G. VENCATARATNAM PENTALU ESQ.,	...	Godavari.
		24	K. VENCATAREDDI NAIDU GURU ESQ.,	...	do.
		25	V. BHOWAN CHRI GARU ESQ.,	...	Kistna.
		26	N. K. RAMASAMI AIYA ESQ.,	...	North Arcot.
		27	N. SRINIVASA VARDHA CHARY ESQ.,	...	do.
BERAR	...	1	RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR ESQ.,	...	Berar.
		2	L. C. BAPAT ESQ.,	...	do.
		3	S. M. DEO ESQ.,	...	do.
OUDH	...	1	GANGA PERSAD VERMA ESQ.,	...	Oudh.
		2	BABU BEPIN BEHARY BOSE	...	do.
		3	RAI GOKUL CHAND BAHADUR	...	do.
		4	RAI RAM SARAN DAS BAHADUR	...	do.
		5	PUNDIT GOKORNA NATH MISKA	...	do.
		6	PUNDIT SHEO BEHARI LAL MISRA	...	do.
N.-W. P.	...	1	PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA	...	Allahabad.
		2	CAPTAIN A. T. BANON	...	do.
		3	A. NUNDY ESQ.,	...	Gorakpore.
		4	S. SINHA ESQ.,	...	Allahabad.
		5	T. N. BANERJEE ESQ.,	...	Cawnpore.
		6	PROHLAD SINGH ESQ.,	...	Meerut.
		7	JUGUL KISSORE ESQ.,	...	Benares.
		8	SHYAM SUNDER DAS ESQ.,	...	do.
		9	MUNSHI NARAYAN PROSAD ASTHANA	...	Agra.
PUNJAB	...	1	SHEIKH UMAR BUKSH ESQ.,	...	Lahore.
		2	LALA LAJPAT RAI	...	do.
		3	LALA DWARKA DAS	...	do.
		4	SIRDAR JOADHA SINGH	...	do.
		5	DUNI CHAND ESQ.,	...	do.
		6	HAR KISHAN LAL ESQ.,	...	do.

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Election of a Subjects
Committee.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, 27th December, 1901.

Second Day.

The Congress re-assembled at 11-30 A. M.

The President,—Mr. Ghosal will read to you the rules regarding the conduct of the proceedings.

MR. J. GHOSAL said—

BROTHER DELEGATES:—You are aware that we have a large amount of work to go through within a limited time and unless we adopt some rules for our guidance and act according to them it would be impossible to finish our work in due time. For this reason the members of the Reception Committee have prepared certain rules which I am going to place before you. If you adopt them now and observe them throughout the proceedings you will not only save much time but our deliberations will be carried on smoothly and every delegate will find an opportunity of expressing his views. I am now going to read out the rules and hope you will kindly hear them attentively, so that you may be able to bear them in mind.

Mr. Ghosal then read out the rules which were adopted by the assembly.

The President,—Gentlemen, I now read the first resolution which is put from the chair.

The President then read the resolution (a) That this Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Her Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria and its sense of the irreparable loss which the Empire has sustained thereby. This Congress recalls with gratitude Her late Majesty's deep personal sympathy with the people of India as evidenced by Her Gracious Proclamation and by various other measures and personal acts conceived in the same spirit of anxious solicitude for the welfare of the people of India.

The President,—Gentlemen, I hope you will vote this resolution in solemn silence.

The resolution was put and was carried in solemn silence.

The President then read the second part of the resolution.

(b) This Congress tenders its respectful homage to His Gracious Majesty, King Edward VII., and under His Majesty's beneficent reign hopefully looks forward to the strengthening of free institutions, the expansion of popular rights and the gradual but complete redemption of the promises contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation.

It was put and carried unanimously.

The President,—I have another proposition also to put from the chair,—“This Congress desires to record its deep sense of regret at the great loss which the country has sustained by the untimely death of the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade.”

The proposition was put and carried unanimously.

The President then called upon Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee to read two letters.

Resolution I.

The Late Queen
Empress.

King Emperor.

The Late Mr. Justice
Ranade.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee,—With the permission of the President I will read the two letters. An extract from the letter which I have received from Moulvi Khoda Bux Khan Bahadur, late Chief Justice of Hyderabad, and one of the prominent leaders of public opinion of Patna, Vice-President of the Reception Committee. This is what he writes, "You are at liberty to declare this in a meeting that I most sincerely support the Congress and its views, and I am always ready to do any service that lies in my power to support the interest of the august body." That comes from one of the leaders of the public opinion of Patna which is one of the great centres of the Mahomedan public opinion in Bengal.

Second Day.

Resolution I.

Moulvi Khoda Bux's
Letter.

Then Sir, I will read to you a letter which is addressed to you by Mr. Caine.

Dec. 1.

Dear Mr. President, will you be kind enough to convey to the Indian National Congress in full assembly my warm and heart-felt good wishes for a brilliant and successful session under your distinguished leadership.

Mr. Caine's Letter.

The steady and intelligent criticism of a Government like that of India into which the democratic spirit of the age has so far failed to penetrate, is of vital importance to the members of that Government, and there can be no doubt that year by year since the birth of the Indian National Congress the administration, from the Viceroy to the humblest Civil Servant, has learned more and more to appreciate the true value of the independent discussion of its policy by such representative body as that over which you preside.

It has always been my habit in politics to take rather a cheerful and optimistic view of National progress, but it is hard indeed to maintain that attitude in view of the chronic, obstinate, and, I fear, steadily increasing poverty of the great mass of the people of India rendered worse by the equally steady increase of administrative expenditure.

Revolutionary methods of reform, possible and practicable in purely democratic Government like that of the United Kingdom or the United States of America, are absolutely unsuited and impossible in a country like India; reformers there must rest content with constant and unyielding pressure on the Government for such reforms in expenditure and economics in administration as will enable the Government to obtain funds for improving the social and material welfare of the people at large.

Of the many possible economics two stand out boldly in front of all others,—decrease in military expenditure, and the wider employment of natives of India in the higher administrative departments of the State. I am convinced that it would be possible wisely and quite safely, to dispense altogether with 25,000 British troops realising some millions of pounds sterling for famine prevention expenditure. I confidently expect that the Congress will pass a very clear resolution demanding this important reform, which I intend to bring forward as an amendment to the King's speech next month.

The political horizon here looks brighter for the liberal party, that party whence alone can come those reforms which the Indian National Congress justly demands. The divisions which exist in that party are grossly exaggerated by the two or three persons who cause them, and by the Tory press which naturally encourages them. Every Liberal Association in the United Kingdom supports heartily the leadership of Sir Henry Cambel-Bannerman who is now conducting a campaign throughout the country with an enthusiastic support of the Liberal Party electors everywhere, only comparable to that evoked by Mr. Gladstone. The country is weary of this miserable and ineffective war and of the Government which, having produced it, is unable to finish it. The

Second Day.
Resolution I.
Mr. Caine's Letter.

time is coming when the country will demand and obtain a liberal and progressive administration; when it arrives, that will be the opportunity for which the Congress would be ready. To that end, the education of the British electorate in the justice of Congress demands, should be vigorously and persistently pressed, and its agencies in this country should be intelligently and generously maintained.

Nothing in the way of Congress reform is likely to come from the present administration which is helplessly stale and moribund. Those few of us, however, like Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Schwann and myself who are convinced Indian reformers on general "Congress" lines will keep pegging away on every opportunity and our services in Parliament are always at the call of its executive.

I pray that God may guide you in your deliberations and resolutions, and that the first Congress in the Twentieth Century under your distinguished and patriotic presidency may be the threshold of change for the better prosperity of the Indian people.

Believe me, Dear Mr. President, Yours in the service of India,

W. S. Caine. (Enthusiastic Cheers).

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who on rising was received with a loud applause, in proposing the 2nd Resolution said :—

Resolution II.
The London Committee.

Mr. President and Brother delegates :—The Resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows :—

(a) That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the journal *India* as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme :—

(b) That a circulation of 4000 copies of *India* be secured by allocating 1500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North-Western Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1000 copies to Bombay, the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.

(c) That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of *India* assigned to their respective circles: and the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments :—

BENGAL	...	{	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee. " Bhupendra Nath Basu, " Baikunta Nath Sen.
BOMBAY	...	{	Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta. Mr. D. E. Wacha. Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
MADRAS	...	{	Hon'ble Mr. Srinibas Rao. Mr. Vijay Raghava Chariar. " V. Ryrnambier. " G. Subramaniya Iyer.
BERAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.			Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.

N.-W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.	}	Mr. M. M. Malavya.
		„ Ganga Prosad Varma.
		„ S. Sinha.
		„ A. Nundy.
CAWNPORE	...	Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.
PUNJAB	...	Lala Harakissen Lal.

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(d) That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of *India* and the British Committee a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902.

Gentlemen, it is a very long resolution, I have read it to you, it is a most important one so far as the Congress work is concerned. We are told by our candid friends that the Congress movement is losing ground, that there is not that enthusiasm for the movement as there used to be in former times and that it is necessary that some new departure should be made in order to make the Congress as popular as it used to be and more popular still (*Cheers*). I see these croakings in some of the so-called supporters of the Congress. But when I come among my brother delegates all these croakings seem to disappear as the mist disappears when the sun rises (*Cheers*). No enthusiasm for the Congress! What is this meeting? What is the meaning of this meeting here for? I remember when the first Congress was held in Bombay. There was not more than a hundred of us there. Now what do you see? Thousands of delegates come from different parts of the country coming here at their own expense (*Cheers*) with no end of their troubles. What animates and actuates them is the love of their country (*Hear, hear and cheers*). I saw only this morning an article in a paper which said that the Government looked upon the Congress with contempt. Contempt gentlemen! Are the Government officials idiots and fools? Are they not statesmen? Is it possible for a statesman to look with contempt upon a vast majority of the subjects assembled, as you are here? (*Hear, hear*). Contempt? No. The Government officials, the Government statesmen scan every word that we say and read every resolution that we pass. They do not treat us with contempt, but pay attention to what we say and carry out as much as their policy will allow them to do what we recommend. Let us for ever banish from our hearts the thought that the Congress movement is not being taken up by the country now as it used to be.

This movement will be carried on, and on and on by those that are living now and by those who will come in future, and that it will be carried on until the full measure of success it demands and deserves, is achieved by it. One of the reasons or rather one of the methods by which it is possible for us to achieve success is by acquainting the people of the United Kingdom with what we are feeling and saying and what it is necessary we should have in order that national existence should not be jeopardised and imperilled. We can not go to London, we must have some agent there and what better agents we can possibly have there than those men who have devoted the best years of their lives to the cause of the country, who have worked for years and one of whom, being one of ourselves, is passing the last years of his life in England separated from his countrymen, separated from his kith and kin, devoting his life to the cause of our mother-country (*Hear, hear and cheers*). What better men you can possibly expect to be our representatives than Sir W. Wedderburn (*Cheers*), Mr. A. O. Hume (*Cheers*), and last but not the least Mr. Naorojee (*Applause*)? Now we have other friends in England but they are friends only, but not our fellow-workers. It is fellow-workers whom we want and therefore for

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these reasons this resolution says that the British Committee should be maintained as at present constituted. The committee cannot run about, they can only sit together and devise plans for ventilating Congress propaganda in England. In order to be able to do so they want a Journal. This Journal "India" was established many years ago as a monthly Journal. It has since become a weekly Journal, and it is essentially necessary, for the success of our cause that this Journal should be maintained and continued. For this purpose we must have money; and this scheme I place before you is the one that has struck us to be the best under the circumstances. It will have a year's trial; if at the end of the year we find that the scheme has not worked well we can hit upon a better scheme. Of course we shall adopt that better scheme. But in the absence of that scheme we put before you this scheme. And I ask you to support it, because upon it will depend truly, believe me, the success of our cause as a National Assembly.

One word more and I have done. There is a complaint made at times that the older men in the Congress cause do not show themselves as often amongst their countrymen as they ought to do. I fully admit the justice of the charge. But gentlemen; remember that men who guided and led you years ago are getting old. The old age has its privileges as well as its disadvantages. And one of the disadvantages from which your early older leaders are suffering is that they are not able to come amongst you as often as they like to do. I trust that you will all have patience with them and support them and help them, and your support and help are necessary for the country's cause. (*Loud cheers*).

The Honourable Mr. P. M. Mehta who rose amidst loud cheers, in seconding the Resolution made a very beautiful and a most eloquent speech. It is a matter of great regret such a speech cannot be published as its revised copy has not been received back from the speaker.

Mr. Ananda Charlu in supporting the 2nd resolution said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I support the proposition before you. Two old members of the Congress party have already addressed you. I am slightly older than both of them, (*Cheers*) and I have been connected with the Congress from its very birth, I may, therefore, claim some indulgence. They have spoken with an authority derived from a personal grasp of the situation at the scene where our British Committee has to work and has had to work. If I cannot for that reason speak with their authority, I can think with their earnestness. (*Hear, hear.*) They have practically told you all that need be said and have left little unsaid. But there are many—I hope, not very many—with whom sentiment or personality does not count for much though to me it is regrettable that such should be the case.

To these I shall say just a very few words. I shall, for this purpose, eliminate the personal element from the case and present it solely on the ground of an enlightened regard for our own interests. Indeed, I may safely go the length of saying that I shall put the case, purely and plainly, from the ordinary, humdrum selfish points of view.

Let me begin with stating a fact or two, which are too stubborn to be denied. It is a stubborn fact—say what others may—that the Congress, as an institution, has stood firm and unshaken all these years. It is also a stubborn fact that the sum of its achievements is such as one can reasonably expect during that period of time. (*Hear, hear.*)

It is, therefore, bound to stand firm and unshaken in future as well. Not only should it stand, but it is desirable that it should expand its usefulness with time.

Its expansion is virtually in our hands. The larger half of the work in that regard lies and has to be accomplished in the British Isles. Now it is fortunate that we have not to purchase a London agency or pay heavily for an organisation for the purpose. There are men, good and true, who have, out of their own genuine free will, given us sympathy out of their innate generosity and magnanimity. (*Hear, hear.*) They have enjoyed and are entitled to enjoy our fullest trust. To withhold unstinted trust from them is to be false to our own interests and our good sense as well. It therefore, goes without saying that those good and true men are to be *prima facie* the best judges of the machinery or the apparatus to be employed or devised for advancing our cause as such machinery or apparatus depends, in the main, on local conditions of which we out here, can have but a defective or an extremely inadequate conception.

As we implicitly trust in them as we leave them free in adding to their members so are we bound to leave to their collective wisdom the choice of the means and methods of work, suitable to the situation, they have to grapple with. This, in my humble judgment, is our primary and *prima facie* duty. Be it noted that our friends in England claim no infallibility; nor do I claim any for them. Let us forward for their best consideration, our suggestions, on the score of economy and on the score of improvement in their methods and means, to the best of our lights. But we must for all that give them a free hand to decide which of our suggestions and how much of our suggestions they may judge fit to give effect to. This much is surely due from us if we are to be worthy of their generous and spontaneous exertions. Let us—let me repeat—not hesitate to press our suggestions on them. I go further and wish that we should make it a point to do so periodically and intelligently and even forcibly. But let us be equally ready to give them credit for doing their best for us and to accept their final verdict on the views we urge upon them: for what motive have they—generous, self-sacrificing souls that they are—what motive have they to muddle our affairs or squander our hardearned money? Let us, then, make up our minds, once for all, that it shall be the first postulate of the Congress Euclid that an efficient British Congress Committee shall exist. (*Hear, hear.*) Let it be our second postulate that our British Committee shall be the final arbiters upon the question of the machinery and the methods to be employed in the science of their operations. Let our third and last postulate be that the cost of such machinery and methods shall be wholly, unreservedly, ungrudgingly met from our pockets, be they ever so impoverished.

We are fortunate and shall, I think, continue to be fortunate in securing unselfish English friends to serve on the Committee. They give and will give their generous sympathy and active, unpaid service. It would be a grievous wrong and a shame that, besides their lively sympathy, their untiring energy and their generous effort, they should be asked or expected to give us their money as well. Let us realise and shun the double peril—the peril of alienating our present friends and the peril of cooling the ardour of other generous souls to befriend us. Let us, in a word, face the question, divested of all sentiment and personality, and viewed mainly if not solely from a selfish point of view; and say whether we shall pay for our own good and deserve generous treatment or be ashamed of ourselves. (*Loud cheers.*)

Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia supported the 2nd resolution and said,—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, I think it is perfectly superfluous on my part to support the resolution which has been so ably moved, seconded and supported by the three past Presidents of the Congress, and which, so far as I can see, in the way in which it is received, has already commended itself to your hearty acceptance. Gentlemen, if I still come here at the call of the chair, to add a few

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words of earnest request to you, it is only because, I feel that the circumstance is one, where earnest request may be made to you to enable you to look upon this question not merely from the sentimental but also from the keenly selfish point of view. Gentlemen, let us put aside all considerations of gratitude, let us put aside all considerations of sentiment, all considerations of loyalty to our leaders. Place before yourselves one simple plain question,—Do you or do you not need this organisation? Do you or do you not need this organ to be your mouth-piece, to be your organ, of the views for which you assemble from year to year to express in the Indian National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, we might take a profitable lesson from the banking people and from the trades-people. We may take one important lesson in this respect from the individual who has any interest to promote, in another country. He wants an agency there, he spends money lavishly to secure a best agent he can. Here we are carrying on a vast agitation, endeavouring to serve the interest of the numerous millions of our country, endeavouring to effect the policy of the Govt. both in this country and in England. How on earth can you expect to prosper in your endeavour unless you have an accredited representative society to represent you, to watch over your interest at the place where the destinies of the people of the country are shaped. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, I say, but look at it from absolutely selfish point of view. I ask you one single question,—what sum, what fabulous sum, could you offer to purchase permanently—for the Congress the services of an Allen Hume, and of a William Wedderburn and of a Dadabhai Naoraji? Services which have been given to you lovingly and ungrudgingly from year's end to year's end. Now all that you have to do is to relieve those good and great friends of the country, of the constant wear and anxiety which they feel from want of punctual remittance of money on account of the British Committee. All that you are wanted to do is to relieve their minds free from that difficulty and let them work for the success of those schemes,—for the regeneration of your countrymen, which they have so much at heart. Gentlemen, I say look at it from that point of view. I have no doubt you will consider it to be your duty in your own self interest apart from all considerations, to give the proposal your heartiest support. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, put aside all considerations of gratitude, These considerations we might reserve for higher purposes, for higher reflections, than reflections in connection with maintaining a paper which is the organ of the Congress party. I submit, gentlemen, that in this connection you have merely to consider whether you can do without the organ, without the representative Committee? and if you cannot, then what is the best way of keeping this organ? I am perfectly aware—I myself was one of the Committee which met at Allahabad,—of the complaint with regard to "India" which had been agitated on that occasion. I am perfectly aware also, that there are many friends, well-meaning, honest well-wishers of the country and some Anglo-Indian Officials who are real friends of the Congress have expressed their dissatisfaction in the way in which "India" is sometimes edited. Gentlemen, is this a reason of doing away with "India" or to improve it? You have perfect right to make your representation to the Committee, you have a perfect right to make your contribution in the form you think best to improve the Paper. You have in your power to make it really a Paper of usefulness in this country. Now gentlemen, all that is now for us is that a large number of our people should subscribe the Paper, and then gentlemen, you will have no more anxiety for supplying funds to the British Committee, and I think this at least may be expected of us. Gentlemen, all those senior friends, all those past Presidents who have spoken on this occasion, referred to the complaint that has been made from time to time that the older leaders of the Congress are not as much in confidence as they used to be. Gentlemen, that complaint will claim

but little grace from us younger men. I ask you in this vast assembly to name one young Indian however a bright, confident, earnest patriot he may be,—I ask you to name one single individual who can be compared with our grand old man Dadabhai Naoroji in the energy, in the devotion, which he still brings to bear upon the great cause of this country. I ask you again to name one who, while blessed with youth and vigour, is able to continue his continual devotion and his attention to the cause of the country as much as Mr. Allen Hume has been devoting even in his illness. (*Hear, hear.*) I ask you again to name a gentleman who bearing the blame which his own country has heaped upon him, to bear the expenses which has involved upon him, has been working in Parliament and out of Parliament incessantly for the good of this country,—which after all is not his own country but only a country on which he has given his affection, than Sir William Wedderburn (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, coming to other senior leaders, respected and honoured leaders of the Congress, where are the men who have paid as much attendance, as much money in the Congress fund as these respected and revered leaders here you see on the platform? (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, the way to the Congress is to show them that you are doing your duty at least as valiently, as nobly as they did it in their own time. Gentlemen, if we do this I have not the least doubt about the continuity, about the healthy existence of the Indian National Congress. This is the 17th session. It will continue to meet year after year, and it will continue to do good work in increasing measure. (*Hear, hear.*) All that is wanted is that we should, while we attend the Congress, while we are in the sacred pandel, appreciate properly and take wisely to heart the great duty that lies upon each and everyone of us.

Gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance, and I hope that, Sir, this time, you will not merely pass this resolution but take measures that you will carry it out even to the letters (*Loud cheers*).

Mr. Chistie in supporting the 2nd resolution said,—Mr. President and Gentlemen,—After the eloquent speeches you have heard from such eloquent gentlemen on this platform, I think it will be superfluous for me to give a long speech and I think, as the programme for the Congress is longer, we must be brief in our speeches. So, I would only say that on behalf of the gentlemen of the Panjab, I most sincerely beg to support the resolution. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, of course there have been some remarks about the enthusiasm of the Congressmen, and I may be allowed to say that I concur with the remark made by my friend Pandit Madan Mohon Malavia, that new generation, new men, should follow the footstep of those gentlemen who have grown old working for the Congress cause. (*Hear, hear.*) Here I must only say that the Congress, as it stands, has the greatest stamp-mark of the modern progress and if there might be any remark against it that all the nationalities, all the gentlemen of different nationality have not joined it, I will at once differ from that remark. Gentlemen, it is said that Mahomedans are not prominent in the Congress. Well, where the Mahomedans are prominent? Are they prominent in Imperial Legislative Council, are they prominent in Judicial Service, are they prominent as good scholars? That is the cause, that we are backward in education,—and backward in all movements which lead to progress and education. That is the real thing. Well, but to say that we do not sympathise with the movement, to say that we do not sympathise with the aspiration of the Congress, is, I think, the greatest libel on the Mahomedan nation. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I would be pardoned for saying this, Hindu-brothers, I will be pardoned for saying that Hindus have fallen from their greatness three centuries ago. There is no Hindu kingdom outside India. Mahomedans have fallen only very

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recently and you know, their aspirations, their Judicial and Executive capacity, are yet fresh in their minds (*Hear, hear*). It will be simply a libel on the Mahomedan nation to say that they are not aspired by those noble aspirations which ought to be the characteristics of every noble nation in the world. Gentlemen, it is simply nonsense to say, if the Mahomedans are the inhabitants of this country, if they have some grievances, that they should not unite with their Hindu brothers. There is no reason that they have not their sympathy with the Congress, to work here for the benefit of their whole country (*Hear, hear*). Well, gentlemen, I have just arrived from Lahore and am quite prepared to support the resolution (*Cheers*).

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Mudholkar in proposing the third resolution said :—

Resolution III.
The poor in India.

“ Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the Proposition which has been entrusted to me for being submitted to your consideration runs thus :—

(1) That the Congress once again desires to call the attention of the Government to the deplorable condition of the poorest classes in India, full forty millions of whom, according to the high official authority, drag out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation even in normal years, and this Congress recommends the following amongst other measures for the amelioration of their condition :—

(2) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist: that restrictions be put on over-assessments in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the permanent settlement at the present time so as to leave the Ryots sufficient to maintain themselves on and that these settlements of land revenue be guaranteed for longer periods than is the case at present.

(3) That Agricultural Banks be established and greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

(4) That steps be taken to improve the agricultures of the country and in connection with this, this Congress exhorts all landed proprietors in this country to pay a greater attention to the agricultural needs of the country and adopt such measures as are in their power to meet them.

(5) That the minimum income assessable under the Income-tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

(6) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped at least in part by the wider employment of the children of the soil in the public services.

“ Gentlemen, this resolution has been placed before the Congress, not to-day for the first time, but has been submitted to its consideration for a number of years. It has often been said by persons, who do not care to bestow any thought on things as they are, that we here in the Congress go on repeating the same resolutions over and over again on questions that have already been discussed and considered previously and have become almost thread-bare. The justice of this charge I cannot admit. I have at any rate this to say, with regard to this present resolution that it is one, the importance of which cannot be gain-said by any one who has any the least knowledge of the real condition of the country and of the state of the people and of the great necessity which there exists for having remedial measures in respect to them. Gentlemen, it is an admitted fact that India is one of the poorest countries in the world, if not the poorest civilized country in the world. There was a belief for sometime,—a general impression amongst some people, both Englishmen in England and Anglo-Indians

here, in India, that instead of becoming poor, as our people contend, is the case, India, as a matter of fact, getting richer. And in the press and on the platform you often found speakers who said, that what was asserted in the Congress platform or in the Indian press of the growing poverty of the people of the country was entirely unfounded. The famines of 1896, 1897, 1899 and 1900 have served to dispel the delusions of all these people.

And now amongst all rational, amongst all well-informed people,—even amongst those who did not for sometime agree with us there is a consensus of opinion that the masses of the country are really sinking deeper and deeper into the quag-mire of poverty. Gentlemen, you have heard from this platform the great authority of Sir William Hunter referred to in support of what I have just now said to you. The authority of Sir Charles Elliot has also been quoted. In the exhaustive review, which you, Sir, took yesterday, of the circumstances of the people of this country. You were pleased to quote the Famine Commission of 1898, in regard to the increase in number of the labouring classes, “ever hardly able to obtain sufficient livelihood in normal years.” I am not going to quote these things again, I am going to place before you some other facts which I think were not placed before you on former occasions as the others were. One is this. We had the census of 1871, the census of 1881 and the census of 1891 and now again in 1901. On the previous occasions what was found? It was found that the population of the country was increasing on an average at the rate of 10 per cent. for every 10 years. Between 1881 and 1891 the population had increased at this rate. In the five provinces which were most seriously affected by the two famines of 1896-1897 and of 1899-1900, the Famine Commission presided over by Sir Antony Macdonell remarked that in the place of there being an increase in the population, there has been a positive decrease. The population of these five provinces was in 1881 about 29 millions, in 1901 it was less, nearly by 15 lakhs. Instead of there being an increase of 3 millions, there is a decrease of one million and a half, that is instead of progressing the country has retrograded. That is a serious fact. The famine of 1899 and 1900 was, as is admitted by every one, dealt with thoroughly by the Government. Whatever could be done to save the life of the people was done, and we have all along appreciated the generous help which the Government bestowed upon the people. In spite of this liberal, of this generous treatment by the Government, what do you find? You find that in the five Provinces there is a total mortality of something like one million of people in excess of the previous year's mortality. Then why should there be such a thing? If the people were at all prosperous, if the masses were not steeped in the abject poverty in which they are, there would not have been such a spectacle. What can be the cause of this effect? Why should the failure of one harvest or even of two harvests have brought about this deplorable result? We have pointed out from time to time that on account of the extinction of the old industries of the country, the masses of the people are thrown entirely on land. Eighty per cent. of the population of India is entirely dependent on land; and if the land tenure is one, which does not leave any inducement to the people to make improvement, nay which leaves, in the vast majority of cases, a bare maintenance, if I say, people can not save anything which they can lay by to be utilized in years of scarcity, what other result than this would follow? People are growing poor, because the Government takes a larger share than it ought to do from the people of the country. Gentlemen, there was a time, when the British Administrators, new to this country, not acquainted with the nature of the people or the real condition of the country, made mistakes through ignorance, through want of knowledge. That was in the early years of British Administration in Bengal. There a hundred and twenty years ago over-taxation and

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over-estimation of the capability of the soil was the rule, and the screw was put upon to obtain as much from the people as possible. The same thing happened in other parts of the country, whenever they came under the administration of the British Government. A few years' experience however taught them that this was a policy which was dangerous to the well-being of the country,—was dangerous to the administration itself. And you find that in Bengal a little over 100 years ago the permanent settlement was granted to the people in order that they might feel the sense of the proprietorship, which would induce them to improve the soil, and thus help to increase the prosperity of the country. In the Deccan, in Western India generally speaking, you find that in the early years of British Administration the same mistakes were committed and the same unfortunate results followed. At last two gentlemen were specially deputed to enquire into the condition of the country and to suggest measures for remedying the mischief which the harsh measures, which had been imposed had produced. In the celebrated Joint-Report of Mr. Goldsmith and Lieut. Wingate it is stated that over-estimation of the soil and over-taxation of land have produced the penury and poverty from which the Deccan ryot was suffering. That is what was said in 1840. In that memorable year 1840, the Bombay Government inaugurated a policy the wisdom of which is not now perceived. It was a policy of wisdom, of generous treatment, of putting heart into the people. It was laid down that the ryot should be given; so to say, full proprietary right over the land, so that he might get the benefit of every improvement which he made. That is to say, gentlemen, an assessment was imposed which was comparatively light and which was guaranteed for a period of 30 years. The result was that the policy of humanity and generosity which was inaugurated was thoroughly justified, and you find that the country began to prosper. In Madras, you find up to 1857, the Government admitting for 50 years in the most clear terms that the assessment which was imposed upon the people was a permanent assessment, and that it was not to be disturbed. But unfortunately for us events shaped their course otherwise. These were the views which were held in the middle of the nineteenth century and as they were the out-come of bitter experience, it was hoped that there would be no reversal of it. While these principles were being laid down in Southern and Western India, there happened events in Northern India which brought forth declarations still more emphatic still more invaluable. After the Mutiny in 1858 a famine occurred in that part of India, and Major Smith with certain other persons were employed to enquire into the cause of the famine and suggest remedial measures. That Commission stated, as the results of its enquiry and deliberation, that "Wherever there has been the system of fixing the settlement for a long period, it has already produced good effect, and that there should be an extension of the same principle, and that wherever possible, the settlement should be made permanent." This policy was endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and also received the approbation of Lord Canning. All papers were sent to the Secretary of State and Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) approved of them. He recommended that the permanent settlement should be introduced in all those tracts where the circumstances justify its introduction. Some modifications were made later on in a despatch of 1865 but the same principle was affirmed nor that of 1865. However neither the despatch of 1862 was carried out. The American Civil War brought prosperity to this country. Temporary it was. But the temporary prosperity had the effect of giving vigour to the school of temporary settlements and these did their utmost to put off the enforcement of the orders directing the extension of the permanent settlement. The result in Bombay was that when the next settlement fell, the assessment was increased. And so great was the increase that even the Commissioner, the gentleman responsible for the revenue of the Division, had to protest against it. Mr. Havelock wished some modifications to be made in them but in spite of his represent-

ations the enhancements were for the most part continued. To return to the general history of the question, as I have told you, hardly had the ink with which the despatches of 1862 and 1865 had been written become dry than unfortunately other influences began to work against the promises and pledges contained in them. The common device of procrastination was resorted to, and at last in Lord Northbrook's time the chances of the extension of the permanent settlement appeared to go out of the question. That statesman, however, was not far a reversal of the policy laid down in the despatches. While maintaining that the right of the State to participate in the "unearned increment" should be retained, he held that there should be no revision of an existing assessment except on the ground of rise of prices. In Lord Ripon's time the whole question was taken into consideration and as people fondly hopes settled finally; and after consulting Local Government certain definite principles and rules were laid down, and they were accepted by all the responsible authorities. The central principle that except on the ground of extension of cultivation, or on the ground of improvement made by the State, or on account of rise of prices there should be no revision of assessments already made. Well, that proposal at one time was approved of by the Secretary of State in his despatch of 1883. But subsequently the whole thing was negatived, and things were left to drift as before. Well gentlemen, the result of this was that after a short time you find that wherever those settlement expired, revisions had been introduced and that assessments are enhanced 30 per cent. or 40 per cent. all round and in some cases the revenue demand is increased 100 per cent. even 200 per cent., and people were called upon to pay more than what they could afford to do or could fairly be liable for.

Well, in the Deccan at one time it was said that the policy enunciated in the Joint Report had produced prosperity. But what do you find in 1874? You find in 1874 that the ryots unable to meet the new burden laid upon them. Pressed by Government on one side and on the other by Sowkar they broke out against the Sowkars. And the Government was obliged to appoint a Commission to enquire into the causes of these ryots. That Commission found that it was the revenue policy of the Government which was mainly responsible for the degradation of the ryots (*Hear, hear*). In 1879 when the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was on the legislative anvil Sir Theodore Hope who could be called the representative of the Bombay Government had to admit the same, and said that to the land revenue policy must considerably be ascribed the poverty of the people. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Viceroy all endorsed this view. But you find that the Bombay Government still continued in the path, and unfortunately the Deccan is as heavily taxed as before and the assessment is as heavily enhanced as it used to be and there is no relaxation of the revenue policy. I say, gentlemen, it is because not sufficient is left to the people that the assessment weighs so heavily. We quite admit that when owing to the increase in the general prosperity of the country or owing to the advancement in civilization, the cultivator gets an higher income from his land the Government should have a due share of that. But is there any justification for the enhancement which we meet within every part of the country and in a very pronounced way in the Deccan? Gentlemen of Bengal, you are fortunate not to have what we call revision surveys. We know what they are. You are happily saved from these harassing operations and have no occasion to feel what serious meaning they carry to the landholder and his tenants. I have herewith with me, available for reference to those who may like to see it, a revision survey report of a settlement officer. You will see from it the methods adopted in revising assessments. The survey officer comes and measures a field, and finds that the culturable portion of it has increased by a few guntas, and those few guntas become the occasion of enhancement. Mind, that in the statute book it is laid that no improvement of the ryot; can at all be the cause of

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enhancement. But the words of the statutes are generally ignored in practice. The revision survey officer never looks to see whether the increase in the culturable area is due to unculturable (*Pat Kharab*) land being improved by the cultivator. Then he goes to the village and sees that there has been an increase by so many hundreds or so many thousands in the huts which the people inhabit or in the tile-roof houses. That is another indication of the liability of land to higher assessment. Another ground noted down is that there has been increase in goats or cattle and this is another reason for enhancement of the assessment on land. Third reason is that a road is newly constructed and passes by the village. The fourth reason is that there is general improvement of the condition of the people. Whatever it might mean. On these grounds it is that the settlement officer's proposal for revision of the assessment is based. There is of course some attempt made to show that the prices have risen. But this is not the thing to which the settlement officer attaches the chief importance. If he did so, we would have no quarrel with him. If the former settlement was made on the basis of certain prices and if at the expiry of the period of the settlement there is a permanent rise in prices a fair increase is claimable on this ground. But the revision surveys which have been made since 1890 cannot at all be justified on the ground of increase of prices. The prices published by the Government from time to time show that there has been little or hardly any increase in prices between 1862 and 1863 and 1892-93. Speaking roughly the increase is a slight increase of 3 per cent. in prices, while the enhancements made, are far higher. In Berar the general enhancement is 30 per cent. for one whole village 66 per cent. In several cases in the Central Provinces not only 100 per cent. but even 200 per cent. All these have been done on the slightest increase in general prices which have taken place. The ryot is asked to pay in numerous cases double the amount which he used to pay formerly. This is the generous policy of the Bombay and also of the Berar Government. It is asked by some people how the assessment can be questioned when we consider how light the average assessment is. Now it is instructive to know some of this so called average assessment or the incidence of the assessment. It is arrived at generally in this way. They take what is called the culturable land in a province and divide the revenue by the number of acres. Well, in Bombay the average incidence of the assessment is one rupee and six annas per acre and it is said why should a man grumble to pay this small amount. This argument of the average assessment fails to note that the figure of Re. 1-6 was arrived at by including an enormous quantity of inferior land hardly fit for cultivation. The report of the Famine Commission shows a curious example in which this question of the bearing of the land revenue is dealt with.

In the case of the Central Province it is said that the average yield per acre of a holding of average capacity is 595 lbs. of food crops the value of which was calculated at Rs. 3-15-5. With this amount it is that the so-called average assessment is compared and then it is said that it forms only 4 or 5 per cent. of the gross produce. If it is average land then it should be the rental of that land which should be compared with the yield. It is shown in this way that Bombay the land revenue was only 7 per cent. of the gross produce according to the view of the Bombay revenue department. In the case of Berar it was stated to be 13 p. c. The Famine Commission consider that in Bombay it was 16 to 20 per cent. The actual facts are even worse. You find that the dry rate in some land is Rs. 9 in Broach. In the greater part of the Khaira District it is Rs. 7 or 8 per acre. The inferior soil can hardly pay the expenses which people have to incur on them. And by the cultivation of them all the year round, the cultivators obtain a bare maintenance for 9 months. This is the condition of the people in some of the Ghat districts of the Deccan and in the Kokan. Gentlemen, it is all very nice to appeal to the doctrine of Averages. In his Satara speech

Mr. Gokuldas Parakh pointed out that in many cases the land revenue assessment represents as much as 72 p. c. of the gross produce. These figures are obtained not from private sources but from the experiments made by the Government. They are taken from Government records. In one province, I am here referring particularly to my own province of Berar which is compared to Bombay, lightly taxed, it has been shown that going by Government records the old assessment represents a full assessment, that is to say full 16 to 18 p. c. of the gross produce. Under the revision operation in this province, the revenue demand has been raised to something like 30 per cent., and therefore it follows that the people are heavily taxed. Now if Berar is heavily taxed Bombay must be said to be still more. Whatever might be said, this fact stands undeniable. The Madras figure will be given by my friend Mr. S. Iyer a gentleman of authority. In Madras, it has been demonstrated that the assessment represents fully 40 per cent. of the gross produce, that is to say, Government tax out of every 16 annas some thing like 6 annas, and 10 annas are only left to the man for what he has spent for the work he has done, and what he has to do. Well, gentlemen, the hardship does not rest there. If in the years of prosperity 6 annas were taken away, and in years of adversity concessions were given to the struggling cultivators, there would have been at least something to say in exculpation of the procedure. But our generous Bombay Government and Behar Government, what do they do? Even in years of famine in many cases they realise as much as 95 p. c. or 97 p. c. of the revenue. In Berar, in the famine of 1900 as many as 5 lakhs of people out of a total population of 28 lakhs, worked in the famine relief camps, and the death rate was more than double the average. And yet of land revenue very little remitted. Part of it was suspended for a year, but whole was afterwards realised from the people, many of whom were persons who had to seek the shelter of the relief work. What results other than degradation and poverty of the people would follow from such a policy as this? Gentlemen, the land revenue policy is one against which several Government officers, men high in the service of the State, had to admit, that it (the land revenue policy) was to a great extent responsible for the misery of the cultivator. That it was a policy which ought to be modified (*Cheers*). Considering the impossibility of the demand being granted we do not ask Government for a Permanent Settlement pure and simple such as Bengal, had the good fortune to obtain. What we propose to Government is this, that in those districts in which the permanent settlement could be introduced according to the terms of the despatches of 1862 and 1865,—that is where eighty per cent. of the culturable land has been already brought under cultivation—in those provinces there should be a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand on the lines proposed by Lord Ripon in 1882. That is we ask for, not a permanent settlement in rupees but what we say is that let there be permanency in the amount of produce, which the Government has to take from any particular holding (*Hear, hear*). That is to say except on the ground of rise of prices, there should be no right to make any enhancement. In those provinces where there are vast stretches of land which have yet to be brought under cultivation, we say give long leases and do not make any enhancement except on the ground of rise of prices. These are propositions which have often been recommended by statesmen responsible for the continuance of British administration. But a needy administration ever in search of money has receded from these wise counsels and the result is the deepening poverty of the people. I therefore say that the Government should bestow greater attention to the matter than they have done. There are other recommendations made in the resolution which I am proposing. In regard to them I wish only to read to you an extract from an authoritative publication. The late Famine Commission, presided over by Sir Antony Macdonell made certain suggestions which I quote, and which give weight to what I say.

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"Unless, therefore, provision for suspension and remission of revenue and rent (and in the case of rent for a proportionate relief to the receiver of the rent) be an integral part of the revenue system in any province, the cultivator will be forced to borrow on conditions incompatible with his solvency and independence. The importance of suspensions and remissions of revenue and rent is consequently very great. Even these, however, do not strike at the root of the matter; the true remedy and preventive of indebtedness will be found in the promotion of education; in the development of proper and popular institutions for organized credit and thrift at the very doors of the cultivator; in the removal of the cause inherent in the agrarian system of the country, which force the cultivator into debt; and in the advancement of agricultural efficiency in all its branches."

There is one recommendation made by the Commission in regard to which I should like to say a few words. This report proposes that restriction should be placed in regard to the existing rates of alienations of land. It is a measure in regard to which even British officers are not of one mind. It is no doubt a difficult question. Personally I think that some kind of restrictions will do good. But it will do good only as a palliative and for a time. I find, however, that people abler than me, more widely read, more experienced, are not prepared to accept the wisdom, justice or expediency of the measure.

In fact on this subject opinion among members of the Congress or among our thinking people is unsettled and the Congress does not feel it self-justified in enunciating one view or another. This course is strictly in consonance with our practice.

In regard to the other suggestions contained in the resolution their importance is universally admitted. The feasibility of establishing Agricultural Banks is under consideration and we earnestly trust that Government will do something tangible in this already too much neglected matter. We also hope that it will also give effect to the other recommendations of the Commission and take measures to improve the agriculture of the country (*Hear, hear*).

With regard to the drain of the wealth of the country, well gentlemen, we know that one great cause of over-taxation is the immense expenditure, which the Government has to incur on account of the foreign agency employed by it this employment of foreign agency is economically very harmful. The highly paid officers, who come to this country go away taking with them from the country, of course they do great services and they are entitled to the money they save and the pensions they are granted. All the money that is given to them thus goes out of the country and we do not get anything, any economical return for the country. It is a matter of comparative insignificance to us, whether the men employed by the State are Europeans, Parsi, Hidoos or Mahomedans so long as they are all Indians—all men who have their homes in this country so that all the money they get, all the pensions they get remain in the country, so far as the country is concerned the employment of foreigners constitutes a drain on the resources of the country from the economical point of view. Therefore, we advocate that there should be wider employment of the people in the services of the country. With these words, gentlemen, I put this proposal before you for your hearty acceptance (*Loud cheers*).

Mr. Ganjam Vencata Ratnam Pantulu, in seconding the 3rd Resolution said,—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, in seconding the resolution so ably moved by Mr. Mudholkar, I just wish to make a few observations on that part of the resolution which relates to land settlements. The history of these settlements, so far as they affect the Madras Presidency is briefly this. In 1855, when the Settlement Department

was proposed to be constituted, the recommendation of the Local Government was that the grain values should be unalterable for 50 years, but the Court of Directors ordered that the period of settlement should be only thirty years.

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In 1862, the Government of Madras explained in reply to an enquiry instituted by the Government of India that "there can be no question that one fundamental principle of the ryotwari system is that the Government demand on the land is fixed forever." It was in July 1862 that Sir Charles Wood wrote the memorable letter in which he entirely approved of the proposal of a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of India.

In 1865, again, rules for the introduction of Permanent Settlement were laid down. In 1867, Sir Stafford Northcote while re-affirming the policy of his predecessor, laid down some further conditions in the matter. In 1868, the Board of Revenue also advocated strongly a settlement in perpetuity of the land tax and pointed out that "the ryot is the owner of his land in a very limited and uncertain sense so long as Government retains the right of raising his assessment without his concurrence." The proposal was backed up by the Madras Government but the Secretary of State negatived it in 1869.

In 1883 the Secretary of State wrote the Government of India that the policy laid down in 1862 should be formally abandoned. Sir Auckland Colvin sums up the several stages of discussion in the following terms; "with the aspect of the day the aspect in which the assessment of land revenue is regarded has changed. Increased security of the fixed property has given way to the just rights of the State. Freedom from the interference of the fiscal officers of Govt. is now thought of little account, when compared with a sacrifice of any portion of that rental of the land to which the State is entitled. The fiscal side of the question is the one chiefly regarded in these days of peace and apparent security." I may mention here that the Secretary of State while abandoning the proposal with regard to the Permanent Settlement, recognised to the full the evils of periodical complete re-settlements and admitted the necessity of replacing it by a more satisfactory system.

The Government of Lord Ripon made some fresh proposals in 1883,—a compromise between a scheme of Permanent Settlement and the harassing practice of frequent enhancement on vague and on uncertain grounds. And the object aimed at was "that certainty of assessment might become one of the inherent attributes of agricultural property." According to this scheme rise in the prices of produce is the main ground for enhancement of assessment at periodical revisions or Settlement. Even here it is not every rise of prices, however small, that is to form a ground for enhancement; nor is the assessment to be enhanced in full proportion to the rise in prices. There should be a substantial rise in prices to justify an enhancement, and the Government of India has also directed that at each periodical revision a margin, say 15 per cent. of the profits arising from increase of prices should be left untouched.

These proposals were accepted by the Madras Government in 1883 with modifications on two points, one of them being that a limit to the increase to be made at any one time on the ground of a rise in prices should be laid down. In Lord Kimberly's despatch of January 1884, a limit of 15 per cent. was proposed to the enhancement to be made on account of a considerable rise in prices.

Gentlemen, the settlement policy put forward by the Govt. of India in 1883 is one to which the previous deliberations of past years directly led, and which in its essential features had met with the approval of Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook.

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The final orders of the Secretary of State on the said scheme were contained in his despatch dated 8th January 1885. What this despatch enjoined was this: that no hard and fast rules should be laid down as to the grounds on which revenue rates were to be modified at the revision of settlements, and that no pledges should be given to the people as to the limits beyond which enhancement will not be made. Ample discretion was allowed to local authorities to re-classify soils wherever they thought fit. Till 1895, it had been the declared policy of the Madras Government that the existing classification of soils should not be disturbed and that the assessments should be raised solely with reference to prices,—and it was further stated in the Settlement Manual that “eventually, however it is contemplated that after the assessments have been carefully revised a settlement shall be given to Madras which will be permanent both as regards grain values and commutation rates.” Under color of the despatch of the Secretary of State of 1885 the Government of Madras directed in 1895 the amendment of the standing orders and the provisions of the Settlement Manual. Now at each settlement or re-settlement of a District, Government will fix at its discretion the period for which such settlement or re-settlement shall be in force—On the expiry of the said period Government reserves to itself the right to revise the assessment in such a manner as may then seem just and proper, either with reference solely to a rise or fall in prices, or with reference also to other considerations such as would require a re-classification of soils or a re-calculation of the grain out-turns.

It is admitted on all hands that in the discussion which closed with the despatch of January 1885 the Secretary of State did in no way express his dis-approval of previous declarations and pledges on the part of the Madras Government in this respect.

There was also a long controversy between the Secretary of State and the Government of India from 1893 to 1897 regarding the period of settlement and the final decision in the matter was that “where a reasonable expectation of any particular term, whether thirty or twenty years, has been created in the minds of the people by past practice, that term should be adhered to as the normal term of Settlement.” In accordance with this decision, 30 years is now recognised as the normal period of Settlement in Madras.

Now, it is clear to you, Gentlemen, that we are proceeding steadily backward in this matter. Full effect has been given to the altered policy in revision settlements of Godavari and Krishna. The assessments are pitched too high and not only sweep away in several cases all the ryots' net profits but also trench on his narrowing margin of subsistence. Private improvements have been taxed in violation of the declarations of Government. Will you believe it, Gentlemen, that the enhancements in the case of individual fields went up to 200, 300 per cent. and so forth? One thing that has been to be remembered is, that the really important work of a settlement is left too much to ill-paid subordinates. Whether we go to Godavari or Krishna on the East Coast, or to Malabar on the West Coast, we hear the same tale. The policy of greed seems to be in the ascendant. In the Proclamation of 1805, a permanent and unalterable settlement was granted to the people of Malabar. The pledges given in that solemn document are now openly repudiated and lands have again been classified. “The only produce contemplated by the terms of the Proclamation of 1805 as being liable to be taxed consists of grains—cocoanut, arecanut, and jack.” The scheme recently sanctioned by Government includes all kinds of produce as taxable articles. Old and familiar first principles have in several instances been cast to the winds. And nothing was more disappointing than the reply of His Excellency the Governor to the representations of the people of Malabar on the subject of this settlement. Gentlemen, we are

witnessing such proceedings in districts which fulfil all the conditions laid down in the despatches of 1865 and 1867 to which I have alluded. A large portion of the Madras Presidency is already under a perpetual settlement. Out of the 90 millions of acres forming its area, 27½ millions or between one-third and one-fourth are held by Zemindars. About 8 millions of acres are held by Inamdars. The coffee lands of the Neilgherries, Wyanad and Shevaroy's are assessed in perpetuity. Is the ryot alone to be denied security of tenure and to be subject to a variable assessment? (*cheers.*)

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Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer in supporting the 3rd resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates,—The principles on which the periodical settlement of land revenue in the Madras Presidency is conducted are extremely complicated. The first preliminary process is the classification of the soil. The soil is divided into certain main classes according to the mechanical composition and chemical properties of the lands dealt with. There are 14 such classes. Each class of soil is then subdivided into some three and others five "sorts." With reference to their degrees of fertility as ascertained by an examination of the constituents of the surface soil and sub-soil, the total varieties of soils dealt with being 66. In regard to irrigated lands the classification is still more elaborate. This process alone is enough to stun the most skilful and patient arithmetician. But other processes follow, further taxing the patience and skill of the classifier. The second process is to ascertain the grain outturn of the lands irrigated and unirrigated classified as above. From the average outturn thus ascertained a deduction from 15 to 25 per cent. is made on account of the extraordinary vicissitudes of season. Then the money value of the grain outturn is to be ascertained. For this purpose, the average of the market prices of the standard crops in the months in which the ryots are accustomed to sell their produce for a number of years, generally 20, is ascertained, and deducting from it 8 to 20 per cent. for cartage and merchants' profits the remainder is taken to represent the ryots' prices and adopted as the rates at which the grain share of the Government is converted into money. After this, the expenses of cultivation have to be ascertained by actual enquiries, and there are other processes without any definite standard of procedure to be gone through solely or mainly at the discretion of the low-paid and uneducated subordinate officials. Now we may challenge the possibility of uniform justice or equality in the assessment of the tax under a system so complicated and so indefinite as the above. The above is the theory, but it is admitted by Government that it has been found to be impossible or dangerous to adhere to it strictly. Hence the first step in Madras Settlement is practically to determine on general considerations, whether the tract coming under settlement requires a decrease or will bear an enhancement of land revenue and to what extent. In no case however, is decrease thought of, but the increase is decided upon, and the results of the processes referred to above are adjusted so as to yield this increase in revenue. Thus in the whole process of the settlement the only thing definite is the decision of Government to obtain an increase of revenue. In none of the series of processes during which settlement has to go before it is completed, is there anything precise, and the only definite point kept in view by the officers being percentage of increase, all calculations and all discretions are adjusted not to what is the exact and true state of things, but to this definite end. The abuse committed in the classification of the soil is notorious, so notorious, that the highest authorities have expressed their opinions that no classification should take place at a revision of settlement. The process of calculating the cost of production is generally unreliable.

In the year 1888, Lord Connemara appointed a Committee, of which the Honourable Mr. Nicholson was Chairman to "institute a comprehensive enquiry into

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the constitution, and operations of the Agricultural Department, with a view of ascertaining what practical good it has done and is doing, and what good such a department might do under other conditions." One of the recommendations of the Committee was "That Government be moved to enunciate and make widely known a final policy in the matter of the settlement rules, more especially those relating to the grain valuation of the soil; it is clear from the evidence of highly intelligent and well-informed witnesses" (including, I may mention in passing, The Honourable Justice Sir Subramaniya Iyer, K. C. I. E., a Judge of the High Court) "that there exists a wide-spread feeling of distrust regarding the *finality* of the grain valuation of soils and that this feeling largely restrains the investment of land. It is stated that so long as any uncertainty regarding the policy of the Government in this matter is permitted to continue, the tenure of land on the ryotwari system is not stable, and that it cannot be stable, unless and until the Government declare that in future revisions of assessments the soil valuation and classification first adopted by the Settlement Department, shall be final and will never be disturbed in any future revision."

As I have already observed, nobody, not even Government believes in anything like accuracy in the settlements. The amount of additional assessment is fixed so as to yield the total increase already, decided upon. In the recent settlement of the Trichinopoly District, for instance 21½ per cent. was added in a round manner with the result that the incidence of the additional taxation was marked by the greatest inequality.

Now let us consider the condition of those ryots who have 4 acres, which constitute the holding of nearly 90 per cent., of the ryot population. Well, according to the authority who has more than once been quoted by the highest official in the Vicerigal Council, 4 acres of land, of average quality, will give about Rs. 4-8 for a family consisting of five persons. This gives an average of 6 pies per soul. It is much less than the famine wages of Government, which was 1½ anna or 16 pies in the famine of 1897. But the famine wage was fixed merely with the object of keeping the famine-stricken people in their state of ordinary health, and did not include any comfort or extra social or domestic requirements of the ryots.

Under the above conditions the Indian ryots have somehow lived. Yes they have lived and not altogether been swept away—no thanks to Government, but thanks to our tropical climate where life can linger on the scantiest of subsistence. But is the life's function of the Indian ryot to live and die merely like a brute? Is he not a "human being endowed with reason, sentiment and latent capacity?" Is the duty of Government fully discharged by enabling him to keep his life in his body for a certain number of years?

"I think the most trying experience I ever had," (writes the Rev. J. I. Macnair of Cuddaph "was a three weeks' tour in September of last year, in a part of the country where our people are specially poor, and where they have had no proper crops for seven years. My tent was surrounded day and night, and one sentence dinned in my ears perpetually,—“we are dying for lack of food.” We do not expect that the present year (1901) will be any improvement on the last. The famine will be only local, we hope, but it will be a time of hardship."

Not only is the system bad, its practical administration abounds with evils which complete the ruin of the ryots. One of the most serious evils in our land revenue system is the present arrangement for the collection of the various instalments in which the land revenue is at present collected. In all the districts of the Presidency the

collection is made in four instalments, commencing from December in some districts, but in most of them commencing from January, and closing with April. The important principle of enabling the ryot to sell his produce at a time and in a manner which will not cause a glut in the grain market and will get good prices for the produce is forgotten. The Famine Commission of 1880 laid down that instalments should correspond to the main crops raised, and the dates on which these crops ordinarily come into maturity and to the relative weight and value of the harvests. They also pointed out that where a crop was reserved for food and another raised for sale, the larger collection should be allowed to the ryots to realise their crops without undue haste so as to avoid the risk of glutting the markets.

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As the case is at present, during the months of December and April, money becomes dear on account of the ryots' rush for it with their produce to meet the demands of Government and that is also the period when export merchants move the produce from rural parts to the sea-ports, which aggravates the dearness of money. The result is, the ryots borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest and get into deeper indebtedness. The Finance Department of the Government of India makes its own contribution to this evil. Pursuing its policy of regarding the maintenance of large balances in the Treasury as necessary, it presses for revenue collections flowing into Calcutta at this very period. The whole evil arises from the adoption of a uniform system for the whole Presidency, whereas the conditions vary from district to district and even from taluq to taluq. The primary considerations should be the interests of the ryots, which require that the demand should be spread over several instalments at suitable dates. In the opinion of a recent writer in the "Madras Mail" the subject should be considered not only on broad and general lines, but also in its bearing on every village separately. Only when this is done will the ryot be enabled to carry on his business with efficiency, and only then will all the dangers of undue pressure from land assessment be avoided.

It is not merely the excessive assessment of the tax on land that has reduced the ryots to their present miserable condition. But there are many administrative details which lie entirely within the discretion of the executive authorities, in regard to which the ryots have no voice whatever and which add considerably to their difficulties.

These accumulated difficulties of the ryots, heavy assessments, the petty exactions of the subordinate officials, illegitimate extortions, the fees of the Forest Department, the rules governing remissions, the system of instalments in the collection of the revenue,—all these have made the burden of land tax altogether unbearable, and the result is that on the whole an increasing amount of coercion has to be employed by Government in the collection of revenue. Ever since the year 1885, when prices in India began to rise permanently, the condition of the ryots has been deplorable. The increased prices far from proving beneficial to the producers generally, have only tended to aggravate the disastrous effects of scarcity and famine. There is no wonder, therefore, in Government having had to resort to increasing coercion. What can higher prices do to improve the condition of the millions who own less than four acres of land and who get only 9 pies a day for their subsistence? So much as three millions of acres lie waste, because the ryots think that it would not pay to cultivate them, and thousands of families have had to be evicted; not only are no new lands taken up but even of the lands occupied, paying tax to Government, more than 20 per cent. are not cultivated, because they are not worth cultivation. 50 per cent. of the remainder may be said to be so poor as to yield little more than will suffice to pay the Government's demand.

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No wonder is it that, under these circumstances, though the extent of the area under cultivation has greatly increased, the land revenue has remained more or less stationary.

One significant proof of the extremely depressed condition of the agricultural classes, is the large emigration of the labourers to foreign countries. From the maritime districts of the Madras Presidency on the eastern coast, a constant stream of emigration has been going on for some years embarrassing the ordinary agricultural operations, and leaving behind a good deal of social and domestic demoralization. The emigrants are naturally strong and healthy men, and when they emigrate, they leave behind the weak and sickly who constitute a fresh burden on the village community.

The rapid and extraordinary rise of prices, chiefly in the prices of the chief articles of food, although due to several causes, has been to a considerable extent the result of the demand being stronger than the supply. In contradiction to what Lord Curzon stated in the Legislative Council that the agricultural problem has not got the better of our increasing population, the result of the contest between the two has been in favour of the latter. The population has increased more rapidly than the food supply of the country, and the facts of the case are so strong that even officials are constrained, after a due investigation, to admit the truth of it.

The first duty of the Government is to enable the people to live well and live happily. Is this duty fulfilled in the present conditions of the Indian labouring classes? These constitute a large fraction of the population of India, and who will deny that the life they lead in normal times is the very picture of the lowest degradation of human nature just above the worst barbarous life? The Indian labouring classes do not, indeed, eat uncooked food, do not live by hunting, but live a sort of orderly social life. But having reached such a primitive social state, can any community live more miserably than the Indian labouring classes? The rulers of India in referring to the normal state of the poor classes, point to the low standard that is in force among them, and are satisfied that nothing has happened to lower this standard. They forget that no lower standard of human life is possible and that this standard can be raised, and, under a civilised Government, ought to be raised. They somehow live, whether they live like human beings with such health and strength as are necessary for their happiness and for the well-being of their progeny, is not considered a business of the State. The conditions on which depend health and strength, physical mental and moral, are, it is forgotten, the very basis of industrial efficiency, on which the production of the material wealth depends. It is also true, conversely, that the chief importance of wealth consists in the fact that, when wisely used, it increases the health and strength, physical, mental and moral, of the human race. Physical vigour is the first condition of efficiency in every occupation of the poorer classes, that is, muscular strength, a good constitution and energetic habits. Nor can force of will, and strength of character be dispensed with. Yet this last depends on the man's physical condition of nervous strength. In all ages of the world, except the present, says Professor Marshall, "Want of food has caused wholesale destructions of the people. Even in London in the 17th and 18th centuries the mortality was eight per cent. greater in years of dear corn than in years of cheap corn. In England now want of food is scarcely ever the direct cause of death; but it is a frequent cause of that general weakening of the systems which renders it unable to resist; and it is a cause of industrial inefficiency. And apart from the nutrition and sufficiency of food, the effect produced on the labourer of dirty and scanty clothing, of excessive work, of the absence of the vigour closely allied together namely, "hopefulness, freedom and change" demands serious consideration. Regard-

ing this last, Professor Marshall says, "All history is full of the record of the inefficiency caused in varying degrees, by slavery, freedom and other forms of political and social oppression and repression. Freedom and scope increases not only man's willingness, but also his power for work; physiologists tell us that a given exertion consumes less of the side of nervous energy if done under the stimulus of pleasure than of pain, and without hope there is no enterprise—Change of work, of scene and of personal associations bring new thoughts, call attention to the imperfections of old methods, stimulate a "demure discontent" and in every way develop creative energy." Still these conditions of vigour as well as the vigour itself depend on the quality and quantity of the food available to the working man. In India, as well as in other countries; education is a blessing to the labouring as well as to the other classes. And an intelligent and trained artizan or mechanic is an organisation to society as a man of higher and more costly culture. For all these gifts and blessings, the Indian poor have as much claim at the hands of the rulers as the poor of any other country. But under their present condition of chronic poverty and destitution, they must live a life of brutes, and it is with that standard of life we are every day accustomed to hear Government declaring themselves to be satisfied. The British rulers of India have alone the unique distinction of exercising an enlightened and benevolent sway over nearly 200 millions of people living a life of chronic starvation and of the most abject ignorance, grim and silent in their suffering, without zest in life, without comfort or enjoyment, without hope of ambition, and living because they were born into the world and dying because life can no longer be kept in the body. (*Loud applause*).

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Mr. B. Palchowdhuri in supporting the 3rd resolution said:—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—In supporting this resolution I shall not encroach much upon your valuable time. You have other resolutions to consider and pass. I shall but touch in as concise a form as possible on one or two measures recommended for the amelioration of the condition of the poorest classes in India.

As for the first recommendation *vis.*, the extension of permanent settlement, restriction on over-assessment and settlement of land revenue for long periods, it has been so well handled by previous speakers that there is hardly anything left for me to add so I pass on to the second recommendation, *vis.*—That Agricultural Banks be established and greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

Gentlemen, it has often been urged by the adverse critics of the Congress that we are always demanding too much from the Government, that we are constantly asking Government to do even such things for us as we can well do ourselves. Well, in supporting this resolution I do not consider it to be my business to answer in general those allegations; all that I need say here, is that as far as this recommendation is concerned the above allegation utterly falls to the ground.

Situated as we are in the muffussil it is next to impossibility to establish without substantial help from the Government, Agricultural Banks which would give any material relief to those for whom they are intended. To show that this is no more assertion of mine I shall here briefly state what an Agricultural Bank is, how it is worked and what is its main object. It is an institution based on co-operative principles where only those persons who are members of that Bank can transact business such as obtaining loans and depositing any small sums as they may have left as surplus. They are all jointly and severally liable for the loss and are benefitted, though indirectly by the profit the Bank makes, this unlimited liability amongst the members gives the Agricultural

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Bank its stability and to this it owes its unqualified success in Germany and other European countries, where it has been introduced and being worked with wonderful results for the last half of a century. It is said that not a single Bank has failed up to date and not a penny has been lost in any of them. It has been introduced amongst the poorest classes of peasantry most helplessly indebted to the local money-lenders and everywhere its advent has been worked with speedy disappearance of the linal descendants of Shylock and rapid prosperity amongst the agricultural and industrial classes.

In Europe the Banks are established more or less by private bodies called "Organisation Society." Now, Gentlemen, it may well be asked why could not Banks be established here by private bodies as well. My twenty years' experience in the mufussil with thousands of poor agricultural families with whom I am connected intimately in more ways than one, tells me that it is next to impossibility to have such organisation societies here in India, especially in the mufussil. In presidency and other big provincial towns where you have regular Banks one may obtain money on approved security at a rate of interest as low as 3 per cent. per annum and sometimes even lower. But gentlemen specially those who have not much experience of the mufussil will be astonished when I say that the lowest rate of interest at which money is advanced to the agricultural classes in the mufussil by the local money-lenders is 19½ per cent. per annum and often going up as high as 75 per cent., and very seldom you can obtain money in the mufussil even on the security of substantial landed property at anything less than 12 per cent. per annum. I hope Gentlemen, now I have been able to make it clear to you that when capital can find easy and safe investment at 12 per cent. per annum in the mufussil it would be madness to suppose that capitalists would form into an organisation society and advance money to Agricultural Banks at a rate of interest varying from 6 to 9 per cent. per annum and on security far inferior to what they can obtain elsewhere for loans at much higher rates. Business can only be carried on business principles, you can not expect every one to be a patriot or a philanthropist. Viewing in this light we find that this difficulty can be overcome and without any loss to any party if Government lends us a helping hand. We are all aware of the fact that Government can obtain money to any extent at 3½ per cent. and if it advances the same to capitalists in the mufussil formed into organization societies for the purpose of establishing Agricultural Banks at 4½ per cent. they in their turn can lend to the Agricultural Banks at rates varying from 6 to 9 per cent.; the margin thus left will not be divisible but will form the nucleus of the capital of the organisation societies so that in time these organisation societies may be independent of advances from Government though not of Government control.

I hope I am not giving out any official secret if I mention here that lately an effort was made to establish some Agricultural Banks in some of the villages of a District by the District Magistrate independently of Government advances, but as was foreseen it did not succeed owing to capital not forthcoming. I then suggested to him to proceed on the lines mentioned before and, I am glad to say that he has approved of my plan, but how far he will succeed with the Government it remains to be seen. I hope this resolution if adopted by the Congress will materially strengthen his hands.

I now pass on to the 3rd recommendation *vis.*, "that steps &c., to meet them." In connection with this I need only remind the landed proprietors, specially of the permanently settled provinces, that of every rupee they collect from their tenants only a small fraction of it finds its way to the Government treasury and they appropriate the rest of it, and if we are to urge Government to extend the permanent settlement to those parts of the country where it does not exist, we must be prepared to show that

it is really beneficial to both the landed proprietors and their tenants and not taken advantage of by the former for increasing their income at the expense of the latter.

I need not touch on the 4th and 5th recommendations as they have been fully explained to you by previous speakers. With these remarks I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Guha supported the resolution in Bengali.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT—I now adjourn the Congress for half an hour.

After noon.

THE PRESIDENT—We now resume our proceedings. As there is much to be done, we allow ten minutes to the mover of a resolution and 5 minutes to the seconder and the supporter.

Mr. Gour in proposing the 4th resolution said :—

Mr. President and fellow delegates,—I rise to propose the 4th resolution which has been committed to my charge, and which, as you will see from the agenda paper runs as follows :—“That the Congress once again records its deliberate opinion that the separation of judicial and executive functions is necessary in the interests of righteous and efficient administration of justice ; the Congress is supported in this opinion by high and distinguished authorities, intimately familiar with the administration of criminal justice in India, such as Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Markby, Sir James Jardine, Mr. Reynolds and others. This Congress understands that the question is now under the consideration of the Government of India ; and having regard to the soundness of the principle involved, the unanimity of public sentiment on the subject, and above all, to the numerous instances of failure of justice resulting from the combination of judicial and executive functions, this Congress appeals to the Government of India to introduce this much-needed reform which has been too long delayed, partly through the fear of loss of prestige and the weakening of the Executive Government, but chiefly on the score of expense which, it is believed, will not be heavy and which in any case ought not to be an insurmountable difficulty.”

You will observe, Gentlemen, that this resolution is comprehensively worded, and that it does not require an elaborate speech to commend itself to you. Indeed, if I were in England, and speaking to an English audience, I am sure, Gentlemen, that I would have been drummed out of the hall as a lunatic trying to support an obviously axiomatic proposition. For the fusion of the functions in one individual is a thing of the past in England. It is indeed a recognised canon in all European jurisprudence that a person who has wielded the baton of a constable shall not wear the ermine of the judge, and that the thief-catcher shall on no account be made a judge, in the same case. Indeed, the justice of this rule is so universally recognised, that even the apostles of combination dare not question it. They say that the rule is sound in the abstract, but they contend that what is good in England is not necessarily good for this country, and that what is sauce for the English goose is not sauce for the Indian gander. (*Laughter and cheers*). Now, I will show you that far from this being the case the combination of the two functions in the same man leads to such frequent and egregious miscarriages of justice that, it is the bound duty of the Government to order at once the separation of the two functions. We shall not be put off with vague political shibboleths of non-possumus. We must have clear and cogent reasons before we can sit quiet and believe that the thing is impossible.

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No, Gentlemen, nothing can possibly reconcile us to this state of things. The system is pernicious in the extreme to the impartial distribution of justice. It offends against the first rule of natural equity that the constable shall not be the judge, that the keen hunter who has taken a sportsman-like delight in pursuing a real or supposed criminal shall not sit in judgment upon him. And I am sorry to say, Gentlemen, that this is every day done under the present system. (*Yes, yes*). You of course, know that throughout India, the Collector Magistrate or the Deputy Commissioner, (as he is called in the non-regulation Provinces) is the head of the District Police. The Police Superintendent is his assistant in the Police Department, who looks up to him for advice and guidance in all matters which concern his Department. Now, suppose an offence has been committed in a district, what is the procedure? The Police subordinate often proceeds upon the spot and makes investigation into the case. If he finds no clue, as the case is one of importance, he reports it to his Superintendent who, let us suppose, considers the case of sufficient importance to call for his personal exertions. He then proceeds to the spot and takes up the enquiry. Now, we all know that in all such cases, the defenders are as much on the alert as the prosecution. If the prosecution strive to collect all the threads of evidence against an individual towards whom evidence of suspicion may point, the individual concerned is equally busy in dragging the red herring across the trial. His friends are equally active, it may be presumed, in reconnoitering the situation, supplying him with information and thus baffle the prosecution by all means within their power, and thus save their friend from the ignominy, if it may be a wholly false prosecution. Here then there is a tug of war between the Police and the suspected offender. It may be that in such cases, the case turns upon the evidence of single individual, of an accomplice or approver. What is then the Police to do? The Superintendent naturally seeks the advice of the District Magistrate and the latter is perfectly within his rights to suggest stratagems to get round the witness and thereby supply the missing link necessary for the successful prosecution of the case. The Police may have to cajole or in some way bribe a witness to give the necessary evidence. Of all this the District Magistrate may not be ignorant. He is the recipient of the daily progress reports in such cases. Nothing can be done in the District of which he knoweth not—can it be argued that this officer is then competent to try the unfortunate wretch whose prosecution is due, it may be, to his successful strategy? No doubt this is an extreme case, that I have taken, but my experience at the Bar has convinced me that the case I have assumed is by no means uncommon. Oh, what a lurid light one can throw upon the proceedings of the Police if one were allowed access to the communications passing between the Police Superintendent and the Police Magistrate? The apotheosis of this unholy alliance of the Judicial and Executive is to be found in the Provinces called "non-regulated" such as the Punjab and the Central Provinces. There the District Magistrate possesses and wields larger powers. In Bengal and the regulated provinces, the Magistrate-Collector has powers of a first class Magistrate besides those conferred upon him as the Head of the District by the Code of Criminal Procedure. As such he has the power to incarcerate a man for at least a couple of years, inflict a heavy fine or try summarily and sentence him to a term against which there is even no appeal. And the most terrorizing of all powers—the power of whipping he possesses in common with all his subordinates, that is to say, all first class Subordinate Magistrates and all such second class Magistrates as are specially empowered. All the subordinate magistracy is directly under his control. His supremacy in the District is thus complete and almost uncontrolled. He is the great leviathan whose nod is sufficient to make or mar a man. As the head of the Police it is his duty to hear all reports against persons in his District. It is his duty to scrutinize and pass orders on the Police confidential diary. As a collector he comes in daily contact with the people.

It is not unnatural that a man with so many functions to discharge and of so varying a nature should acquire some local bias. The grass-hopper takes his colour from the grass he feeds upon, and it is impossible to believe that the District Magistrate remains absolutely unbiassed by all that he sees, hears and is impressed by. Such a man is certainly incompetent to sit as an impartial arbiter of justice. A trial before him is often a mockery. And if the trial ended in conviction that the unfortunate victim has but a poor chance for redress in appeal. Thus then, Gentlemen, it has been wisely ordained by the jurist of Europe that the two functions shall not be allowed to be performed by the same man. It is the wisdom of our books that every man is presumed to be innocent till he is legally proved to be guilty. But what can you expect from an officer, who starts with the assumption that the man is guilty, prove what he may. Thus then you will see how incongruous and inconsistent it is to combine the two functions. And now I shall have a word to say as to the subordinate magistracy. When I come to this class of officers, I have nothing but commiseration for their position which in spite of their conscience maketh cowards of them all. It is impossible, Gentlemen, that these men whose pay and promotion depends upon the good will of their superior officer, the District Magistrate, should be otherwise. No doubt there are many honorable exceptions among them. But a system which so easily lends itself to abuse, is not a system which we can commend or tolerate. (*Applause*). It is not a system which is the proudest boast of the British rule in India. (*Renewed applause*). I have hitherto touched only upon one aspect of the case. But you will find Gentlemen, that from whatever point of view you look at the thing, it will be found to be equally ugly. And moreover the District Officer, and for the matter of that, the Deputy Collector has so much to do and so many things to do, it is impossible for him to specialize in any one of them. He is the maid of all work and like such maids he is apt to ride rather roughshod over the government crockery. (*Laughter*). A man who has to do many things cannot have leisure to study law. And how can it be expected that he should be able to master the intricacies of our law and equity so as to mete out even-handed justice. A quack is justly regarded with suspicion by the medical fraternity. Why should a quack lawyer any more be tolerated? (*Laughter and cheers*). And yet this is what the present system encourages. It is its necessary consequence. The District Officer with all aptitudes has no time to study law. He is not a trained lawyer, he never was one. He therefore deals out summary justice in a summary fashion, and is naturally impatient of lawyers, whom he regards as so many poachers on his preserve, and but for whom he thinks he would get on very well indeed. Then again it is notorious that men so situated naturally regard judicial work with no particular fondness, they know that tax-gathering brings quick promotion, trying cases often leads to castigation and so the work of the judge is relegated to the spare moments whilst all the available activity is concentrated upon the collection of the taxes and land revenue. And this necessitates camping out: For a District Officer must study his district, and so it happens that a long procession of parties and witnesses have to march with the Collector Magistrate in his tours through the district. You can easily imagine the inconvenience thus occasioned. "Bis qui cito dat" says the proverb. And the criminal exclaims "send me to jail but send me soon. Do not keep me moving about with you for days together, tied to your chariot in your triumphal procession." Alas for the misery of such wretches. The time worry and the expense thereby occasioned has never been calculated. If it were, I am sure even the most jealous apostles of the present system would condemn it, shudder at it at once, and throw up the sponge. And now Gentlemen, I shall briefly turn to the objections raised to our proposals. The ancient objection about prestige is I think now given up that Heirophant of Anglo-India, the Pioneer, has pronounced against its validity in clear and unmistakable terms, has shown that the prestige of the officer will in no way

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suffer by the desired change. And why should it? Even Sir Charles Elliot who was your Lieutenant-Governor and who tried to champion the cause of combination has not dared to put forward that argument. I think that the plea of prestige is dead and buried—aye, Gentlemen, dead and buried as Queen Anne. But let me guard against its resurrection. Let me offer my last rights to its great memory so that its soul may hereafter rest in peace, and that it may not once more burst open its coffin, and re-visit the glimpses of the moon making the cause doubly hideous. (*Cheers*). To be serious, Gentlemen, the argument of prestige is about the weakest that I have ever heard advanced in a weak cause. For what does it mean? Only this that the District Magistrate adds to the dignity of the Collector and facilitates the latter's work. Now, the Collector is either just or unjust. If he is a lover of justice, the people need not fear him for being also a Magistrate. Then it must be because they apprehend that he may at any moment take advantage of his dual capacity, and if so, perpetrate an injustice. A combination which strikes such terror into the minds of the people is a combination, mischievous, impolitic, and offends against the very rudiments of political morality. The Government does not rule by the power of terrorism. I hope no such dilemma will ever confront the Government. I am sure no champion will dare face it. And there is no other course open to the advocates of combination. I will now pass on to the second, and now the favourite objection, namely, that based on the score of expenditure. Now, Gentlemen, we need not fear this bogey of additional expenditure. For we know that if that be the only difficulty there is nothing easier than to surmount it. It is admitted that the present staff has to discharge the double duties. Now, by assigning the judicial work to some and solely executive work to the others, the difficulty should be easy of solution. Thus if suppose that there are four hands in a district, two could easily be set apart for the judicial and the remaining two for the executive work. No doubt, by mere redistribution of work, the separation cannot be efficiently effected. But taking this into account, the additional expenditure involved would be inconsiderable, and the resultant good incalculable. One more word, Gentlemen, and I have done. (*Cries of go on, go on*). The separation of the two functions has been from time to time advocated by all the thinking Viceroys and responsible statesmen. Lord Dufferin, no friend of the Congress, was forced to admit the righteousness of our demand. The High Courts have uniformly, though not unanimously advocated it. It is only the *vis inertia*, some vague, shadowy dread of the change which is withholding this necessary reform from us. We have been agitating for it in the Congress and the Press. We have now brought it within the dominion of practical politics. Let us go on hammering on the same theme pertinaciously, persistently and we are certain of success. Let us not despair, because it has not yet come. Gentlemen, I move the resolution which stands in my name. (*Loud cheers*).

Honourable Mr. Srinivas Rao in seconding the 4th resolution said:—

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the proposition, which has been so ably and eloquently put before you. The reform is one with reference to which there cannot be two opinions. Of course, before you accept it, you would like to apply many tests, and see whether it is worthy of your acceptance. So therefore, let me apply the first test to it. This is a reform for which we have been trying for over 16 years. And not only have we been asking for it from the Congress platform, but also from elsewhere. If the Congress men alone ask for it, it would certainly be put down as proceeding from those who may be said to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But it is not so. Gentlemen of eminent position in England have acknowledged it to be a question of importance (*Hear, hear*). They said it is a reform which ought to come in soon. Just see, what a Governor-General and Viceroy of India said, Lord Dufferin called it “a counsel of perfection.” Do you

want any further credential than that? Then adopt it, rather, I must say, carry it with acclamation at once. No one here, after having heard Mr. Gour, can doubt within his heart of hearts that this is a reform which is necessary, at least experienced Muffusil friends will tell you that this is absolutely necessary. I will not mention to you many instances, however, I do mention one. You recollect in the southernmost district of the Madras Presidency, there was a time recently when there was what was called "Anti-shanar movement." A gentleman of the shanar caste has come here as a delegate from Madura, and I am asked to tell you on his behalf and on behalf of others that the bitter feeling that was exhibited in those days are now things of the past. And my own impression of it is that there should be no recurrence of it in future. But, nevertheless, it did take place. A number of people were charged with committing Dacoity, and so many as 40 of them were put before the Magistrate and the case was hanging fire over their heads for nearly two years,—can you believe it for nearly two years? No doubt, there was one circumstance which had to be taken into consideration. After the discharge of the case the matter went up to the Session's Judge, who ordered its retrial. But, nevertheless can you believe that there can be such a state of things in the administration of justice? Is it proper to have 40 men in the dock and to tell them that you must undergo the trial for two years? Why is this, Sir? Is it because you have not got Magistrates, who will devote the whole of their time to their legitimate business, or is it due to any other reason? A trial and experiment has been made in the Madras Presidency by that Government. The trial there has not proceeded to the Superior Magistrates. It has been only tried up by the second class Magistrates who are called Stationary Sub-magistrates. I do not propose to quarrel with this name by which the Government calls them. But still, so far as the disposal of justice is concerned, they are doing their business in a manner which is very satisfactory and which is good to the people. If that is so, so far as the Stationary Sub-magistrates are concerned, why not carry it a little further? If you have the Government to decide, Government might say that this is a reform which is not urgently needed. But, what is the opinion of the people? They say that their request is not unreasonable, it is not absurd, and it ought to be given to them. The Government may say that their pockets are not full. Well, if they are not full, who is to blame? A discussion of this matter will make me exceed my time. Therefore, even at the risk of increasing the debt of India, the reform which is absolutely necessary, must be carried out, and the Government here and at home who admit the great urgency of the reform will, we believe, see fit to give to us the gift that we long for and until then we are determined to be hammering for it. With these words, Gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance (*Cheers*).

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Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar in supporting the 4th resolution said :—

Friends and Countrymen,—I have so often spoken on this subject that I really wished I had been spared on the present occasion. But, Gentlemen, an executive authority is everywhere the same (*Laughter*), whether in the arena of civil administration, or on the Congress platform, (*Hear hear*). Always imperious in its behests and seldom reasonable in its arguments, its iron will must be the law unto everybody; and so I, too, like a doomed gladiator suddenly summoned to the scene must, for your momentary amusement, submit to my fate. Brother Delegates, it is really with a certain amount of nervousness and not without a feeling of deep suspense that we can approach this important question to-day. After sixteen years of persistent agitation, both here as well as in England, with the accumulated wrongs of an entire decade written in burning letters in the records of this Congress, not infrequently wavering alternately between hope and despair, we have, in the prophetic words of George Yule, passed through the stage of ridicule, passed through the stage of opposition, passed also through the misty

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atmosphere of Official platitudes and equivocations ; and at last we are in sight of a faint glimmering light which, if we are not deceived, probably betokens the dawn that is to see our journey's end. Gentlemen, the representation of Lord Hobhouse and others, presented to the Secretary of State about two years ago, has brought this question to a head, and His Excellency the Viceroy has told us at Silchar that he has received voluminous reports from the various Local Governments and Administrations which will shortly receive his attention. Gentlemen, we have the fullest confidence in Lord Curzon's judgment. (*Hear, hear*). At the same time his Lordship will permit us to point out one irregularity in the procedure which may possibly prejudice us in the case Lord Hobhouse and others simply formulated the charges and broadly indicated the lines on which the enquiry was to be held. The enquiry has been, however, so far carried on entirely *exparte*. When, therefore, the Government of India invited the opinions of the Local Governments on the subject, non-official testimony ought also to have been received in the case. (*Hear, hear*.) If, however, such a course was not deemed expedient at the beginning, now that the official reports have been received, it would be only fair if these reports were published and an opportunity given to the public to controvert them if necessary. Gentlemen, there can be no denying the fact that the question is one between the Local Governments on one side and the people on the other ; and let us hope and trust that a statesman like Lord Curzon will not subscribe to the objectionable practice of sometimes secretly listening to one side only without hearing the other. But, Gentlemen, what after all may now reasonably be the objections to the proposed reform ? The soundness of the principle of your proposal is universally admitted ; that the present system has become the fruitful source of scandalous proceedings in our Law Courts which have not infrequently dragged even Governments and High Courts into obliquy, can not be denied ; that it has accumulated and aggravated the difficulties of governing the Empire cannot be ignored ; that it has more than ever accentuated racial jealousy and discontent cannot easily be overlooked. Where then lies the obstacle to the carrying out of the proposed separation between the two functions ? The Local Governments can now have no answer unless they choose to throw off the mask and openly declare, we cannot do without it ; we have lived and grown with it, and although there may have been many an unseemly quarrel with it, there cannot be any divorce. (*Laughter and cheers*). This is, Gentlemen, what is sometimes euphemistically called the broad ground of administrative expediency—an expression (thanks to the genius of the man who first coined it) which, if it has any meaning, serves only to illustrate the trite old paradox of the great French pessimist, that language was invented not to express but to conceal human thoughts. For what is *administrative expediency* ? Expediency divorced from fairness, justice and equity ? He must be a very bold man who can in these days seriously advance such a doctrine in any civilized administration. But Gentlemen, whether it be frankly admitted or not, centralization of authority is their cardinal doctrine of faith, though, of course as far as their own relations with the Supreme Governments are concerned, these Local Governments are perhaps the staunchest advocates of the policy of decentralization. (*Laughter*). It is all the way, Gentlemen, from effete democracy to growing imperialism. Octopus-like the District Magistrate with all his myrmidons behind him, must be provided with a dozen tentacles with which to seize every victim that may chance to fall in their way. (*Laughter and cheers*). But who objects to his being regarded as the embodiment, or even the divine incarnation, of the executive authority ? Who objects to his having the general management of police matters ? We of the Congress would not object to his even being dressed up in police uniform. But no, that is not enough. The Magistrate must also be regarded as the centre of this solar system towards whom all functions must gravitate and round whom all judicial satellites must rotate (*Cheers and laughter*) Brother Delegates, this theory was, however, unknown to the mighty builders of this vast empire, and it was reserved only for the political empirics of the present day to discover this

grand law of political gravitation. (*Laughter*). The abuses of the present anomalous system, however, pointedly pressed on their attention, do not after all seem to appeal either to the conscience or to the sympathy of our rulers. The Government of the country from the Viceroy down to the Magistrate, is a huge mutual admiration society full of Arcadian repose and complacency. Like Narcissus of old it seems entranced with the loveliness of its own shadow, and has neither the leisure, nor the inclination to contemplate beauty in others. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, in the name of this Congress I again ask what is this theory of administrative expediency? I know you cannot like to hear of any more concrete cases on this subject; I know you are surfeited with the nasty cases which almost annually arise out of this anomalous system. Yet you will pardon me if I find myself constrained at this moment to refer at least to one case which appears to be the latest as well as the most disgraceful development of this scandalous system. (*A voice, the Noakhali case*). No wonder that it should be also uppermost in your mind. Yes, I mean the famous, or rather the infamous, Noakhali case. (*Cries of shame, shame*). You cry shame! Is not shame ashamed to sit on a case like that! (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, I will not, however, refer either to Osman Ali Daroga or to his patron saint; I will not refer to Mr. Pennell, or to my Lord the Chief Justice of Bengal; neither will I presume to pry into the secrets of the Bengal Secretariat, nor venture to take a big jump into the mysteries of the India Office. But I will simply call attention to the heavy penalty which the Government of Bengal has too dearly paid in this case for its unwholesome doctrine of administrative expediency and its morbid sentiment of prestige. Mr. Pennell is no doubt dismissed, and dismissed not on the merits of the case but on a flimsy technical ground, probably because it was high time that he should be removed from the service of a beauracritic government. If however from this the Government fancies that it has obtained a victory, it ought to be fairly reminded that after all it is only a Pyrrhic victory. (*Hear, hear*). Yes, Mr. Pennell has been dismissed; but alas! what has been the sacrifice? For look, there lies the mangled corpse of its vaunted prestige so ruthlessly minced by this relentless man and exposed in all the nakedness of its ugliness and deformity. There lies it in sordid dust, like he who first fell from heaven, a spectacle of shame and scorn to all the people. Of course a mighty despotic Government can well afford to ignore all public criticism; but perhaps it would not be as possible to control the verdict of history, as it is easy to stifle the feeble voice of a suffering subject-race. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, it is idle to dogmatize in matters of practical administration. Any one possessed of the most superficial knowledge of the workings of our subordinate law courts must admit that they generally present the appearance more of a mercantile house on a clearance day than the cool and dignified atmosphere of an august tribunal. Judicial work is their pastime and the Executive their only duty. How often Gentlemen, even in this slipshod administration, these subordinate Magistrates look up to the District Magistrate for inspiration. They have, Gentlemen, lately added another tutelary deity to their daily worship,—it is the District Superintendent of Police. Alas! how deep is the degradation that has made the judiciary of the country subservient even to a constabulary! I have heard it said that these are idle fancies, and that if such interference with the independence of Subordinate Magistrates really existed, any Government would take serious notice of such conduct on the part of the District Magistrates. What a grim mockery! Yes, indeed very serious notice was taken of the conduct of the Cantonment Magistrate of Jullunder for openly asking Col. Roberts to convict a man who was in the bad graces of the former; very serious notice was also taken of Mr. Phillip's conduct after the Mymensingh case, and equally serious was the notice taken of the conduct of Babu Satis Chunder Bose after the Khulna case; how very serious again has been the notice which has recently been taken of the conduct of Mr. Tweedle and Moulvie Zukeer Hossein of the Chupra case and of Mr. Reily of Noakhali fame! On the contrary is it not a fact—a stern, painful reality—

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that of recent years whenever an official has erred, public censure has invariably proved, more than his merit, as a passport for his speedy advancement in the service? Sir, consistency ought perhaps to be a virtue even in Governments and Administrations! (*Hear, hear*).

Gentlemen, as regards the financial aspect of the question much has been said in previous Congresses. I would only add that nothing short of misrepresentation can carry the supposed expenses beyond 6 to 7 lakhs of rupees for Bengal; while it must be less for other provinces. Gentlemen, you remember that more than 25 lakhs of rupees are the yearly surplus savings of judicial revenues in Bengal alone; and have not the people, whose life and blood this money represents, a right to claim barely one fourth of it to safeguard their lives and liberties as subjects of a civilised Government? Gentlemen, it is broadly rumoured that although some of the Local Governments, as might be expected, have vigorously opposed the proposed reform, the High Courts have expressed themselves strongly in favour of it. The High Courts are the palladium of the rights and liberties of the people and it is no wonder that they should support the cause of justice. It is of course expected that in a matter like this there should be divergence of opinion even among them as regards minor details, but it is the duty of the Executive to evolve a system out of these various opinions.

Gentlemen, I will now invite your attention to a weightier expression of opinion, it is the opinion of the Viceroy himself. Speaking at Rangoon only a fortnight ago on the unfortunate question of the appointment of a civilian as Chief Judge at Rangoon His Excellency said,—“I emphatically repudiate the insinuation which is without any excuse that proposed change is intended to maintain the subordination of the Judiciary to the Executive. The time has gone by, if it ever existed, when such an idea could enter the heads of the rulers of India.” Amen, responds this Congress. (*Cheers*). If the time has gone by, may it never return again. Brother Delegates, I think I can almost see through your minds at the present moment. You are probably thinking of many a past promise which in years gone by betrayed you into false hopes and aspirations. (*Cheers*). You probably recall to mind the words of Lord Cross and Lord Dufferin, and no wonder that repeated disappointments should make you sceptical about official declarations. I too would not ask you to add another ineffectual bead to your political rosary. But there is some difference in the present case, Lord Curzon is said to be a strong-minded practical statesman who seldom speak out anything, about the sincerity of which he is not fully convinced. But supposing that the fates have ordained otherwise and that we must again suffer a grievous disappointment; what then?—is the question. We have not betted our cause on any official declaration; it is not a game in which we have cast our lot. Even supposing that Lord Curzon were to prove no more friendly to this most just cause than some of his predecessors, and also assuming that his Lordship were to leave for us nothing behind him but some of his fine speeches, the question is, are we to give up our agitation over this vital question, and are we to throw down our arms and abjectly declare that we surrender to our fate? Why, are not there those who are coming after us? Do we not owe it to posterity to hand over to them at all events the standard which we have taken in our hands in their name and for their welfare? We are a people that have for centuries passed through endless sufferings: but yet we are not among the dead nations of the world. Many an old nation has become extinct as the Dodo, but we still live. Work with heart within and God overhead, and a time will come, come it will as the day follows the night, when some force more potent than ours, some power irresistible in its course, will work, through the agency of the great British nation, the salvation of a great fallen race. Indeed when I behold the sea of bright faces around me in this great gathering of my countrymen, when I contemplate the unflinching determination by which they are all animated and inspired; and above all

when I realize the absolute justice of my country's cause, methinks I hear the not very distant.

"—tread of pioneers of nations yet to be,

The first slow rush of waves where soon shall roll the mighty sea." (*Loud cheers*).

Babu Kaliprossana Kubyabisarad supported the resolution in Bengali.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Kally Charan Banerjee, who was received with loud cheers, moved the fifth resolution, and said :—

Mr. President and Brother delegates,—The resolution I am called upon to move is in these words, "That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be strengthened so far as appeals from India are concerned and this Congress respectfully ventures to suggest that Indian lawyers of eminence should be appointed as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the determination of appeals from India" Let me at the outset for myself and if you will permit me, on your behalf as well, disavow not the least reflection on their Lordships of Judicial Committee for the time being. What we pray for is, that provision should be made for what might be called aids of necessity, the acceptance of which I take it, is consistent with the dignity of the most learned of Judges. (*Hear, hear*). In justification of the resolution I have the honour to place before you—I need not say anything on my own responsibility—I will quote the testimony of one, who while in India, was Chief Justice of two of our High Courts and whose retirement from India has not only served to bring into greater relief his sympathetic interest in India and the Indian Writing in the Law Quarterly Review (1900) Sir Comer Petheram closes the article in these words,—“It must not be forgotten that there are some decisions of the Judicial Committee which have caused and are causing great dissatisfaction and considerable distress in India, and it seems probable that confidence in that tribunal can never be re-established among the natives of India, until those decisions have been reversed in some way, and the law of the Courts again brought into accordance with the law of the people.” That is Sir Comer Petheram's testimony with regard to some of the decisions of the Judicial Committee. Perhaps at this stage, I may lay before you two or three illustrations. The law of the Courts, as Sir Comer Petheram puts it, the law of the Courts as declared by the Judicial Committee, for example, has in a very practical contest abolished the distinction between the Mitakshar family and the Dayabhaga family as far as the position of a son is concerned. The law of the Courts now is that the interest of the son in a Mitakshara family is liable to be invited for the purpose of satisfying the debts of his father so long as those debts do not appear to have been incurred for immoral purposes. While in India the people will have us to believe their own law. While the Mitakshara family continues in tact in the view of the people, the law of the Court has been based on a different footing. Well, again when we pass on to the law of Adoption, there too we find that the law of the Court has set itself wide apart from what Sir Comer Petheram calls the law of the people. As far as, at any rate, we in Bengal and our brethren in Bombay are concerned, the Judicial Committee has introduced a revolution in the law of Adoption. While hitherto we have been under the impression—and while we have been given effect to that impression in actual life—while we have been under the impression that only son cannot be given in adoption, the Law of the Court, as we have now have it, declares for Bengal and Bomday, perhaps to the joy of our brethren in Madras and North-Western Provinces, that an only son may be given in adoption, that there is no legal bar to such giving, where the context has only a moral force and not a legal force. We remember also what perhaps you have by this time got fairly reconciled to, that the law of the Court has declared that any authority

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given by a husband to his co-wives (if the husband has more than one wife), authority to adopt, that such an authority can be of no practical value, for there can be but one child adopted. And then to refer to one other matter in connection with Mahomedan law. You may be aware most of you, that the law of the Courts as declared by the Judicial Committee, has dealt a fatal blow to the system of Mahomedan family settlement. And if you read the judgment delivered by one of their Lordships of the Judicial Committee, you will find that the judgment of the Mahomedan judge, who is described there as a Mahomedan lawyer, is dismissed with the remark that his judgment is founded on an abstract text. Brother delegates, it sounds somewhat strange that the Mahomedan lawyer should be credited with believing his theory as abstract text, as if an English judge were an expert in current Mahomedan life. This illustration will suffice to show you that this discrepancy between the law of the Court and the law of the people is being widened more and more and widened perhaps hopelessly. We need not wonder at this state of things and here also with your permission I will quote another passage from Sir Comer Petheram's article. He gives you the reason why You may always expect such a state of things unless some remedies were proposed and adopted. Sir Comer Petheram says, "Both Hindu and Mahomedan law may be roughly described as consisting of the precepts of the sages as interpreted by the customs of the people, and every one who has had experience of India knows that instances occur where it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain from books what the customs of the people in some particulars are. In India English Judges can consult their Hindu or Mussulman colleagues, and those who are members of the Civil Service have themselves had large experience of the people and their customs; but a judge in England is very differently situated and from his position as judge is precluded from himself making enquiries which an assessor, whose only duty was to inform the judge, might make without loss of dignity." Such being the state of things it is not wonderful that we should have decision like that referred to you emanating from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. What we propose is that Indian lawyers of eminence should be appointed as lawyers of the Judicial Committee and participate in the determination of all the appeals from India. In this context I may call your attention to the fact that there was a time when the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council confided greater confidence. Sir Comer Petheram refers to other period with emphasis as he refers to the state of things during a latter period; he refers to the time when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had the assistance of such lawyers of eminence as Sir Edward Ryan, Sir James Colvil, Sir Lawrence Peel, and he says, "It is worthy of note that during that time the reputation of the Judicial Committee rose to its greatest height in India and gained the entire confidence of the Indian people." What we desire is, to secure to the decision of the Judicial Committee the reputation and the confidence here referred to, and that that should be restored to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We say Indian lawyers of eminence should be associated with the Judicial Committee. One word as to what we mean by Indian lawyers of eminence. No doubt nothing would gladden our hearts so much as the association, with their Lordships of the Judicial Committee, Indian lawyers of eminence. In the sense of lawyers of eminence, we mean natives of India. But if we cannot expect that such concession should be made as yet, we mean by Indian lawyers of eminence who have been in India. That by "Indian" I understand as including both natives of India and those who have been in touch with the Indian people, who had been taking sympathetic interest of India and Indian people, be they natives of India or Englishmen. If such lawyers of eminence were associated with the Judicial Committee, we may have restored to us the days when such men as I have referred to gave their assistance to the deliberation of the Committee. I will not detain you longer. With these remarks I move the resolution. (*Loud cheers*).

Mr. P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, in seconding the fifth resolution said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition which has so ably been moved by my esteemed leader Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee. Of all the requests which have been made in the Congress, of all the proposals which have been moved, the request contained in this proposal appears to me to be one of the most reasonable. There is no new departure, no new principle involved in this proposal. It is simply the grant of the extension of the principle which has already been applied in regard to the High Courts. There was a time, when in the High Courts there was no native Indian judge to assist in administering justice. But the association of native Indian Judges in the High Courts has been of the greatest possible benefit in the administration of justice, and has proved a pillar of strength to the High Courts. Our native High Court Judges have proved that they are at least as fit for the discharge of duties as their European colleagues. The distinguished names of Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, Mr. Justice Romesh Chander Mitter, Mr. Justice Mathuswami Ayer, Mr. Justice Telang and Mr. Justice Mahmood can ever be placed side by side with the names of the eminent Anglo-Indian Judges. We simply ask that the same principle be extended and applied to the Privy Council. With regard to the Colonies, such as Canada, South Africa, and Australia and the dependency of Ceylon, the principle has already been applied. We simply ask that the same principle should be extended to India and that she should be represented by native Judges in the Privy Council. My learned leader has referred to two instances, in which, he thinks, the Privy Council has declared the law in a manner inconsistent with the opinions of the people of this country. But they are cases in which a divergence of view is possible as to the soundness of the Privy Council decisions. There is, however, one instance which has been omitted to be referred to. I refer to the decision which holds that all impartible Zemindaris are alienable in the absence of a special custom to the contrary. This decision has done great mischief and is likely to break up the landed aristocracy of the country. If there is an infusion of native Indian lawyers we may hope for greater agreement between the decisions of Privy Council, and the opinions of the people of this country.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Gandhi who was received with loud cheers, in moving the 6th resolution said :—

Mr. President, and Brother Delegates, the resolution that I have to commend to your attention is as follows :—That this Congress sympathises with the British Indian settlers in South Africa in their struggle for existence and respectfully draws the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the anti-Indian legislation there, and trusts that while the question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies is still under the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of States for the Colonies, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure for the settlers a just and equitable adjustment thereof.

Gentlemen, I appear before you not as a delegate, but more as a petitioner on behalf of the hundred thousand British Indians in South Africa, and probably also of the future emigrants, who we wish would go outside of India and carry with them the status of British subjects. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, South Africa, as you are aware, is almost as big as India and has a British Indian population of one hundred thousand, fifty thousands of which are absorbed in the colony of Natal,—the only colony in South Africa that imports indentured labour, and it is that labour that raises this great question so far as South Africa is concerned. Gentlemen, throughout South Africa our grievances are two-fold. The first class of grievances arises from the anti-Indian attitude of the European colonists, and the second class of grievances arises from the reproduction of that anti-Indian feeling in anti-Indian Legislation throughout these poor colonies in South Africa. To give you an instance of the first class of grievances I may

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tell you, that all the Indians, no matter who they may be, are classed as coolies. (*Shame, shame*). If our worthy President were to go to South Africa, I am afraid, he too will be classed as a coolie, as a member of the semi-civilised races of Asia; Gentlemen, I will give you two illustrations to show how that that term coolie has worked mischief throughout South Africa. A short time ago, last year, I believe, the son of the great Adamji Peerbhai of Bombay, himself a member of the Corporation, came to Natal. He had no friends there, he knew nobody. He applied for admission at several hotels, some proprietors who had better manners told him, they had no room. Whereas other proprietors replied "We do not accommodate coolies in our hotels." (*Shame, shame*). Gentlemen, the son of the Late Mr. Cowasjee Dinshaw of Aden, Mr. Kaskoba also came to Natal, and then he went to Cape Town. From Cape Town he was returning to Natal. He had to suffer great inconveniences before he could land. That was the time when there were plague restrictions in South Africa. He succeeded in securing a first class passage to Natal, but what happened when he came to Natal? The plague-officer landed all the first class passengers. When his turn came the plague-officer simply said, "I cannot land you, you seem to be an Indian, I have got instruction not to land any coloured people at all." And will you believe me, a telegram had to be sent to the Colonial Secretary of Natal, before he was allowed to land,—all this because he had a black skin.

Now as to the second class of grievances so far as Natal is concerned I am afraid, it is a sealed book. The legislation has been already sanctioned. It prevents any Indian from entering Natal unless he or she can write out in one of the European languages the form attached to the Emigration Act. This act prevents a very large body of Indians from emigrating to Natal. There is another law also in the Colony of Natal, namely the "Dealers' Licenses Act." That Act gives licensing officers almost absolute power to refuse or issue trade licenses. There is absolutely no appeal against these officers except to the executive body, Local Boards, and Corporations by whom the officers are appointed, in some cases with instructions that they are not to issue any Indian licenses. In the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope there is not much anti-Indian legislation. So far, as the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies are concerned, unfortunately for us the old legislation is still in force. In the Transvaal Indians must live and trade in location, they cannot walk in the footpath, they cannot own landed property except in location. The Orange River Colony we can only enter as labourers. Now with due deference to the uncrowned king of the Bombay Presidency (Mr. Mehta), I believe that our position is so very bad in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, because proper steps were not taken to withstand an attack on our rights as British subjects, and had no steps been taken in Natal, the position would be infinitely worse there to-day than it is. Such is the position throughout South Africa. What, then, is the remedy that the Congress can apply? Mr. Chamberlain has been so far very sympathetic with reference to the Transvaal. During the old regime, he sympathizes with our grievances, but could do very little, because he was then helpless. Such is not the position now. He is all-powerful. He has promised to confer with Lord Milner as to how the old legislation should be changed. Now, therefore, is the time for us in South Africa or never. After he has conferred, and after the changes have taken a practical shape, nothing can be done. Friends in England in their advice to me say, "Move the Indian public, let them hold public meetings, if possible send deputations to the Viceroy and do everything that you can to strengthen our hands here. The authorities are sympathetic, and you are likely to get justice;" that is one way in which you can show your sympathy, but we do not want mere lip sympathy, (*Hear, hear*) nor do we ask you to put your hands into your pockets. For the matter of that, our countrymen in South Africa have rendered very material help to the famine-stricken in India. You will be surprised to learn from me that the Colonial born Indians actually shed tears when they saw the pictures, we reproduced for distribution from the "Times of India." The Indians gave £2,000, and I must admit, the Europeans

too, at the time, came forward with handsome contributions. To return, there are delegates who are Editors of influential Newspapers, there are delegates who are Barristers, who are merchants, princes etc. All these can render very practical aid. The Editors can collect accurate information and overhaul in their papers the whole question of foreign emigration and ventilate our grievances systematically. Professional men can serve themselves and their countrymen by settling in South Africa. The Congress is, I believe, meant, among other things, to testify to our ability to stand side by side with the other civilized races of the world in foreign enterprises and self-government. Now, if we were to look for a moment, at European emigration, we will find the speculator followed by the trader who in his turn is followed by the missionary, the doctor, the lawyer, the architect, the engineer the agriculturist etc. No wonder if wherever they settle, they blossom into independent prosperous self-governing communities. Our traders have gone in their thousands to the different parts of the world, to South Africa, Zanzibar, Mauritius, Fiji, Singapore etc. Are they followed by Indian Missionaries, Barristers, Doctors, and other professional men? It is unfortunately the European Missionaries who try to teach religion to the poor emigrants, European lawyers, who give them legal advice and European Doctors, who cannot understand their language, try to give them medical advice. Is it then any wonder if the traders groping in the darkness not knowing what their rights are, not knowing where to go to for directing their boundless energy into proper channels and surrounded by strange faces, are much misunderstood and are obliged to settle down to a life of humiliation and degradation? This evening our proceedings were opened with a song, the last verse of which exhorts us to undertake foreign enterprises with strictest honesty and love for our land as moral equipment, knowledge as our capital, and unity as the source of our national strength. Gentlemen, if some of the distinguished Indians, I see before me to-night, were to go to South Africa inspired with that noble spirit, our grievances must be removed. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

Mr. A. Pillai in seconding the 6th resolution said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Gandhi has given you the history of his personal experience in South Africa. He has told you in clear language the disabilities which the Indian settlers in South Africa are subjected to, and the grievances from which they suffer. Of course I occupy a very unique position, that is, I cannot bear personal testimony to the experience which has been stated to you by Mr. Gandhi. But still, although all of us have not been to South Africa, we have read in newspapers long tales of woe, which the people are suffering. We have not only read in newspapers but many of us have listened on former occasion to Mr. Gandhi's able and stirring appeals on behalf of the poor settlers in South Africa. So our hearts can feel and sympathise with them, living as they do in as strangers in a strange land as Israelites of old in the land of Pharaoh. Now it is for us, although we are separated from these poor people by thousands of miles, still it is our duty, because they are Indians, to unite our cause with theirs and fight for the liberty of our brothers, to unite our prayers with theirs and see their condition ameliorated. It is stated that the question is under the consideration of the Secretary of State. It is fully hoped that the status of the Indian settlers will be improved and placed on a more rational basis. But I doubt if the Home Government *really* wishes to influence the Colonial Government. Gentlemen, we were told sometime ago that the Home Government cannot in any manner influence the Colonial Government. That answer is something like the answer which the Board of Revenue gives to Revenue appeal petitions. The petitions are submitted to them and the uniform reply is that "the Board regrets its inability to interfere in the matter." Gentlemen, we are told the question is under consideration. We hope, that some measures of justice will be done to improve the condition of our poor Indian brethren. With these few words I have much pleasure to second the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

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THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, 28th December 1901.

The Congress re-assembled at 12 A. M.

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Resolution VII.
Police Reform.

The President,—Gentlemen, we have very heavy work before us. I trust that each speaker will strictly limit himself to the time allowed. I won't hear the same cry of yesterday "go on", "go on."

Mr. S. Sinha, in moving the 7th resolution said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The reform that we are trying to seek through the medium of this resolution is one which, I have not the least doubt, not only to my mind but to the minds of you all, is one of most vital interest and importance to the best interests of the country, for I maintain that the reform of the Police Administration, if carried out, will be successful in achieving the primary, the most important and the original object with which this Congress was called into existence. What, Gentlemen, is the object,—the primary, the most important object, of this national gathering? No doubt there are different answers, and different answers have been given on different occasions by our leaders and spokesmen. Mr. W. C. Bonerjee in the first Session of the Congress declared that the object of the National Congress was to unify the people of India, to bring about greater sympathy among the educated classes and to represent to the Govt. the aspirations, and the grievances of the people. Mr. Gandhi, who spoke yesterday remarked that the great object of this national gathering was to testify to the intellectual superiority, and the capability for self-government, of the Indian people. But Gentlemen, if I were asked to express the object of the National Congress movement in one single word, I think, no gentleman either in this or outside this hall will dissent from me when I say, and when I put it in one single word, that the object of the National Congress is to *nationalize* British rule in India (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, how is this great object of nationalizing British rule to be achieved? So far as the educated class is concerned, we know and we fully realize that our highest and truest hopes and aspirations are bound up, enchained and entwined with the stability and permanence of British rule in this country. We certainly know, our spokesmen have declared time after time that the object of the Congress which we are striving after through this gathering, is to consolidate the foundation of British rule in this country. But there is no doubt, Gentlemen, that that idea has not yet filtered down to the masses. And, I submit, that it is by seeking reforms which appeal to the mind of the masses, that we shall make them realise that the British Government in this country, is in the truest sense of the term a National Government. There is not the least doubt that of all the departments the one which comes into contact most directly with the masses is the Police department. There is a handful of us, no doubt, whose intellectual horizon is clear by constitutional law and history and who know that the real ruler of this country is the Sovereign in Parliament assembled. But as to the vast bulk of the people in this country there is no doubt that their idea of the real ruler of the land is not that of a Viceroy or a Lieutenant-Governor or a Commissioner, or even a District Officer, but that their sole idea is that the Police

Officers are the real rulers of this country. Gentlemen, I have within my own experience on several occasions, noticed the fact that when a Sessions-Judge, or a Magistrate has acquitted a prisoner, the wife or the mother of the acquitted person has invoked a prayer that the Sessions-Judge or Magistrate may be raised to the position and the dignity of the Police Officer. Now, therefore, Gentlemen, there is no doubt in our minds, that the popularity or the unpopularity of the British Government in this country depends materially upon the popularity or unpopularity of the Police with the masses; and therefore I submit that the resolution about reforming and re-organising the Police department is one which deserves the foremost consideration at the hands of the Congress. Now, let us for a moment understand, what the organisation of the Police department is. I do not mean to refer to higher officials, the Inspector-General of Police or the Deputy Inspector-General of Police. I confine myself simply to the organisation of the District Police force. There is as you know in this country a District Superintendent of Police, with one Assistant District Superintendent, and a number of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. Let us see how these District Superintendents are recruited at the present moment. Only a few years ago there was absolutely no examinations for the recruitment of District Superintendents of Police. The recruitment simply lay as a privilege and prerogative at the hands of the Lt.-Governors and the Chief-Commissioners. It was simply due to favouritism that all these officials were selected from time to time (*Hear, hear*). Everybody fully knows that the higher ranks of the Police were then exclusively reserved for the Do-nothing of the Anglo-Indian Society. A distinguished Barrister, a distinguished Civilian or a High Court Judge if he had got a nephew or a son who was incapable of competing for the Civil Services or failed there or did not get on at the Bar, he was at once provided for in the Police department. That was natural. But it was a scandalous state of affairs. Recently however, they have introduced in England what they call a competitive examination for recruiting the higher ranks of the Police. But I declare in the name of the Congress that the Competitive Examination cannot be called a Competitive Examination in the true sense of the term. There cannot be a real Competitive Examination from which Indians are excluded, and which is confined only to British subjects of the King. Now, Gentlemen, that is a serious matter. It is a matter which affects the principle laid down repeatedly by the Parliament in statutes and by our late Sovereign, in Her memorable Proclamation that so far as the entrance into the Public services is concerned, there shall be no governing class in India. The statute of 1833 which was passed in the fifth year of William IV.'s reign laid down that no native of India shall be disbarred from competing for or appearing at any examination for entrance into the Public Services. Gentlemen, in forwarding that statute to the Government of India the Directors of the East India Company explained that the Parliament meant that there should be no governing caste in India. That principle was affirmed and proclaimed in Her late Majesty's Proclamation which is known to you all. And, therefore, in the the name of the Congress I must protest against any examination which excludes the people of the country from appearing at and competing for the same. You will see, Gentlemen, that a portion of the resolution which I am placing before you relates to this matter, and I hope our appeal to Lord Curzon will not fall on unsympathetic ears. And I hope that, before long, if the examination is to be carried on in England, it will be thrown open like the Civil Service Examination even to our countrymen and not only to British born subjects. Sir, I wish to say only a few words, as the time is rather pressing, about the recruitment of the Inspectors and the Sub-Inspectors. There is no doubt, Gentlemen, that the Police department is not merely for the investigation of crime. But mainly for the prevention of crime. And crimes cannot be prevented unless we have got a trained staff of competent officers, who know the language and the customs and manners of the people of the land. So long, therefore, as Indians of position and culture

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are not taken in the higher ranks of the Police, the Police in this country will not be an efficient body. We therefore say that the present system which confines Indians to the ranks of Inspectors and Sub-inspectors should be modified and the emoluments which are at present so small and paltry should be improved and that better pay and prospects should be offered to them and not only that, but that the number of Indians in the service should be at the same time increased. Fancy, Gentlemen, I wonder if you are all aware that in the most enlightened provinces of India, in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, there are out of so many officers in the higher ranks of the Police, only six who are Indians. I think you will agree with me when I say, that this is a most scandalous state of affairs, and I am sure, that when there are only six officers in the higher ranks in Bengal, the situation in other provinces is certainly, in that respect, no better but worse off. And therefore, I think our prayer for a larger employment is very reasonable, just and proper, and the limit fixed by the Government that only one-sixth of the higher ranks will be given to Indians is certainly unjust and improper and that rule should be cancelled. Gentlemen, the question is often asked what suggestion can you offer for the improvement of the present system and how men of a better calibre and stamina can be secured in the higher ranks of the Police. We all know that under the rules framed for the Provincial Civil Service, Deputy-Magistrates have been appointed to act as District Magistrates, and if a Deputy Magistrate can be invested with the power and the position of a District officer is there any reason why a Deputy-Magistrate should not be appointed to act in the capacity of a District Superintendent of Police? Suggestions have often been made and submitted to Government and this suggestion I hope will be approved of by the Government. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, if time permitted, I could say a great deal more on the subject. I have thrown out some suggestions which will be taken up by the gentlemen, who will follow me. Before I resume my seat, I shall repeat what I have often said inside and outside the Congress and which I will not be tired of repeating, so long as life lasts, that the British rule in this country can be permanent, and can be broad-based as a national rule in this country in such a form as to bestow highest contentment and prosperity to the people of this land. Gentlemen, it is a fact which history justifies and which any reader or student of history can seek for himself and test for himself that although in this world large empires have been founded from time to time and various empires have come into existence through physical and muscular forces but that they have been only retained and retained so long as they had been based on moral considerations and moral forces. I, therefore, hope that the reform of the Police administration which we ask the Government to carry out and which Lord Curzon has himself declared to be a problem of vital interest, will be carried out before long. Gentlemen, you will be surprised to learn that so far back, as 1860 when Sir Bartel Fryer was introducing into the council a bill which became Act V of 1861, he declared that the complaints were that the Police was everywhere oppressive, corrupt, un-disciplined and ill-supervised. These complaints he said began to be heard about the time of Lord William Bentinck. And although, 70 years have past since then, and the country has made marvellous progress along all times, still we hear the same complaints about the Police being corrupt, oppressive and un-disciplined and ill-supervised. Gentlemen, it is a matter of sincere congratulation, that we have got at present a Viceroy who is awake to the true responsibilities of the Government in this direction, and we hope that before the Congress meets again next year, we shall be in a position to congratulate ourselves that the reform has been carried out and our duty in the next Congress will be to congratulate Lord Curzon in having given this country one of the most needed reforms which will go, if not entirely, at least a very long way in broad-basing the foundations of the British rule upon our good-will and good-feeling, and gratitude, and affection, (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

Mr. V. R. Nambiar in seconding the 7th Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with great pleasure that I second the proposition that has just been proposed by Mr. Sinha. I am sure that every one of the delegates assembled in this Congress fully realizes the importance and the urgent character of the reform advocated in this Resolution. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the question of Police Reform is under the consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy in whose hands lies the solution of the question. The Resolution shews that the Police, as at present constituted is inefficient and is not conducive to good and efficient administration if it is not re-organised on the lines suggested in this Resolution. Those of you who come from the Mofussil stations of the different Provinces of this vast country can well realise the evils arising from the inefficient character of the present Police administration. The Police instead of being regarded as the protector of life and property are looked upon by many with terror. You are aware that detection and prevention of crimes are the chief function of the Police. Owing to the inefficient character of the present Police, many an offence goes undetected and many innocent persons are unnecessarily dragged to Criminal Courts. This unsatisfactory state of things is mainly due to the non-employment of educated Indians in the higher ranks of the Police and to the want of educated men in the subordinate ranks of the Police who seldom enter it on account of the present low salary. Many of you may be aware of the mischievous consequences arising almost every day from the inefficient character of the Police as at present constituted. Allow me to give you a notable instance of it. You must have heard of the unfortunate riots that took place towards the end of 1899 in Tinnevely the southernmost District of the Madras Presidency. If the Police there had been able to gauge in time the feelings of the people, much loss of life and property could have been avoided.

The officials in the higher ranks of the Police ought to be men who are conversant with the language, habits, thoughts and life of their subordinates and that the subordinate ranks ought to be filled by men of education and of sterling honesty. It is only then we shall have a Police who will give us security of life and property and who will preserve order and peace in the country.

In the higher ranks of the Police there are only a very small proportion of Indians. The figures I give are applicable only to the Presidency of Madras. I shall first take the City Police. There is the Commissioner of Police whose salary is Rs. 1,500 a month. He is a European. One Deputy Commissioner on a salary of Rs. 700 a month. He is also a European. Of the two Assistant Commissioners each on a monthly salary of Rs. 350 one is a native. Of the 16 Inspectors on a salary of Rs. 75 to 200 only two are natives. Coming to the Mofussil Police there is the Inspector-General of Police on a monthly salary of Rs. 2,500. He is a European. There are three Deputy Inspectors-General of Police each on a monthly salary of Rs. 1,200 1,400, none of them is a native. Then there is the Assistant Inspector-General of Police on a monthly salary of Rs. 700. He too, is a European. Of the 26 District Superintendents whose salary is Rs. 600 to 1,000, only one is an Indian and that too is only an acting appointment. Of the 24 Assistant Superintendents, two are Indians (permanent) and four have been appointed to act since 1889. Our thanks are due to Messrs. Stuart and Hammick who have made these acting appointments. They seem to sympathise with our aspirations. But what we want is that as a matter of right a fair proportion of the higher appointments ought to be thrown open to the natives of the soil who are qualified to fill the same. It cannot be fairly said that our educated men are not competent to fill high places in the Police service, for they have distinguished themselves in all the other departments of the State service. The

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highest places open to the Indians have been filled by our distinguished countrymen with credit. Even in the Police service, they have distinguished themselves. I mean in the Police service of the native States. I shall take the Police service in the native State of Mysore. The last two or three successive Inspectors-General of Police in Mysore have been natives of India. Mysore is a place where the interests of Europeans, Mahomedans and Hindus to be looked after. In such a State the highest place in the Police service has been filled with credit by natives of India. It also shews that our educated countrymen are competent to be at the head of the Police administration. If there is any service in which natives of the soil can, with advantage, be employed both in the higher and lower ranks it is the Police service whose officials ought to be conversant with the language, habits and life of the people. It is therefore highly desirable that the Police ought to be reorganised on the lines suggested in this Resolution. Men of education and of fair abilities do not enter the Police service as it is at present constituted, as there is no scope for them to rise in the higher ranks of the Police. The service is not attractive. When an educated man of fair abilities, enters the service, what he looks for is to what high position in the service he can rise. As at present ordinarily a native gets only an Inspector's place. It is only the luckiest man that gets an Assistant Superintendent's place. So the service is not attractive to men of fair attainments and abilities. Therefore I say that if it is reorganised on the lines indicated in this Resolution, the best men can be secured.

Competition in the Civil Service is open to natives of India. There is no reason why natives of India should be precluded from competing for the Police service. If Indians are allowed to compete for the service, I have no doubt that men of higher attainments and abilities can be secured to the advantage alike of the State and the people. From what I have stated you will have seen that it is very essential that immediate reform ought to be effected in this direction. I have therefore no doubt that you will carry the proposition with acclamation.

Mr. Tarapada Banerjee in supporting the 7th Resolution said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has just been moved and seconded and which I have been asked to support is a really very important one, as we are all interested in securing the proposed reform of the Police, reorganised on the lines indicated in the resolution under consideration. There is no denying the fact that the subordinate ranks of the Police are wholly inefficient and deplorably corrupt, and that the control exercised over them by the officers in the higher ranks is totally inefficient. Such officers being principally foreigners, who are not fairly conversant with the language, habits, thoughts and lives of their subordinates. To remedy this evil we in Congress assembled make this request contained in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the resolution. We say that the higher ranks of the Police be recruited, more largely than at present, from among the educated natives of India and that the Competitive Examination held in England for the recruitment of the Police Service be thrown open to natives of India. To remedy the first evil, we suggest that the pay and the prospects of the subordinate ranks of the Police be substantially improved so as to render the service more attractive to the educated community. (*Hear, hear*). Police officers below the grades of Inspectors are always placed in charge of police-stations. To them the information about the commission of cognizable offences is given and they enquire into such offences. If the informant happens to be a rich man, then a report in A form is submitted by the investigating officer, and the accused persons are put upon the trial. It is a fact, Sir, that the majority of the Magistrates who decide such cases think that it is their bounden duty to show, at least, 90 per cent. of convictions in cases sent up by the Police. This is one of the

pernicious results of the combination of judicial and executive functions—a matter with which we are not concerned at present. As regards the inefficiency and corruption of the subordinate ranks of the Police, I need hardly say anything. If I were asked to cite cases I could do it without any difficulty and convince you that many Head-constables and Sub-Inspectors who did not come into this world with silver spoons in their mouths have retired from the service with enormous wealth, how acquired, they know it best. The officers in the higher ranks of the Police service may without much difficulty find many Sub-Inspectors and Head-Constables in the service spend money far beyond their means, but unfortunately, these gentlemen in higher posts are not very willing to exercise proper control over their subordinates. More accurately speaking, they are under the control of their subordinates, being ignorant of the language (*Hear, hear*), manners and habits of the people. It is to remedy this evil that we propose that the pay of the subordinate police be increased and better prospects held out to them. If this suggestion of the Congress be accepted then it will attract the educated community. As the matter is of very great importance and as the time allotted to us is not sufficient to do justice to such a theme, I would crave your permission, Mr. President, to submit a paper before the Congress embodying my views regarding the matter and citing facts and figures in support thereof. (*Cheers.*)

Babu Sirish Chandra Sarbadhicari in supporting the 7th resolution said :—

Gentlemen, of all the public questions connected with India, the expediency of the reform that forms the subject matter of this resolution, so ably dealt with by the preceding speakers, is a problem in respect of whose vital importance the united public verdict of India has already declared itself in no uncertain voice. No "Oracle of Delphi" is required to divine or declare why such a unanimous opinion prevails on the subject amongst different shades of public opinion, irrespective of creed or colour. This could hardly be expected to be the actual case, if something were not "rotten in the State of Denmark." The very fact that countless evils and abuses have resulted from the vagaries, high-handed proceedings, and oppressions of the Police which are not of unfrequent occurrence in the remote Mofussil, where, believe me, Gentlemen, a police officer practically wields all the powers and authorities, hardly distinguishable from the enforcement of a mandate emanating from the Czar of Russia, speaks volumes in condemnation of the existing system, whereby the lower ranks of the Police are filled with men of no education at all. These men, generally incompetent and corrupt, abuse their official position and opportunities to advance their self-interest in utter disregard of public duty, at a considerable sacrifice of public interest. The duties and responsibilities attached to the office of a police officer, or a chowkidar are not of a trifling nature. On the other hand, much of the country's weal and woe depends upon their reports. Gentlemen, the present administrative machinery of the Government is so constructed that the Police report constitutes an important factor in the determination of every executive or legislative measure adopted or passed with a view to advance the country's good. To illustrate it by examples, it can be said, what can hardly be gainsaid by the constituted authorities, that whenever the Government of India wants to enact any public measure, it invariably sends it for report to the Local Government; the Local Government as a rule, sends it to the Divisional Commissioner, the Commissioner at once sends it to the Collector-Magistrate, who in like manner, asks that high authority, the Police Officer through the District Superintendent of Police. The Police Officer collects all the necessary information from the village Chowkidar and sends up the report called for to the Magistrate-Collector through his official superior, and the Magistrate-Collector sends it up to the Commissioner; the Commissioner

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forwards it to the Local Government and the Local Government submits it to the Supreme Government. Necessary additions and modifications are made at every change of hand no doubt at the different stages of circumlocution. The result of all these references is embodied in the enactment of some legislative or executive measure, and in that measure itself, Gentlemen, you will invariably find a touch of the hand of our old and constant friend the Police officer or Chowkidar. Such being the importance attached to the functions of a Police officer, who, if competent and honest, is capable of doing no small good to the people. (*Hear, hear.*) It goes without saying that the time has come when the Government should be moved to make no further delay in taking steps to carry out necessary reforms by a complete reorganisation of the Police, as a concession to the united public opinion and in the interest of the administration, the result of which will redound to the glory and prestige of the British power and ultimately be of immense benefit to both the rulers and the ruled. The reform involves additional expenditure no doubt, as the lower ranks of the Police Service will have to be replaced by more costly men of education and character. It is an unfortunate economy that allows to those Police officers *vis.*, Police Chowkidars, Constables and Sub-Inspectors, who in fact, form the backbone of the administration, no more pay than that ranging on an average from Rs. 7 to Rs. 50 per month, that can hardly keep their body and soul together in the present market. Whatever scruples of conscience there may be in some isolated cases of Police officers here and there in respect of corruption at an early stage, they are all ultimately thrown away under the guiding pressure of sheer necessity that admits of no law at all whatever. On the other hand, if respectable salaries be offered and the field be made sufficiently attractive to young men of education and culture, they will eagerly seize the opportunity and enter the service for the benefit of themselves and of the State. These men may be expected to rise above temptations while discharging their duties faithfully, strengthening the Police Service in its weakest part.

In addition to this, a large number of educated Indians should be allowed in the higher ranks of the Police Service. These men being well-acquainted with the language of the country, and the habits and nature of the people are expected to exercise a healthy check over their subordinates and turn out satisfactory work. (*Hear, hear.*)

No reason can be adduced consistent with the principles of equity and justice why educated Indians should be debarred from appearing in the Competitive Examination held in England for the recruitment of the provincial branches of the Police Service. Race distinctions in matters like these should not be allowed to be perpetrated in this way any more, having due regard to the noble and liberal principles enunciated in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858. All possible considerations brought to bear on the subject from every point of view favour our contention. Government has created a desire in the minds of the educated people for some share in the government of their country. The British Government will be confirming its own act by wider acknowledgment of the legitimate aspirations of the children of the soil. (*Hear, hear.*)

Government should not grudge the additional pecuniary sacrifice on any account required for reformation of the Police, though it can hardly be called sacrifice, considering the benefits arising from the contentment of the people, the purity of administration, the freedom of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty. I ask this Assembly of Indian intellect if economy could not be more profitably directed towards a reduction of the Home charges, the unnecessary heaviness of which has been

often pointed out by not only irresponsible persons but others whose words must carry weight. No doubt, economy is always welcome if it can be attained without any detriment to public interest, but it must be condemned when it causes corruption. The additional burden that may fall on the state to effect the necessary Police Reform will be less than the surplus from the sale of Court-fees and stamps. It is a righteous principle that "Justice should not be made a source of revenue to Government."

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Gentlemen, the eyes of the Government have already been opened to the sufferings of the voiceless millions of India from the badness of the Police. Considering the growing needs of the people under altered circumstances of the country and changes of time and progress through the influence of Western education and culture all over the land, and actuated by the best of motives, the Government of India appointed a Police Commission so far back as 1860 and issued salutary instructions for the guidance of that Commission in a Resolution of the Home Department dated the 17th August, 1860. In that Resolution it was said that "The functions of a Police are either protective and repressive or detective, to prevent crime and disorder or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace." I will not repeat what the present function of the Police is. The Government has appointed another Police Commission in recent times evidently with a view to reorganize the Police. These and previous attempts in the right direction have not yet produced the desired effect.

It is much to be regretted that the Government could not yet find its way to act up to all the useful suggestions and recommendations of the recent Police Commission. Much improvement could have been effected by this time. However, it is a hopeful sign that this matter is engaging the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Curzon. His Excellency has selected it as one of the twelve important problems upon which he has set his heart to work in right earnest with all his mighty genius and unrivalled powers. Let us hope for better results at his hands. (*Cheers*).

Mr. G. N. Misra in supporting the 7th Resolution said :—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—The resolution which has just been proposed by our friend Mr. Sinha and seconded by Mr. Nambiar is indeed, as pointed out by Mr. Singha one which ought to be on the front list of the Congress programme as it directly and materially affects the people of this country. Gentlemen, the inequities of the Police Department are well-known to every individual in this Pandal. There is hardly any soul in this great gathering which does not directly or indirectly come in contact with the Police.

Gentlemen, we all are acquainted with the constitution of the Police in our country. It is practically the same all over the different Provinces. The District is divided into so many subdivisions what are called Police Stations, and attached to every Police Station there is a number of constables and head-constables and above them there are according to the extent of the Police Station one or two sub-inspectors of Police. Their work is supervised by the Inspectors of the Police and above these all is our D. S. P.; now let us see how the subordinate staff and the D. S. P.'s are recruited.

Taking the D. S. P.'s, Gentlemen, we know that they are now mostly recruited by competition from amongst those who have failed in the Civil Service Examination. I should say, Gentlemen, it is a channel for the unsuccessful lads of the Europeans and the Eurasians. (*Cheers*). That those who have the mark of unfitness branded on their face should be considered fit for the Police Dept. is an anomaly which we cannot understand. Gentlemen, what happens when the persons so selected are appointed in

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the Dept. ? Of all the depts., Gentlemen, as already remarked by Mr. Sinha, the one where an intimate knowledge of the vernacular of the Provinces is an essential qualification for the proper discharge of the duties it is the Police Dept. It is there that almost all the original records like diaries are usually and invariably prepared in the vernacular. Our so recruited D. S. P.'s are badly wanting in this qualification. They hardly possess an intimate knowledge of the Vernacular of the Province.

Then again, being European they are more in touch with the District Magistrates and with the European society, but they are quite out of touch with the native society. As a Police officer the way of knowing the wants and the grievances of the people is not to associate with the European officer but to mix with the natives. You don't want a D. S. P. one, of whom you should be afraid and one to whom no information can reach but through the Sub-inspectors and the Inspectors about whose acts the majority of our complaints relate. We want one who could instead of second-hand information gather the first-hand information himself.

Gentlemen, the result is that oppression commences from below and is perpetuated right up by the officers of the Department whose duty it is to remove the grievances of the people. The whole of the Police Department instead of being a means of protection for the people often becomes a source of tyranny and oppression. (*Hear, hear*)

Turning now, Gentlemen, to the subordinate staff, we find that they are either recruited from constables or head-constables; the small pay which is paid to them is a great barrier to the recruitment of men from higher families. A Sub-Inspector ordinarily gets a salary of Rs. 30 per mensem. Out of this he has to keep a horse which does not mean less than Rs. 10 to 15 per mensem and also to have bicycle under the recent rules in my province. Gentlemen, how is it possible for him to support himself on such a short pittance and his family. He should also, Gentlemen, now and then offer *bakshis* to the servants of, and supply *rasad* to, his superiors.

What is the result of all this? Bad and ill-paid subordinates ineffectually controlled by superiors. The result of the whole system is that the Department, as I have indicated above, becomes a source of oppression and tyranny to the public.

Gentlemen, let us now turn to *remedies* that we might suggest for these defects. The Subordinate Service would be much better and more efficient if the scale of pay is raised higher and opportunity given to men of higher education and of higher social status to enter the Department.

As to the D. S. P.'s I should suggest that the natives of higher education and of high families should be employed on a greater scale than at present. If the Competitive Examination of the Civil Service is considered a good way of recruiting officers for the Civil administration of the country, why should it not be as effective for the Police and if natives are allowed by statute to compete for the Civil Service, there is no reason why we should not be allowed to compete for the posts in the Police Dept. ?

We are already excluded from the higher posts in the Military Dept. Do you know, Gentlemen, on what grounds?—political and imperial. Then we are also excluded from the higher posts in the Police Dept. This practically amounts to placing the natives of India under a stigma of in-efficiency and incompetency which we certainly resent as most unbecoming and unjust.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I would say that if the subordinate staff and the superior staff in the Police services are recruited on the lines indicated above, the result will be a good, and efficient Dept. closely supervised and watched. It will be then a

very well managed Dept. of the State and we would then be able to hope that from Police, people will receive the protection and safety which is the chief object of the Government to give to its people through the Dept. With those few remarks, Gentlemen, I beg to support the Resolution. (*Cheers*).

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Mr. Hem Chandra Roy in supporting the 7th resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have but very little to add to the forcible observations that have been already made, and the cogent reasons assigned in support of the resolution before you. Those of us who have but little experience of criminal litigation in Lower Bengal would be able at once to recall instances of Police misdoings, and it is undoubted that there are Osman Alis in the ranks of our District Police everywhere, but that there are no Pennells to expose them, and hold them up to public obloquy. The present unsatisfactory mode of recruitment and the inadequate emoluments are, no doubt, responsible for Police malpractices, but to them should also be added the mischievous tenderness with which the delinquencies of unscrupulous Policemen are treated by the powers that be. In the neighbouring District of Burdwan the head of the district administration has promulgated an order directing his subordinate Magistracy not to issue processes upon Police officers, inclusive of Chowkidars, when complained against, without a reference in the first instance to the District Superintendent of Police. In other words the Rs. 6 constables and Rs. 3 chowkidars enjoy an immunity, and are fortunate possessors of a privilege, which does not appertain even to the gubernatorial office. Is it to be wondered at, then, that Policemen deem themselves above all law and behave as so many spoilt children of the Government?

The evil, then, is admitted; the question is what is the remedy? The resolution under discussion suggests the greater employment of educated young men in the force, and the payment to them of a higher remuneration. In urging this innovation, we instance the case of our subordinate judiciary, which, recruited as it now is, from among the pick and cream of our Universities and much better paid than before, has proved to be glory both to the Government and the country. The third clause of the resolution refers to the higher appointments in the Police Department, and in respect of them I have a few words to say. Hitherto they had been *reserved* for the incapables of the influential Anglo-Indian families, and in the words of the *Pioneer* they were "the favourite refuge for the European destitute—a peaceful haven where the examiner was unknown, and acquaintance with Chaucer and Conic Sections was at a discount." Interpellated not long ago as to how many relations of Anglo-Indian officials were in the Department, the Bengal Government declined to furnish the statement. Ladies and gentlemen, there is a very wholesome principle of law, which lays down that when an individual refuses to answer a question, which by law he is not compelled to answer, the answer, if given, would be unfavourable to him. May we not, therefore, infer that the Government dreaded an ugly disclosure, and peremptorily closed the "impudent" interpellator, who attempted to bring out the cloven hoof, and expose the nepotism that obtained in the disposal of these appointments?

Well, a system of competitive examination has now been introduced, but the children of the soil are not permitted to qualify themselves for it. We do not seek a special concession. Fair field, open door, and no favour are our battle cries, and no amount of sophisticated quibbling will justify the perpetuation of

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one law for the white, and another for the black. I do not want to trespass any further upon your time. I shall ask you to adopt this resolution unanimously.

Babu Rajani Kanta Sarcar in supporting the 7th resolution said :—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I consider it a great privilege to be permitted to take a part in the discussion on this question, for I can conceive of no question more important, none more intimately affecting the lives and properties of the many millions of our fellow countrymen than this question of Police Reform. Gentlemen, to the vast majority of our countrymen, the Policeman, with his red pagree and his formidable baton, is the emblem of the might and majesty of British rule in India. By his character shall the character of the Administration be judged. As the mover of the resolution has remarked, on the success or failure of the Police, depends to a considerable extent, the success or failure of the Administration. At yesterday's sitting of the Congress, you carried a resolution demanding the separation of executive and judicial functions—the union of which in the same officer has proved so disastrous to the cause of the sound and impartial administration of justice in this country. I venture to think that the resolution which I have been commissioned to support is of even greater importance than the one you carried yesterday. His Excellency the Viceroy could not have therefore taken up the question a day sooner and I venture to think that His Lordship will earn the undying gratitude of the country if before he lays down the reins of his exalted office, he shall have placed this question on a satisfactory basis. Run through the length and breadth of the land, go, if you like, to the remotest and most obscure villages in the empire, from the snow-clad tops of the Himalayas to the extreme south of this vast peninsula, you will hear nothing but one universal chorus of condemnation of the Police. Gentlemen, the evil is there, deep-seated and wide-spread. The only question is—How to make the Police more efficient and less liable to corruption? Gentlemen, I will answer this question by putting another question. How is it, I ask that the other services—the Subordinate Executive and the Subordinate Judicial Services have attained their present high standard of efficiency? Simply by drawing to these services the culture and the intelligence of the country. We demand by this resolution that those who are entrusted with the sacred and responsible duty of protecting our lives and properties should not enter the service by the backdoor of nomination but that it shall be by the open gate of competition; that the higher ranks of the Police should not be recruited by an examination held six thousand miles away—an examination to which our countrymen are not admitted. We, the delegates from the far north and the far south, in Congress assembled, want to make it clear in terms as un-equivocal and emphatic as the resources of the English language are capable of, that nothing but an open competitive examination shall satisfy either the needs or the aspiration of the country. Make the test—both intellectual and physical—as rigid as you like; but in the name of justice and fair play, make it applicable to Indians and Europeans alike and let there be a fair field and no favour. Gentlemen, the resolution speaks of the increase of pay and prospects of the subordinate ranks of the Police. Most of you, Gentlemen, are probably aware, that in our own Province of Bengal a head-constable of the lowest grade gets a pay of Rs. 10 per mensem. A head-constable in charge of an out-post is vested with vast and almost unlimited powers. The honour and liberties of the greatest man in his jurisdiction are at his mercy. Contrast this vast power with the miserable pittance which a head-constable gets. You are probably aware, Gentlemen, that a head-constable is required to keep a pony. How can a head-constable (I will suppose that the head-constable is a married man and has got no children) keep body and soul together and maintain a pony on this paltry pay is what passes my comprehension. Gentlemen, the resolution has already been ably moved and seconded, and

as we are pressed for time I do not wish to detain you any longer. I support this resolution with the greatest pleasure. (*Cheers*).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer moved the 8th resolution which runs thus :—

That this Congress deplores the recurrence of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India in recent years and records its deliberate conviction that famines in India are mainly due (1) to the great poverty of the people brought on by the decline of all indigenous arts and industries and the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years and (2) to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land, consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the civil and military departments, which has 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, improve the agriculture of the country, foster the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and help forward the introduction of new industries.

That this Congress rejoices that a Famine Union has been formed in London with a branch at Liverpool consisting of distinguished men from all parties, and this Congress desires to place on record its deep gratitude to the members of the Union for their sympathy with the famine-stricken sufferers in India and the earnest and eminently practical way in which they have set themselves to their task.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the resolution I have the honour to move is embodied our conviction as well as the conviction of all that have studied the economic condition of the country, namely, that the time has come for serious attention being given by the State to the inauguration of a policy by which the latent resources of the country may be developed for the benefit of the people and the exploitation of these resources by foreign capitalist may be arrested so that the constant drain of the wealth of the country to foreign countries may not continue to deepen the impoverishment of the people. In this matter as in many other matters, Government and the people hold entirely different opinions. In our opinion the material regeneration of the country cannot be effected until the people themselves are able to develop and utilise their resources for their own good, sell the produce of their industries in their own market, meet their wants with articles of their own manufactures, keep out foreign capital and foreign enterprise, in fact maintain their industrial independence like other great countries of the world. On the other hand, it seems to be the opinion of Government that no such elaborate process is required, but that the gates have only to be thrown wide open for the advent of foreign capital in order that the hidden wealth of India may be brought out to make the Indian people happy and contented. It is in this view that Lord Curzon, in his last Budget speech, made the memorable statement that in order to increase the non-agricultural sources of income he welcomed the investment of foreign capital in India. In his Lordship's opinion the investment of foreign capital in the construction of Railways, Canals, Factories, Workshops, Mills, Coal-mines, Metalliferous-mines, Cultivation of Tea, Sugar and Indigo, is the path to the salvation of India. While making the statement His Excellency made no reference whatever to the part which the people of India should be called upon to fulfil in the protection of their own interests and the conservation of their own wealth. Is India to be always in the position of labourers working for daily wages under foreign employers or are her people to be made sooner or later fit to take their own independent share as employers of labour and as labourers themselves in the expansion of

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industries and in their own ultimate material regeneration? It is apparent that the latter event is not in the contemplation of our rulers. They seem to think that, while foreign capitalists sweep away the wealth of the country, the Indian people would have enough in the petty daily wages they may receive from their alien employers. It need not be said that we entirely disapprove of a policy so disastrous to our future. I am not aware of any instance of a country, either in modern or in ancient times, where a number of foreign capitalists with all the political and social advantages of their being of the ruling race, have helped in bringing about the industrial prosperity of the people ruled. Other countries do borrow foreign money for the development of their resources, but the borrowed money is invested by the countries themselves using indigenous agency, talent and labour, whereas in India the foreign capitalist brings his capital with himself, invests it as he likes and carries away the profits of his investment. In other countries the need to borrow foreign capital and to employ foreign agency is looked upon as a temporary evil and everything possible is done to replace foreign by indigenous capital and talent and to dispense with foreign aid in the development of the country's resources. In India far from this increasing foreign exploitation being looked upon as a temporary evil and from a time in the early future being looked forward to when the Indian people will effect their own industrial regeneration, the State is satisfied that the present anomalous condition of subjection to foreign capitalists is the only possible and beneficial order of things in the economical career of India.

I am not in the least disposed to advocate the exclusion of the investment of foreign capital, but while no obstruction is placed against its investment we press Government for such measures being adopted as will enable the people themselves by their knowledge and training to take their own part by the side of their English competitors in industrial expansion of the country. The great object of increasing the non-agricultural wealth of the country cannot be attained by inviting foreign capitalists to work our mines, to cultivate our fields, utilise our raw materials and supply the daily wants of our people by their own articles at the cost of indigenous industries. Such a policy, far from producing this desirable result, only goes to make our people more and more helpless and confirms their state of dependence on foreign aid. Lord Curzon may be pleased to call those that differ from him in this matter as talkers of platitudes: still at the risk of being included in this category, I do not hesitate to say that only in this way, that is, by educating and training our own people so as to enable them to take into their own hands the manufacture of our own raw materials that non-agricultural wealth can be created. For over fifty years, specially since the opening of the Suez Canal, has foreign capital been freely flowing into India and at this moment millions of British money is invested here giving employment to about two millions of Indian labourers. Yet there is absolutely no evidence to show that non-agricultural wealth has thereby increased and that relief has been afforded to the overflowing population of agriculturists.

India has no alternative in the solution of the problem of its industrial future but to adopt the same methods and follow the same policy as other countries under similar circumstances have done. There is no country in the world whose modern history furnishes such valuable and extremely interesting object-lessons to India as Japan, which within the last thirty years has revolutionised her industrial condition with an aptitude, courage and foresight as marvellous as have characterised her political revolution. Before the Restoration of 1868, Japan was industrially in the same mediæval and backward state as India is at the present moment, but along with the political revolution was inaugurated an era of industrial revolution also which upset her old indigenous system of industries. Japan's emergence

from her isolation and her contact with the progressive nations of Europe were accompanied by radical changes in the habits and tastes of the people and the new craze for novelties and for European articles were such that the old class of producers were unable to supply the new demand. An industrial crisis was brought about, the nation which from time immemorial was self-contained and self-dependent in regard to her industrial requirement, began, of a sudden, to import all things from other countries, from the costly implements of modern warfare and expensive machinery down to trifling food-stuffs and toilet articles. Either the political and social conditions had to be made to adjust themselves to the old industrial system or the industrial system to adjust itself to the new political and social conditions. Naturally the latter was decided upon and the Japanese statesmen made up their minds that no obstacles, however great, should be allowed to hinder the nation's victorious march on the paths of progress. The measures that were adopted in view to this end are of the greatest interest to leaders of Indian economic thought. One of the earliest of these measures was to educate the people, grown up, as well as young men, high officials as well as others. Officials were sent to European countries for the purpose of observing and examining their industries and political institutions with a view to transplanting to the Japan soil whatever promised to bear good fruit. A great many students also were sent abroad to study the different branches of modern science. In Japan itself educational institutions were established by the State, and the Government established various factories without scruples as to financing and managing them, with a view to the manufacture of costly articles required for its own use. Meanwhile, the young men trained in foreign countries were available to co-operate with the capitalists, merchants and patriots of their country in pushing forward the industrial upheaval of the nation. Japan has now passed the stage of doubt and trial and she now entertains the ambition of rivalling England, Germany and America as a manufacturing country. Her natural resources are unlimited, and she has the inestimable advantage of a patriotic Government and patriotic people who know the wants of the country and pursue the means of supplying them with forethought, patience and undaunted determination. In one respect she feels that she has not sufficiently advanced and that is the training of men to lead industrial movements along different lines as their pioneers, and to inspire capitalists and merchants with confidence and courage. In the opinion of a former Prime Minister of Japan, the number of such men is yet sadly small as compared with the demand. "It is not the absence of the protective tariff", he writes, "nor the scarcity of capital nor yet the high rate of interest as some hold, that we have to do with in hindering Japanese industry from developing with even greater speed. Every encouragement should be given by the Government and the nation at large, to the public and private institutions of learning, and to certain industrial corporations, so that they can furnish the country with a sufficient number of men, who, from their study and practice, will become, in course of time, a most valuable instrumentality in developing the industries and resources of the nation without the aid of protection." Some time ago Japan used to employ a large number of foreign Professors in her educational Institutions, but their number has of late considerably diminished. But still their number is large. According to the Japan Times, a journal published in English at Tokio, there were in the year 1899 altogether 52 foreign Professors, of whom 16 were Germans, 12 were English, 6 were Americans, 6 French, 3 Korianes, 2 Russians, 2 Italians, 2 Chinese, 1 Belgium, 1 Spaniard, and 1 Sweed. "It is satisfactory to notice," writes this paper, "that strenuous efforts are being made by the Department of Education to afford means to the University Professors to keep up with the progress of Science in the West by personal visits of more or less extended period, to the leading seats of learning there, as well as to provide supplies of Professors by send-

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ing young graduates to complete their studies abroad. The number of students ordered to go abroad for these purposes during the year under consideration was 58, the great majority of whom proceeded to Germany, while those that returned from abroad after finishing their studies there numbered fifteen. The total number of the Professors and graduates studying abroad at the expense of the Government and for the purposes mentioned above was 100 at the end of March 1900, showing an increase of 92 over the number for the corresponding period of the preceding year.

Thus the recent history of Japan and of other countries in Asia as well as in Europe points to the important fact that the prosperity of every progressive country depends to a great extent upon the development of its resources by the application of high scientific process of manufacture. Much as His Excellency Lord Curzon ridiculed our effort to rouse Government to an adequate sense of the paramount importance of this fact, still statesmen of the foremost rank in other countries, in England, in Germany, in France, in Canada, and, not the last among these, the late remarkable ruler of Afghanistan, have laid the utmost stress on a departure in this direction in their respective educational systems. It may be there are other means which Lord Curzon has in his mind of redeeming India from her present industrial degradation, yet if the wisdom of contemporary statesmen burdened with the most awful imperial responsibilities, is a guide to us, the most effective means of maintaining material progress and prosperity is certainly to so educate the mind and talent of the people as would enable them not only to meet their own wants with their own resources, but also to compete successfully with other countries in the markets of the world. I do not know what is Lord Curzon's faith in this matter, but I do not share in the belief that in the direction he points out, lies the solution of the problem of Indian poverty. And I do not hesitate to say that in wasting almost a crore of rupees on his favourite project of a museum of antiquities in Calcutta, he is not doing what is best calculated to enhance the material happiness of the people. At all events, in this period of fierce international competition for the wealth of the world, the greatest anxiety of thoughtful men is not to erect monumental buildings, but to advance industrial and scientific education, side by side with general education of the most liberal kind.

India has had the benefit of foreign capital invested in Indian industries and we have had 25,700 miles of Railways built; yet where is the promised millennium? It seems to be as far off as ever. Only the Indian people are becoming more and more helpless and the process of industrial extinction is becoming more and more complete. In the eyes of eminent men the only salvation of India consists in replacing, as far as may be, foreign enterprise by native effort. In remarkable accord with Mr. Dadabhai Naroojee's opinion, such a conservative politician as Sir M. Bhaonagiri said in the House of Commons last year, that "the great cause which leads to the improvement of the resources of India and exposes her population to the ravages of scarcity and famine was the drain of the wealth of India by the enormous volume of the foreign manufactured articles imported into India every year." To stop these ceaseless and enormous drain of wealth, which amounts to no less than 40 millions a year, by stemming the tide of foreign importation and by substituting in the place of foreign articles those manufactured in the country with Indian capital, Indian knowledge, and Indian agency, is not a problem to be solved by the establishment of a dozen small schools at a cost of a few thousand rupees, where a few Indian artisans may receive training. It is not the hand of the artisan that has to be trained so much as the mind of the higher class of young men who will pioneer the way to the industrial upheaval of India. For almost every article of daily use the Indian

people now depend upon foreign manufacturers. Not only are cotton fabrics imported, but among other manufactured goods imported from abroad are:—(1) Apparel, including boots and shoes, (2) Building materials, (3) Cabinet ware and furniture, (4) Candles, (5) Clocks and watches, (6) Earthenware and procelain, (7) Glass and glassware, (8) Leather and leather goods, (9) Matches, (10) Paints and colours, (11) Paper and paste-board, (12) Soap, (13) Stationery, (14) Toys, (15) Umbrellas, (16) Ironware. Now there is not a single article in this list which cannot be manufactured in India and of which the raw materials are not to be found in abundance in this country. Instead of these raw materials being manufactured here and the manufactured articles being sold in the markets of our country at comparatively cheap prices, they are exported to foreign countries where they are converted into finished articles to be imported back to this country and sold here for enormous profits. In fact India supplies raw materials to other countries and is content to receive from them finished articles of use. It is this anomalous state of India's foreign trade that is proving so disastrous to her economic condition. The Indian people not only lose the wages and profits that can be obtained from the manufacture of raw materials, but have also to pay for the profits of the foreign capitalists and merchants, for the freight, insurance fees and so forth. To remove this anomaly and to place India's trade on a natural basis, the basis, namely, that the large and unlimited market supply by her teeming population should be mainly reserved for the products of her indigenous industries and that what may remain as surplus should be exported to foreign countries in exchange for what cannot be produced or manufactured here, to do this is the only means of averting the disaster that threatens to work India's complete economic ruin in the near future.

The real problem, then, is how the present industrial condition of India can be adjusted as that of Japan was adjusted to her new political conditions, which have dragged this country from her old isolated, self-contained state into the vertex of the fierce commercial competition marking the inter-relation of the great community of nations. India cannot possibly remain idle or more backward in the face of modern conditions. She must either gird up her loins and march forward or get annihilated. Nor can India put up with the destiny which foreign nations hold out to her, as the Right Honourable Jesse Callings only the other day held out to her, that she should supply labour while British capitalists appropriate the profits of Indian industries. The ancient and civilised people of India cannot submit to such a condition of virtual slavery. If the British rulers of India are really interested in our future well-being and if the nation is not to be reduced to a state of slavery, they must adopt the policy which Japan has adopted with such striking results. The Indian people must be trained so as to enable them to organise and manage their own industries and stem to some extent the ceaseless inflow of foreign commodities. Prompt steps should be taken to provide sufficient facilities for such training, selected young men and even Professors of Colleges being sent at the expense of Government to foreign countries such as Germany and Japan to be trained there, so that on their return they might be able to apply their training and knowledge to our industrial development. It cannot be said in the face of instances such as Dr. J. C. Bose, Mr. Paranjpe, Dr. Roy, Professor Gajjar, and a number of other names, that Indians have no aptitude for the highest scientific training or for the prosecution of original researches. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence to show that a strong inclination in favour of scientific and specialised studies is growing in the minds of the educated classes and no more striking illustration of this inclination can be given than the memorable enterprise of Mr. J. N. Tata and the legacies and endowments of rich men here and there in favour of industrial institutions. Only it is a lamentable fact that the Government of India should

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be so lukewarm in stimulating these tendencies. If only Lord Curzon wished it, he could have already made Mr. Tata's Research Institute an accomplished fact. And in the failure of the attempt made by some of our English well-wishers, scientists of the highest reputation, to get a Laboratory established in Calcutta for making scientific researches, we behold another of this sad prejudice of Government against scientific and practical education.

We know that at present the Government of India has this subject of technical education under consideration. But unfortunately it is not the large question of bringing out a general industrial upheaval of the country but only the narrower and less important one of reviving the *Indigenous Manual* industries of the country that is under consideration. Why this should be so I cannot understand. On the other hand an entirely different view is held in other countries, as I have already said. The Royal Commissioners on Technical Education in England have recorded their opinion that "the success which has attended the foundation of extensive manufacturing establishments, engineering shops, and other works on the Continent, could not have been achieved to its full extent in the face of many retarding influences, had it not been for the system of high technical institution in these Schools, for the facilities for carrying on original scientific investigation, and the general appreciation of the value of that instruction and of original research, which is felt in these countries." And yet Lord Curzon ridicules this method recommended with such warmth and talks of "a batch of institutes and a cluster of Polytechnics" as scarcely capable of producing a "ripple in the great ocean of social and industrial forces." We suppose that importation of foreign capital, in His Lordship's opinion, is a more efficacious remedy.

I am not by any means disposed to under-rate the importance of technical education in its middle and elementary branches. By all means let Government do what it can in this direction, and the country will duly appreciate the benevolence of Government's policy. But what the country most needs in its present impoverished condition is not the creation of a class of trained labourers to serve under alien employers or a few nice articles of luxury which will be used by the small and limited class of princes and noblemen in this country. It is the articles of daily consumption by the great mass of the people that we should be able to produce; and our other natural springs of wealth should be exploited by us and for our benefit and not by the people of other countries. This should be the first stage in our country's career, while at the same time it is Government's duty to direct a general survey to be taken of the hundreds of old indigenous industries which still linger and decay in obscure corners of the country. It would be a great pity indeed if these small village industries which afford occupation to hundreds of thousands of people were allowed to die. What the condition of these industries is, what can be done to improve their methods, what new appliances may be introduced, how better markets can be opened to them,—these and other kindred matters will form legitimate subjects of enquiry. It will be a very interesting enquiry to consider whether the principle of co-operation, the principle of the old guilds and leagues of the West cannot be adopted. It cannot be denied that these obscure industries deserve every encouragement that Government can give them. Still in the great problem before us the training of the mind and not that of the hand or the eye is the foremost factor.

Over and above the inferior industries carried on by artisans and mechanics, there are industries which consist in the manufacture of vegetable products into articles of utility and which cannot be undertaken by the people themselves without large capital or specially trained knowledge. These industries are now gradually being seized by the foreign capitalists thereby closing future outlets for indigenous

enterprise. Recently in Southern India a syndicate has been formed to manufacture fibre from the aloe plant. This plant is found in great abundance over large areas in that part of the country, and I dare say the profits of this industry will go to swell the out-flow of India's wealth. Similar industries are possible everywhere in India, and who knows they will not soon be brought within the sweep of Anglo-Indian enterprise, of which the latest outcome is the "India Development Company," presided over by a retired Lieutenant-Governor and other high officials, who, having accumulated capital from the salaries received at our cost, bring their savings back for further accumulations.

There is no lack of comparatively small and simple industries which, before they are taken up by others, should be undertaken by our own countrymen. I need not say that I refer to industries like weaving, metal works and so forth, nor to cultivation on scientific principles, of trees, plants, flowers, fruits, cattle farming, &c., which in other countries afford a paying occupation to large number of people. What can be done in order to give facilities to indigenous effort in the direction of developing these simple but paying means of livelihood by Government and the people themselves, might be profitably included in the industrial survey that we ask Government to undertake. I further venture to say that our countrymen themselves, such as are assembled at this Congress, have a duty to perform in this important matter. The great complaint is that there is no capital in this country. Though this is certainly true to a great extent, still there is some capital which would be organised and made available, but lies scattered in extremely small sums and is often wasted on useless luxuries and imaginary wants. Thus we can start Banks, industrial as well as agricultural, and Insurance Societies, and adopt other means which will induce thrift and providence and create a general spirit of saving and industry amongst our people. Societies must be started to diffuse knowledge and to watch the interests and the condition of our producers, leaflets and pamphlets should be issued and spread broadcast in order that a general taste for industries and other practical pursuits of life might be created. I have referred to the new inclination that is coming over our people in favour of practical education and independent pursuits of life. If the Congress will bear with me for a few minutes I shall mention the following instances which I have recently noted.

The Maharaja of Baroda is maintaining a large number of students in foreign countries. The Government of Travancore has lately announced the foundation of two scholarships for the same purpose. Mr. J. N. Tata, the enlightened and patriotic millionaire of Bombay whose name is fast becoming a household word throughout India, has for some time past done the same thing. Through the exertion of the late Mr. Ranade, the bequest of the late Sir Munguldai Nathubai for educational charity was made available for scholarships of this kind. H. H. The Nizam has already sent some students for liberal education in England and there is every reason to hope that, that enlightened ruler would be pleased to depute some students for practical industrial training also. The Maharajah of Mysensing has shown enlightened and practical sympathy with this plan. He had sent to Italy for practical training in architecture a student named Rohini Kanto Nag who, however, on return after the completion of his study died. Another student, by name Sasi Kumar Hesh, was also sent to Italy by this patriotic Prince, and he has returned a master of the arts of painting and has already won fame in European countries. It is stated that the Maharajah intends sending two more youths to Europe for the same purpose. An association has recently been founded in Bombay with the object of promoting industrial education in India, and in its latest report we read the following significant passage. "To refute an objection which a few people had raised sometime ago, that

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no youths would, on account of religious and other difficulties, be forthcoming, it may be stated that 57 students have of their own accord applied for our help and that 8 of them are graduates of Indian Universities in arts or sciences, that 5 are L. M. E.'s of the Bombay Technical Institute, that 24 are practical Engineers, and that the remaining 20 are undergraduates, applications from students who have studied up to the Matriculation Examination are numerous and have not here been taken into accounts."

"Besides, during the course of the three years past, about 2 dozen qualified students have gone to foreign countries for learning industries, either on their own account or supplemented by help from others."

It is no use of saying that these students studying industries in foreign countries will find no suitable employment on their return. In the first place, the fact that so much is being done by private efforts is a sufficient refutation. If there is any sufficient reason for the belief that such will be the result, all the spontaneous effort that I have referred to will not be made. In the second place, some of the students who have thus returned have found profitable and honourable employment. I have already mentioned the name of Mr. Hesh who is doing very well as a painter. Mr. Godbole, who was trained in pottery and chocolate manufacture in Belgium, has started a chocolate factory in Baroda. An enterprising Parsee gentleman, Mr. Talati, who was with great difficulty trained in England, is now running a thriving leather factory in Bombay, which the Railway Companies and Lord Northcote and Lord Curzon have thought worthy of their patronage. Mr. Wagle will soon establish a glass factory in Bombay. I recently read in a Bengali Newspaper of a Bengalee mining expert, Babu Sarat Chunder Rudra, who travelled all over the world, and visited the mines of distant Korea. His services have been utilised by a European Mining Company in Bengal. Mr. H. P. Chatterjee of Umballa, who studied the art of pencil making in Japan, has, on his return, issued a prospectus inviting shares for the modest capital of Rs. 6,000 to establish a pencil factory. There must be other instances of which I am not aware. These instances unmistakably go to prove the new tendency of the national mind against the old beaten track of official and professional service in favour of independent industrial pursuits.

Now, I should bring these rather lengthy observations to a close. I shall briefly summarise as follows the chief points to which I desire to draw public attention through this Congress.

(1) The first and most important step that should be taken under any intelligent system of technical education is to provide facilities either by institutions established in this country like Tata's Institute or by endowing foreign scholarships for our own people to become the pioneers and captains of our industries.

(2) Indian students should be trained in industrial schools as managers and foremen &c., of local industries. There is no reason why Indians, if they cannot supply the capital and organising talent, should not be employed in the higher and more responsible offices in established industrial and commercial firms, in the Kolar Gold Mines and in the coal mines in other parts of India. There is absolutely no openings for native technical skill and is it not a pity that no effort is made by those in power to arrange matters so that the people may derive some permanent benefit from the enterprises carried on in their midst? The Native State of Mysore has made a small beginning in this direction. It has established in connection with its gold industry a meteorological laboratory. It has also established an Institute which might be easily converted, it is said, into a first class technical school of a special character. In the long run Indians trained in such an Institute will take the place of European engineers and materially reduce the cost of industry. It is further

suggested that in the celebrated Cauveri Falls Electric Power Transmission Scheme, it is possible to establish a school of mines and mineralogy which, by arrangement with the managers of the Kolar mines, could be made an institution equal to any in the world for the opportunities it could offer for both theoretical and practical training in all that belongs to mines and minerals. There is no reason why a similar attempt should not be made to utilise for this purpose the facilities afforded by other mining establishments in different parts of the country.

(3) There are other industries in connection with which schools should be established for the training of Indian students. Recently the intelligent and enterprising community of weavers in Madura, reflecting on the decay of their industry brought on by French and German competition prayed to Government for the establishment of a (I) Textile School, (II) a Technical Dye-house for natural colours, (III) an alizarine factory for preparing alizarine from madder roots, (IV) a gilt thread making factory, and woollen cloths from hand-loom driven by electric power.

(4) A survey of the indigenous industries of the country by means of a mixed commission of officials and non-officials, which would travel from place to place and make a personal investigation of local industries. This is not a new idea but it has been pressed on Government for years by the Congress. I may add that on a recent occasion our good friend Lord Reay made the same suggestion. Most of these industries possess great merit as works of art and of utility and so long as the industrial system of India remained a system of domestic or family occupation, they thrived well. But in these days their conditions have changed, they have lost their old market, the labourers themselves have degenerated, and public state has altered. It is believed that most of these industries can be greatly improved and introduced into distant markets by a system of pecuniary help to the artisans and by giving them the help of improved appliances. An investigation such as I propose can include these matters with benefit within the scope of the labour of the commission.

Gentlemen, such are the proposals this Congress makes to Government for the Industrial Regeneration of India. We maintain that the non-agricultural wealth such as His Excellency Lord Curzon depends upon for the relief of the agricultural classes is not to be created by the importation of foreign capital. In our opinion the only secret of India's Industrial Salvation is that which other countries, more especially Japan, have discovered and employed with marvellous success. Why our own Government should be blind to this great fact and should assume an attitude of scepticism, it is difficult to understand. Issues of the gravest character are involved in this problem. And the disposition to put off the solution rather than tackle the problem with energy and promptitude cannot but be regarded as a most lamentable fact. Whether this attitude is in any way connected with a regard for the vested interests of the governing country, interests which are in a sense incompatible with India's Industrial progress, I cannot say. I only hope that in this question Indian Interests alone will receive consideration. According to the repeated declarations and assurances of our Government, made in the most solemn manner possible, the interests of India take precedence over the interests of the ruling country when there is a conflict between both, and we are confident that the sense of justice and fair play will prevail over the selfishness of vested sectional interests, in the solution of this problem, most vitally affecting the future, under the guidance of British rule.

Mr. N. M. Samartha in seconding the 8th resolution said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think it is possible to make an exhaustive speech of this character at this meeting (*a voice "Please louder"*). I have

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got cold and I am trying to stretch my voice as much as possible, you will excuse me if it does not reach your ears. Well, I say that this subject cannot be dealt adequately in a meeting of this character. Because, it has a long history about it,—a long history of controversy. The question really is, as you are well aware, what are the causes of famine? In the first place, there was a time when the people even did not accept the assertion that there was anything like a wide-spread famine in this country. Latterly they had to admit the fact. It was then said authoritatively by eminent personages and Secretary of State and others responsible for the good government of the country that famine is not a preventible thing,—that famine is due more or less to the unseasonable and insufficient rain-fall, that the vagaries of Jupiter Pluvius cannot be controlled by men. And therefore, the British Government can possibly do nothing in the matter. Well, it was demonstrated by high officials, by certain other men in England, whose opinions command respects, that this cannot hold water and that this is not a famine of food but of money. (*Hear, hear*). The question is, what is it that makes the people go in search of food at the very first touch of scarcity. On this point,—as to the cause—there is a sharp difference of opinions between the non-official public and the official classes, our ruling classes. I should rather say between two classes of representatives; the true representatives and the so called representatives of the people's cause. Recently such of you as may have the authority to debate on the Land Revenue Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council, must have noticed the officials who supported the Bombay Land Revenue Bill. Well, they claim that they represent the views, aspirations, and feelings of the people. Mr. Kr. a non-official gentleman (like Honourable Mr. Mehta) and other official representatives who supported the Bombay Land Revenue Bill, I would say are not the genuine representatives of the people, I grudge them the title—these so-called representatives of the people said in the Bombay Legislative Council that they represented the opinions of the people better than the elected representatives of the people, and they said all this talk of over-assessment and people being reduced to poverty from day to day was almost nonsense. Well, the question here stands that there is a sharp difference of opinions between the officials and non-official classes and we want an inquiry be held by a commission presided over by experts—*independent English experts, and aided by intelligent native gentlemen, with a view to bring out the real facts of the matter.*

So far the opinion of the non-official has been brought before you, and recently you are probably aware that Mr. Digby has brought out a book which ironically he calls "The Prosperous British India." In that book, what interests us very much, is the publication of the purport of the Confidential Inquiry which was made in 1888. As a result of that inquiry it is interesting to find that in the Bombay Presidency, at any rate, the officers reported that in nearly every district, there was a certain percentage of people,—a large percentage of people, who had to live, to go without food, for nearly 6 or 8 months. I am not going to admit or deny the correctness of this figure. But some of the Deccan Districts show that nearly 40 per cent. of the people have to purchase their food and the produce which yields lasts for 6 or 8 months and in some places even 4 to 6 months. Now, this is a matter upon which the Government could have come to the help of non-official public and openly told them that they had in their possession statistics which would throw light on the question. On the contrary, they keep out these opinions about this matter and as I will tell you presently they would present themselves in a circuitious manner to the public and told them that, as a matter of fact, the assessment is not heavy, it is low and moderate.

Mr. Kich came out to India as a representative of the Manchester Guardian. There was a meeting at Bombay and half-a-dozen of us presented ourselves to discuss with him the Land Question. Before the meeting here, he had occasion to see the

Secretary of State and to discuss the matter with him and had supported the Secretary of State on this subject. We advocated arguments on the contrary. I told him, "Look here, you seem to come here with open mind." He said "I am" "Well then, do one thing, be ignorant of this subject, and go and inquire of the agriculturists of the actual gross yielding, and after paying the Government's assessment, how much really remains to them." Well, he did it, communicated the result of the inquiry to the "Manchester Guardian and to the Secretary of State." This communication is found extracted in Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutta's and in Mr. Digby's book. And this confidential inquiry bears out our contention all along. The yielding of the holding is not enough to leave the cultivators sufficient food for the whole of the year;—taking the average family to consist of about 4 persons. That this may be owing to the extravagance of the cultivators can no longer be permitted by sound arguments. It is not wonderful that the annual revision settlement goes on increasing the assessment and it is not wonderful that at the first touch of scarcity, the people flog to famine relief camps. I do not wish to trouble you very much upon other aspects of this question. You will find in this resolution, reference made to the drain which is never stopped but goes to those people as "home charges." Well, if these "Charges" were stopped, five weeks' food could be given to each Indian. And Mr. Digby's calculation comes to the same thing. Well, if that is done, surely the people will have a better resource, and will be able to live on their own resources, and will feel themselves less burdensome at the first touch of scarcity. I, therefore, ask an inquiry to be made on this question. With these few words, I commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. N. K. Ramasami Aiya of North Arcot (Madras) in supporting the 8th Resolution, said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The poverty of India embraces all other Indian evils, as it is the root of many of them. The poverty of the Indian people is so deep and so all-pervading as to constitute a political crisis of an intensity and degree such as is to be found no where else in the world. It is frequently remarked that the civilization of India began with the advent of the Anglo-Saxon. It is said that the Anglo-Saxon taught the arts of civil life to the Indian. It is true that India gradually declined in civilization from the date of Alexander's invasion up to the time of the first Mussalman conquest. But we have abundant proof that at that date and for centuries before it, India enjoyed a degree of prosperity which continued to the breaking up of the Moghul Empire early in the 18th century. All the descriptions of the parts of India visited by the Greeks gave the idea of a country enjoying the highest degree of prosperity. Writers both Hindu and Mussalman speak of the prosperity in which India was found at the time of the first Mussalman conquest. The Government and the Institutions of the Hindus were neither so defective, nor are those of the English so perfect, as the English assert. The History of Indian progress only means that Indian Government of the 19th century is better than the Mahomedan and the Hindu Governments of the 15th and 16th centuries. It would be almost as fair to compare India in the 16th century with England in the 19th century as it would be to compare the two countries in the first centuries of the Christian era, when India was at the top of Civilization and England at the bottom. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. Shore of the Bengal Civil Service said in 1837 that the halcyon days of India were over. She had been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed, and her energies had been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interest of millions had been sacrificed for the benefit of the few. The grinding extortions of the English Government had effected the impoverishment of the country and the people to an extent almost unparalleled. India is said to be more prosperous now than before

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she came under the British Rule. In the words of Mr. Dadabhai Naroji, this is so to the eye. But really it is not the case. There are now two Indias—British India which is flourishing and the India of Indians, which is not prosperous. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the State and Government of India under its native rulers, one thing is certain that the greatest evil of the present system of British rule in India did not exist under the native rulers, *viz.*, the increasing and ever-increasing bleeding drain of India by the evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion as remarked by Sir John Shore, and by inflicting upon India every burden of expenditure incurred even for the interests of Britain itself. This evil is further aggravated by what Lord Salisbury calls political hypocrisy or what Lord Lytton calls deliberate and transparent subterfuge, promoting what Lord Salisbury calls terrible misery or what Lord Crommer calls extreme poverty or what Lord Lawrence describes as the mass of the people living on scanty subsistence.

The sad contrast that the present condition of India presents when compared with its past state cannot but strike any student of the history of this country. It was India's material and not spiritual greatness that attracted the foreign invaders from the earliest time. The fabulous wealth of India is gone. In pre-British days there was a great deal of wealth in this country. It was from that the foreign spoilers mainly enriched themselves. In British times the drain has taken a more peaceful but none the less exhausting form. In place of such wealth, famine has become the repeated curse of this ancient land which was the home of the world's civilization. Many causes have contributed to this result. We cannot overlook the social causes that have partly brought about the present unfortunate condition. Imprudent marriages, irresponsible parentage, extravagant expenditure, absence of enterprise and co-operation, false notions of the standard of life and of the dignity of labour and numerous other social causes have contributed to India's poverty. (*Hear, hear.*) The Government's share of responsibility in the matter cannot also be forgotten. But these two causes will not be as apparent as they are now, if nature had not also joined with them in bringing about this miserable state of things. This is a cause which is mostly beyond the control of man. We say mostly because even here a study of the physical conditions, that have led to the failure of timely rains and a due application of scientific methods may help to overcome this cause to some extent. It must be said that the natural causes of poverty exist in various countries in common with India. Even the social causes do not play a large part at present, for though they may be prejudicial to a high standard of social existence they do not affect the question now at issue, *viz.*, what are the causes that have brought about the present state of things in which the people of India have to face the problem of bare existence.

A country's social and political greatness, not to speak of its moral and spiritual excellence greatly depends on its material and economic condition. Land Revenue policy, increased taxation, want of sufficient irrigation work, foreign competition in trade, decline of indigenous industries, costly machinery of administration, extravagant expenditure and various other political evils combine to produce the present condition of the people (*Hear, hear*). Our present out-look is far from satisfactory. The material prosperity of the country is fast declining. Poverty and starvation are increasing. In a country where the people are forced incessantly to grapple with the problem of poverty, no improvement in any direction is possible. It is natural that all their time and energy will be spent in solving this first and most important question. A precarious hand-to-mouth existence is prejudicial alike to spiritual, moral and social development on which depends the stability of a nation. The cry everywhere now in this country is poverty. Famines have become the permanent visitors of this unfortunate land. The poverty of India is now the question of the day, and it demands an early and satisfactory solution,

both in the interest of India and England. In dealing with this question we have to consider, first, famines—the index of poverty, secondly, the chief political causes of famines *viz.*, land revenue policy, decline of industries and economic drain, and thirdly, the remedies for famines. Famines are the unmistakable sign of the poverty. Famines are read of in past centuries in France, Germany and Ireland and other countries. Now those days are gone owing to better Government and a sounder system of finance. Famines are now impossible on a large scale in those countries. Famines are of ancient date in this country. But they occur much more frequently now. Famine is now chronic in certain parts of India, including even some irrigated regions. The famines of the past 21 years might have been prevented, if the course strongly recommended by the Famine Commission in 1880 had been adopted. Famines in India are the direct result of the neglect of our rulers to do the right thing at the right time in the right way. The history of famines prior to and during early British rule is not exact or abundant. All the famines then were local. Not one was so wide or intense as the three great distresses of the last quarter of the 19th century.

Before the British rule we hear of two famines in the 11th century, one in the 13th, three in the 14th, two in the 15th, three in the 16th, three in the 17th, and four in the 18th, up to 1745. Indian famines are most destructive to human lives now than in ancient days and occur in a more deadly fashion too. It is suffering everywhere now in India. Formerly famine was experienced only two years of drought or three years of deficient rainfall. Now one year's failure of rain at the right time though plenty of rain may fall during the year for one harvest, produces acute famine. In ancient times the village grain stores partly mitigated suffering. All India never suffered at one and the same time. Now owing to Railways grain is distributed throughout the country and the result is that all over India prices rise and never again fall to the old level. Consequently everywhere food is dear. 200 millions feel pinch where under pre-British rule a few millions might suffer.

Under British rule in the last 31 years of the 18th century we had 4 famines, *viz.*, in 1769, 1783, 1784, and 1792. In the corresponding period of the 19th century we had 17 famines. Famines and scarcities have been 4 times as numerous during the last 30 years as they were 100 years ago and 4 times more widespread. In the first half of the 19th century we had nine famines and in the second half 20. The total admitted and ascertained mortality from 1854 to 1901 was 28,825,000. From the above statistics Mr. Digby calculates that there were over one million deaths on the average per annum during the past 10 years or two persons every minute of every day and every night from January 1st, 1889 to September 30th, 1901. In 1800 to 1825, there were 5 famines with 1,000,000 deaths. In 1826 to 1850 two famines with 500,000 deaths. In 1851 to 1875 six famines with 5,000,000 deaths. In 1876 to 1900, 18 famines, including the four most terrible famines ever known in India. In the first of these four 6½ millions of lives were lost, in the last two, during the ten years of their occurrence 19 millions of lives were lost. Total number of deaths calculated in this period was 26,000,000. The 22 famines in the last quarter of the 19th century, as contrasted with the four in the first are the product of the British system of rule, of what they have done, of what they have not done. In fact, for nearly 15 years there has been a continuous famine in India owing to high prices. During this quarter of century 18 parts of the Empire suffered from famines and there were 18 famines. In the last quarter of the 19th century more than one million of people died on an average every year, *i. e.*, two each minute, 120 each hour, 2880 on each day. During the past 10 years, 4 died each minute, 240 each hour, 5760 each day. Indian famines were more destructive to human life within the famine years until 1876-78 than in ancient days. Since then the famine code has checked mortality to a great extent.

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There was seldom in any year a deficiency of food supply in all India. It was poverty which had prevented the people from buying food. Though drought may cause failure of the crops, extreme indigence of the people is the real and only cause of famine. (*Hear, hear.*)

There were reasons for famines in the early years of the last century and in the century before it, as they were marked by war and devastation which impeded cultivation. The misrule of the servants of the East India Company and the blunders of the new race of rulers who began to rule a new and strange country might also account for the famines of that period (*Hear, hear*). Ever since 1858 there has not been a single war within India. The land is fertile. People are peaceful, loyal, industrious and frugal. These repeated famines are attributed to the improvidence of the people, the rapacity of the money-lender and the increase of population. Increase of population is slower than in England and Wales, and slower than in 18 other countries out of 28 for which figures are available. People are not improvident. They are, on the other hand, frugal and most provident. The money-lender is the result, not the cause of the poverty of the people. The immediate cause of famine is, no doubt, failure of rains. To mitigate this, we must have a more extensive system of irrigation. The famine is due chiefly to the poverty of the people caused by exorbitant land-tax. Land Revenue being the most important of Revenue, the burden of the taxation falls heavily on the cultivators. It is sometimes urged that the Indian tax-payer pays less than the English tax-payer, for in England people pay something like 50 shillings or more, of taxes per head per annum, whereas in India people pay only 3 to 4 shillings per head per annum. This is not the case, however. Our burden is twice as heavy as that of the English. The tax in England goes from the hands of tax-payers into the hands of the Government, from which they flow back into the country again in various shapes fertilising trade and returning to the people themselves. Their taxes simply change hands. Whatever they give out they must get back. The taxes that we pay never return to us in fact. Even an ocean would be dried up if a portion of its evaporation did not always return to it as rain or river.

To say that famine is brought about by the climatic conditions alone is wrong. Its successful treatment involves two economic questions, the distribution of the food supply and the staying power of the people. It is not possible to prevent failure of the rainfall, but we can minimise its effects. The reason why India is more liable to famine than other countries is in a phrase no want of rainfall and moisture always—even in the worst of years there is water enough poured from the skies on Indian soil to germinate and ripen the grain but there is the steadily increasing poverty. Now as in the days of the old neither more nor less rain failure or monsoon disturbance occurs. The present differs from the past in that the people are now so poor that they cannot stand any strain, not even the slightest. Irrigation works, canals and wells have partly made up for the scarcity of water caused by the failure of rains. Railways, Roads, Steam Boat Communications and other agencies have facilitated the distribution of food supply. The British Government has done little or nothing to maintain the staying power of the people. The ever-changing and fickle land revenue policy is virtually operating against the staying power, which is a main factor in determining the extent to which a failure of crops shall mean wholesale starvation (*Hear, hear*). The staying power is the product of the nominal well-being of the people in the ordinary times and of the presence of resources which a high standard of well-being has built up. The staying power is one side of the shield. The principal proximate cause of famines is the failure of rain. Hence the necessity of protection by the extension of irrigation from sources that seldom or never fail. This remedy is essential, for the bulk of the country is dependent on the direct rainfall. The pinch of famine is most severely felt in the uplands where the crops

fail for want of rain. Famines occur most frequently only in those places where the land tax is exorbitant, and this fact shows clearly where the root of the evil lies.

Mr. Digby thus summarizes the cause of famines. There are no stores of grains in villages. The property represented by gold and silver ornaments has almost disappeared. Ancient occupations are destroyed and more and more of men and women are driven to soil, without capital wherewith to properly cultivate it. Even cultivation is largely with foreign capitals and profits go out of India. Every profitable profession and mercantile enterprise is exploited by foreigners. This is likewise true of the *personnel* of the administration. This is why famine approaches more and more towards, becoming a representative of the normal condition of many parts of India. Mr. Digby recommends the Englishmen to so change the conditions of their rule in India that the inhabitants of this distressful country should once again in their history have daily bread enough for comfortable sustenance and that the whole realm of India once more should taste the sweets of prosperity.

Having shown that famines are the index of poverty and having also pointed out that the Government can in a very great way palliate the sufferings of poverty, I shall now consider the chief political causes of famines which are the Land Revenue Policy, decline of industries and the economic drain. Of these the most important and the most pressing cause is the heavy land-tax, whose evil is aggravated by the impermanency of the Land Settlement.

The Land Revenue in ancient times was generally moderate. In the greater part of the ancient world one-tenth of the produce of the soil was demanded by the State. That was the land-tax in ancient Greece, in ancient Persia, in China and in Burmah and in the Republic of Rome. Among the ancient Hindus the land-tax was between 1/12 and one-sixth of the gross produce of the soil. The Mahomedan law like the law of all Eastern nation prescribed a moderate land-tax. The actual collection was about one-sixth of the gross produce of the whole Empire. The old Hindu rule that one-sixth of the gross produce of the soil is due as rent obtains in Bengal. In N. India one-fifth of the gross produce of the soil is paid as rent to the landlord and $\frac{1}{4}$ of what the latter gets is paid as Government Revenue. In Madras the Government demands a revenue $\frac{1}{4}$ of the net produce of the soil. In C. P., the Madras principle is followed. Theoretically $\frac{1}{4}$ of the net produce of the soil was paid as rent, but in practice the land assessment has been more than in Madras. The Government demand 60 per cent., plus 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., Sometimes it amounts to even 100 per cent., of the landlord's real income. In Bombay the Land-Revenue is generally between 20 per cent., and 33 per cent., of the gross produce. India is not a great manufacturing or commercial country, but an agricultural country. 4/5ths of the population are agricultural. The bulk of the population cling to agriculture and land. That is the social system of the Hindus.

The writer of *Madras Manual of Administration* complacently remarks that all the present taxes and imports put together amount to no more than the old land assessment. Compare with this view of the author of the *Madras Manual of Administration*, the admission by the recent Famine Commission of the connection between land assessment and famine—which has long been denied by Government. The Commission recommends remission and suspension of land-tax. The public demand that it may be moderated, where it is excessive. The Commission recommends improvement of the condition of the agricultural classes. It recommends greater elasticity in revenue collections, the establishment of Agricultural Banks, the encouragement of Land Improvement and more expenditure on irrigation works. It strongly points out the growing indebtedness of the cultivating classes. The heavy incidence of the land-tax continued with its uncertainty has depressing effect on agriculture. It prevents the improvements and any saving, and

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impoverishes the people (*Hear, hear*). The only hope for the cultivator throughout the greater part of India is that they shall be put in such a position as to be enabled to tide over an occasional bad season. To place the cultivators in such a position, it is essential that the share taken as the Government demand on the land should be strictly limited. The Government will do well to adhere to the following principle, suggested by Mr. R. C. Dutt where the land-tax is not permanently settled. When the Land-Revenue is paid directly by the Government (as in Madras and Bombay) the Government demand ought to be limited to 50 per cent. of the value of the net produce after liberal deductions for cultivation expenses and should not exceed one-fifth of the gross produce. Where Land Revenue is paid by landlords the revenue demand must be limited to half the actual rent, or assets of such landlords. There must be no revision of land-tax within 30 years of the former revision. Where Land Revenue is paid by cultivators direct to Government, there ought to be no increase in assessment except when land has increased in value either because improvements in irrigation work were carried out at Government expense or because of the rise in value of the produce based on the average prices of 30 years, next preceding such revision. Besides the adoption of these principles a limit must be fixed beyond which it may not be permissible to surcharge the land-tax. With regard to local cesses $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is a fair rate. It must never exceed 10 per cent. Mistakes were made in the early years of the British rule in every province in India. The mistakes made in N. India were subsequently rectified. But in S. India and Bombay, they have been continued. In Bengal originally $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the rental was demanded as the Government revenue. Now the revenue there is less than $\frac{1}{4}$. In the N.-W. Provinces the Government revenue was $\frac{1}{4}$. It was subsequently reduced to $\frac{1}{3}$ and then to $\frac{1}{2}$. In the Punjab the Government revenue was originally $\frac{1}{4}$. It was then reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ and now it is $\frac{1}{6}$. But in Madras and in Bombay alone the old proportion still continues.

It is easy to account for the complete subversion and abandonment of the principles of the revenue assessment followed formerly in this country. In the East India Company's time, there was the constant dread of exposure of faults before the House of Commons. Now the Government of Great Britain looks upon the Government of India as a part of its own precious self and upon exposure of the latter as a blot on itself.

In favour of the present Land Revenue Policy, the Government apologists plead increase of cultivation. Increase in cultivation does not mean easy assessments. The pressure of population coupled with the extinction of all the indigenous industries and manufactures have led to all fields being brought under cultivation. Nor does the selling price of land prove easy assessment. The reason is the same as in the former case. The price of lands has declined considerably and except in villages which are in the vicinity of towns where lawyers and money-lenders are anxious to secure some investment for their surplus money, and have a country seat, it is getting more and more difficult to get the men to purchase lands, which apparently are losing their attractions owing to the exorbitant land-tax and periodical famines.

It is not true that a ryot gets higher rent than what he pays to Government as assessment. Outsiders are dazzled by the trinkets that may be worn by the common people and the cheap washed clothes of Manchester looms, into supposing that the ryots' prosperity is increasing.

Too much of taxation ought not to fall on the produce of the soil, *viz.*, upon food. The peasant must be taxed as lightly as possible. The taxation of the peasant should not be searching lest the prosperity of the people at large languish and die. In their present Land Revenue Policy, the Government is killing the goose that lays golden eggs without much thought or concern for the future.

The impermanency of Land Settlement aggravates the evil of the exorbitant land tax. Fixity of tenure holds the foremost place among the conditions which make for the permanent prosperity of agricultural races. Bengal was permanently settled in 1793, and Benares and some adjacent Districts in 1795. After the severe famine of 1860 permanent settlement was recommended to be extended to all parts of India. The proposal of a permanent settlement was first dictated by a desire to improve the material condition of the people, to encourage the investment of money on lands, to promote the gradual growth of a middle class in India, to lead to the accumulation of some capital and some resources in the country which would help the people in years of difficulties, draught and distress. The proposal calculated to promote the material well-being of the people was abandoned in 1883 in the interests of the Government Revenue. Permanent Settlement must be extended to the whole of India. If it is not done, revision of settlement must be made not earlier than after 30 years and even then it must be only for increase of prices as recommended by Lord Ripon.

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Agriculture under uncertain rainfall is bound to bring on periodic famine visitations. The best way to meet them is to create other forms of industry. As it is, every class of artisans, spinners, weavers and dyers, paper-makers, the silk and sugar and metal workers and others who are unable to bear up against Western competition, resort to land, leave the town and go into the country and are lost in the mass of helpless people who are unable to bear up against scarcity and famine.

India's wealth consists to-day of her fields, her cattle, her forests and minerals, her fisheries, her railways, her roads, her Civil Service, her learned professions, her military offices and so on, all through the various phases of human endeavour and human possession. Very little of all this belongs to the people of India. The income of the people is gradually diminishing. It was 2d. per head per day in 1850, 1½d. in 1882, and in 1900 ¾d. During the whole of the second half of the 18th century the controlling action of the British was for wealth. What was done then and in the early years of the 19th century, provided the capital by which the British Industrial supremacy was founded, while it laid the foundations of the unusual poverty of India. This enormous drain is not likely to be checked unless in financial matters more control is allowed to be exercised in India and by Indian people. Our national industries have been cruelly destroyed in order that English industry may be benefitted thereby. Once India occupied a respectable manufacturing and exporting position; now it has no position as such save in Bombay which is, however, the most poverty-stricken of all the agricultural regions in India. Industries declined in the early part of the 19th century, because prohibitive duties were imposed on Indian manufacture exported to Europe, while English manufactures were imported almost duty free. Later on in the century prohibitive duties were abolished after they had done their fatal work. Looms were replaced all over the world by steam and steam-mills were started. They prospered for a time, but imposition of Excise Duty on production of Indian mills in recent years has interfered with their success. This duty is unknown in any other part of the civilised world. The Indian Government does not patronise Indian industries. It bestows its patronage on firms in London to the serious detriment of the tax-payers as well as of Indian industries. The economic condition of India in the future does not depend to a material extent on the revival of these industries, but depends on how far the Indian people will be enabled to stem the tide of foreign capitalists, and how far the people themselves by the employment of their own capital and agency, and with the help of their own knowledge will convert the latent resources into manufactured articles, first for their own consumption and secondly, for export to foreign countries.

There is an enormous import from foreign countries of innumerable articles used by the great bulk of the people every day—articles of which the raw materials are

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to be found in abundance everywhere in this country. Instead of the export of the raw materials, the export of finished articles manufactured by the Indians should be substituted. Young men must be given the highest scientific and industrial training that could possibly be given. If India is to regain its industrial position, it must follow like Japan in the foot-steps of European industry, revolutionise the working condition of its traditional handicraft, turn the village workshops into steam-factories and give up hand labour for mechanical power. In the present extreme decadence of native arts and industries a great deal by way of impetus and encouragement must come from the State at the first instance, though their working will fall upon the masses exclusively. Unless Government come forward to advance freely native enterprise, there will be no possibility of an awakening from the wholesale collapse into which it has fallen. The necessity of State aid is now, though late in the day, recognised but in the present condition of the country it has to be large if it is to be efficient.

The primary cause of India's deplorable condition is the economic drain. The Government is most expensive. One-half or one-third of the revenue goes to England. The treasure exported from India varies from £500,000,000 to nearly £1,000,000,000. This drain struck down the ancient industries of India. Hundred years ago there was still much accumulated wealth throughout the continent. Nearly the whole of the wealth remaining in the country then has been so drained away that there is now less of popular pecuniary reserve in India than in other civilized countries in the world. During the last 30 years of the 19th century, the average drain cannot have been far short of £30,000,000 per year or in the 30 years £900,000,000. The result is that at the beginning of this century India has no working capital, and there is vastly more requirement of the necessaries of life among the people than was the case a hundred years ago. The average annual salaries are :—

European	...	...	...	£607.
Eurasian	...	...	...	£ 81.
Indian	...	...	...	£ 36.

That India should bear the whole cost of the army is unjust and oppressive because it is not only for the defence of India, but for the defence of Great Britain's possessions in Asia. Why should India alone be taxed for this purpose when the Colonies are not similarly taxed.

We have now considered the chief causes of our poverty. We have already indicated in describing the causes of famines in what direction changes have to be made to improve the economic condition of the country. We shall now consider the chief protective measures against famine.

The Government has overdone railways and has not done enough to improve irrigation. By railways the State has lost till now Rs.57,734,761. 225 millions sterling have been spent on Railways. Railway does not add one single blade of corn to the food supply of the country. It helps only English capitalists and speculators. Railways only distribute but do not make wealth. In districts fully traversed by Railways famine continues to periodically appear—Railways are mixed blessing. The assimilate prices throughout India They raise prizes throughout the country. By the artificial stimulus they give to the export of grain, they aggravate the evils of scarcity. The experience of the past twenty years has shown that districts having tanks, lakes, and wells are comparatively secure against draught and famines, we find that in districts where full facilities for irrigation have been provided people have practically baffled famine and have enjoyed comparative prosperity from year to year. Irrigation works strike the evil at the very root, while other remedies are mere palliatives. Only 25 millions sterling have been spent on irrigation. The latest scheme of the Government with reference to Irrigation Enquiry is the most important in the impoverished condition of the famine-stricken

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country. The Government of India admits that it is imperative to see that the country is protected from the desolating effect of draught by the intelligent utilisation to the fullest extent of every potential means of irrigation. Let us hope that the Irrigation Commission will arrive at results beneficial to the helpless and voiceless millions of this country. (*Hear, hear.*)

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Creation of capital is another important remedy for famines. Draught and failure of harvest would not result in wholesale death by starvation if the ryot had a domestic store either of food or of money or of credit sufficient to tide over failure of crops. The Committee appointed to consider the question of the establishment of Agricultural Banks in India considered that the efforts of the Government should not be limited to encourage the establishment of purely agricultural society. It recommended that endeavour should be made to encourage the formation of co-operative societies working on co-operative lines. The commission admits that however much it may be desirable that this institution should be based on the co-operative principle of confidence and self-help Government must help for the present the development of these institutions. We have thus far described the poverty of India. We have shown how famines are the best index of poverty. We have traced the causes of famines and suggested remedies therefor. We found that the chief causes of the distressing poverty of the mass of the population are excessive land assessment, decadence of Indian industries and the economic drain. We have also pointed out the chief remedies.

Our recent experience has shown that those provinces suffered most, where Land Revenue was unduly high. The material condition of the people has to be improved by lightening the burdens of the land, by saving crops, by irrigation, by reviving the industries of the people and by revising the financial arrangements of the country. The above are the measures which prevented famines in other parts of the civilized world. Mr. R. C. Dutt puts Indian's wants thus in a nutshell:—"Moderate the land assessment, extend irrigation works, encourage Indian industries, admit the Indians to a reasonable share of high public offices and public expenditure, and the crushing drain of Indian revenues to England, and you will not hear so much of famines. (*Hear, hear.*)"

The Government of India has convinced itself that famine is inevitable in this country, and so long as it is under such a conviction, it is hopeless to induce it to consider serious measures by which the people can be placed in a better condition for resisting famine. Government therefore, naturally devotes itself to a consideration of the best methods of administering relief wherever the famine makes its appearance. The policy of the Government is to save the lives of the people during famine time. But their duty is not discharged by merely saving the lives of the people for the time being. If the life is saved only that it may become the victim of prolonged suffering, life is hardly worth saving. The Government deals only with the surface of the economic evils, ignoring the centre and the root thereof. The Famine Commission is nothing more than a costly official show and so far as the people are concerned it might as well have not been appointed at all. The Famine Commissions deal only with the details of relief and not with the causes of the famine or the ways of preventing it. It is only asked to find out and determine the most effective and the most economic method of famine relief. The enquiry is confined to the prevailing system of famine relief and their working. The Famine Union rightly asks the Government to enquire into the causes of famine and to adopt measures for their prevention. To say that India is the natural home of famines is untrue. Famines are largely the result of human blunders. There is not so much famine of food as there is bad famine of money (*Hear, hear*). Indian calamities within this generation are unsurpassed and perhaps unprecedented in the history of any period or of any country in the world. There in no

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such abject poverty as this in any other country which has a civilized Government. India's poverty is responsible for her famines. More money must be retained in the hands of the people and their staying power must thus be increased. There is no use of blaming the land of the people.

The land is fertile. The people are most frugal, hard-working and sober. It is said that famine is due to the improvidence and want of thrift of the people and to the failure of season. The ryots run into debt. Therefore they suffer. This is given as the reason for the attempt to reduce the credit of the ryots by making it almost impossible for them to sell their lands. Now could improvidence and want of thrift be charged against the Indian ryot when his income is not more than Rs.27/- which, when spread over 12 months of the year represents only the famine or the subsistence wage, and if Rs.27, was poor enough, it is now Rs.17-7-6. In 1900 it was Rs.12-6-0. From the mid-period of Lord Ripon's Rule to the mid-period of Curzon's the average income in a good year has come from Rs.27 to Rs.17-7-6 per head. Forty years ago the ryot had ample free pasturage for cattle. He could use all their dung as manure for he could get the fuel. The fuel ashes and dung went into his field. He could collect much vegetable manure. He could get wood for his house and for his agricultural implements. He could get salt for himself and his cattle cheap at one-fourth the present rate. Now salt is dear; pasturage is taxed. No fuel can be procured except by purchase and payment of forest-tax. There is no wood ashes for the land. Dung is burnt for fuel and dung is thus lost to the land. Vegetable manure is now taxed. Government has sown liquor shops broad cast over the land. They stimulate drinking. The enormous abkari revenue comes out of the peasant's pockets. The preservation of human life is the most elementary function which the rulers of the country have to discharge. (*Hear, hear.*)

The British Government is said to scatter plenty liberally over this smiling land. In such a country one failure of the monsoon forces Government to send the hat round the world. The results of famine are numerous; there is loss of money to the State and the country. To one man that has died and left a family with none to support it, hundreds have survived the famine with their frames shattered and their vitality reduced, in a state which makes them unfit to earn an honest livelihood and a burden on society at large. From these unfortunate wrecks spring a progeny of poor physique and vitality thus perpetuating the evil effects of the famine. The moral evil is as serious as the physical. It makes people callous to suffering, and inclined to resort to desperate and criminal methods of eking out an existence. People having come to know that Government saves life at any cost are apt to forget the virtue of self-reliance and rely more on the help of the Government than on their own thrift and exertion. The suffering people became selfish, greedy and callous to all the calls of duty, social, domestic and individual. Famine makes the people desperate and resigned, imbues them with a belief that they are destined only to a lot of starvation and misery, and no effort that they can put forward will raise them to a higher state. There was more wealth in former times. After over hundred and forty years of rule, largely British and forty years of rule wholly British the economic position of India is such at the present day. Petty ryots who are not less than 75% of the agricultural population are only a shade better than the farm servants. The present prosperity of India is confined to the large city and the rich provinces. Rents, taxes and revenues have more than doubled during the last 30 years while the land has steadily deteriorated. Famines in India are caused by the poverty of the great bulk of her inhabitants who possess little or no saving to fall back upon, when draught or inundation destroys crops, raises the price of grain and throws out of work millions. While the masses have undergone certain deterioration on the whole, the

classes have probably improved their material condition. New classes have sprung up to fill the profession of law, medicines, art, etc. Wealth has been transferred from the village to the towns. There is a larger number of officials whose salaries are high in relation to the capacity of the tax-payer. The inroads into the village wealth of the ever-increasing crowd of vakils are become positively alarming. The cost of the education has become heavy. The demoralised landholders resort to towns to enjoy and make a show of their often borrowed money. These are some of the causes of the depletion of wealth that used to accumulate formerly. The Indian towns are unlike European towns which contain a large class of capitalists engaged in manufacturing of other wealth producing enterprises. Villages would then receive compensation for what they contribute to the richness of towns. Officials, Vakils and School-masters consume wealth while producing none. The thoughtless and sometimes positively wicked ways in which they spend their earnings aggravate the evil. In spite of the political revolution and the social chaos that distinguished the condition of the people a century ago, they were comparatively in prosperous circumstances and enjoyed a rude plenty and general happiness to which they have become strangers during the last fifty years. Great Britain is the richest country in the world. India is unrivalled in the fertility of its natural resources and with its million sober and industrious population, it ought to be one of the richest countries in the world.

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It is absurd to say that the poverty of India is the sole result of the social custom and character of the people. It is said that the early marriage leads to rapid increase of population and brings on famine. We do not advocate this practice. Its moral and social evils are numerous. But early marriage does not tend to increase of population to the extent to which it is supposed. For it leads also to increased mortality. As regards other customs and practices, while some of them stand in the way of the people advancing in material property, they do not constitute the direct causes of Indian's poverty. We do not approve of a pauper population marrying in haste and propagating without forethought, expecting their Government to provide for them and their progeny. No doubt climate, customs and habits, to say nothing of the freaks of nature, have a good deal to answer for. Whatever the part played by nature and the social customs and character of the people bringing about poverty their consequences ought not to be aggravated by the Government by its own error and faults, intentional or honest. No civilized Government can sit helplessly with folded hands, cursing nature and content with a policy of make-shift when millions of people fall victims to most appalling famines at short intervals.

As Mr. Digby says at the end of his work on "Prosperous British India" we find now in India a sum of human misery and a mental and a political degradation the like of which amongst civilised and progressive countries is no where else, at this moment to be seen and probably was at no time during recorded history anywhere to be seen.

There is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent inconceivable at present if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instinct of fair play and justice, and will insist on the faithful and conscientious fulfilment of all their great and solemn promises and pledges.

In the faithful and conscientious fulfilment of solemn pledges, India expects and demands that the British Sovereign, People, Parliament and Government should make honest efforts towards fulfilling the aspirations and necessities of India.

By all means let Englishmen be proud of the past. We accord them every credit for the order and the law which they brought about and are deeply thankful to them,

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but let them clearly realise and manfully acknowledge the many short-comings of commission and omission by which they have reduced India to material and moral wretchedness, and let them in a way worthy of their name and history repair the injury they have inflicted. It is fully in their power to make their rule a blessing to India, a benefit and a glory to England by allowing India her own administration under their superior controlling hand or in their own often repeated professions and words by governing India for India's sake.

Mr. Dadabhai Naroji says :—"Any fair minded Englishman after making himself acquainted with all the realities instead of the Anglo-Indian romance of the present British system (notwithstanding much good done and gratefully acknowledged by the Indians) will come to the conclusion that in the material and economical condition of India the existing system has been the greatest curse with which India has ever been afflicted." We thus see that under the present system of administration, India is suffering seriously in several ways and is sinking in poverty. Mr. Dadabhai Naroji truly calls this the question or rather the most serious question of the day.

The poverty of India, whose population is one-fifth of the human race and which is the soundest of the pillars of Britain's prosperity and fame is the momentous problem of the day that must engage the attention of every true friend of India.

Mr. Jadu Nath Majumdar of Jessore, in supporting the 8th resolution, said :—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—Permit me to offer salutations to the most High, the Father of all nations, in Whose hand lie the destinies of us all, and invoke his blessings on this fallen country of ours. Permit me to offer thanks to thee, Mr. President, and to you all, Brother delegates, who like true sons of India have devoted their lives to her cause. Ours is a poor country. The famines show it. I see cheerful faces before me and they no doubt inspire me with hopes for the future of our country, but I cannot forget the sorrowful faces of the millions outside the Congress camp, that live in cottages, who scarcely find a meal for the day, and have not even a rag to tie round their loins, (*Hear. hear.*) Gentlemen, ours is a poor country, poorer than the poorest country of Europe, even though Pax Britannica rules over all India, and we have no thuggis to kill us, no foreign invasions or internal wars to decimate us, yet we have to count with the most powerful enemy of the modern times *vis.* famine—compared with whose ravages those of foreign invasions of olden times sink unto utter insignificance. Our philosophical friends have often told us that there had been famines in the past and there must be famines in the future and we must resign to our lots. Does that commend to reason? If there were famines in India in the past, they were due to want of our communication with the outside world and not to our inability to purchase food grains. India is no longer an isolated country and she can now purchase food grains from any part of the world. If there are famines now, they are due to our inability to purchase food grains. Is famine preventible or not? It is preventible. Improve your agriculture, and your industry, lessen your Civil and Military expenditure, emigrate into other countries and thereby relieve the country of its surplus population. But what avails the improvement of agriculture if the Government does not cease to periodically increase the rent of the ryots? What avails the improvement of the industries, if they are not protected against foreign competition? A distinguished countryman of ours, Mr. L. Palit I. C. S. has well said before the Carlyle Society of London that for England to have free trade in India means the fight of a trained prize-fighter with an untrained boy. (*Cheers.*) Even John Stuart Mill the Champion of Free Trade lays it down that young industries must be protected. I come from the district of Jessore which is foremost in producing sugar. That farsighted statesman who is now at the helm of the Indian affairs by

imposing duties on imported sugar has greatly benefitted that industry. But imported sugar is still under-selling country sugar and the duties on the former must be raised or its importation totally prohibited. Then how can we emigrate to other countries if we are to be treated as coolies abroad? It is shameful that these ancient and civilized people should be treated as coolies as soon as its members set their feet on foreign lands. If they wish us to become proud of being British subjects let them give us full rights of a British subject at home and abroad. What avail all these if you do not lessen the Civil and the Military expenditure of the country. A huge army is required only when the ruled are hostile to the rulers. Make friends with your subjects—"Bar Rayati salak Kun" says Shaik Sadi and you can defy Russia, and for the matter of that the whole world. (*Cheers.*)

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Mr. Joseph Benjamin (Ahmedabad) in supporting the 8th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I come from the province of Gujarat, which has been affected by the deadliest famine of the century which has been just over. Gentlemen, I belong to a place which has been undergoing famine consecutively for the last two or three years. For the last two or three years there has been a famine in Ahmedabad and the whole of Gujarat. I can tell you, Gentlemen, that during the famine of 1899-1900, I saw as far back as 3rd September 1899, when the rainy season had not completely ceased, people dying of hunger and starvation under our own eyes in the out-skirts of the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, which is known as the Garden of Western India. When such was the condition of the people of Gujarat, what must have been the condition of the people of the Deccan and other parts of the country? Gentlemen, it so happened that in the beginning when the famine came on, His Excellency Lord Curzon, in one of his speeches, said that so far as Gujrat was concerned the Government of Bombay were taken by surprise at the commencement. And what followed? The mortality was dreadful. In the Ahmedabad district alone in one month (May 1900) out of a population of 7 lakhs as many as 22,000 persons died. In the city of Ahmedabad, where the people have occupation, the total mortality for the year (1900-1901) was more than 25,000, and the percentage of mortality more than 14. Gentlemen, we have got about 40,000 weavers in Ahmedabad, out of these 30,000 were thrown out of work during the famine. Formerly the weavers of Ahmedabad used to weave silk cloths of different kinds, but latterly these indigenous industries are declining and dying away. Gentlemen, during the famine we were very fortunate in our officials, who were very sympathetic. But the Bombay Government was very strict in the beginning. It issued a circular in March 1900, when famine was raging, to collect land assessment; which could not however be collected, because the people were not able to pay it. During the current year the Government of Bombay introduced the Bombay Land Revenue Amendment Bill and had it passed in the Council in spite of the legitimate protests of the people, and in spite of the modest amendment of our veteran leader the Hon'ble Mr. Pheroza Mehta to postpone the bill for six months to obtain further official and non-official opinion in the matter. But when even this modest request was not complied with, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta and his distinguished colleagues, who deserve our admiration for their independence, rightly left the Council Hall as a protest against the hasty manner in which the bill was passed. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, the consequence of the bill will be that the cultivator will be deprived of the privilege of borrowing money from the Sowkar, whereas Government have made no provision to open Agricultural Banks. Thus the bill has been brought into force without first providing a remedy for the evil, which the Government consider is at the bottom of the present condition of the cultivators. The establishment of Agricultural Banks is one of the requests of this resolution.

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Then, as regards the question of heavy land assessment in Gujarat the Hon'ble Mr. Gokaldas Kahandas Parekh, who represents Gujarat in the Bombay Council, accepted the challenge thrown out by the Governor in Council, and placed facts by which he proved that taxation was very heavy. Gentlemen, the time allotted to me is nearly over. I have great pleasure in supporting this most important resolution. I hope, Lord Curzon, who has been sympathetic to us, will, before he lays down the reins of the Viceroyalty of India, devise and adopt means to improve the economic condition of the people of India, so that his name will be enshrined in the grateful hearts of the people of this country as the greatest benefactor of India. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Resolution IX.
Wider Employment
of Natives of India.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, who rose amidst loud and prolonged cheers, in moving the 9th resolution said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—“That this Congress once again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have not produced the results which were anticipated and this Congress 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 examination for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in England and India.

That in this connection this Congress desires to express its profound disappointment at the policy of the Government in respect of the wider employment of natives of India in the higher offices of the Minor Civil Services, such as the Police, the Custom, the Telegraph, the Forest, the Survey, the Opium, as involving their practical exclusion from these offices and as being opposed to the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission; and this Congress prays that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to remedy the injustice thus done to the claims of the people of this country.

Brother Delegates,—This is an old question which in substance has been included in the Congress programme ever since the Congress has come into existence. It is a painful necessity which compels us to renew this demand from year's end to year's end. But our rulers will not listen to us. Inaccessible to the voice of reason or of remonstrance, wrapped up in the sense of their own infallibility with regard to this matter they turn a deaf ear to our representations. But we must continue to repeat them in season and out of season, until we will win by our persistency what has been refused to the justice of our cause. We Congressmen never confess to a defeat (*Hear, hear*). We are like the veterans of Waterloo who never knew that they had lost a battle. With us defeat means a temporary reverse, the temporary frustration of our hopes and aspirations—perhaps the temporary suspension of our activities in a particular direction; but it never does or can mean the definite abandonment of a programme which we have deliberately resolved upon. (*Cheers.*) Such a programme must be renewed again and again until the clamour of an irrational opposition has been hushed into silence and the moral forces which we have helped to create, to foster and to promote, working noiselessly it may be but steadily, in the bosom of society and operating through the medium of an enlightened public opinion have established their complete and triumphant sway. (*Cheers.*) We believe in reiteration—we believe in persistency—above all we believe in the justice of our cause. We believe that so long as there is a God in Heaven, Who shapes and controls the destinies of men and nations, Who regulates the march of human affairs, Who compels rulers of men, be they autocrats or the representatives, or constitutional sovereigns, to conform to the paramountcy of the moral laws, our cause is bound to triumph; for it is founded upon

the highest justice. (*Cheers*). If justice to individuals be binding upon Governments, justice to communities is of paramount obligation which no Government can set at naught with impunity to its highest and truest interests. In the intoxication of power—in the frenzy which is begotten of long continued and uninterrupted success—this elementary principle is apt to be ignored. But it is writ large on the pages of history, and the annals of mankind teach the impressive lesson that Governments are strongest when they are most liberal and most popular. Alexander conquered the world, less by the prowess of his arms, more by the liberality of his policy. The master of Persia, with his feet planted upon the neck of the Persian people, he insisted upon Persianizing himself and his great nobles. Rome, the mistress of the world (mistress even now in a wider sense, in the domain of religion, of law and jurisprudence) Rome retained her supremacy over men and affairs, not so much by the splendour of her military achievements, as by the generous extension of her much-prized gift of citizenship to the remotest parts of her conquered dominions. (*Cheers*). We invite the Government of India to accept this principle, not merely in theory, but as an integral, effective and permanent, of its policy. For we desire the permanence of British rule in India, for with it are bound up the best prospects of our political and material development. But we cannot ignore the fact that British rule, as at present constituted, represents a foreign domination, and it is equally notorious that all foreign domination lacks the elements of stability and permanence. Therefore is it that we are anxious, to nationalize the Government, and so relieve it of these elements which are calculated to jeopardize its permanence, and broadbase the Empire of the King upon the gratitude, the love and the devoted allegiance of the millions of our population. (*Cheers*). Our position is enormously strengthened by declaration of the Government, above all by the Proclamation of Her late Majesty the Queen, the Magna Charta of our rights. I am happy to be able to say that there has been no disposition on the part of the illustrious men who from time to time have filled the high office of Viceroy to belittle the significance of this solemn document. On the contrary, they have always regarded it as a sacred injunction issued on a historic occasion, imposing a solemn duty upon the rulers of India in relation to the people of India. I will not trouble you with the opinions of preceding Viceroys. The latest pronouncement is that of His Excellency Lord Curzon. His Excellency observed that it was the golden rule of his conduct. We take our stand upon the Proclamation and call for its redemption. We take our stand upon the Proclamation and appeal to His Excellency to be guided by the golden rule of his conduct. Sir, it has been proposed to inscribe the words of the Proclamation upon a brass tablet to be raised in the All India Memorial Hall. May the words of the Proclamation be graven deep on the hearts and consciences of our rulers! May they be to them the table of their commandments, to be obeyed by them unswervingly and faithfully for the honour of their late sovereign, the glorification of their country and the fulfilment of the highest ends of British rule in India! (*Cheers*). We hold that the Proclamation will not be redeemed and justice will not be done to the people of India unless and until simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Services are held in India and England. In this view we are supported by high and distinguished authorities. So far back as 1862 a Committee of the India Office was appointed, consisting of eminent Anglo-Indian officials, who held the view which has been put forth in this resolution. They were of opinion that the plainest considerations of justice to the natives of India demanded that simultaneous examinations should be held in India as well as in England. Their report was not unanimous, but it was unanimous on this point. But we have yet a higher authority to quote. There was no more strenuous opponent of Indian aspirations than the late Lord Lytton, for he deliberately proposed to close the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Services as against natives of India. Even Lord Lytton was constrained to admit that in the

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matter of their admission to high offices the people of India had been cheated of their dues, and that the Government had broken to the hope the words of promise which they had uttered to the ear.

We express dissatisfaction with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, because they decided the question of simultaneous examination against the weight of evidence. The Public Service Commission examined 597 witnesses. Out of them 361 were in favour of, and 163 witnesses were against, simultaneous examinations; 73 witnesses were among the doubtful ones. Thus nearly 70 per cent. of those who were examined were in favour of the principle of simultaneous examination. And it is a very remarkable fact, perhaps not generally known, that there is a strong body of European opinion in favour of simultaneous examinations. I will now mention the names of those distinguished men who gave evidence in support of our view, and they were gentlemen who, during their official career developed no decided partiality in favour of Indian aspirations for liberal and generous treatment in the matter of high appointments. Amongst those in favour of simultaneous examinations were some names which are familiar to the people of these provinces, such as those of Sir Alfred Croft, late Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Tawney, late Principal of the Presidency College, and Mr. Kisch, late Post-Master General, now Municipal Secretary to Government. There are also distinguished personages outside these Provinces, such as Mr. Sime, Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, and Mr. Tupper of the Punjab Civil Service who supported our view. It goes without saying that the Hon'ble Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, the respected Chief-Commissioner of Assam, (*cheers*) and our great and good friend, Mr. Allen Hume, (*cheers*) were also in favour of holding simultaneous examinations. Well, Gentlemen, we have heard a great deal about Mahomedan opposition to the Congress and that opposition is said to be founded on our adhesion to the programme of simultaneous examinations. Now, let us examine the drift of Mahomedan evidence as given before the Public Service Commission, at least in Bengal. Bengal is the one province in the Indian Empire which contains the largest level of Mahomedan population. Sixteen representative witnesses were summoned by the Public Commission to give evidence before them, and what was the drift of their evidence? Out of 16 witnesses, 10 were in favour of simultaneous examinations, two were doubtful, and four were against. And amongst these ten there are some whose names are names of honour amongst the Mahomedans of this Province, who will find a permanent place in the annals of Mahomedan greatness. Foremost among them was the late Nawab Bahadur Abdul Lateef who was not known to be a friend of the Congress, and yet when called upon to express an opinion on the subject, he gave evidence in favour of simultaneous examinations. Then, Sir, there was Moulvi Abdul Jubbar an honoured and respected name throughout these provinces, now Prime Minister of Bhopal. He was in favour of simultaneous examinations. Moulvi Khodabux, late Chief Justice of Hyderabad, Vice-President of the Reception Committee of the Congress; an extract from whose letter I read out yesterday, he, too, was in favour of simultaneous examinations. And last but not least there was Mr. Shrafudin, Barrister-at-law of Bankipore. Mr. Shrafudin belonged to us, but he now sits on the fence in an attitude of anxiety and suspense which is painful to his friends, and must be galling to his own sense of self-respect. (*Laughter and cheers*). It will thus be seen that those members of the Mahomedan Community who object to simultaneous examinations make it a ground of their abstention from the Congress, are arrayed in opposition to the views of the most illustrious of their co-religionists. Nay, more, they do a grave injustice to the great community to which they belong. They forget the past glories of their race. They forget that although the Hindus have had a start of fifty years

over them in the matter of high education, our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen are rapidly coming to the front and are gallantly holding their own in honourable competition with the elite of our youth. (*Cheers*). Sir, not many years ago, Mr. Tyebji, the bearer of an honoured name, was the first man of his year in the Final Examination for the Indian Civil Service. Another Mahomedan gentleman from the Punjab quite recently occupied a high place in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos Examination and won for himself an equally distinguished position among the selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service. I think it was only year before last when a Mahomedan student from Bankipur was the first man of his year at the First Arts Examination. All these circumstances ought to inspire us with hope as regards the future of the Mahomedan community in India. That hope has been accentuated by recent events. We Hindus, rejoice to find that our Mahomedan fellow-subjects have shaken off their political torpor. (*Cheers*.) The apathy which paralyzed their energies has given place to serious reflection on their present political situation. A visible wave of unrest is agitating the Mahomedan community in India. Out of a total number of about one thousand delegates attending the Congress there are so many as 100 Mahomedian delegates. The portals of the Congress are wide open for their reception. (*Cheers*). We shall welcome them as brothers, animated by a common sentiment, living upon a common hope and fired by a common enthusiasm. (*Cheers*.) Who will sunder ties which nature has forged with her own hands? (*Cheers*.) I know that some of your leaders—I will correct myself and say your so-called leaders—have essayed this impossible task. Vain effort. Success can never be theirs. The moral sense of the community will rise in revolt against an enterprise which is opposed to the mandate of nature. (*Cheers*.)

The second part of the resolution deals with the question of the Minor Civil Services. It deplores the policy of the Government of India which amounts to a policy of the exclusion of our countrymen from the higher appointments in the Minor Civil Services. As regards the Indian Civil Service, as the result of our agitation, we have gained some ground. As regards the Minor Civil Services, as the result of our apathy, we continue to be excluded from the higher appointments. As regards the Indian Civil Service, one-sixth of the listed appointments have been thrown open to us, and I am thankful to be able to say that in Bengal the Government has made a real effort to carry out this policy. As regards the Minor Civil Services, there are departments where we do not hold even one-twentieth part of the higher appointments—there are departments from which our ostracism is complete, where the representatives of the dominant race hold all the loaves and fishes of office. Let us look at the figures:—They are those for Bengal. In the Forest Department the total number of high appointments are 24,—22 held by Europeans and 2 by our countrymen. In the Customs the total number of appointments are 33, 31 held by Europeans, one only by a native, the other which is vacant will probably go to a European. Preventive Service,—157 appointments; all held by Europeans. There is a big zero for us. (A voice from the delegates—"Preventive Service means the prevention of the children of the soil"). Yes, Preventive Service means prevention of the children of the soil. I accept that interpretation. Survey,—appointments 13; all 13 the monopoly of the dominant race. We are not even fit to be good surveyors. Jail—total number of high appointments 18; all held by Europeans. Police—112, including the Calcutta Police; of these, 103 are held by Europeans, 6 by natives, and 3 are vacant. Telegraph—79 higher appointments, 75 held by Europeans, 4 by natives (*shame*). This is indeed a scandalous state of things. The gravity of the scandal is apparent to every one who is not blind to what is right. Nothing could be more scandalous than the state of things disclosed by the figures to which I have referred. Well, this was the state of things

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to which the Indian Association called attention. The government of India took about 12 months to cogitate the answer. The Government of India at last replied, and it replied with a big non-possimus. "We are unable to do anything in the matter, except that the appointments in the Appraiser's Department might be thrown open to you; but the higher offices in the other Departments must continue to be the monopoly of the dominant race"—so said Lord Curzon and his advisers. Well, Gentlemen, with your permission, I won't take much of your time, I will refer to two or three extracts from the Government of India's letter with a view to show the re-actionary character of the policy which is now in the ascendant in the councils of our rulers. With reference to the Salt Department not a single native of India holds any high appointment. But mark the anomaly. For sometime the head of the department was a native Civilian. The head could be native, the foot could be native, but the body must be European. I cannot understand it, but that is exactly the arrangement which was in force. The Government of India said in their reply to the Indian Association:—"The Department is still in its infancy and the preventive operations now being introduced require an energy and physical capacity which ordinary natives of Bengal who would apply for service in the Department do not possess. Hereafter, when the illicit practices have been repressed and the work of the Department has been normal, it will, the Government of India anticipate, be found feasible as it is in Madras to employ a larger proportion of pure natives." We Bengalees are told that we have not even the physical capacity requisite for the operation of this Department. Well, Gentlemen, I do not know what extraordinary physical capacity is required for the purpose of suppressing smuggling carried on by a few Bengalee villagers, when those who attempt to suppress it are armed with all the power and authority of the law. But it seems to me that the remark involves a gross libel on the Bengalees. Of course, I cannot claim to be a fine specimen of the physical energy and of the physical capacity of my race. (*Laughter*). You can find such specimens amongst your volunteers (*cheers*). There are many of them quite ready to fight as you have had some evidence since yesterday. (*Laughter*). But in any case it must be held that we possess sufficient physical energy for the purpose of suppressing smuggling. The Government however seem to ignore the physical development—the marvellous physical development—of modern Bengal. Look at our Cricket teams, our Football teams, our Gymnasiums, our Circuses, our Liontamers (*Hear, hear and cheers*) who in point of endurance, physical strength and nerve are capable of competing with the bravest men of the same profession in other parts of the world. (*Cheers*). The reply of the Government involves a calumny upon the Bengalee race. If the Government does not want to give us these appointments, let it say so. Why indulge in calumny? Why does it not tell us:—"This application of yours does not suit us? It is not in harmony with our re-actionary policy". I think the Government of India has done us great injustice by refusing to us these high appointments and has added insult to injury, by the reply given to the memorial of the Indian Association. In the next place, Sir, the Government of India says in its reply that as regards the Jail Department the Government has ruled that Superintendents of Central Jails should be recruited from among members of the Indian Medical Service. I do not know that the much-gifted members of the Indian Medical Service have the exclusive monopoly of knowledge and wisdom which is not vouchsafed to others. These appointments are to be their monopoly; and you, Doctor Mullick with all your learning, and you my friend Dr. Nilratan, with all your practical knowledge of the great profession to which you belong, you can never hope to be Superintendents of our Central Jails, because forsooth you do not belong to that heaven-appointed service which claims the monopoly and exclusive knowledge which the Government of India credits the Indian Medical Service with. Nor is this all, the Assistant Deputy Superintendents of Jail are required by the terms of the

letter to possess European qualifications. Gentlemen, I know European goods. They are easily distinguished by their trade-mark. But what are European qualifications, will you tell me? Are they specified anywhere? Are they not qualifications which are the gifts of a bountiful Providence, freely distributed amongst the entire human race, depending entirely on education, training and the environments of one's situation? Is it to be supposed that we do not possess the qualifications of Deputy Superintendents of Jail? If we do not, the fact implies the gravest reflection upon British rule—it means that under British rule we have become so degraded that we are unfit to be even Deputy Superintendents of Jails, but that under Mahomedan rule we were qualified to be the governors of provinces, the commanders of armies and the confidential advisers of the sovereign. (*Cheers.*) Let our rulers look upon that picture and upon this and draw the moral. (*Cheers.*)

Let me now pass on to the next and the last item, *i. e.*, the Opium Department. I am surprised at the observations of the Government. It is my respect, personal respect for Lord Curzon, which prevents me from giving expression to sentiments which rise uppermost in my mind and struggle for utterance. I restrain myself, because the dignity of this assembly requires the practice of self-restraint. At the same time the reply of the Government must be considered by us and the answer must be forthcoming. The Government say:—"This scheme of admitting natives of pure Asiatic descent to the Opium Department on a limited scale which was introduced experimentally in 1884 has not yet been found to be sufficiently successful, and the Government of India is, therefore, of opinion that the department must continue for the present to be recruited mainly from the European and Eurasian community". Now Sir, what does this mean? It means this—it means the complete reversal of the policy of Lord Ripon and of the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. Lord Ripon, in 1884, by the terms of the resolution referred to, declared that one-fourth of the appointments in the Opium Department should be recruited from among natives of India. The Public Service Commission went a step further. The Public Service Commission recommended that there should be equality in the treatment of all races, as regards the higher appointments in the Opium Department. Now the Government of India comes forward and says:—"You have been tried and have been found wanting, and we are not prepared still further to develop the principle which was accepted by Lord Ripon's Government." Gentlemen, I dispute the position assumed by the Government. I say we have been tried but have not been found wanting, and I will ask you to say no to this part of the reply of the Government. When you have heard me I am sure you will say no, an emphatic no (*voices of no, no*) which will ring from one part of this hall to the other. There are 300 appointments in the Opium Department. Out of those 300 appointments, 12 are filled by natives of India, and 288 are filled by Europeans. In the administration report of the Department, 8 officers were singled out for honourable mention, and who do you think the officers were? Of these 8 officers, 4 were Europeans and the rest were natives. Now, Sir, it comes to this—that out of 288 European officers, 4 were qualified for honorable distinction, and out of only 12 native officers, 4 also were similarly qualified for honorable mention. Look at the facts here disclosed, and yet the Government of India says that we have been tried and have been found wanting. Sir, a more unfounded allegation has never appeared within the limits of a State paper. I am surprised that Lord Curzon, with his great capacity for work and his keen insight into details, did not observe the contradiction between the reply of Government of India and the facts stated in the administration report of the Department.

Upon such grounds as these our prayer has been rejected. We owe it to ourselves to renew it in season and out of season, until we get what we want. It is

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through failure that we mount to success. Failure is the school of discipline through which we must pass before we reach the destined goal of our aspirations. Look at the trials and tribulations of other nations. It is fortunate, thanks to the constitutional Government under which we live, that we are not called upon to face them. I have heard complaints of the comparative unsuccess of the Congress movement and of our waning enthusiasm. You, Sir, (referring to Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee) were pleased yesterday to refer to it in your eloquent speech. I will not go over the ground, so happily trodden by you. But even if there was the shadow of a substratum of truth underlying the allegation, I would ask what are seventeen years in the life-time of a nation? I am unwilling to enter into a comparison between the Irish people and ourselves. But Irish history teaches an impressive lesson which we would do well to lay to heart. The Irish carried on an agitation for more than fifty years before they got the Catholic Emancipation Bill passed into law. They have now been agitating for Home Rule for more than one hundred years and they have not got it, despite their perfect organization, their limitless resources and their solid strength in the House of Commons. Let us, therefore, possess our souls in patience in the certain conviction that the day is not far distant when the forces of liberalism will once again assert their ascendancy in England and a new impetus will be imparted to the cause of progress, not only in the United Kingdom but throughout the world wide dominions of the King-Emperor. You have the strongest motives to carry on the great work to which you are pledged. You are the descendants of a great race, the inheritors of illustrious traditions. Humanity owes a great debt to you. You were the instructors of mankind in the morning of the world. The hymns of your Vedic Rishis representing the first aspirations of infant humanity towards the divine ideal wafted through the distant ages, still linger in the air. (*Cheers*). Your country was the cradle of two religions, the nursery and the seat of the noblest ethical and spiritual conceptions. (*Cheers*). To the divinely inspired Budha two-thirds of the human race still bent their knee in adoration. (*Cheers*). Will you not emulate the deeds of your sires? Will you not reconcile the past with the present, unite the past with the present—until they flow on a mighty stream converging towards the confines of eternity, fertilizing the unknown regions of the future, creating, fostering, stimulating a new, a nobler, a grander civilization for Asia than any which the world has yet witnessed. (*Cheers*).

I have also an appeal to make to our Mahomedan fellow-subjects. You were the instructors of Europe in the Middle Ages. You held aloft the torch of learning and civilization at a time when the monks in their cloistered recesses were formulating philosophical principles of doubtful utility to mankind. In India you were the inaugurators of a policy which remains unsurpassed for its beneficence and which has won for you the love, the respect, the affectionate gratitude of your Hindu fellow-subjects. (*Loud Cheers*.) Hindus and Mahomedans, Parsis and Sikhs and Christians, let us all combine in a constitutional way to effect the political enfranchisement of our people and the great God of nations will sanctify our patriotic efforts.

I have a word to say to our rulers. Next year will witness the coronation of the King. The year after, there will be a Proclamation Durbar to be held at Delhi, the capital of the Hindu and the Mahomedan Kings of India. Whenever a Durbar has been held, associated with the Sovereign, it has been marked by an accession of popular rights. The first Durbar held by Lord Canning on the assumption of the Government by the Crown witnessed the announcement of the Proclamation, the Magna Charta of our rights. The Imperial Assemblage Durbar of 1877 was associated with a proclamation which gave a new impetus to the wider employment of our countrymen in the more responsible offices of State. And last but not least, at the Jubilee Durbar

of 1887, Lord Dufferin foreshadowed the expansion and the reform of the Councils. I hope and trust that the Proclamation Durbar to be held by Lord Curzon will not be an empty show, an idle pageant, a mere expenditure of the people's money with little benefit to the people, but that it will represent a new era in Indian history, and that it will be marked in the word of our first resolution, by the strengthening of free Institutions, the expansions of popular rights and by a great and forward step taken for the gradual but complete redemption of the gracious promise contained in the Proclamation of Her late Majesty. (*Loud and deafening Cheers*)

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Mr. Abul Kasim in seconding the 9th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to support the resolution which has been so eloquently put before you by our distinguished leader, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee. The resolution is one that has received the stamp and sanction of previous Congresses and the unanimous support and approval of my educated countrymen throughout the length and breadth of this vast Indian Empire. (*Hear, hear.*) After the great and thrilling speech which we have heard on this resolution, it would be nothing short of sheer impertinence on my part to crave your attention even for a few minutes; but speaking as a delegate belonging to the community which is reported to have no sympathy for the aims and objects of the Congress, I should be failing in my duty if I did not explain how this resolution affected the interests of my co-religionists. We are told by our sympathising friends in a patronising way that the Congress is injurious to the Mussalmans because it advocates the introduction of Competitive Examinations for public services in India. They tell us, Sir, that the Mahomedans cannot hope to compete on fair and equal terms with their Hindu brethren. I observed on a previous occasion and I repeat with all the force that I can command that I look upon it as an insult to the Mussalman intellect to say that is in any way inferior to that of any race on the face of the earth. (*Hear, hear.*) Of so long our boys have not cut brilliant figure in the public examinations it is not because they were wanting in application and industry. Those who take any interest in the progress of the Mahomedan community must have noticed with not a little satisfaction that our boys are gradually coming to the front. The results of the recent public examinations will show that the Mahomedans, when come prepared to the field, carry the day. As regards the holding of the simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service here and in England I think that the Mahomedans should agitate for it more than our Hindu fellow subjects. (*Hear, hear.*) As long as the examination is held in England only, entrance to the sacred service is not a question of brains alone but that of money as well. Poverty, Gentlemen, is no crime, and it is admitted on all hands that the Mahomedans are poorer than the Hindus. My experience is that in the majority of cases those of us who have got brains to work have not got money to spare; those who have got money to spare, do not possess the brains to work. It is, therefore, more to our interest that the examination should be held here. So that we may not be handicapped with the heavy expense of a journey to and stay, in England. My opinion on this point, I am glad to be able to say is shared by some of the most distinguished and prominent Mahomedan leaders. The late Sir Syed Ahmed who was a violent opponent of the Congress's cause, himself presided at a meeting held in his native town in 1883 before the birth of the Congress which was especially convened to advocate the holding of simultaneous Civil Service Examinations. Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif who was the centre of Mahomedan interest in Bengal for over a quarter of a century and whose services to the community were far greater than those of any of his contemporaries, not even the much advertised heroes of Aligarh excepted, recommended this reform to the Public Service Commission. Paradoxical though it may

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appear the followers of these great men now denounce it in the most unqualified terms and give no reasons for doing so. Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, whose absence from the platform I so much regret, moved a vote of thanks to the House of Commons for their resolution of June 3rd at the 9th National Congress. Khan Bahadur Sirajul Islam and the late Nawab Mir Mahomed Ali took prominent and active parts at the meeting which was held in Calcutta for that purpose. It is also said that the Mussalmans object to this resolution because they believe that the Hindus will be more benefitted than they. It is a libel on Moslem character to credit it with the policy of the dog in the manger (*Hear, hear and cheers*). Our numerical inferiority is also put forward as an inducement to deter us from joining the Congress. My friends should remember that the Parsi community, numerically speaking, is far inferior to us. Yet the most honoured and trusted leaders of the Congress belong to that community. (*Hear, hear*) If it be not injurious to their interest to join the Congress, how can it possibly be to that of ours? The resolution does not confine itself to the covenanted service alone but includes other services as well, and we pray for larger employment of natives in those services, and native means Hindus and Mohamedans alike. Our ante-Congress friends say that the Hindu have got a start over us and at present they almost monopolize the public services. I admit the truth of the statement, and my argument is that the only means by which the Mahomedans can now enter these services is by open competition, for where interest and influence are at work the Hindus being already in power are sure to succeed. It has become a portion with some of my co-religionists to get up an agitation against the Congress just on the eve of its annual sitting. (*Hear, hear*). The very anxiety which they display in thrusting their own opinion upon us is a proof positive that they are aware of the hollowness of their cause. (*Cheers*). Mahomedans are rapidly coming into our camps. The large attendance of Mohamedan delegates at this Congress from different parts of the country at much personal inconvenience gives a lie direct to the declaration so often made that we as a community stand aloof from the Congress. The rising generation to safeguard whose interest we are so solemnly advised not to join this great national movement are themselves very enthusiastic about the Congress. (*Cheers*). A large number of Mohamedan graduates and under-graduates are helping our Reception Committee as Volunteers and in spite of the Ramzan (*Hear, hear*) they are working with a zeal and devotion that cannot but excite the admiration of our worst enemies. Whatever be the opinions of our present leaders, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that young Islam is on our side. I have every reason to trust and hope, Gentlemen, that at no distant date, my community will be as strongly represented on this platform as any other, and will make our position felt here. With these few words I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (*Cheers*).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Dixit in proposing the 10th resolution, said :—

Gentlemen,—You all know that India is a very poor country. Its abject poverty has been proved to demonstration by our worthy President in his inaugural address and by our Grand Old Man, I mean Mr. Dadabhai Naroji. The Congress has expressed the same opinion year after year. India being thus poor, is it not absolutely necessary, Gentlemen, that its resources should be husbanded, that every pice of its revenue should be utilized for absolute necessities, and that no portion of it should be frittered away in expenditure which is not required for its legitimate wants? I don't suppose, any one will say no. The question then is whether the military forces, which India pays for, are required for her legitimate wants. Even before the large increase that was made in or about the year 1885, there were loud complaints that the army

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maintained by the Indian Government was in excess of its wants. All those complaints went unheeded, and on the contrary in or about the year 1885 as many as 30,000 troops were added to the Indian army. This huge army has no occupation in India itself, and as if to demonstrate the truth of the old familiar saying that idle hands must find some mischief still to do, those responsible for the increase of the army began to cast their eyes round about India for the employments of their troops, with the result that the Burma Expedition was undertaken, and it was followed afterwards by expedition in other directions. The cost to India of the increase of the army was considerable, but that of the expeditions was simply enormous. Is it any wonder then that India should be so heavily taxed that even the very necessaries of life, notably salt, should be taxed, and that our staying power against famine should be at the lowest ebb? Is it new to you that even the Famine Insurance Fund to raise which the income-tax was levied, was swept away by military expenditure and that when famine came we had to live to a certain extent, on the charity of others? However sad it may be to think that, almost all these evils are the outcome of our extravagant military expenditure, that it is extravagant and that a great deal of it is unnecessary has been clearly shown over and over again by our worthy President from the Congress platform and in his evidence before the Welby Commission. But the best proof of it will be found in the action of the Government of India. As you know, Gentlemen, as many as 24,000 native troops and 8,200 British Indian troops were serving in Africa and China. To quote the words of that great champion of ours Mr. W. S. Caine, is it possible to suppose that the Viceroy and his Government would have consented to the withdrawal of that large body of troops unless it could be done quite consistently with the safety and good Government of India? They have thus shown that a large body of the troops maintained at the expense of India is unnecessary for India's needs and it behoves our rulers to reduce the number, and save us this enormous waste of money. The average cost of a soldier, taking the European and Indian together, is according to the same authority £110 per year. The reduction of 32000 troops would, therefore, mean a saving of at least £3,520,000. I say at least, because these surplus troops if unengaged elsewhere are sure to be sent out on some frontier expeditions, the cost of which is sure to be enormous. As it is we have it from Mr. Caine that the saving effected by the absence of Indian troops on foreign services is to be spent on fresh army services. This waste is really very sad. It has led not only to increased and undesirable taxation, but has also crippled our resources and prevented several useful works being carried out, notably irrigation. You will notice, Gentlemen, that the demand we make in this resolution is a very modest one. We only ask to be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India a large force of European soldiers. We point out that we are entitled to this relief simply as a measure of financial justice. (*Hear, hear.*) That our demand is just I have tried to show. But there is another consideration also which I should like to place before you. You all know how little interest is evinced by the House of Commons in the discussion of the Indian Budget. If any portion of the cost of the Indian army were to be defrayed out of the British Exchequer, we may be sure of the Indian army estimates being carefully scanned and properly looked after by the Members of the House and by the British public generally, and all necessary and proper economy being effected. Both on grounds of justice and equity and also of expediency our claim is one that ought in my humble opinion to commend itself to the Government presided as it is by a far-sighted and just Viceroy like Lord Curzon, and let us hope that before His Excellency gives up the reins of office the justice we seek shall be given to us. With these words I beg to propose the resolution and, feel sure that you will carry it by acclamation. (*Cheers.*)

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Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Madras) in seconding the 10th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Yesterday and to-day the Congress has passed several Resolutions dealing with the poverty of the Indian people, and the Congress has asked the Government of India to reduce the taxation in several directions. We specially complain of the very heavy land-revenue assessments, which have so far impoverished the people of the country as to make them unable to resist even the first attack of scarcity, and we also ask the Government to reduce the salt duty, raise the minimum of the income-tax and several other things. But all this is perfectly impossible unless we can induce the Government of India to reduce its expenditure. Now, it is a matter of common notoriety that the Government of India is one of the most costly and extravagant Governments in the world. Although the country and the people are among the poorest in the world, the administration is the costliest in the world with the result, the inevitable result, I must add, that the financial situation is always embarrassed, and that the Government is always at its wits end to find out new sources of income to meet the ever-growing expenses of the administration. Gentlemen, we want justice and not generosity, and justice requires that England should bear a portion of this military expenditure, and not saddle India with the cost of the seventy-four thousand British troops which are stationed in India not merely for the sake of preserving internal safety, and saving us from external invasion, but for the preservation of England's Asiatic Empire.

Gentlemen, more than 40 years ago, Mr. Robert Knight in a paper which he read before an association in England, said, that the apportionment of the charges between England and India should be determined by the respective capacity and interest of the two countries concerned. Judged by this test I maintain that the Congress has maintained in all its Sessions that England has not treated our country with justice. For even the Simla Army Commission, composed of experts, said in the report that for meeting an invasion of Russia, or of Afghanistan assisted by Russia, India requires only 50 to 60 thousand troops. And in a joint note of dissent Sir Aucland Colvin and Mr. (now Sir Courtney) Illbert protested against the addition of 10,000 troops to the army effected by Lord Dufferin's Government. Gentlemen, in 1899, Mr. Chitnavis, late member for the Central Provinces, requested Lord Curzon to reduce the Military expenditure. But Lord Curzon in reply said that so long as his Lordship was in India, he would not reduce the army by a single soldier. A few months after this boastful statement he consented to send away 10 or 12 thousand troops to South Africa, and a few months later as many troops were sent to China. During these two years, however, although famine and pestilence have devastated the country, although the Government has been engaged in a bloody conflict in South Africa, the peace of India has not been disturbed, nor is it likely to be (*Hear, hear*). But this year in spite of the increasing poverty of the land, in spite of the persistent clamour of the Congress, of the united body of the Indian Public opinion that Military expenditure must be reduced, it has not only not been reduced but has been increased by two million sterling pounds. And in reply to our friend, Mr. Caine, Lord George Hamilton said in the House of Commons that he would not only not reduce the expenditure but would increase it, if necessary.

This forcibly illustrates the utter helplessness of Indian public opinion. In all matters where pounds and shillings are concerned, England has never done justice to India. In spite of all the advantages which England has conferred upon India on the intellectual and moral side, she has done the greatest material injury to India. So far as the question of money is concerned, England has performed many acts of what the late Professor Fawcett called "melancholy

meanness" in her treatment of her poor and dumb dependency. Mr. Caine will move an amendment to the address in reply to the King's speech, that England should bear a portion of this Military expenditure. It is our duty in this Congress to strengthen his hands by passing this Resolution and sending it to him, to show that he has got intelligent and patriotic Indian opinion on his side. If he will persist and succeed in his efforts to secure justice for our country, he will have added to the many and varied services he has rendered to India and will have earned our most grateful recognition. Gentlemen, there is absolutely no difference of opinion on this question in this Congress, and as so much business is yet to be gone through here, it will not be proper for me to occupy any more of your time. I only wish that by persistent and ceaseless agitation, by imbibing a spirit of what Lord Roseberry called "Divine discontent" we shall achieve our ends, and make the Indian National Congress the instrument of yet greater and greater good to the land we so dearly love. (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

Mr. Smedley, who was received with loud cheers, in supporting the 10th resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—May I take that cheer as a warmth for the British Government of which I am a true representative. (*Hear, hear.*) If I had known the kind of speech that S. N. B. had been about to deliver, I should have asked my friend and kind host, the Hon'ble Mr. A. M. Bose to have supplied me with something to have coloured my face in Indian clothes, so that I could have appeared on this platform to-day as a native of India, for as an Englishman, I never felt more ashamed of the British Government than when Mr. Banerjee in his very eloquent speech was pointing out to this vast audience the non-fulfilled promises they had made. (*Shame.*)

Mr. President, I must ask your indulgence for a few minutes while I address this vast and interesting assembly. We have an old saying in our country "give a dog a bad name and ever afterwards be afraid of it." Now I am sorry to say that this has reached the platform of the Anglo-Indian Congress, when I feel certain that these gentlemen are all afraid to put me up to-day to speak to you. There is nothing to fear. I see before me sorrowing and suffering humanity and where I see sorrow and suffering I am as sympathetic and gentle as a lamb. Where I see tyranny, oppression and wrong practices; I am as bold as a lion. I have long wished to attend one of your Indian National Congress Meetings. I am delighted to-day, on the 3rd day of the Congress, to see such a vast assembly of men gathered together,—what for? To demand nothing but justice from the Government.

I want to say one or two words on the question of loyalty, although it has nothing to do with the resolution that I am supporting. I was pleased to see in the newspapers the other day a splendid account of the new Prince of Wales giving his reports of his tours round the world; and in that report he speaks loudly of the loyalty of the Australians, of the New Zealanders, of the men of Tasmania, South Africa and Canada. But, Mr. Chairman, I find that the Prime Minister of Canada says, it is "liberty that makes loyalty in Canada." And I am certain that it is liberty that makes loyalty in Australia and other colonies belonging to the Government I represent. Now Mr. Chairman, ten weeks ago this morning I landed at Bombay. Since I landed I have visited 35 of your large cities.—I have travelled four thousand miles in this country. I have addressed 56 large public meetings. I am here to tell you, Sir, that I have never met a single individual in India who is disloyal to the British Government. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) What do we find in India? I have heard it said, Sir, that the Prince of Wales is about to come to India to hold a Coronation Ceremony. I hope it is true; if he comes to India he will find that the Indian

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people are as loyal as any Australian, any New Zealander, any man of Tasmania, South Africa and of Canada. And more so he will find loyalty in India with no liberty. (*Shame.*) I am here as an Englishman to demand from the British Government that liberty should be granted to the Indians.

The question that I am called upon to support is a question respecting the Army. Now, this question of loyalty has great deal to do with the question of Army. It has been said by some people that the Indians are not loyal. These people know nothing of India or the Indians. If they come and go around this country as I have gone around and talked to many of your countrymen, they will find that there is no more loyal subjects under the British Crown than I have met in India. Sometime ago I read in one of our papers a speech of the Bishop of this very city, and what did he say? He said he was not so sanguine, as some people, of the disposition of the natives of India towards the British Government. He said what British Government has done for India was to ensure law, order and justice. And he adds,—heaven forbid—that he should not reap the magnitude of that splendid achievement. And I do not wish to follow the Bishop's statement any further than to ask the British Government for justice for the natives of India.

The only thing that I can understand, at least that I think I understand, in the beautiful poem that was read to you before lunch, the only thing, which I could grasp in it was that the Tory Government is not good to anybody. I do not know whether that was the sentiment of it. There is one question which I wish to bring to prominence before this meeting, and it is the question of labour. I want to see planted all over this country,—factories, engineering works, mills in places where you can manufacture your own goods. You want mills for the working classes,—mills and factories as we have ourselves furnished in this country. And unless we Englishmen join hand to hand and heart to heart, you Indians will never be prosperous in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) And I am here as a representative of my country to draw your hearts to us and let our hearts go up to you. I have to do this journey through principal cities in India. I have still to visit 25 cities in Southern India and I intend to do the same. I wish to see this country prosperous. I have travelled ten thousand miles to attend this meeting (*Cheers*). This was one of the principal objects of my coming to India to attend the National Congress in Calcutta (*Cheers*). And it is such a sight as I have never seen in my life. • Before me I see over five or six or seven thousand people being collected in this vast hall. And I have noticed this that you have no regiment of soldiers to keep you in order. But you have not hired policemen to march you about. But you have conducted yourselves as men, as men ought to conduct themselves. When I go back to my country I will tell my countrymen that you are able, that you have much ability and you are prepared in every way to manage your own affairs.

There is one other thing to say and I have done. There is a great reverence in this country for old age. You are in the prime of it. You are fighting this battle for the cause for 17 years as Mr. S. N. Bannerjee said this morning. I am a politician of 35 years' standing, and I know something of fighting political battles. Now I just want to name one of the things I am fighting for 50 years. And that is the Dis-establishment of the Church of England. And we have not been able to carry this Bill after 50 years' struggle, and we do not appear to be much nearer to it now than we were 50 years ago. But do you think we are going to give up this struggle? We in England are beaten on many a time, but we appear with ten times more force. So that when I compare the infancy of your institution of 17 years, I find you are children yet. I am satisfied with the resolutions you have passed in this meeting. The speeches I have heard are splendid, only you do not get what you ask for. I want to say you something, just a word. You have reverence for old age. Now, I ask you

as an old man, if you will allow me, do not repress this young spirit. They are earnest, they are enthusiastic. And what more you want them to do? Let them go on.

There is another question, I mean the Home Rule. I am a Home Ruler. I believe in Home Rule for Ireland, and I believe in Home Rule for India. I am here this afternoon to ask you, young men, to be determined and plead for Home Rule in India. Why should you not plead for this thing, for this important privilege that we have in England? These resolutions seem to me making so small a demand that they will be glad to allow you these little things to keep you off from Home Rule. My last word is "go in for Home Rule for India," and the blessings of God rest upon your efforts that is the prayer of your humble servant. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Dr. Sarat K. Mullic in proposing the 11th resolution which runs thus, "That this Congress desires to express its appreciation of the action of the Government in forming a Cadet Corps consisting of the representatives of Indian Princes and Noblemen and regards it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of military colleges (as recommended by the Duke of Connaught) at which natives of India may be educated and trained for a military career as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army." said :—

Sir,—To the Government of India we must be grateful for this measure. It has been so long coming that the old saying "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," was well-nigh being *a fait accompli*. Considering the rigid limitation within which the measure has been confined one would have desired that there had been a greater degree of elasticity in the range of choice. But, Sir, it is universally admitted that we should not look a gift horse in the mouth. We are thankful to the Government, and I repeat we are grateful not only for what we have received, but we are grateful also in the Johnsonian meaning of a lively expectation of favours to come. (*Laughter*.) This inclusion of our nobility in a Cadet Corps is an experimental measure. It is an index that the Government is feeling its way to trusting us with the large measures of defence which we have enjoyed from time immemorial and which through the exigencies of circumstances under the British rule were taken away from us. "Time winging its flight through the merciless vista of viewless space" has brought about the dawn of better days. It has quickened the national conscience of England, it has awakened in our rulers the feeling that their duty is not to stand aloof from the people but to be of and with the people, it has demonstrated that the old policy of distrust and suspicion was the bogey of a darker and that the spirit of the times required a broader, a more liberal, and enlightened regime. (*Cheers*.) We, on our part, have never hidden the fact that on the maintenance of a just and liberal British administration rests our truest happiness, our greatest security, indeed our national existence. (*Cheers*.) Even taking a most selfish view of affairs it is to our interest that we should do all we can to strengthen the present situation. In what way can we do that better than by improving the military capacities of our people? India is not only a Peninsula but she is a small ethnological world. As we travel from north to south we find some races fitted for tilling, others for intellectual pursuit, and others again noted for fighting purposes. With a section of our people to fight, is to live. (*Cheers*.) It is said that when a Gurkha soldier was asked the latest news, he is reported to have said that there was "much fighting and, therefore, plenty fun." (*Laughter*.) Not long ago I was in China. Gentlemen, I need not remind you of the splendid services which our brave Sikhs rendered to the Empire when the legations were besieged on all sides by fanatical and blood-thirsty Boxers, when trembling women and helpless children were at the mercy of these hordes, when every moment was of the utmost importance, it was our stalwart countrymen (*Hear, hear*)

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who marched and doubled, laboured unceasingly night and day, mined the massive gates and battered the mighty walls of Peking, and were the very first to force their way into the city, covered with dirt it is true but also with imperishable glory. (*Cheers.*) It was they who saved those despairing souls from a cruel end. Sir, not many years ago, a most noble example of self-sacrifice and devotion was given in one of the many frontier campaigns which we are told are necessary not only for the safety of our empire but for keeping up the discipline in our army. During that campaign an extreme outpost was attacked by an enormous mass of the enemy. It was held by a handful of our Indian troops, and one by one the garrison was being reduced. The enemy offered a free pass if the post were surrendered. What did the Jemadar who was in charge do? Did he accept the inevitable, no, he encouraged his men and kept the army at bay, till the fort was set to fire to and all the heroes died a most painful death, rather yield and be disgraced. Could an English Commander have displayed better degree of fortitude, patience or leadership? I was in England at the time and I can assure you that she was thrilled by the display of heroism, and people who otherwise took no interest in Indian affairs referred with pride to the brave deed of our people. They raised a large subscription and to this day stands a monument on the bleak and inhospitable hills of the North-West Frontier which will encourage generations to come in the path of duty which was indeed the path to glory. (*Hear, hear.*) People with sordid motives are constantly dining into our ears that we have no generalship in our own country. No generalship, Gentlemen? What do the illustrious names of Mansingh, of Sivaji and Ranjit Singh remind us of? Were there even a more devoted or a better led army than theirs? No Gentlemen, let us be done with cant. I am at liberty to tell you that the Duke of Connaught and Lord Roberts who have testified in private as in public to the fighting qualities of our race, look with great favour on the raising of this Cadet Corps. Let us hope that this act of justice is the prelude to a still more expansive policy and that we shall have amongst us institutions like Standhurst and Woolwich for the training of officers. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, we are met here for the stability and perpetuation of a just administration. India has long been the hunting grounds of warring elements. Harassed by intestine and interprovincial feud, kept in perpetual fear by the swift descent of merciless hordes, organised for rapine, murder and plunder, India has been a leppard in the progress of the world. She possesses a people great in intellect, rich beyond the dreams of avarice in tales of heroism, and immemorial literature and deep philosophy (*Hear, hear and cheers*) yet disobedient to the touch-stone of modern minds. Other nations whom her ancient *rishis* had considered as barbarians, have rushed and passed us in the race of life. Of all civilised countries India alone hangs on the sweet perfumes of a precious past. (*Cheers.*) The signs of time betoken a new India. India is not to be numbered with dead and dying nations of the world. (*Hear, hear.*) She is drawing herself together for greater triumphs. The vicissitudes through which we have passed are the beacons of future. At a time when we lost all our self-respect, all our greatness all our national ideals, when the land was covered in darkness, we received an impetus, rude shock—that it was from the West. England at the point of the bayonet wielded by our own mercenary countrymen, paid by our gold, not only won territorial possessions, but taught us to realise our self-wrought degradation. (*Hear, hear.*) With our vast mineral and agricultural resources, with our flora and fauna of almost every latitude, with our races of every shade of physical and mental development, India might have played an eventful part in the historic panorama of the day. But vain is the regret which comes too late. However, I see another picture before me—the India of the future, India educated, India united, India contented, India in greater degree, to quote the words of the Viceroy, “the Pivot of our Empire.” India’s sons leaders in Science, originator of high schools of thoughts, contributing to everything that illumines life, ministering as much to our souls as to our

frail mortal body. I see before me India's sons filling the highest places in the land in true and equal comradeship with the British, leading armies and directing navies, in the common defence of our mutual Empire. Political poltroons whose self-respect has been dulled and their patriotism sapped by centuries of servitude will not fail to sneer at these sentiments as the grandiose exaltations of a super-heated imagination or the blattant cathos of a visionary enthusiast. It may not be realised in this generation or in the next or, in the one after, but as inevitably as the Nile rises with the dog star, the day must come if we be but true to ourselves. Let us, therefore, be not wanting in our duties but guided and inspired by the spirit of the great Taskmaster, let us with heart and soul labour for that which is greater than our mother—the land which gave us birth. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. M. A. Chiste, who was received with loud cheers, first spoke in Urdu. Then in seconding the 11th Resolution, said :—

I now say a few words in seconding the resolution which has been so ably proposed by the mover of this resolution. Gentlemen, yesterday it was stated on this platform that the Bengalis were proud of their eloquence and the Bombay leader (the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta) claimed "practical good sense" for the people of the Bombay Presidency. We poor Punjabees can boast of neither and from among the thirty Punjab delegates who are now present in this Congress as I am the only Punjabi who has spoken from this platform and taken part in the speeches of the Congress, therefore, I might be allowed to say that though we Punjabees might not compete in eloquence or the practical good sense with other provinces, still we yield to none in our devotion to and sincerity towards the National Congress, (*Hear, hear and cheers*) and I might state that speechifying ought not to be the only qualification which might be required in this great assembly. And this is not the only qualification of the representatives of the Congress. There ought to be a great sincerity and candid and frank representation on the part of those who appear on this platform. Patriotism—very cheap in these days. A man who could afford to spend a few hundred rupees and undertake a journey and who could come here on this platform and jump from this end of the table to the other end, he was sure to get the title of a patriot. (*Laughter.*)

Some people are surprised to see that men who have never killed a fly in their whole lives and men who will feel nervous on seeing a sword are given by the Government the title of Khan Bahadur and Ray Bahadur. (*Laughter*). Well, I think, our countrymen are also somewhat unreasonable in conferring the title of patriot, but I must state that according to the tenets of Islam patriots mean much more than the spirit which is shown now-a-days. According to Islam it requires a great deal of personal inconvenience, a great deal of self-denial and a great deal of self-sacrifice to deserve the honored title of patriot. (*Hear, hear.*)

As regards the opposition shown to the Congress by the Aligarh party, I might say that their theory is that patriotism and loyalty are two quite different, quite contradictory and quite inconsistent terms, but our theory that true patriotism consists in a sincere desire for the stability of the British Government and I think this is what true loyalty also means. Then it is, therefore, that patriotism and loyalty are synonymous terms in the Indian dictionary.

As regards the pretensions of spreading loyalty by the so-called leaders or rather proprietors of the Mahomedans of India I might say that it is only impertinent and insolent on their part to say that it was through their efforts that loyalty was being spread by them in the hearts of the Mahomedans. It is on the face of it a fallacy and loyalty cannot be distributed amongst the people like the Beecham's Pills.

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(*Laughter.*) Loyalty is really an outcome of selfish motives and the affectionate treatment of the Government is in itself sufficient to produce loyalty.

Our Hindu brethren confess that they have learnt the art of constitutional agitation from their Western masters, but we Mahomedans though grateful to the West for many things do not confess that. We have learnt the art of agitating in a proper constitutional and respectful manner from our revered spiritual leader the great Prophet Mahomet (may the grace and peace of God be with him).

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. K. B. Varma of Lucknow supported the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Resolution XII.

Education of India.

Mr. V. R. Pandit, in moving the 12th resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The importance of a careful examination of the educational problem of this country at the hands of competent experts—Indian as well as others—has been demonstrated to you in a general way sufficiently well by the two able speakers who have preceded me so far as the discharge of its duty by the State in this direction is concerned. It cannot, I believe, be denied that in India the duties are imperfectly discharged as compared with other countries under civilised Governments. I would however confine myself in dealing with this aspect of the proposition now before you, to the province to which I have the honour to belong; and I cannot help saying that the State expenditure on education in the Central Provinces can hardly be said to meet adequately the requirements of the people. Taking education as a whole I find that 25 years ago that is in the year 1875-76 the total State expenditure was a little over three lakhs out of a total Provincial Revenue of about 86 lakhs, shows that the education absorbed 3·6 per cent. of the total Provincial Revenue. The total expenditure on education during that year was nearly 6 lakhs, the difference being the contribution by the people including the proceeds of the Educational Cess which is paid by the landholding classes in my Province at the rate of two per cent. on the Land Revenue. In the last year for which we have figures, *viz.*, 1899-1900, we find the State expenditure to be Rs. 3,65,000 out of a total Provincial Revenue of 20,00,000 (one crore and twenty lakhs which yields a per centage of three only). The year, however, was one of famine and the revenue therefore was less than the normal. Taking therefore the figures of the previous year to represent those of a normal year, the per centage absorbed by education is only 2·3, showing that educational expenditure has not grown with the growth of Provincial Revenue. In these 25 years the number of scholars has increased from 82,000 to 120,000, but the increased cost consequent on this has been mostly made from increased contribution by the people, for whereas 25 years ago the expenditure borne by the State was 53 per cent. In 1899-1900 it was only 34 per cent. To give an idea as to how much yet remains to be done in the matter of diffusion of education I need only state that we have in this 20th century one school on an average for 18 villages. The proportion of the boys under instruction to the estimated population of boys of school-going age is now barely 14 in our Provinces, whereas in Bengal and Bombay it is 28, Madras 26, and even in the backward province of Asam and the neighbouring province of Behar it is 22. With only one boy in school out of 7 who ought to be there, it cannot be said that the State has adequately discharged its duty in this matter. Taking the population as a whole only one out of 92 of the population is a pupil at school. According to the Census of 1891, only 7 per cent. of the male population over 15 years of age were found to be able to read and write. I doubt very much whether the census of last year will disclose any improvement in this respect.

Referring especially to primary education the C. Commissioner of our Provinces remarked only a few years back that "there was still great deal to be done before primary education could be considered to be in a satisfactory state. The table given in the report of the Inspector-General of Education showed that only 6.03 per cent. of the school-going children in the Provinces were under instruction. In some districts the per centage was even less. Thus it pointed out the most unsatisfactory state of things and the intelligence and energies of officers of Educational Department must be applied to removing the reproach which these figures imply."

It is a matter of regret that in spite of this deprecatory remarks there has been of late a tendency to restrain the District Boards who are in charge of primary education from extending it by increasing the number of schools and in some districts there has actually been a falling off in the number of schools—a fact which was deplored by the Inspector-General of Education himself. We see however no indication of any intention on the part of Government to strengthen the funds at the disposal of the District Boards for primary education by especial grants from the Provincial Revenue without which these local bodies are utterly powerless to act. However intelligent and energetic they may be, their sphere of usefulness is strictly limited by the funds which the Government places at their disposal. As was once said by the Inspector-General of Education "Our great want has always been want of money. Our education operations have always been dwarfed by the lack of funds." The Province has outgrown the pinaforce but our Paternal Government (Ma. Bap Sircar) has made no provision for further intellectual equipment.

Nor does the amount put down against education correctly represents the work done in this direction; for out of a total sum of Rs. 371,740 spent by the State on education during the year 1898-99 only Rs. 92,600 were spent on primary education, Rs. 73,600 on secondary and the balance of a little over 2 lakhs on collegiate education together with direction and inspection. Out of this last item of 2 lakhs more than 4ths is spent in direction and in inspection only, collegiate education proper costing the Government no more than Rs. 35,000 a year. There are in our Provinces only three colleges, two of which are private institutions, receiving in all the annual grant of Rs. 1800. The third, which is a Government institution, absorbs the balance of a little over Rs. 30,000 per year. It is further supplemented by the proceeds of a large sum of money with which the college has been endowed by the people in honour of a late C. Commissioner Sir John Morris. And as those of you who have the advantage of this splendid educational institutions of the metropolis might readily realise, even this college is but a second rate one providing for a very limited range of higher education. These facts are sufficient to show how backward the Province still is in the matter of education and how much yet remains to be done to bring it up to the level of other more advanced provinces. Knowing as I do the willingness of the present C. Commissioner, the Honable Mr. Fraser, to help the cause of education, it would be only fair for me to say that encouragement is being received and confidently hoped for in this direction at his hands. But the question is a question of general policy and until the Government of India see things for themselves and place the educational policy of the country in a satisfactory footing nothing can be done in this direction. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Tilak (who was received with loud and prolonged cheers) in seconding the 12th Resolution, said:—

Brother Delegates and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been asked to second is so important and plain that I think it requires a very few words from me to recommend it to your acceptance, especially after the lucid speech of my friend, Mr. Pandit. The resolution asks for the representation of non-official opinion on and

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before the Commission to be appointed to inquire into the subject of education in all its aspects, and if a precedent is to be needed to support our request it will be found in the Education Commission of 1882. The late Mr. Justice Telang was nominated a member of that Commission by Government; and no better representative of educated India could have been selected. The Commission was presided over by the late Sir W. Hunter whose sympathies with the aspirations of new India are too well-known to be mentioned by me here. All that we want is that the new Commission should be constituted on the same lines and that non-official view will be allowed to be fully represented before it. The scope of the Education Commission of 1882 was very limited, but the Commission which is to be now appointed will have to go over the whole field of education as suggested by the Viceroy in his weighty speech of September last. That there are defects in the present system of education is admitted by His Excellency the Viceroy himself, and I shall not take your time by enumerating them in detail. Mistakes and blunders, observes the Viceroy, there have been and the Commission to be appointed will have to suggest means for rectifying these evils of commission and omission. It is now nearly half a century since it was resolved to give the Western education to the natives of the soil in preference to the Oriental one. Japan adopted the same resolution 25 or 30 years after, and yet any one who will take the trouble to compare the results in Japan and India will be surprised to find that we are so much behind the mark in spite of the fact that our Government is far more civilized, our finances far more flourishing, and our students if not superior to, at least not inferior physically and mentally to the students in Japan. Why should there be such a difference between the results of education in these two eastern countries, is an important question, and so far as I see I feel no hesitation in attributing it to the system of education followed in India. If our educated men go largely after Government service, if they find their faculties stunted by lack of opportunities, if we do not produce men eminent in science and literature, it is because education in India has degraded to the position of a hand-maid of administration. Our schools and colleges are maintained simply to supply the administration with subordinate members of the service. It is hopeless that such a system can produce eminent scientific men of developed character. You might point out to a Bose here or a Paranjpe there, but let me remind you that they are the exceptions which prove the rule. Our ancient system of education had the merit at least that it cultivated love for learning and produced men whose intellectual attainments are still the wonder of the world. (*Hear, hear.*) I for one don't regret that we have made a departure from the Oriental to the occidental methods of study all that I ask for is:—"Let it be thorough." (*Hear, hear.*) The present system of education requires to be widened at the base and crowned with a superstructure which is sadly wanting at present. As remarked by me before, our system of education has sunk to the level of a hand-maid, I would now say, a subordinate hand-maid of education; and we hope that Lord Curzon would signalize his tenure of office by raising this hand-maid to the dignity of a real Goddess of learning which alone can raise India to the status of the civilized nations of the West. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Mr. A. Chaudhuri in supporting the 12th resolution said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is with some degree of hesitation that I come before you to support the resolution. The resolution, which so far has not been read to you, stands thus, "That this Congress notices with great satisfaction that the subject of education in all of its divisions is receiving the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy, and the Congress trusts that in the proposed Education Commission His Excellency be pleased to see that some Indian gentlemen be included as its members." The resolution as it stands requires hardly any support at all. It hardly contains a request, because the inevitable will happen, some Indian gentlemen will be found on

the Commission. If we examine the resolution at all we shall find that it does not even suggest anything. I have no doubt that the matter was discussed and the present resolution is the result of much discussion. Although it is not happily worded, we all agree that steps should be taken to improve the present educational system of this country. We all feel that the University—I am speaking of Bengal and the University I know—has failed singularly in the discharge of its duties. It was proclaimed as having been modelled upon the London University, but it is very little more than an examining body. It is a University by courtesy. The Calcutta University is supposed to be based on the London University, but you find that the Government of each differs in essence. Why, Gentlemen, just at the very foundation of things, you find an anomaly. In the London University there is a limited number of educated people who govern. In the Calcutta University we have a governing body on the spread eagle system, which daily extends, a mixed lot, educated and non-educated, intelligent and otherwise educationalists and others without any ideas of education. Its fellowship is in the gift of the Crown, something which is given by way of solace to the people who are not good enough for any other title, to disappointed Rajas and Rai Bahadurs. It is the last rag of dignity in the gift of the Government, a thing of shreds and patches. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, we find in the Senate and in the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, people who are as far from knowing what "University education" means as any of you can possibly imagine. We are therefore heartily glad that the Government has directed its attention to the improvement of the Indian Universities.

Well, Gentlemen, it is one of the twelve great problems, which Lord Curzon has vowed to solve during his reign in this country. I forget now the number of the wonders of the world (Cries from the audience "Seven, Seven.") Here we have twelve, and this is one of the twelve wonders that Lord Curzon is going to accomplish. We do hope he will accomplish something. (*Cheers*). Softly, however, Gentlemen, for it makes one suspicious when one finds that in the end the University is likely to be made a department of State. That is why we have our misgivings. When we are told that they are giving attention to the educational question we naturally apprehend that education will be taken under Government control. Well, Gentlemen, with regard to that, our views differ. From our point of view we should like to see the national element very strongly represented, we should like to have the governing voice in the matter of education. All that we ask for, however, in this resolution is simply this, "That the Congress trusts that in the proposed Education Commission His Excellency will be pleased to see that some Indian gentlemen be included as its members." Well, that must happen. The Government has always done that. We have always had some Indian gentlemen or other and such Government nominees have always been supposed to represent us. But what we want is not "Some Indian gentlemen" but some representative Indian gentlemen who can tell the Government what our people want. (*Cheers*.) We have some sort of idea of how things are getting on in different parts of the country and we want representative men from the different provinces. This I think is the meaning that the framers of the resolution attached to it when they said that some Indian gentlemen be included as its members. My friend Mr. Bose wants to add the word "representative." But I do not think it is necessary to do so. That is our plain intention. We trust, the Congress trusts that in the proposed Education Commission, His Excellency will be pleased to see that a fair and adequate number of representatives of the educated public opinion of this country, be appointed. All we want is a fair and adequate representation of educated Indians on that Commission, and that is all I wanted to say to you. (*Cheers*.)

Third Day.
Resolution XII.
Education of India.

Third Day.

Mr. Maheswar Prasad, in supporting the 12th resolution, said :—

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Education of India.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This resolution is indeed a very important resolution ; and upon the right solution of this depends to a very great extent what the future educational policy of the Government will be in this country. It is no doubt as you are all aware now being well-recognised that it is the duty of the State in relation to the people to promote the welfare of the subject people by providing means,—suitable means for the education of the people to make them better in every respect. And as the first line of the resolution says, “This Congress notices with great satisfaction that the subject of education in all its divisions is receiving earnest and careful attention of His Excellency the Viceroy,” Gentlemen, I say it is a matter of very great satisfaction indeed because although it is the duty of the State in all countries, especially in India this duty of the State to improve the status of the education of the people, becomes all the more imperative. When we know that the entire control of education is in the hands of the Government, that the people have no voice in it and that the declared aim of the British Government in holding this country is to make the people for whose benefit *they hold the land in trust*—better and happier. Gentlemen, unfortunately in India, education means,—education only for bread-winning purposes. The poverty of the people does not allow them to give their whole-hearted devotion to learning. When we ask that the Indian people also should be taken in the Committee, we ask the Government to give proper attention and careful consideration to the views of the Indian gentlemen, so that when the work of the reform of the system of education comes on, the people who have been brought up under that system, may also be heard. Gentlemen, in his Rangoon speech, the Viceroy said that the whole system of education—(here the gong rang and the speaker was obliged to stop).

Resolution XIII.

Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose, in moving the 13th resolution, said :—

Coolies' wages in
Assam.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have to submit to you runs thus, “That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its benevolent intentions, regrets that immediate effect has not been given to the proposal made by the Government itself to enhance the coolies' wages in Assam, although such a course was strongly insisted on by the Chief-Commissioner and was imperatively demanded by the plainest considerations of justice to the coolies ; and this Congress is further of opinion that the time has come when the Government should redeem its pledge to do away with all penal legislation for labour in Assam.” It was from this very place that I showed in 1896 that the coolie was as a rule taken to Assam by force or fraud—that he got only living wages—that the Act-coolie earned only half what the non-Act coolie earned—that the mortality among coolies was appalling—that the mortality among Act-coolie was very much greater than among non-Act coolies, and lastly that the Act-coolie, though he entered into a contract for three years had always to renew it and could seldom return to his native place. The statement then made, I had the satisfaction of finding confirmed by the Viceroy, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Raleigh. The Viceroy said :—“Do not imagine for a moment that we are enamoured of the system of penal contracts. It is an arbitrary system, an abnormal system, and sooner or latter it will disappear. How much does the poor ignorant coolie know? Not too much stress should be laid on the volition of the coolie. It is not unreasonable also to suppose if the coolies are so familiar with the prospect that lies before them, that they are acquainted with the terribly high rate of mortality that prevails among the Act labourers as compared with free labourers in Assam. No one has disputed the figures on this point, and to my mind it seems clear that the consciousness that there awaits the exile a wage lower than that of his fellows and a risk of

mortality immensely greater is quite enough to *stunch* the flow of emigration." This was spoken this year as you all know in connection with the proposal made by that good and great man, Mr. Cotton—all honour to him who is justly styled the protector of the dumb coolie. (*Cheers.*) I saw it stated in the papers of East Bengal last week that during the recent tour Mr. Cotton found every two miles a coolie standing with a banner with the strange device—"Mr. Cotton, the protector of the dumb Coolie." I say strange because it is strange to find an Anglo-Indian to champion the down-trodden now-a-days. The proposal of Mr. Cotton was a very modest one. It was to raise the wages of a male coolie from Rs. 5-6 to Rs. 6, and that of a female coolie from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5. Mr. Cotton showed conclusively by figures that in actual practice the male coolie got a trifle above Rs. 4 and a female, a little above Rs. 3. He showed that the rate of wages had been fixed 36 years before and the cost of living had considerably increased since then, that the coolie now got only a living wage and no more—that the non-Act coolie earned double of the Act-coolie. We were taken aback by the violent agitation by the planters against Mr. Cotton and his measure. Now-a-days a loud-tongued man always gets his way and the planter made the officials believe that the British Raj was in jeopardy, and a compromise was arrived at, by which the wages of the coolie were raised only by 8 annas, and that increase to take effect after 1903, *i.e.*, when Lord Curzon, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Raleigh will have left India. Self-interest makes a man blind. It is useless reasoning with the planter. He knows very well that without fraud or force, and without the help of the cruel piece of penal legislation no labourer would go to Assam for Rs. 5 a month. But he says the contrary. The present Law Member with the instincts of a true scholar which delight in exposing falsehood and tyranny, during the debate on the Bill last March said: "The labour contract authorised by the Bill is a transaction by which, to put it rather bluntly, a man is often committed to Assam before he knows what he is doing, and is thereupon held to his promise for four years, with a threat of arrest and imprisonment, if he fails to perform it. Conditions like these have no place in the ordinary law of master and servant. We made them part of the law of British India at the instance and for the benefit of the planters of Assam." But the planters argue still and have got apologists in the Press and among high officials. Poor Goddess of Reason, every evil act has been attempted to be justified in your name. Did not Seneca attempt to justify the matricide? Did not slavery count among its defenders some of the most learned among English and American divines? But the maxim that even a labourer is worthy of *his hire is a thoroughly* English maxim. England has been the liberator of slaves. Have all those noble instincts been extinguished in the English breast? Or have Indians now come to be considered as worse than Negroes? Now the planters should remember that one reason that they are not prospering—I will not tell them that the curse of Cain is upon them—is this system of forced labour. I find most people cannot count, at least the planters cannot. They have to purchase each coolie by paying Rs. 150 and more not to the coolie but to those who have been styled by the Labour Commission as that "numerous brood of blood suckers," the Arkatis and the like. They have to pay his passage, provide doctors and good buildings—their coolies become more frequently ill than they would otherwise be, because the planter wants to get as much reluctant work as it is possible to get out of them. Thus coolies die in hundreds. All this means money. And it will be found that the planter actually pays more than three times of Rs. 5 for each coolie. I cannot help sympathising with the planter, but all this is owing to his foolishness. Let them not, for God's sake say Rs. 5 is enough for a coolie. I happen to be an employer of coolies myself. I have at this moment more than 600 coolies working for me in the Sunderbans.

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They are paid Rs. 9 a month. I employ no Arkatis, I pay for nobody's passage. I have got no doctors, I build no pucca houses for them. Nevertheless though they have been living in the midst of the jungles of the deadly Sunderbans—I have during the last three years lost only one man by cholera and another has been carried away by tiger. My coolies go back to their native village with money and rather improved in health than otherwise, and the result is that at this moment I have in my grants, more coolies than a man of my limited means can give employment to. The same thing will be told you by every employer of labour in Bengal. I can quite conceive that the planters having invested such a large amount of capital in the enterprise, are apprehensive of any change in the existing condition. But the more reasonable among them should think and the Government should think for them and adopt a courageous course. The Government and they, as representing the English people, should remember that the interests of the dumb coolie should not be disregarded. The Government It should be remembered, gave a pledge that this abnormal system should be abolished as soon as practicable. It has all along been understood that that event should take place when the railways are completed. In 1882 the Act was sanctioned on the assumption that the system should soon be abolished. By his despatch of the 17th July 1886, the Secretary of State directed that "the working of Act I of 1882 should be narrowly watched and that a further special report should be submitted after the lapse of another three years, and at the end of 1889 or at any earlier date, if it should appear that circumstances had so altered as to make it possible or desirable to repeal the Act. Three years were then thought a very long time. By the despatch of the 5th of October 1891, the Secretary of State laid down that "a labour system based on contracts on the lines sanctioned by Act I. of 1882 is not one which should be permanently be maintained" and that "all amendments of Act I of 1882 should be directed in facilitating the disuse or abolition of the system of penal contracts on which it rests." In the year 1901 the Viceroy has also said that the system will be abolished. But when? Now we have a complete system of railways connecting Assam and the rest of India. Look at the map and you will find Assam is nearer to Behar and the North-West Provinces than Calcutta and the Sunderbans. The planters have got railway and steamer stations at their very doors. If they cannot get free labour they have only to blame themselves. Railway contractors get free labourers by tens of thousands. Let the planter take courage, he also will get free labourers in abundance. There was a Commission appointed by the Government a few years ago, presided over by Mr. Williams. So far as I remember it recommended that the system might without any risk to the Tea industry be abolished so far as Sylhet, Cachar, and Surma Valleys and Kamrup district were concerned. If the Government had given effect to that recommendation and proceeded slowly and cautiously, by this time the entire system might have been abolished without a word of protest from the planters.

Now we, the people of India represented in this Congress, humbly remind the Government that it should redeem its promise by abolishing this cruel and abnormal system. When I think of the coolies in Assam especially of the women there I feel a cold shudder creeping through my body. I can not forget that any one of us if he were poor and foolish might have ended his days in the gardens of Assam. Have we not had instances of Madrassee and Bengalee Brahmins deluded into the clutches of the planter, whose sufferings ended with their death. Oh! the burning shame of it! Our King in England should remedy this great and crying evil. When we think of Mr. Cotton, Lord Curzon and Mr. Raleigh, we remember that we learned from the English the phrase that it is righteousness that exalteth a nation. Let the planter also remember that "be just and fear not" is an English and a very wise maxim. The rule of England is established on the rock of justice and broad-based on the

affections of the people. Give the people of India equal laws and impartial justice, and it will last "*Jabut Chandra Dibakaro*" (as long as the sun and the moon). Remove the foundation of justice and it will tumble down like a house of cards. I say this out of my great love for you Englishmen—lest ye forget, lest ye forget. (*Cheers*).

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Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, in seconding the 13th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been asked to second and which has just been proposed by my leader, divides itself, as you will see into three parts. In the first portion of that resolution we recognise the good intentions of the Government (*Hear, hear*). So far as these intentions are concerned, Mr Chairman, I am prepared to admit that in a certain direction, the path of the Government is covered all over with good intentions; and this is one of those directions. The second part of the resolution says that the Government was moved by this good intention and was inspired by Mr. Cotton, than whom as you all know, we do not know of any sincere and truer friend (*Cheers*) not only of the Assam coolies but of the entire Indian population. (Just a few minutes before I came here, this afternoon, I was informed by a friend, who comes recently from Silchar, one of the Assam tea-districts that when Mr. Cotton in his recent tour, was passing from Feuchong to Silchar a distance of fifteen miles and odd, "the road was lined," to quote the words of my friend, "with coolies holding lanterns and crying out 'Cotton Saheb ka jay.'" Mr. Cotton is popular, and rightly popular with everybody in Assam.) The third portion of the resolution (here the sound of the gong was heard as it was removed by the President,—Mr. Pal rather taken by surprise said—the gong is simply removed and not intended to remove me.) Now Mr. President, the third portion of the resolution says that although the Government wanted to do something, they could not do the little they wanted to do. And, why?—because as you know, tea-industry was in a bad plight. Now, but who, I ask Mr. President, is responsible for the low condition of the tea-industry. I say not by my own authority,—it is nothing, but on the authority of one who knows correctly the trade-revenue for the Government of India—I say on his authority that it is due to over-production in past years. (*Hear, hear*.) When they found that they have produced more, and when you produce more than what is demanded, except liquor there is always a fall in the price, and on account of the fall in the prices there was another fresh necessity to produce more to continue the payments of dividends. It is for dividends to shareholder that you cannot give a small measure of relief to a class of people who have spent their life-blood in the development of the tea-industry (*Ironical cheers*). The root of the evil lies in the act itself. The Government moved by good intention and they were, moved by the necessity of circumstances in the year 1865, to pass the Penal Act for moderating the labour of the Assam tea-district. It is a far cry from 1865, of the 19th century to the year of one of 1900. When the Penal Labour Act, was being passed, Mr. Robinson, who represented all the tea-planters, said that the time came for amending this, next time it would be amended by one single section, the section which would repeal it altogether. The prophecy of Mr. Robinson made in 1871, has not been fulfilled till now and (the Congress is absolutely justified in making this demand, that this Penal Labour Law is coercive and heavy to the growing population of Assam and ought to be repealed.) Mr.—condemns it, Mr.—condemns it, with the solitary exception of Mr. Ward, who was a friend of the planters, who lived almost all his official life in Assam. Every Chief-Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal who had nothing to do in this matter condemned it. And we stand on their authority and condemn it. One short sentence more and I shall be done. This question, Mr. Chairman, is an old question—the world wide question on the conflict of Labour and

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Capital. The forces of Capital already strong in the strength of the almighty dollar and combining themselves not only do keep out the Coolies out of their due reward but also shield even those who are condemned by Law Courts and punished by High Courts. And when that is done, should not the force of labour also combine? You represent the force of labour. Princes or peasants, Mr. Chairman, we all of us stand in the position of labourers in this country, and they stand, all stand, in the position of capitalists. Therefore, let us combine, force of labour, with regard to this as with regard to other problems—and God willing some day our grievances will be gone (*Loud cheers*).

Mr. Lolit Mohun Ghosal of Calcutta supported the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. M. N. Banerjee, in proposing the 14th resolution, said:—

Resolution XIV.
The Medical Pro-
fession in India.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Light comes from the East, but the light of medical science comes from the west. Only lately it has commenced to come also from the far East, I mean Japan. But the mid-East our India ever ready to absorb the light from other sources, sometimes reflects but seldom radiates. In the domain of pure science under more favourable circumstances we see already a radiant glow. In the science of medicine, if circumstances had favoured who knows we might not have had similar results. Each country is contributing its shares to the common stock of medical knowledge but we have none to offer. We want a Professor Koch from Germany to tell us the cause of Asiatic Cholera, and we are waiting for some other Professor from somewhere else to find a cure for it.

No people have a more bitter experience of malaria than the people of Bengal. We have seen villages ruined and depopulated, vast tracts of the country occupied by suffering, miserable, emaciated and broken down population. But what have we been able to do? Very little indeed. If there had not been a Roman Compagna in Italy with its various forms of Malaria giving a large field of observation to a host of European Doctors, if there had not been a Liverpool School of Medicine for Tropical diseases with its African expeditions for malarial researches, we should have yet been groping in the mysmatic mist for a cause.

Then again what hardships, what miseries, what havocs have not been our experience of Plague? What knowledge have we gained in connection with it?—Absolutely nothing.

When Plague was first announced to in Calcutta by Dr. Simpson, on the strength of his bacteriological observation, Dr. Cunningham the Government bacteriologist denied its existence and thought that the "bacillus" found by Dr. Simpson was not that of Plague. There was not a third competent person available in the whole of India to decide the truth or otherwise of the two diametrically opposite opinions.

Such is the condition of medical science in India and the cause is not far to seek. It is nothing else but the want of devotion. No one can feel the want of original men here more keenly than myself who had the good fortune to learn at the feet of men like Lord Lister. I may forget many things but I can never forget the glowing words pregnant with germs of thought, uttered with the impressive earnestness and with the enthusiastic conviction of that great original man, the father of Antiseptic Surgery, which has opened out such possibilities in the domain of Surgery. And what more,—Lord Lister, such a great man as he is,—earnest, thorough and concentrated worker, consigned to no more than 30 beds in his Hospital. But here in India the energies of a medical officer are dissipated by the amplitude and variety of work that they

have to perform. As for instance a Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery in charge of an Eye Hospital is burdened with the sole charge of a General Hospital containing more than 100 beds in addition to his proper duties.

Then again we often find a military medical officer who has spent the best portion of his professional life in doing a little of everything but being master of nothing is suddenly at the latter end of his career made a Professor of a subject of which he then becomes a learner, later a teacher but never a Professor. Sometimes the order is reversed. And we see a Professor of Surgery or Midwifery transformed into a Deputy Surgeon General or a Professor of Chemistry becoming a store keeper to Government.

Such are the exigencies of the Service and such are the inducements offered by Government to its medical officers to devote to special study.

The result is disastrous not only to the progress of the medical science but is also detrimental to the interests of the public and the profession. We have not in our profession in this country a single "specialist" in the true sense of the word. That the public suffers greatly for the want of such men it goes without saying. I know of a gentleman of Calcutta who was advised by the best experts here to have his diseased eye taken out; but the gentleman went to England and got cured by the simplest of applications.

That a system of service which produces such results needs re-constitution will be apparent to every right thinking man. It might have been the fittest at the time it was introduced but at the present day it is a "survival of the unfittest." The time has come now when the civil medical services of the country should be separated from the military and thrown open to the whole medical public, as they are done in England. There are in London more than 100 hospitals but not one of them has on its staff a military medical officer. The best men are elected from the profession at large.

Few years ago the Health-officers of Municipalities were also reserved for Army medical men but a departure has of late been made in the right direction and appointments are now made from the best candidates available from here and abroad. The success of this step should induce the Government to attempt similar things with regard to Civil Military appointments.

The Military medical service thus disassociated from the Civil may again be split up into two, *vis.*, for the European troops and the other for the native troops. The latter of which may easily be recruited from the Local Subordinate Medical Service. And if these changes be introduced by the Government the administration of the medical services will surely be more economical and certainly more efficient.

We have now to urge the claims of civil Assistant Surgeons. What is their position compared with the other services,—judicial, executive, engineering and educational? It bears no comparison. Why are they so differently treated? Are they not graduates and under-graduates in Arts? Have they not gone through a more severe course of technical studies extending over a longer period than most of the other professions? Why then have the Government put them in the lowest scale of the public service? Is the science and art of healing then an inferior branch of human knowledge? Their position is still more anomalous when compared with that of their brother officers the military Assistant Surgeons who, though admittedly inferior, both in general and medical education, are often put over them in charge of civil stations.

The case of Hospital Assistant is even worse. Their course of studies has lately been increased from three to four years but their prospects are as discouraging as ever.

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A skilled day-labourer earns more than what the Government pays a Hospital Assistant. And these men are often entrusted with such responsible duties by Government as Post-mortem examinations in dead bodies, and on their professional evidence a person may be hanged or transported.

The attention of the Government has now and again been drawn to the unjust treatment of such responsible officers and we do it again and hope that a thorough and open enquiry be instituted into their status and claims and that these long-standing anomalies and grievances may be redressed. (*Cheers.*)

Dr. Nilratan Sircar of Calcutta seconded the solution.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Resolution XV.
Agriculture in India.

Rai Yatindra Nath Chowdhury, in moving the 15th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been asked to lay before you for your consideration and finally for your acceptance runs as follows :—

(a) That in view of the fact that it is agriculture alone that enables the vast masses of people in the various provinces of India to maintain themselves and in view of the excessive cost of British rule, this Congress is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to bestow its first and undivided attention upon the department of agriculture and adopt all those measures for its improvement and development which have made America, Russia, Holland, Belgium and several other countries so successful in that direction.

(b) That this Congress begs to draw the special attention of the Government to the recommendations of Dr. Voelcker who was sent out to India in 1889 to enquire into the condition of Indian agriculture and prays that early effect be given to the same.

(c) That this Congress further prays that the Government would be pleased to establish a large number of experimental farms all over the country as well as scholarships to enable Indian students to proceed to foreign countries for the purpose of learning the methods of improving and developing agricultural resources which are in vogue in those countries.

At the outset, Gentlemen, I owe it to myself and to this Assembly also to mention before you that this resolution was to have been moved by my esteemed friend the distinguished patriot and the leader of Indian public opinion, Babu Mati Lal Ghose, the Editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. Some how or other as it was not possible for him to be present here to-day, it was at the eleventh hour that the resolution was fastened on me. I, therefore, could not give to the subject such attention and study as its gravity and importance required and as I would otherwise have wished to give to it. However, Gentlemen, the deficiency of my speech will be simply made up by the able speech in writing of Babu Moti Lal Ghose which I hold in my hand and which I shall hand over to the official reporter of the Congress. So, Gentlemen, you shall be able to see that if Babu Moti Lal Ghose is not present here to-day you shall not be deprived of the advantage of having before you the result of the close study which he has given to the subject. Gentlemen, regarding the subject-matter of the resolution I shall be very brief. The resolution dealing with the question of agricultural reform scarcely needs anything from me to commend it to your acceptance. India is pre-eminently an agricultural country, over 80 per cent. of her population being more or less directly concerned with agriculture. I can claim therefore for this resolution the high honour of its being called as the *peoples' resolution*, and I hope that you will carry it by enthusiastic acclamation. Further, when we consider that all of our indigenous manufactures have been destroyed and that there has been a consequent rush in the pursuit of agriculture, the question of agricultural reform becomes a serious question of life and death

to us. Under the present circumstances of the country it is not possible for our people to take to "the fallowing system," that is to say, keeping alternately the crop-growing lands uncultivated. The consequence is that the land becomes exhausted, and the quantity of crops that is now harvested is much less than what was harvested say, twenty-five years ago. Now what is the remedy to these states of things? The remedy lies in applying the modern science for the improved system of agriculture. Many of us are aware that the Government of Holland, Belgium, etc. have provided the people of those countries with innumerable facilities and opportunities for easily knowing the best kind of manure and for knowing the quality of the soil and fodder. Here we have seen in a resolution recently published by the Government of Bengal, reviewing the work of the agricultural department for the last year, that the Government frankly declares that under the existing arrangements it has no power to deal with such questions as chemical analysis of the soil, examination of the manure and fodder, etc. What we ask the Government to do in this resolution is to expand the Agricultural Department and to bring to the doors of our people all the help which the modern science has been able to find for the improvement of agriculture. If we look to the condition of Siberia and America we shall be able to know what gigantic improvement modern science has done to the agricultural condition of those countries. If modern science has converted arid and barren Siberia into an agricultural granary it is needless for me to anticipate what it will do for India,—a country whose soil and climate are so pre-eminently fit for agricultural pursuits. With these words, Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in moving the resolution which stands in my name. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Camma, in seconding the 15th resolution, said:—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—The resolution has been ably placed by my predecessor and therefore I think it is absolutely unnecessary for me to add anything more. I therefore, second it and put it before you to pass it unanimously. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Iyer, in supporting the 15th resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I appear before you the second time on behalf of the agriculturists who are most suffering at present. This is another aspect of the poverty question of the Indian agriculturists and as I have discussed this fully in my last speech I do not wish to take up much time of the Congress. I only say that the condition of the agriculturists is very deplorable and I hope that this will receive the earnest attention of the Government. With these few words I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Maulavi Khoja Mohamed Noor, in supporting the 15th resolution, said:—

President, Brother Delegates Ladies and Gentlemen,—I stand before you to support the resolution which has just been put to you by the last speaker. Gentlemen, I come as a delegate from the province of Chota Nagpore, and my views on the subject will be somewhat selfish. I think but I am not confident of my point, that no part of Bengal is so much uncultivated as Chota Nagpore. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land suited for agricultural purposes are lying fallow. In most parts of the province paddy is the only produce of the soil. If once the harvest fails the people have no other alternative than to die of starvation. On account of the ignorance of the nature of the means at their disposal they cannot grow any other grain, and the tract of land left uncultivated is not suited for paddy. It requires the knowledge of an agricultural chemist to analyze the soil and the irrigation water available, in order to find out what particular grain or fodder can be grown there. Such a man in India can hardly be found and the pecuniary conditions of the poor peasants does not permit them to have the advantage of expensive European experts. It is, therefore, proposed to draw the atten-

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tion of the Government to an enquiry recommended by Dr. Voelcker. This will enable us to know fully the capability of our soil and how to utilize the means at our disposal. If the Government be pleased to accede to our request, I hope that much of the evils of famine is sure to be averted. India is an agricultural country and as you have already heard 80 per cent of her children live upon cultivation. The population is increasing and the continual draught of our produce is no secret, whereas there has not been proportionate increase in the area of the land under cultivation. It is necessary that we should produce grains not only sufficient to meet the consumption of our increasing population, but also sufficient to meet the demands of other countries. In order to do so we must adopt the necessary modes; we should improve the productive power of the soil at present under cultivation, and we should bring the uncultivated areas under cultivation. For these the agricultural chemistry is the greatest thing necessary though the means for the supply of irrigation water and means for obtaining the capital are also necessary. You had the last two questions discussed yesterday and it is for you to consider the first one now. I admit with gratitude that the Government has given us encouragement in our literary pursuits. They have established various scholarships tenable in this country and also in England. But hitherto they have done nothing or very little to teach what is most essential for the people of this country which was known as the granary of the world. As far as I am aware a class has been added to the Shibpore College but it is hardly sufficient for the wants of the country. The establishments of such scholarships as are proposed will encourage and enable us to proceed to foreign countries to learn the modern scientific modes of farming. By the establishment of typical farms in various localities the ryots will obtain the practical knowledge of such farming. In this way we are sure to improve the resources of the country, and Indian Agriculture will receive a fresh vigour and the frequently recurring famine is sure to be averted. (*Cheers*).

Dr. Sureshwar Mukerjee, in supporting the 15th resolution, said:—

Gentlemen and Brother Delegates,—I have been asked to support the 15th resolution. The subject of agriculture has long engaged public attention and the researches of Dr. Voelcker have thrown considerable light on the agricultural situation in India. Gentlemen, I believe essentially as India is agricultural, the subject of agriculture should occupy the first place in our programme. It is this neglect that has brought the Indian people to the verge of poverty and destitution. People have now to look to service for their living. They do not know that India is called gold-producing India and known as "Sonar Bharat." It is true that on the freaks of nature, an unusual rainfall or draught, want of proper irrigation and similar other causes the agriculturist has mainly to depend. But that is no reason why we should keep away from agricultural pursuits and resort to other modes of living. Where the natural condition of the soil is different we should make up for nature's wants by artificial means. I come from the district of Burdwan and my experience is that under a careful system of irrigation the agricultural prospects of the country can be vastly improved. Gentlemen, some of the villages of Burdwan, Birbhoom and Bankura are subject to periodical inundations. The villages of Angana, Sodipore, Berugram etc., are particularly liable to the freaks of the Damodar. If Government were more mindful of the interest of the people, the Damodar floods, under an efficient irrigation system, would have been a thing of the past. Self-help is a well-known principle, but where limitless resources are concerned I think the people can rightly look up to Government for aid. And it is the bounden duty of Government to lend them a helping hand in the matter. Government ought to help us in the matter, and when we have found our feet to leave us alone. With these words, Gentlemen, I commend the resolution to your favourable consideration. (*Cheers*.)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Murali Dhar Roy, in moving the 16th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot sufficiently thank you for the kindness you have shown me by calling upon me to propose this resolution. The National Congress has now become a national institution like the Olympic games of Greece, the utility and importance of which can no longer be ignored. It is a proud privilege to take part in its proceedings. I therefore, feel it my first and foremost duty, to express my deep gratitude and sincere gratification in being able to raise my feeble voice in proposing this resolution. I now beg to congratulate our leaders for the practical shape which they have, this year, given to the Congress by taking up the subject of the revival of indigenous industries into their considerations. The subject is so very important and pregnant with such far-reaching consequences, if earnestly taken up, that it should have attracted the attention of the Congress long ago. The 20th century which is destined to play an important part in the world's history, marks also a new era in the life and history of our national movement, as it ushers in the most important upheaval in the programme of the Congress.

If we take a mental survey of the past history of our country, we are at once presented with the glorious spectacle of India as the finest and the best manufacturing country in the world. Her manufacturers not only brought the Romans, Grecians, Egyptians and other mighty ancient nations in the hey-day of their glory in trading contract with us but elicited their applause and admiration. Our own industries and manufacture provided us with all the necessaries of life, and foreign articles were unknown in the country. The India which could boast of such prestine greatness is now at the mercy of foreign countries for the every day necessities of life and a prey to constant famines. If we are at all to rise in the scale of the nations we should take a leaf of our past history and leave no stone unturned to revive the industries, which, though in a dying state, are still the wonder of all civilized nations. Our political situation has not interfered with our industries in the past and cannot also interfere in the future specially under the British rule which has secured for us internal and external peace.

It is not possible at this stage to present before you any elaborate scheme cut and dried sufficiently perfect, by which the much talked-of indigenous industries can be revived. I beg to make a few suggestions which call for your serious attention.

England, America, Germany and Japan which are now in the vanguard of civilisation and have made vast strides in the development of their industries are now the most prosperous countries in the world. If we carefully and minutely examine the cause or causes which have led to the phenomenal prosperity of those countries, we are first of all struck with the vast progress that education, general and technical has made there. The spread of education among all classes of people has enabled them to value the division of time and labour and to apply their general and scientific knowledge in practice for the development of the resources of the country and to discover new avenues of employment for their countrymen. Thus we find all these countries interspersed with net-work of railways and telegraphs, bristling with machineries, manufacturies and workshops and diverse kinds of works of kindred nature, possessing steam-vessels to carry on their trade and commerce with other countries. This fact alone accounts for the fabulous riches of these countries where famine finds it impossible to spread her fearful nets. We should therefore, now pay greater attention to the education of our youths and specially of the masses who are the main stay of our country. I shall therefore like to see first of all technical institutes with a workshop attached to it being started at every district for the training of its people. A workshop is a necessity, as it will afford ample scope to the students to get a thorough practical training whereby it will also

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prove a manufactory in embryo. Moreover, the articles turned out by these workshops sold in the market will ensure a source of income to the institutes. We should also send a number of young men from every institute to foreign countries to learn industry. On their return home after completion of their training, their services should be utilised in the institute from which they were sent out. The trained scholars will then be in a position to organise and start manufactories and workshops, though on a smaller scale, which will produce our requirements and give us the benefit of their knowledge and experience in reviving our indigenous industries. I do not see any reason why with our cheap labour and raw materials we shall not be able to compete with the most advanced and favoured nations who within a short time have developed their industries to a wonderful degree as the result of the development of their industries. America is, properly speaking suffering from plethora of money; Germany expanding her colonial empire for finding market for her goods; and Japan is now recognised as one of the great powers of the world and is called the England of the East for striking prosperity she has attained in the course of the last thirty years. These examples should excite our envy and stimulate us to practical work of developing the internal resources of our country by studying and following the methods which those countries have adopted.

Another point of vital importance to us which has been completely ignored by our countrymen is the propagation and inculcation of the principles of Joint Stock Companies in our country and the manifold benefits to be derived from its proper working. No doubt the system of Joint Stock Companies is foreign to the tradition and instinct of the Indians who are therefore ignorant of its utility and potentiality in advancing the material prosperity of the country. All projects of any great magnitude cannot be carried out without following Joint Stock principles, not to speak of smaller concerns which are also conducted on the same principle by the advanced nations. When we see successful Joint Stock enterprises in all part of the world carrying on their business silently and steadily, it is a slur upon our vaunted education and patriotism that it should be held at a discount in our country. It is now our paramount duty to wipe out the reproach by launching Joint Stock Companies. It must be admitted on all hands that what cannot be done by the money and exertion of one individual, can be successfully done by those of a Joint Stock Company. The many dangers and difficulties attendant upon a big enterprise, prove stumbling blocks at the very threshold to an individual however rich he might be. Joint Stock system divides the responsibility into infinitesimal portions among the shareholders and affords great facilities in carrying on big concerns with success under proper guidance and control. We should not be slow to reap the advantages by starting several Joint Stock Companies in Bengal and other provinces with sufficient capital for each and practical men to guide their affairs under the auspices of the Indian National Congress. If we be true to our own interest and if we have really the mind to revive and develop our industries we should without further loss of time show our earnestness by taking a solemn vow to use as much as possible our indigenous manufactures and products in preference to the same foreign article and then the revival of our indigenous industries will surely follow as the night follows the day. It is no doubt sometimes affirmed and not without reason that the price of country-made articles is prohibitive. This question of price should not be a bugbear to deter us from using our own manufactures which cannot thrive in the face of the hard competition of these days unless and until we patronise and practically encourage them ourselves. A little self-sacrifice is needed which every Indian should make for the welfare of his country. If once the indigenous industries are firmly established by sacrifice which is required to make a nation great and prosperous, the high prices will in time go down and fortune will again smile upon us. With the introduction or rather the inundation of foreign manufactures into our country our tastes and ideas have also undergone a hideous revolution, which will take some time to assume its normal condition. We should lay aside our petty feelings and

jealousies which are corroding the very vitals of our nation like consuming cankers and put our shoulders to the wheel for the ameleoration of our country which with its teeming millions is on the very verge of utter destruction. We should shake off our lethargy and inaction of centuries and follow in the wake of the glorious English nation whom providence in His inscrutable ways, has made our rulers to attain our long-cherished hope of the revival of our indigenous industries. I trust my countrymen will not forget to do their duty when the country urgently demands it.

I have taken much of your time and beg to thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me. I now beg to resume my seat.

Mr. Pyarilal Ghose in seconding the 16th resolution, said :—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I beg to second the resolution which has just been read to you. Gentlemen, as regards the resolution this you know, that it does contain something which is not approved by some of us. The thing is this :—there is a difference of opinion on this subject. Some say the Congress should directly take this broad organisation of capital for the improvement of the industry, and there are others amongst us who are against such opinion. So it has been thought advisable to form a Committee. It will be the duty of the Committee to bring before the next Congress their resolutions and thereby you will have time to think over the subject and form an opinion. As regards the first factor stated in the Resolution it is doubtful whether we shall have assistance or not but as regards the second factor the good is in our own hands. The Congress by this resolution draws your attention to this second point. With these words Gentlemen, I beg to second the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Hur Kissen Lal, B.A., of Lahore supported the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Wadia, in moving the 17th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which is placed in my hands runs thus,—“That this Congress reaffirms its protest against the Currency Legislation of 1893 which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by over 30 per cent., which indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent, and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year owing to this heavy indirect taxation,—and that too in times of unexampled distress brought about by famines—affects most detrimentally the wealth-producing institutions of the country, *viz.*,—agriculture, plantation, and manufacture. That it is further of opinion that the above-mentioned legislation has alarmingly diminished the power of the peasantry to withstand the attacks of natural calamities and that the most deplorable consequences may be anticipated to follow from it in course of time.”

Now what is the meaning of the enhancement of the artificial value of a rupee, taking the intrinsic value of the rupee, it is about 11 pence. The artificial value of to-day is 16 pence. The difference between the one and the other is over 30 per cent. Now what does this difference mean to the producer and the agriculturist, the planter or the manufacturer, in fact to the wealth-producing country? It means that for one sovereign article of produce of Europe you are bound to receive 15 rupees. If the mints were open you were entitled to 22. That is the result of the legislation. You receive less for your produce and for your import, you will also be buying less—every sovereign that you import to this country you will be buying instead of 22, 15 rupees. So therefore one gives to the other a saving. Saving in import, loss in export. Now, Gentlemen, what do imports and exports mean? The import articles are which you require in purchase, which you want. Your imports are the products of the labour of the intellect of foreign countries. Export, the product of labour of the intellect of your own

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country. Are you going to give up your labour, your own intellect and favour imports, the labour, capital and industry of foreign countries? That unfortunately has been done. The Government is aware of it. They say there is no help. The imports every year are about 92 crores. The exports are about 108 crores. You will see the export is larger than the import. You have also to calculate 17,000 sterling which you quoted, which we are paying and which the country is brought to give in the shape of pensions.

It will be said that there is gain in import as there is loss in export, but from economical point of view it is otherwise. As I have explained the imports are the product of foreign countries, the labour of foreign countries, and exports are of your own. Let us for instance look to the civilized countries like Germany like France. What do they do? America one of the richest countries under the sun has only 10 or 15 per cent. of imports, the product of foreign labour. She fosters her own industries. Even in England everything is penalized. They penalize export. I should like our exports penalized

That is not all I have told you. Now, we produce about 32 lakhs of bales of cotton a year. Out of this 12 lakhs are sold outside. 20 lakhs which remain in the country are also sold not by the spinners and producers, but this 20 lakhs go away not to Bombay, not to Calcutta but carried away by the very price which receives in Liverpool. He loses not only in export but in all the product he sells to the people of this country. The producer is beggared when all others are benefitted.

Now, Gentlemen, one portion of the proposition says that this mode of enhancing the value of the rupee causes indirect taxation. The Government tells you that 15 enhanced rupees are doing duty for 22 natural rupees. If you receive foreign imports you lose for your import, but they will accept from you enhanced rupees and that makes up the difference. I will now, in order to explain my meaning, read the opinion of a higher Government officer,—the opinion expressed by Sir Theodore Hope, K. C. S. I., C. I. E. in answer to a question by the Currency Committee which met on December 3rd, 1892 said:—"I had put down that I considered that these recent Currency devices, such as the closing of the Mints are taxation in another form. They are to my mind simply a kind of indirect taxation by which the burden which is now borne ostensibly in the shape of exchange would be transferred to the Indian people under another name and another system. What I particularly think about them is the political danger that they would do all I have anticipated in an impalpable mysterious sort of way that would be quite unintelligible to the ignorant masses who would be perplexed by the fall in the value of produce throughout the country without knowing exactly to what to attribute, and there would be a vague feeling of uncertainty and apprehension as to the future which might become extremely serious." There is the opinion of another higher Government officer. That opinion is that of Sir A. P. MacDonell, G. C. S. I., Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. He was asked the same question. Whether by enhancing the value of a rupee and giving it a false value are you not taking from the people to the extent as it comes out to be 30 per cent.? "Yes of course," Sir A. P. MacDonell says, "I am aware that the effect of the course of the Mints might possibly tend to increase taxation because although the number of coins paid in is the same, nevertheless the coin might represent more commodities. But the effect is produced unconsciously; the people are conscious of no additional burden." What he means is this. If our Mints are open, and if the producer in order to get a rupee—the value of the rupee is about 11 pence, the producer in order to get a rupee will have to sell 3 pounds of cotton, taking the cotton to be 4 pence a lb. Now taking your rupee to be 16 pence,—the producer in order to get a rupee has to give 4 lbs. of cotton and this is indirect taxation.

Gentlemen, the economic effects of this, of the closing of the Mints are far-reaching and they are being felt and now discussed very largely. We find that in China our manufactures are not able to compete with the manufactures of Japan on equal terms. How can you maintain this competition? I have been writing constantly to English papers particularly to the "Times" of India and to the "Capital" of Calcutta. My letters have elicited response in the "Times" of India of the 19th September of this year. It says:—"Mr. H. Kopsch, Statistical Secretary to the Imperial Chinese maritime Customs says, in the "Times" of India, "He has only one explanation of the lack of development. It is the exaction imposed on Chinese consumers by the depreciation in the gold value of silver. In 1890 the Chinese could obtain for a tael goods to the value of 5s. 2d. whereas last year the same money would only exchange for 3s., a difference of 42 per cent. Amongst other things he ascribes the marked falling off in the importation of Indian piece goods to a rise in price owing to the fictitious value of the rupee and consequent decline in demand. Mr. Wadia will welcome this disinterested acquiescence in a view he has often expounded."

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Now, Gentlemen, one of the reasons, you are told, of the effect of the closing of the Mints—is that capital would flow into the country. English capital, having fixity of exchange will pour into India, developing its numerous resources. Well here is the opinion of Mr. Ralli. He says "No. The proof that the fixed exchange has not for its consequence a flow of capital is this. For instance, you have fixed exchange between England and Ireland; still English capital does not flow to Ireland because it does not find any remunerative employment there, whereas even with the fluctuations of exchange the amount of money which has gone to India for permanent investment has been very large. That shows to you that a fixed exchange does not make money flow from one country to the other. But what does make money flow from one country to the other is when there are profitable investments for a great many years." Gentlemen, if English capital is directed to this country, here, that would ruin our agriculturists, labourers, and manufacturers. They won't lend money to any Indian industry and the consequence of the closing of the Mints will be that all this industry and labour will end in destruction.

In support of my views I submit the following.

Mr. S. A. Ralli has no objection to the closure of the Mints if exchange was kept low.

"I think if you have a gold standard in India, and if you have a sufficiently low rate of exchange in order to develop and extend the trade of India, certainly I am not against a gold standard."

Sir R. Giffen, K. C. B. and Home Charges

He in his evidence in 1898 said as follows:—

"As far as the community of India is concerned the Gold to be paid in London is the same thing whatever their money is. Is the position of India or any standard country different in any way from that of a gold standard country as regards the gold debt which it has to pay?"

The Times of India and China Trade, September 19th.

Mr. H. Kopsch, Statistical Secretary to the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs says:—

"He has only one explanation of the lack of development. It is the exaction imposed on Chinese consumers by the depreciation in the gold value of silver. In 1890 the Chinese could obtain for a tael goods to the value of 5s. 2½d.; whereas last year the same money would only exchange for 3s., a difference of 42 per cent. Amongst

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other things he ascribes the marked falling off in the importation of Indian piece goods to a rise in prices owing to the fictitious value of the rupee and consequent decline in demand. Mr. Wadia will welcome this disinterested acquiescence in a view he has often expounded."

Mr. S. A. Ralli and the effect of low exchange on cultivation.

"But what I maintain, and nothing will shake my conviction upon that is that the high rate of exchange checks the developments of trade and cultivation in India."

The Right Hon. Lord Rothschild and Flow of Capital.

"My personal idea is that capital will flow to any country, if you can show a great profit for the capital. If you cannot show a profit, the capital does not go."

Mr. S. A. Ralli and Flow of Capital.

"No. The proof that the fixed exchange has not for its consequence a flow of capital is this. For instance, you have fixed exchange between England and Ireland; still English capital does not flow to Ireland, because it does not find any remunerative employment there, whereas even with the fluctuations of exchange the amount of money which has gone to India for permanent investment has been very large. That shows to you that a fixed exchange does not make money flow from one country to the other. But what does make money flow from one country to the other is when there are profitable investments for a great many years."

Mr. J. E. O'Connor.

"We have never found any reference to anything like dissatisfaction as arising out of the closure of the Mints. Ever since 1893 there is really no reference to anything of the kind except now and then in one or two Bengali papers, which wrote about the matter in a very ignorant manner."

The Purchasing Power of the Rupee.

Sir A. P. MacDonell, in answer to a question by the Currency Committee about the purchasing power of the rupee, said as follows:—

"Apart from the dislocation caused by famine and bad seasons the purchasing power of the rupee has remained pretty steady, from the middle of 1886 to 1895. In 1886 the exchange was 1s 6d. and it went down as low as 13d in 1894. In the 10 years it has had very little influence."

Hon. Mr. Moses on Currency.

"My Lord, we must not lose sight of an important factor that militates against the success of the ryot from emancipating him from the clutches of the money-lenders or enabling them to pay off the Government over-due taxes. For in addition to a series of calamitous years of plague and famine with which they had to contend, they have to meet with an even more formidable enemy which affects their purse as well as their prospects in life. It is the exchange question, since the closing of the Mints these poor ryots have been handicapped to the extent of about 30 per cent. in the sale of their produce, in the race of competition with the products of Europe, America and Argentine."

The opinion of the Government of India in 1886 as regards low exchange

"Whilst impressing upon the Secretary of the state the very serious inconveniences suffered by the financial department of the Government and by the Anglo-Indian Official Community owing to the fall in gold price of the rupee the Government of India freely admitted that so far from this fall having proved injurious to the people of India, the cultivator appeared to have actually gained."

Mr. James F. Finlay, C. S. I., Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department and Exchange.

"If Exchange value was 1s. 3d. and you contracted the coinage enough to drive it up to 1s. 4d. would not that be equal to a 7 per cent. tax on all production? Would it really mean a tax that the tax-payer perhaps did not see, but really a hidden tax on all the production of every farmer and everybody in India to the extent of 7 per cent.?"

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Sir A. P. MacDonell, G. C. S. I., Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Indirect Taxation.

"Yes of course I am aware that the effect of the closure of the Mints might possibly tend to increase taxation because although the number of coins paid in is the same, nevertheless the coin might represent more commodities. But the effect is produced unconsciously; the people are conscious of no additional burden."

Indirect Taxation

Sir Theodore Hope, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., in answer to a question by the Currency Committee which met on December 3rd., 1892, said:—

"I had put down that I considered that these recent currency devices, such as the closing of the Mints are taxation in another form. They are to my mind simply a kind of indirect taxation by which the burden which is now borne ostensibly in the shape of exchange would be transferred to the Indian people under another name and another system. What I particularly think about them is the political danger that they would do all I have anticipated in an impalpable mysterious sort of way that would be quite unintelligible to the ignorant masses who would be perplexed by the fall in the value of produce throughout the country without knowing exactly to what to attribute, and there would be a vague feeling of uncertainty and apprehension as to the future which might become extremely serious."

With these few words I commend the proposal to your acceptance.

The Hon'ble Mr. Khare seconded the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Kumar Ramesur Mallia, in moving the 18th resolution, said:—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—The resolution which stands in my name runs thus "That this Congress notices with satisfaction the rapid progress of the mining industry of India and in consideration of the fact that the mineral resources of this country are vast and the facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of mining engineering in this country are almost nothing and in view of the fact that the tendency of recent legislation on mining, namely Act VIII of 1901, is that all Indian mines must be kept under the supervision of mining experts, this Congress is of opinion that a Government College of mining engineering be established in some suitable place in India after the model of the Royal School of Mines of England and the Mining Colleges of Japan and the Continent."

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This resolution is a very important one, and I trust this assembly will with one accord adopt it. Act VIII of 1901 requires that the Indian mines must be kept under the supervision of mining engineers. But there is a great dearth of mining experts in this country. The Engineering Colleges of Rurki and Shibpore, as at present constituted, do not facilitate the study of mining. But as the mining prospects of India are very bright, a Government Mining School will give an impetus to the rising generation of young India to take largely to the mining industry and will turn out the Engineers as contemplated by the said Act VIII of 1901. The Royal School of mines in England has been turning out a large number of experts who are doing useful work all over the world. I trust that a mining school in India will do immense good to the country by opening out new avenues for the Indians.

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Now that educational reforms are on the anvil, and await the masterly hand of Lord Curzon to give it a shape. I venture to suggest that our enlightened Viceroy, who has always taken a broad and liberal view of things and is disposed to give due considerations to all useful suggestions and ideas, will not lose sight of this proposed mining school while establishing his scheme of educational reforms (*Cheers.*)

Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, in seconding the 18th resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has been so ably moved by Kumar Ramessur Mallia, who is a prince of coal mines and who has grown grey in the study of geology both in its theoretical and practical aspects, has been for the first time placed before the Congress. The Geological Surveys of India made at the instance of the Government of India from time to time and recorded in such works as the memoirs and records of the Geological Surveys of India by Mr. Oldham prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that rich beds of mica, coal, copper, nay even diamond and gold, occur in various parts of India. These rich minerals that may fill with gold the pockets of adventurous Indians and give employment to hundreds of starving day labourers remain as profitless commodities for want of dissemination of a knowledge of mining among the Indians. The coal industry of India has been rising fast into importance and the possibilities of an expansion of coal industry can be quite manifest from the fact that places like Jherria, Raniganj etc., that were mere howling wildernesses but a few years back, are now thickly dotted with collieries that send a large supply of coal to the distant ports of Eden and Singapore. But as skilful working of coal mines is not possible under the present state of knowledge of mining possessed by the Indians and for other reasons, the Indian coal is sold at the market of Bombay, at Rs. 12 per ton, when Japan can sell similar quality of coal at Rs. 10 annas 8 per ton after paying all the transit charges across the distant seas. The secret of the Japanese success in the coal markets of Asiatic ports appears to my mind to be that Japan has given a sound and superior knowledge in mining to the Japanese youths through its Mining Schools and Colleges equipped with the latest appliances of modern geology and supervised and controlled by mining experts of European skill and efficiency. The recent passing of Act VIII of 1901 has placed the Indian mines at a great disadvantage by requiring the mines to be worked under the supervision of mining engineers who are very rare beings in India. The Sections of the aforesaid Act practically require the Indian mines to be worked after the fashion of the English mines. But where shall the Indian miners acquire knowledge in mining? The Engineering College of Shibpore and Rurki do not turn out Mining Engineers. A mining school, therefore, is a necessity of the age we live in. Here, I would venture to throw out a suggestion which I hope and trust would reach the quarter for which it is intended. That distinguished Parsi philanthropist, Mr. Tata of Bombay, whose name shall be chronicled in letters of gold on the tablet of recollection of this and future generations, has placed a magnificent sum at the disposal of the Government of India for facilitating original researches in Science. (*Hear, hear.*) I would appeal to the Maharajas and Rajas, the rich merchants and all Indian patriots in comfortable positions to open their purse-strings to subscribe to funds for the establishment of college in India of mining and thereby to immortalise themselves by following the noble example set by their illustrious countryman Mr. Tata of Bombay. Let this proposed fund be further supplemented by substantial Government grants. By following this process I am fully confident that a Government College of mining on a suitable scale can be established in India to the eternal welfare of the Indians and to the everlasting glory of the British Government and its present honoured Viceroy, Lord Curzon. (*Loud cheers.*)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The 19th Resolution (the Omnibus) which follows was put from the chair and carried unanimously.

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

(a) The raising of the minimum income assessable under the Income-Tax Act from five hundred to one thousand Rupees.

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

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

(d) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

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

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

(a) Against the scheme of reorganization of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, and prays 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.

(iii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its opinion:—

(a) That the system of technical education, now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory and prays that having regard to the poverty of the people, the decline of indigenous industries and the necessity of reviving them as also of introducing new industries, the Government will be pleased to introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of *technical instruction* and set apart more funds for its successful working.

(b) That having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also to 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 the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.

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

(d) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest Subordinates in various ways; and that it is necessary that these rules should be amended so as to remedy the grievances of the people in the matter.

Third Day.

General and Joint
General Secretary.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta—Gentlemen, This congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Wacha Joint General Secretary, for the ensuing year.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee—I beg to second the resolution.

Mr. P. M. Mehta—I put the resolution to vote.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Vote of thanks to
the Reception
Committee.

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Maharaja Jagadindra Nath Ray, the members of the Reception Committee, Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, and the Volunteers.

The vote was carried with acclamation.

Vote of thanks to the
President.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the President of the Congress, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose said:—

Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Maharaja and Gentlemen,—As I am no longer young and active enough to march with your front ranks, I have now the honour to bring up the rear or rather to present myself as one of your humble camp-followers. (*No, no.*) Gentlemen, for many reasons into which I need not enter I did not consider myself on this occasion equal to the task of addressing such a large and magnificent audience. But when it was represented to me that it was the wish of many of my friends and many of my brother delegates, especially from the other provinces of the country, that I should take some part in your proceedings, I found myself obliged to capitulate. But I did so on one condition and that was this, that the easiest resolution in your programme should be entrusted to me. Our friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee referred yesterday to what he described as the disadvantages as well as the privileges of advancing age. And I suppose it was in recognition of these privileges that your Subjects' Committee have been pleased to entrust to me a resolution which requires but little effort on my part. I have, therefore, in compliance with their request to perform a labour of love (*Hear, hear*), namely, to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Chair (*Cheers*). But, Gentlemen, inasmuch as but a few words will be needed from me to commend that resolution to your acceptance, I may perhaps be permitted, according to usual custom, to say one or two words on general politics. (*Hear.*) Our honored and worthy friend, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, referred, and justly referred to the complaints that have been made from time to time against your older friends, as regards their not appearing more frequently amongst you, and when he was alluding to this subject I could not help being conscious of the fact that, that complaint had been made more often, and I am afraid more truthfully, against myself than against any of my honoured colleagues on this platform. And, Gentlemen, what is worse I have to stand up before you in this great national assembly and to plead guilty to that charge. But, Gentlemen, although, for purely private and personal reasons, and on account of cruel domestic bereavements, I have not been able of late to take as much part in the discussion of public affairs as I had been accustomed to do in the past, do not imagine for one single moment that I have turned my back upon myself, that my sympathies have been grown cold or that my political principles have undergone any change. In sympathy, in sentiment, in my belief in the absolute justice of our cause, I am to-day what I have ever been, united with you, heart and soul, as strongly and as warmly as in my younger and more active days. (*Loud cheers.*) Political ambition, Gentlemen, regarded from the proper point of view, is, in my humble opinion, the highest and holiest of ambitions. (*Cheers.*) For it is the ambition to serve one's father-land,—the ambition to promote the welfare of one's fellow-countrymen. But unfortunately for the generality of mankind it is only possible to tread the thorny path of public life while we are blessed with the possession of a happy, serene and tranquil frame of mind. But, Gentlemen, quite apart from special considerations affecting particular individuals, I

will venture to take this opportunity to appeal to you to be somewhat less exacting as regards your older friends. The vigorous constitution and well-preserved youth of my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, amply justify him in protesting against any insinuation of advancing age. (*Laughter.*) But all of us are not equally fortunate. Speaking, I think, for the majority of us I must say that the time has arrived when our younger friends, the rising generation, should take the places that have been hitherto occupied by those who have preceded them. We have done or nearly done our share of the work, feebly perhaps, but I will venture to say, according to the best of our lights, with absolute singleness of purpose and with a loyal and whole-hearted devotion to the common cause. My Hon'ble friend, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea, who sits opposite to me will bear me out when I say that in our younger days, at least on this side of India, there was but a handful of men willing to undertake the arduous task of systematic political agitation both here and in England. They were not unmindful of the difficulties, the enormous difficulties that they had to face and to overcome. Conscious of those difficulties but sustained and supported by the good will and general approval of the majority of their countrymen, they held on their course, undeterred by official frowns and undiscouraged by the ill-disguised sneers of those whom our friend, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, very aptly described as "as our candid friends". (*Hear, hear.*) Through good report and through evil report, in sunshine and in storm, they persevered in their humble labours, and I venture to think that they have no reason to regret their conduct, or to be ashamed of the past. For, as the little brooks and tiny rivulets that trickle down the mountain side appear altogether insignificant but later on when they unite together down in the plains they form the broad expanse of majestic rivers, so have the humble labours of the pioneers of political agitation in this country culminated and developed into this mighty national organization. (*Loud applause*) An organization quick in instinct, and vivid with a new and stirring life, where you can almost hear the throb of the national pulse, (*Cheers*), an organization which although it may not yet be rich in many visible and tangible achievements is yet pregnant with the promise of beneficent results, which, although they may not be realized in the life-time of many of us here present, will be appreciated by the grateful posterity. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, when I turn again to this platform and see so many of my honoured colleagues who have grown grey in the service of their country (*Hear, hear*) I cannot but sigh for the days when we were in full possession of the vigour and energy of youth. But confining myself only to Bengal, and if it be not invidious to mention one name, there seems to be an exception to the rule. I see before me my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea, with whom it has been my happiness and pride to work together for so many years. He seems to have preserved in a marvellous degree the energy, and elasticity of youth (*Cheers*), and he still presents a bright and shining example to his fellow-countrymen. He still continues to fight our political battles with unflinching zeal, with vigour unabated, with energy undiminished, and with eloquence inexhaustible. (*Cheers.*) But, Gentlemen, while the majority of us cannot but sigh after our departed youth, when I turn from the platform and look in other directions of this great pavilion, and see so many hundreds, perhaps I may say thousands, of fresh youthful faces around me, I am consoled, for I feel that the work which we may leave unfinished will be taken up by younger and stronger hands and will be carried on with greater vigour and ability, and with greater success. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, we have lately passed through stormy days, we have fallen upon evil times, but upon evil times though fallen, let us not bate one jot of heart or hope. I have noticed with regret that during the last two or three years in England even in

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Vote of thanks to the
President.

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the great Liberal Party which hitherto had the high honour of holding aloft the banner of liberty and justice, a party whose sympathies were never circumscribed within the narrow limits of their island home, but used to be freely extended to suffering humanity in every part of the habitable globe; I have noticed with the greatest possible regret that the Jingo Fever has been making sad havoc even among the ranks of that great party, and dazzled by the meretricious attractions of a tawdry imperialism conspicuous members of that party are now endeavouring to spurge from the state some of the noblest teachings of men like Gladstone and Bright (*Cheers*). So long, Gentlemen, as this Jingo Fever lasts, there is not the slightest chance of the British Parliament or the British nation paying the least attention to the humble affairs of this distant country. But at the same time, let us not despair, let us not be discouraged. For my part, I have the most ample faith in the innate sense of justice of the English people. I am perfectly confident that, when they have shaken off this incubus of Jingoism, a moral pestilence, far worse than the plague that is decimating our population, they will once more turn their attention to domestic affairs and be amenable to the voice of reason. Here, too, Gentlemen, in our own country, we have had to pass through a period of panic, panic on the part of the people, panic on the part of the Government, leading to Draconian enactments unworthy of any civilised legislature, and to scandalous judicial aberrations that at one time threatened to introduce something like a reign of terror into this country. (*Hear, hear.*) We have had the pleasure to-day of welcoming in our midst one of the martyrs of those gloomy days. (*Cheers.*) But happily, Gentlemen, the atmosphere is clearing and the clouds beginning to roll by. I have nearly done. I have only to say to you, our young friends, on behalf of the older generation that we are about to leave to you a legacy of love. I fear I cannot say, it is legacy of roses. You may have many difficulties to overcome, many obstacles to surmount, many a storm to weather, you may be buffeted by winds and waves, but when I see this magnificent spectacle which meets my eyes this evening, I almost feel inclined to predict, although to prophecy is proverbially dangerous, that the day is not far distant when he shall be fairly within the sight of the harbour light. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, I have now only to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our worthy Chairman, who has won our lasting gratitude by his long-continued labours, on behalf of the country and on behalf of the Congress whose statesman-like speech on this occasion must commend the admiration of hostile critics and has certainly won our grateful thanks by the great and admirable tact with which he has discharged his presidential duties. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

This was seconded by Moulvi Abul Kassim in a very eloquent and stirring speech complaining of the indifference of some of his coreligionists to the Congress movement and explaining its causes.

Mr. S. N. Bannerjea,—Gentlemen, I beg to propose that the vote be carried with acclamation.

The vote was carried with acclamation.

Next Congress.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta,—Gentlemen, only one thing remains to be done. That is to invite the next Congress to the Bombay Presidency. The place, the exact place will be determined hereafter.

The President, in reply to the vote of thanks, said:—

President's concluding address.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you all from the bottom of my heart for the very warm terms in which you have voted me thanks for discharging the duties of the Chair. As the Hon'ble Mr. Pherozeshah observed, I may say, that so far as my own Presidency is concerned it must be readily admitted that it is far behind Bengal in point of eloquence. At any rate, speaking personally

for myself, I should say that being a homely man I can only express myself in homely language. It is not possible for me to emulate the glowing eloquence either of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose or Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji.

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President's concluding address.

But having observed so much I trust you will have the patience to listen to me for a few minutes, and a few minutes only, while I refer most briefly to some points which have occurred to me during the course of our proceedings. It was remarked in some quarters that the Congress was dying or about to die. My friend on my right, Mr. Bonnerji, in his inspiring speech, informed you how far that statement was correct. He emphatically contradicted it and I dare say you are all of the same view as Mr. Bonnerji as to the absolute fallacy of the Congress being on its last legs! Can it be so with the magnificent spectacle that I see now before me and which I and you all have witnessed for the last three days since we opened our Seventeenth Session? Is our assembly, which this time counted as many as two hundred delegates, dying? Our senses refuse to believe in the statement made elsewhere. Perhaps, though wish is father to the thought, all I can say is that instead of the Congress dying it is alive and kicking (*Cheers*). What I do say is this that the Congress can never die so long as we are true to ourselves, so long as we are true to our countrymen in whose behalf we try to exert ourselves, and so long as we, each according to his own humble ability, devote himself unflinchingly to promote the noble aims and objects of the Congress. (*Cheers*.)

But to successfully achieve those aims and objects it is essential that we should invariably adhere to facts on this Congress platform, facts incontrovertible and facts irrefragable. Wherever we speak, be it in small or large assemblages, be it in the hall of the Legislative Council or the Chamber of the Corporation, or in the august hall of the British Parliament itself, we must submit facts and arguments which may remain unchallenged and stand the searching test of absolute truth. So, too, our agitation outside the Congress hall. It is only by bearing in mind this important point, and by the moderation of our tone and temper, that we can succeed in making our voice not heard only but respected by our rulers.

Next, throughout these two day's debates we have heard a great deal about the impoverished condition of vast masses of our countrymen and about the economic situation of the country itself. I, for one could wish that for some years yet to come we may devote a great deal more attention than hitherto to a study of those conditions, with accuracy and exact scientific knowledge. I doubt not that there are gentlemen in the different provinces of the empire who have been paying great attention to a close study of this subject. But my appeal to them all is that their studies may be accompanied by what Lord Goschen calls "intellectual interest." The greater the interest in this direction the greater will be the progress made in this special branch of study which I put above all others. I would make the same appeal to the members of the Indian Press. The attention paid to this all-absorbing topic in their respective columns is, I may be permitted to say, very scant. Possibly this meagreness of discussion arises from a spirit of diffidence, possibly from a superficial acquaintance only. Hence it is essential to cultivate an intense study with the means at their command. The literature on the subject, official and unofficial, is ample for those who would endeavour to interest themselves in its study. Day after day we read columns after columns of matter political and judicial—all about police reform and jury reform and a hundred other topics, all these are certainly good subjects in their way. They cannot be neglected. We are bound to draw the attention of Government to the many faults and defects in the diverse branches of our huge administration. All I mean to impress on my friends in the Indian Press is that they will strive more than they have hitherto done,

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and that systematically instead of spasmodically, to rivet the attention of their readers as well as the governing authorities to the economic phenomena in the country and the best way to improve and ameliorate the material condition of the indigent masses. I am sure such a study will in years to come go to considerably advance the cause of the Congress and compel attention as well as some well-defined actions. Of course we do not expect that everything will come to us in a day. "Rome was not built in a day." Neither nations. It takes a series of years of hard, persistent, honest and disinterested work to bring about a successful achievement and national progress. We are bound to rise in the scale of nations if we are only true to ourselves. Let us, therefore, try to stand together, shoulder to shoulder, labour for the cause with unity, harmony, and unflagging zeal. The cause is a righteous one and is bound to succeed be the lions in the path what they may. (*Cheers.*) With these few words I again thank you most heartily for the kindness you have shewn me and for the admirable manner in which you have assisted me in conducting the duties of the office to which you called me. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

I now dissolve this Congress.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

Seventeenth Indian National Congress.

HELD AT CALCUTTA, ON THE 26th, 27th, & 28th DECEMBER, 1901.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. W. C. Bannerjee ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, 6, Park Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting of N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-1901.
2	"	"	"	" K. S. Bannerjee ...	do.	do.	do.
3	"	"	"	" K. W. Bannerjee ...	do.	do.	do.
4	"	"	"	" A. Chaudhuri, M.A. ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, 76, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.	do.
5	"	"	"	" J. Chaudhuri, M.A. ...	do.	do.	do.
6	"	"	"	" P. Chaudhuri ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, 1½, Old Ballygunge Road.	do.
7	"	"	"	" T. Palit ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, 35 Ballygunge Circular Road.	do.
8	"	"	"	" J. Ghosal ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Zemindar, Hony. Presidency Magistrate, Secretary XVIIth I. N. Congress, 26, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.	do.
9	"	"	"	" S. P. Sinha ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, 42, Park St.	do.
10	"	"	"	" Ratanji Musuji ...	Parsee	Merchant ...	do.
11	"	"	"	" D. W. Nanavaty ...	Hindu	do.	do.
12	"	"	"	" Tackumdas Rowji ...	do.	do.	do.
13	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., (Cant.)	Kayastha	Barrister-at-Law, Member of the Legislative Council, Bengal, President of the Indian Association, 139, Dhurumtola Street.	do. and also at a Meeting of the Indian Association.
14	"	"	"	Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji	Bengali Brahmin.	Secretary of the Indian Association, Proprietor Ripon College, Editor "Bengali," 20, Colootola Street.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
15	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Kayastha.	Attorney-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, Secretary XVIIth N. In. Congress, 14, Baloram Ghose's Street.	At a Public Meeting of N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-1901. And also at a Meeting of the Indian Association.
16	"	"	"	" Kali Charan Bannerjee, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Christian.	Vakil, High Court, Fellow of the Calcutta University, 199, Cornwallis Street.	do.
17	"	"	"	" Jogendra Chunder Ghose.	Bengali Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Albert Road.	do.
18	"	"	"	" Nalinbehary Sircar ...	do.	Merchant, Treasurer of the XVIIth I. N. Congress, 11, Clive Street.	do.
19	"	"	"	" Makundanath Ray ...	do.	Vakil, High Court ...	do.
20	"	"	"	" Bijoy Chundra Majumdar.	Brahmo.	Pleader ...	do.
21	"	"	"	" Jogendranath Bose ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Tutor ...	do.
22	"	"	"	" Prithwis Chundra Roy	do.	Zemindar, and Tea Planter, Proprietor, "Cherry Press," Asst. Secretary XVIIth I. N. Congress, 45-5, Baniatola Lane, Harrison Road.	do.
23	"	"	"	" Rajendraprosad Ray, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
24	"	"	"	" Haraprosad Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do. and also at a Meeting held at Krishnager on 18-12-01.
25	"	"	"	Pandit Kaliprosanno Kavyabisarad.	do.	Editor, "Hitabadi," 70, Colootola Street.	do.
26	"	"	"	Babu Baikanthanath Ray Chaudhury.	Bengali Kayastha.	Zemindar ...	do.
27	"	"	"	" Saratcoomar Ray Chaudhury.	Bengali Vaidya.	Zemindar, and Article Clerk...	do.
28	"	"	"	Mr. S. R. Dass ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Barriester-at-Law ...	do.
29	"	"	"	Babu Rajaninath Somadar ...	Brahmo	Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01.
30	"	"	"	" Saligram Sinha ...	Hindu	Vakil, High Court ...	do.
31	"	"	"	" Subodh Chundra Mitra, B.L.	Bengali Kayastha.	Attorney-at-Law ...	do.
32	"	"	"	Dr. Jadumadhab Mallick, M.A., L.M.S.	Bengali Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Bhowanipore.	do.
33	"	"	"	" N. Dass, E.M. (Edin.)	Hindu	do.	do.
34	"	"	"	Mr. H. Bose ...	Kayastha	Perfumer ...	do.
35	"	"	"	Babu Jotindramohan Bose ...	do.	Landholder ...	do.
36	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Professor G. K. Gokhale.	Deccan Brahmin.	Professor Fergusson College, Poona and Member of the Supreme Legislative Council.	do. and also from Poona.
37	"	"	"	Mr. K. Nutrojan ...	Madrasi Brahmin.	Editor, "Indian Social Reform."	do. and also from Madras.
38	"	"	"	" M. M. Chatterji ...	Brahmin	Attorney-at-Law ...	At a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
39	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. Surendranath Kastagiri.	Brahmo.	Barrister-at-Law ...	At a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01. And also from Madras.
40	"	"	"	" Brojendra Chunder Mittra.	do.	do.	At a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01.
41	"	"	"	" Sudhendra N. Tagore	Brahmo	Zemindar, Jorasanko, 6, Dwarkanath Tagore's Lane.	do.
42	"	"	"	" Gagendra N. Tagore...	do.	do.	do.
43	"	"	"	" Abendra N. Tagore ...	do.	do.	do.
44	"	"	"	" Samarendra N. Tagore	do.	do.	do.
45	"	"	"	" Rabindra N. Tagore...	do.	do.	do.
46	"	"	"	" Atul Chandra Ghose, B.A.	Kayastha	Attorney-at-Law ...	do.
47	"	"	"	Pundit Narayan Chundra Vidyaratna.	Brahmin	Bagbazar, Brindaban Mullick's Lane.	do.
48	"	"	"	Sadasar Pandarug Kelkar Esq.	Marhatta	.....	do.
49	"	"	"	Babu J. K. Bose ...	Kayastha	Landowner, 16-1-01, Ramkanto Bose's Lane.	do.
50	"	"	"	" Umakanta Chakladar	Brahmin	Rice merchant, Beliaghata ...	do.
51	"	"	"	" Upendranarayan Neogi	Vaidya	.....	do.
52	"	"	"	" Charu Sadaya Bannerji	Brahmin	Landholder, and under-graduate.	do.
53	"	"	"	" Saroda Prosad Pal, L.M.S.	Hindu	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
54	"	"	"	" Rajendra Chandra Majumdar.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
55	"	"	"	" Surendra Nath Mullick, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader, Alipore ...	At a Meeting of the Alipore Bar Association held on 21-12-01.
56	"	"	"	Dr. P. C. Majumdar, M.D.	Hindu	Zemindar and Hon. Magistrate	By a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh on 20-12-01.
57	"	"	"	Kumar Satyabadi Ghosal ...	Brahmin	Zemindar, Bhukailash ...	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Cossipore, Baranagore, Senthie, &c. on 8-12-01.
58	"	"	"	Babu Rormall Goenka ...	Agarwallah	Landowner	At a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01.
59	"	"	"	" Sashibhusan Sircar, B.L.	Kayastha	Lawyer ...	do.
60	"	"	"	" Mohinimohan Chatterji	Brahmin	9, Raybagan Lane ...	do.
61	"	"	"	Dr. Lalmohan Das, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court ...	do.
62	"	"	"	" R. G. Kerr ...	Hindu	Medical Practitioner, 107, Shambazar Street, Kambulitola.	do.
63	"	"	"	Mr. P. C. Kerr ...	do.	Attorney-at-Law ...	do.
64	"	"	"	" R. R. Kerr ...	do.	107, Shambazar Street ...	do.
65	"	"	"	" B. K. Tapranji ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
66	"	"	"	Dr. Nilrattan Sircar, M.A., M.D.	Brahmo	Medical Practitioner, Fellow of the Calcutta University, 61, Harrison Road.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
67	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Baba Prosad Dass Boral ...	Hindu	Merchant, Shikdarparah ...	At a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01.
68	"	"	"	" Lalit Mohan Ghosal ...	Brahmin	Teacher ...	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Cossipore, Baranagor, Sinthie &c., held on 8-12-01.
69	"	"	"	Swami Someswar Nand Giri	Mohanta	Teacher, Sonathan Dharma Sova.	At a Public Meeting held at Baranagor, 20-12-01.
70	"	"	"	Babu Umakali Mukerjee ...	Brahmin	Pleader, Alipore ...	At a Meeting of N. M. E. Division, held on 23-12-01.
71	"	"	"	" Sungat Singh ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
72	"	"	"	Dr. J. N. Ghose, M.D. ...	Hindu	Medical Practitioner, Beadon Street.	do.
73	"	"	"	Mr. S. A. Asghar ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
74	"	"	"	" R. N. Mukerjee ...	Brahmin	Merchant, 20, Beadon Street...	do.
75	"	"	"	Babu Brojendrakumar Roychoudhury.	Kayastha	Zemindar, Baruipur ...	do.
76	"	"	"	" Ramtaran Banerjee ...	Brahmin	Pleader Alipur, Bhowanipur ...	By a Public Meeting of the Alipore Bar Association.
77	"	"	"	" Raj Chunder Chunder	Hindu	Attorney-at-Law, Wellington Street.	By a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division, held on 23-12-01.
78	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Narul Huda ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	By a General Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
79	"	"	"	M. Samsur Alam ...	do.	do.	do.
80	"	"	"	Mr. P. C. Sen ...	Hindu	17, Sitaram Ghose's Street ...	By a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division, held on 23-12-01.
81	"	"	"	Babu Atulbehary Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader, Sukeas Street ...	do.
82	"	"	"	Pundit Sunderlal Missir ...	Punjabi Swarwal Brahmin.	Merchant and Landowner, 183, Harrison Road.	do.
83	"	"	"	" Ramchand Missir ...	do.	Merchant, 9, Ram Chand Roy's Lane.	do.
84	"	"	"	Babu Bhagwan Dass ...	Hindu Baisya.	Banker and Landowner ...	do.
85	"	"	"	Lala Muksudan Dass ...	do.	Landowner and Bullion Broker	do.
86	"	"	"	Babu Charoo Chunder Ghose	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court ...	do.
87	"	"	"	" Naresh Chunder Roy...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
88	"	"	"	" Saroda Charan Mitra, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar, Fellow of the Calcutta University and Vakil, High Court, 86, Grey Street.	do.
89	"	"	"	" Basantakumar Mitra...	do.	Vakil High Court, 86, Grey Street.	do.
90	"	"	"	Mr. N. Gupta ...	Hindu	Journalist, Grey Street ...	do.
91	"	"	"	" H. N. Sen ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
92	"	"	"	Dr. Sarat Mullick, M. B., C. M. (Edin.)	do.	Medical Practitioner, 10, Baligunge Circular Road.	do.
93	"	"	"	Babu Jyotish Chunder Bose	do.	Landowner ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
94	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Babu Sudhansubikash Roy, B.A.	Hindu	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 23-12-01.
95	"	"	"	" Amarendranath Dutt...	Kayastha	Landholder	do.
96	"	"	"	" Jyotiprosad Dass, B. A.	Hindu	do.	do.
97	"	"	"	" Purna Chunder Goswami, M.A.	Brahmin	Professor of History, Ripon College.	do.
98	"	"	"	" Hirendranath Dutt, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Attorney-at-Law and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta.	do.
99	"	"	"	" Gobindalal Dutt ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
100	"	"	"	" Rajendranath Ghose, F.R.G.S.	do.	Author of School Books ...	do.
101	"	"	"	" Bhawani Charan Ghose	do.	Talukdar, Beadon Square ...	do.
102	"	"	"	" Sachindranath Bose, B.A.	Hindu	Manager, Mohishadal Raj ...	do.
103	"	"	"	" Mathuranath Maitra, B.A.	do.	Article Clerk, 39, Manicktolah Street.	do.
104	"	"	"	" Hariprosad Chatterjee, B. L.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Meeting of the N. M. E. Division and also by the Branch Indian Association.
105	"	"	Peoples Association.	" Soshibhushan Sur, B.A.	do.	Zemindar ...	At a Meeting of the Rate-Payers held on 22-12-01.
106	"	"	Indian Association.	Roy Yotindranath Chaudhury, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Zemindar, Secretary Bengal Academy of Literature, Member B. I. Association and Asiatic Society of Bengal and Indian Association.	At a Meeting of the Indian Association on 25-12-01, and also at a Meeting of the Rate-Payers and Peoples Association Manicktola Municipality on 22-12-01, and also from the N. M. E. Division on 23-12-01.
107	"	"	"	Babu Krishnakumar Mittra	Brahmo	Editor, "Sanjibani" newspaper.	do.
108	"	"	"	" Radhadas Banerjee, B. L.	Brahmin	Vakil ...	do.
109	"	"	"	" Upendrakisore Roy Choudhury, B.A.	Kayastha	Zemindar and Artist ...	do.
110	"	"	"	" Dwijendranath Bose ...	do.	Asst. Secy. Indian Association	do.
111	"	"	"	" Debendraprosad Ghose	do.	Zemindar, 82, Sitaram Ghose's Street.	do.
112	"	"	"	" Hemendraprosad Ghose	do.	do.	do.
113	"	"	"	" Kedarnath Ghose ...	do.	Zemindar, Entally ...	At a Public Meeting held at Entally.
114	"	"	Alipore 24-Pergunnas.	" Akhoy Kumar De, B.L.	Hindu	Pleader, Alipore ...	By a Public Meeting of the Alipore Bar Association on 21-12-01.
115	"	"	"	Kaviraj Lalitkumar Gupta...	do.	Medical Practitioner, 13, College Square.	do.
116	"	"	"	Babu Bepin Chunder De, L. M. S.	do.	do.	do.
117	"	"	"	" Taritbushan Bose, B.A.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
118	Bengal	Calcutta	Alipore 24-Pergunnahs.	Babu Gopikrishna Kundu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu	Pleader, Alipore ...	By a Public Meeting of the Alipore Bar Association on 21-12-01.
119	"	"	"	" Surendra Kumar Roy	do.	Zemindar	do.
120	"	"	"	" Nikunjalal Pal ...	do.	do.	do.
121	"	"	"	" Hiralal Pal ...	do.	do.	do.
122	"	"	"	" Hem Chunder Roy, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader Alipore, 12, Nabutola Lane.	do.
123	"	"	"	" Bamapada Chaudhury, B.L.	Hindu	do.	do.
124	"	"	"	" Ramtaran Chatterjee, B.L.	Brahmin	do.	do.
125	"	"	"	Mr. A. C. Bannerjee ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
126	"	"	"	Babu Nirote Chunder Chatterjee, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Alipur ...	do.
127	"	"	"	" Upendranath Mukerjee, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
128	"	"	"	" Suresh Chunder Chaudhury, M.A., B.L.	Hindu	do.	do.
129	"	"	"	" Jogeswar Roy, B.A., B.L.	Kayastha	do.	do.
130	"	"	"	" Asutosh Bose, B.L. ...	do.	do.	do.
131	"	"	"	" Nandalal Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	do.	do.
132	"	"	Taki 24-Pergunnas.	" Profulla Chunder Ghose	Kayastha	Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Meeting held at the premises of Babu P. C. Ghose on 12-12-01.
133	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Bose, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
134	"	"	"	Babu Satish Chunder Roy Chaudhury.	do.	Zemindar	do.
135	"	"	"	" Mohit Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Vakil ...	At a Meeting held at the premises of Babu P. C. Ghose on 12-12-01.
136	"	"	Shapur	" Radhagovind Pal Chaudhury.	Hindu Sothgope.	Zemindar, Midnapur ...	At a Meeting of S. S. Sobha, Shapur.
137	"	"	Cossipur	" Sarat Chunder Lahiri, M. A.	Brahmin	Article Clerk, Baranagor ...	At a Meeting of the inhabitants of Cossipur, Baranagor, Sinthi, &c., on 8-12-01.
138	"	"	"	" Kedarnath Mukerjee ..	do.	Zemindar	do.
139	"	"	Diamond Harbour.	" Gnanendra Chunder Roy Chaudhury	Hindu	Pleader, Diamond Harbour ...	At a Public Meeting on 13-12-01.
140	"	"	Howrah	" Charu Chandra Singha, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader	At a Meeting of the Howrah Peoples Association held on 23-12-01.
141	"	"	"	" Amritalal Pyne, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
142	"	"	"	" Khetrapal Sinha Roy	Chettri Hindu.	Zemindar, Haripal	do.
143	"	"	"	" Gnanendra Nath Sinha Roy.	do.	do.	do.
144	"	"	"	" Sarat Chunder Chaudhuri.	Hindu	Zemindar	At a Meeting of the Residents of Andul held on 22-12-01.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
145	Bengal	Calcutta	Howrah	Babu Gurupada Mukerji ...	Brahmin	Zemindar ...	At a Meeting of the Residents of Andul held on 22-12-01.
146	"	"	"	" Satish Chunder Pal Chaudhuri.	Hindu	Paribrajak ...	do.
147	"	"	"	" Monmatho N. Bannerji.	Brahmin	Zemindar ...	At a Meeting of the Howrah Peoples Association on 23-12-01.
148	"	"	"	" Bamapada Bose ...	Kayastha	Pleader ...	do.
149	"	"	"	" Gnanendra Nath Hazra	Khettri	Contractor ...	do.
150	"	"	"	" Khagendra Nath Mitra	Kayastha	Merchant ...	do.
151	"	"	Ullubaria	" Benimadhab Mittra ...	Kayastha	Landholder and Contractor ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ullubaria Association on 16-12-01.
152	"	"	"	" Satish Chunder Bose ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
153	"	"	"	" Gangadhar Bose ...	do.	do.	do.
154	"	"	"	" Asutosh Bose ...	do.	do.	do.
155	"	"	"	" Kalidas Bhattacharja B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
156	"	"	"	" Rajkumar Ghoshal ...	do.	do.	do.
157	"	"	"	" Jogendrakumar Sen, B.L.	Hindu	do.	do.
158	"	"	"	" Tinkari Ghose ...	Kayastha	Pleader and Hony. Magistrate	do.
159	"	"	"	" Monimohan Ghose ...	do.	do. and Member, Local Board	do.
160	"	"	"	" Ekkari Sinha Roy ...	Khettri	Doctor and Landholder ...	do.
161	"	"	"	" Abinash Chunder Dutta, B. L.	Kayastha	Pleader ...	do.
162	"	"	"	Munshi Abder Rahaman ...	Mahomedan.	Talukder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ullubaria Association on 16-12-01.
163	"	"	"	" Nurul Huq. ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
164	"	"	"	Babu Ramapati Roy, B.L. ...	Brahmin	do.	At a Meeting of the Branch Indian Association on 21-12-01.
165	"	"	"	" Joy Kali Chaudhuri ...	do.	Landholder ...	do.
166	"	"	Burdwan	Ray Nalinakha Bose Bahadur	Kayastha	Zemindar and Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Taylor Memorial Hall on 14-12-01.
167	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Chunder Bose, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Burdwan ...	do.
168	"	"	"	Moulvi Mohamed Ashan ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
169	"	"	"	" Sayed Mahomed Hamidulla.	do.	do.	do.
170	"	"	"	Babu Nanilal Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Vakil, Burdwan ...	do.
171	"	"	"	" Bancorilal Chaudhuri, B.L.	Hindu	Pleader, Burdwan ...	do.
172	"	"	"	" Taraprosunno Mukerji, B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
173	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Khalepee ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Burdwan ...	do.

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174	Bengal	Calcutta	Burdwan	Mr. Abul Kassem ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Burdwan ...	At a Public Meeting held at Taylor Memorial Hall on 14-12-01.
175	"	"	"	Moulvi Mohamed Yasin, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
176	"	"	"	" Abdul Hamid ...	do.	Burdwan ...	do.
177	"	"	"	" Zian Nabi ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
178	"	"	"	Babu Amulya Charan Mitra	Kayastha	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
179	"	"	"	" Bipinbehari Ghose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Burdwan ...	do.
180	"	"	"	" Santoshkumar Bose ...	do.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
181	"	"	"	" Hemendra Mohon Bose, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
182	"	"	"	" Kaliprosanno Bhattacharya.	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
183	"	"	"	Moulvi Sayed Wabid Buksh	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
184	"	"	"	" Azimuddeen Ahmed	do.	Trader ...	do.
185	"	"	"	Sayed Wasi Ahmed ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
186	"	"	"	Mahomed Yasin ...	do.	do.	do.
187	"	"	Kalna	Babu Upendra Nath Sen, Kaviraj.	Vaidya	Physician ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kalna Town Hall on 16-12-01.
188	"	"	"	" Purna Chunder Dutt, B.L.	Kayastha	Member of the Bar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kalna Town Hall on 16-12-01.
189	"	"	"	" Upendra Lal Hazra ...	do.	Mukteer ...	do.
190	"	"	"	" Bidhubhushan Chatterji	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
191	"	"	"	" Mathura Mohan Gangooly.	do.	Zemindar, Kalna ...	do.
192	"	"	Birbhum	" Hari Mohan Bhattacharya.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	At a Meeting held in the Bar-Library (Suri) on 13-12-01.
193	"	"	"	Mr. N. C. Bannerji ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
194	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Nath Mukerji	do.	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
195	"	"	Hooghly	Mr. Abdur Rahaman ...	Mahomedan.	Talukdar ...	Elected at a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
196	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Yacub ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
197	"	"	"	Babu Keshab Chunder Sadhu.	Hindu	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting held at the Victoria Town Hall on 12-12-01.
198	"	"	"	" Panchanon Bannerjee...	Brahmin	Merchant, British Chandranagar ...	do.
199	"	"	"	S. C. Biswas Esq. ...	Kayastha	Talukdar ...	At a Public Meeting Howrah Branch Association held on 20-12-01.
200	"	"	Uttarparah	Babu Satyendranath Mukerje, B. A.	Brahmin	Zamindar, Uttarparah ...	At a Meeting of the Uttarparah Emerald Club on 23-12-01.
201	"	"	"	" Sukesh Chunder Dev Roy, B.A.	do.	do.	At a Meeting of the Uttarpara Club held on 23-12-01.

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202	Bengal	Calcutta	Hooghly Chinsura	Babu Charoo Sashi Some ..	Kayastha	Pleader, Hooghly	At a Public Meeting held at Hooghly Chinsura Victoria Town Hall on 22-12-01.
203	"	"	"	" Sib Chunder Seal ...	Subarna-banik.	Stockholder, Chinsura	do.
204	"	"	Serampur	" Taraknath Lahiri ...	Brahmin	Zemindar, Serampur	At a Public Meeting Serampur held on 22-12-01.
205	"	"	"	" Surendranath Goswami	do.	Merchant, do.	do.
206	"	"	"	" Surendranath Dutta ...	Vaysa	do. and Banker	do.
207	"	"	"	" Barodaprosad De, B. L.	Teli	Zemindar, Serampur	do.
208	"	"	"	" Kujjalal De, B. L. ...	do.	do. do.	do.
209	"	"	Janai	" Nirapada Mukerjee, B. A.	Brahmin	do.	At a Meeting of the Peoples Association held at Janai, on 15-12-01.
210	"	"	Krishnagar	" Jasodanandan Pramanik, M.A., B.L.	Teli	Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Santipur.	At a Meeting of the Branch Indian Association, Krishnagar held on 19-12-01.
211	"	"	"	" Haromohan Moitra ...	Brahmin	Mukteer	At a Public Meeting held at Krishnagar on 18-12-01.
212	"	"	"	Mr. Lalmohan Ghose ...	Kayastha	Bar-at-Law, Calcutta	do.
213	"	"	"	Babu Nandagopal Bhaduri...	Brahmin	Merchant	Krishnagar Peoples Meeting on 18-12-01, and at Branch I. Assn. 19-12-01.
214	"	"	"	" Jogendranath Chatterjee.	do.	Manager Estate of B. D. Pal Chaudhuri.	do.
215	"	"	"	" Sarat Chunder Sanyal, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Krishnagar	At Krishnagar Peoples Meeting, 18-12-01.
216	"	"	"	" Akshoy Kumer Mitra	Kayastha	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
217	"	"	"	" Biswambhar Ray, B.L.	Hindu	Pleader, Krishnagar	do.
218	"	"	"	" Mohinimohan Gupta, B.L.	Vaidya	do.	do.
219	"	"	"	" Jotiprosad Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	do.	do.
220	"	"	"	" Pulinbehari Lahiri ...	do.	do.	do.
221	"	"	"	" Ratikanta Bose ...	Kayastha	Zemindar	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Krishnagar held on 18-12-01.
222	"	"	"	" Bhupendra K. Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader	do.
223	"	"	"	" Narahari Mukerje ...	Brahmin	do.	At a Meeting of the Branch Indian Association, Krishnagar on 19-12-01.
224	"	"	"	" Tarapada Bannerje, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
225	"	"	"	" Asutosh Pande ...	Brahmin	Manager, Nadia Trading Co., Krishnagar.	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Krishnagar held on 18-12-01.
226	"	"	"	" Akshoy Kumar Mukerje	do.	Pleader, Krishnagar	At a Meeting of the Branch Indian Association, Krishnagar held on 19-12-01.
227	"	"	Nadia	" Annadamoy Roy ...	Hindu	Zemindar, Navadwipa	At a Public Meeting of the Branch In. Assn. held on 23-12-01.

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228	Bengal	Calcutta	Jamsherpur.	Babu Shudhendramohan Bagchi.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Jamsherpur ...	At a Meeting of the Residents of Jamsherpur, held on 17-12-01.
229	"	"	"	" Dwijendranath Bagchi, M.A.	do.	Article Clerk to an Attorney ...	do.
230	"	"	Kustia	" Hridaynath Majumdar	Kayastha	Mukteer and Municipal Commissioner, Kustea.	At a Public Meeting held at Kustia on 2-12-01.
231	"	"	"	" Satyendranath Roy, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Kustia	do.
232	"	"	"	" Ry Charan Das ...	Kayastha	do.	do.
233	"	"	"	" Peary Lal Sirkar ...	do.	do.	do.
234	"	"	Meherpur	" Indubhushan Mullik ...	Vaidya	Zemindar and Hony. Magistrate.	At a Public Meeting held at Meherpur, 25-12-01.
235	"	"	Chuadanga	" Upendranath Acharja	Brahmin	Mukteer ...	At a Public Meeting held at Chuadanga, 16-12-01.
236	"	"	"	" Prosanno Chunder Roy	Hindu, Rajput.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta ; Indigo Planter ; Zemindar ; Chairman, Local Board of Chuadanga.	do.
237	"	"	"	" Jogendranath Sinha, B.L.	Hindu, Tamuli.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Chuadanga and Landholder.	do.
238	"	"	"	" Kalipado Bagchi ...	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner, Hony. Magistrate, Chuadanga and Money-lender of Sumidia Village.	do.
239	"	"	Ranaghat	" Sarbeswar Pal Chaudhuri.	Teeli	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner, Ranaghat.	At a Pubic Meeting held at Ranaghat on 16-12-01.
240	"	"	Kumarkhali.	" Navadwipa Chaudhuri, L.M.S.	Kayastha	Medical Practitioner, Hony. Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Kumarkhali.	At a Meeting of the Residents of Kumarkhali held on 16-12-01.
241	"	"	"	" Gnanendranath Sanyal.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Kumarkhali.	do.
242	"	"	Berhampur	" Moonshi Emajaddin ...	Mahomedan	Zemindar and Merchant ...	At a General Meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on 14-12-01.
243	"	"	"	" Baikanthanath Sen ...	Vaidya	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
244	"	"	"	" Jogesh Chunder Roy...	Hindu	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
245	"	"	"	" Nikhil Nath Roy ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
246	"	"	"	" Vishnu Charan Sen ...	Vaidya	Zemindar, Berhampur ...	do.
247	"	"	"	" Surendranarayan Chaudhuri.	Kayastha	Zemindar ...	do.
248	"	"	"	" Mohendranath Mukerjee.	Brahmin	Zemindar and Pleader ...	do.
249	"	"	"	" Nafardas Roy ...	Khetri	Zemindar ...	do.
250	"	"	"	" Purnalal Sinha ...	do.	do.	do.
251	"	"	"	" Haradhan Nag, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Law-Lecturer, Berhampur College.	do.
252	"	"	"	" Munshi Agar Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Zemindar ...	At the Standing Congress Committee Meeting on 21-12-01.
253	"	"	"	" Babu Harendra Krishna Roy, B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader, Berhampur ...	do.

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254	Bengal	Calcutta	Berhampur	Babu Annadaprosad Chaudhuri.	Ugrakhetri.	Pleader, Berhampore ...	At a Meeting held at Murshidabad Association on 14-12-01.
255	"	"	"	" Bhagabati Charan Roy	Kayastha	Zemindar, Kanchantala ...	At the Standing Congress Committee Meeting on 21-12-01.
256	"	"	"	" Basanta Kumar Ghose	do.	do.	At a Meeting held at Murshidabad Association on 14-12-01.
257	"	"	"	Mahomed Azizur Rahoman	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
258	"	"	"	Babu Amulya Charan Dutta	Kayastha	Pleader, Garabazar ...	do.
259	"	"	"	" Nandalal Roy ...	Kurmi	Zemindar and Coal Merchant	do.
260	"	"	"	" Motilal Bannerje ...	Brahmin	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
261	"	"	"	Moulvi Tazi Ahon Rushid...	Mahomedan.	Trader ...	At a General Meeting of Mahomedan Association.
262	"	"	"	Babu Gourballav Sen ...	Vaidya	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association on 14-12-01.
263	"	"	"	" Srish Ch. Sarbadhikary	Kayastha	Zemindar, Berhampur ...	do.
264	"	"	Kandi	" Ramendra Sundar Tribedi, M.A., Roy Chund Prem Chund Scholar.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Kandi ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kandi on 20-12-01.
265	"	"	"	Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy.	do.	Zemindar, Hon. Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner, Kandi.	do.
266	"	"	"	" Purnenda Narayan Roy	do.	Zemindar, Kandi ...	do.
267	"	"	Bogra	Babu Baroda Charan Talukdar, B. L.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Bogra on 20-12-01.
268	"	"	"	" Baidya Nath Sannyal, B. L.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
269	"	"	"	" Kumadbehary Roy ...	Hindu	Zemindar ...	do.
270	"	"	"	" Pearysankar Das Gupta, L.M.S.	Vaidya	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
271	"	"	"	" Jadab Lal Roy ...	Hindu	.....	do.
272	"	"	"	Moulvi Mabarak Ali ...	Mahomedan.	.....	.....
273	"	"	"	Chaudhary Hafizal Rahim...	do.	Zemindar ...	At a Meeting of the Hazaribag Mahomedan Assn. on 21-12-01.
274	"	"	Barisal	Babu Haranath Ghose, B.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader, Landholder, and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Barisal People's Association.
275	"	"	"	" Jadab Chunder Roy, B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader ...	do.
276	"	"	"	" Nibaran Chunder Das, M.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
277	"	"	"	" Rajanikantha Das ...	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
278	"	"	"	" Preonath Guha ...	Kayastha	Editor, "Bikash" ...	do.
279	"	"	"	" Sarat Kumar Guha, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Barisal ...	do.
280	"	"	"	" Biraj Mohan Roy Chaudhuri.	do.	Zemindar, Barisal ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
281	Bengal	Calcutta	Barisal	Babu Revati Mohan Bose ...	Kayastha	Landholder, Barisal ...	At a Public Meeting held at Barisal People's Association.
282	"	"	"	" Tarinikumar Gupta, L.M.S.	Vaidya	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
283	"	"	"	" Lalit Mohan Das, M.A.	Brahmo	Teacher ...	do.
284	"	"	"	" Sital Chunder Mukerji, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
285	"	"	"	" Abinash Chunder Guha, M.A.	Kayastha	Zemindar ...	do.
286	"	"	"	" Rajaninath Ghose ...	do.	Manager and Landholder ...	do.
287	"	"	"	" Khetronath Ghose, M.A.	do.	Professor, Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta.	do.
288	"	"	"	" Ananda Charan Sen, B.A.	Vaidya	Teacher ...	do.
289	"	"	"	" Basanta Kumar Guha Thakurtha.	Kayastha	Landholder ...	do.
290	"	"	"	" Amrita Chunder Ghose	do.	Supdt., Ripon College, Calcutta	do.
291	"	"	Perajpur	" Ugrokanta Roy, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Perajpur ...	At a Meeting of the Perajpur People's Association on 17-12-01.
292	"	"	"	" Taraknath Roy Chaudhuri.	do.	Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate, Perajpur.	do.
293	"	"	"	" Anukul Chunder Roy	Vaidya	Pleader, Perajpur ...	do.
294	"	"	Faridpur	" Jogesh Chunder Roy	Kayastha	Zemindar, Member District Board, Faridpur.	At a Public Meeting held at Faridpur on 9-12-01.
295	"	"	"	" Hiralal Pal Chaudhuri	do.	Zemindar and Merchant ...	do.
296	"	"	"	" Ambika Charan Majumdar, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya	Zemindar and Pleader, Faridpur, Member District Board, and Hony. Secretary, XVIIth I. N. Congress.	do.
297	"	"	"	" Surendranath Ganguli	Brahmin	Landholder and Merchant ...	do.
298	"	"	"	" Jadunath Majumdar, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader	do.
299	"	"	"	" Rajkumar Chaudhuri	Kayastha	Landholder ...	do.
300	"	"	"	" Ishan Chunder Das ...	Hindu	Talukdar ...	do.
301	"	"	"	" Jogendra Mohan Das	do.	Pleader, Faridpur, Landholder and Member District Board, Faridpur.	do.
302	"	"	"	Kaviraj Jogendra Nath Sen, M. A.	Vaidya	Practising Kaviraj, Calcutta...	do.
303	"	"	"	U. N. Roy Esq. ...	Hindu	Zemindar ...	do.
304	"	"	"	Mr. R. K. Das, B.A. ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Elgin Road, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at Faridpur on 9-12-01 and also at N. M. E. Dn., Calcutta.
305	"	"	"	Babu Kali Charan Karmokar	do.	Mukhtar, Gopalgunj ...	At Faridpur on 9-12-01.
306	"	"	"	" Suresh Chunder Lahiri, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Faridpur.	do.
307	"	"	"	" Kula Chunder Roy, M.A.	Kayastha	Zemindar, Head Master, Deoghar.	do.
308	"	"	"	Chaudhuri Aliozzuman, B.A.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Member, District Board, Faridpur.	do.

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309	Bengal	Calcutta	Faridpur	Babu Janokinath Pal, B.L....	Hindu	Pleader, Rajbari, Faridpur ...	At Faridpur on 9-12-01.
310	"	"	"	" Rajendra Kumar Gupta, B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader ...	do.
311	"	"	"	" Sarat Chunder Chaudhuri.	Kayastha	Zemindar and Pleader, Bhanga	do.
312	"	"	"	" Purna Chunder Moitra, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Member District Board, Faridpur.	do.
313	"	"	"	" Pransankar Das Gupta, B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader, Bhanga ...	do.
314	"	"	"	" Girija Sankar Majumdar.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Landholder, Member, Reception Committee XVII, I. N. Congress, 19, Choulpatty Road, Bhawanipur.	do.
315	"	"	"	" Muralidhar Roy ...	Hindu	Zemindar and Banker, Faridpur.	At a Meeting held at Faridpur on 9-12-01.
316	"	"	"	" Kali Prasanno Sirkar, B.A.	do.	Retired Deputy Collector ...	do.
317	"	"	"	" Mathura Nath Moitra, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Faridpur Municipality.	do.
318	"	"	Faridpur Surhid Sabha.	" Girija Prosanno Roy Chaudhuri, B.L.	Brahmo	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta...	At a Meeting of the Faridpur Surhid Sabha held on 8-12-01.
319	"	"	Faridpur	Choudhuri Mahomed Ismail Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	At Faridpur Meeting, on 9-12-01.
320	"	"	Madaripur	Babu Provat Mohan Ghose	Kayastha	Pleader, Madaripur ...	At Madaripur Meeting, on 14-12-01.
321	"	"	Gopalpur	" Bepin Behary Das Gupta.	Hindu	Teacher ...	At Gopalpur Meeting, on 12-12-01.
322	"	"	Khulna	" Nagendra Nath Sen, B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader and Editor, Khulna ...	At a Public Meeting of the People's Association, Khulna 13-12-01.
323	"	"	"	" Patitpaban Roy ...	Brahmin	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, Khulna.	do.
324	"	"	"	" Kunjabehary Mukerji	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
325	"	"	"	" Jadab Chunder Das ...	Kayastha	Pleader ...	do.
326	"	"	Bagirhat	" Aghor Nath Mitra, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Bagirhat, President Temperance Association.	At a Committee Meeting of the People's Association held at Bagirhat, on 18-12-01.
327	"	"	Jessore	Munshi Abdulgafur Sardar	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	At a Meeting held at Pleader's Room 18-12-01.
328	"	"	"	Babu Mahendranath Sen ..	Hindu	Pleader, Jessore ...	At Town Hall Meeting, Jessore 15-12-01.
329	"	"	"	" Umbika Charan Basu	Kayastha	do.	do.
330	"	"	"	Moulvi Habibur Rahaman	Mahomedan.	Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
331	"	"	"	Babu Hriday Krishna Dutt, B.A.	Kayastha	Landholder, Narail ...	At a Public Meeting held on 15-12-01.
332	"	"	"	" Bijoy Krishna Dutt, B.A.	do.	do.	do.
333	"	"	"	" Jogendra Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta and Fellow of the Calcutta University.	do. and also at Calcutta.

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334	Bengal	Calcutta	Jessore	Babu Purna Chunder Chatterjee.	Brahmin	Pleader, Secretary, Bar Library and Magura Progression Union.	At a Public Meeting held on 15-12-01 and also at Calcutta.
335	"	"	Bonogram	" Rajanikantha Mitra, B.A.	Kayastha	.....	At a Public Meeting of the Bonogram Youngmen's Society, on 14-12-01.
336	"	"	Mymensingh.	" Harihar Chakravarty	Brahmin	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh, on 11-12-01.
337	"	"	"	" Girish Chunder Chakravarty.	do.	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Kisoregunj, on 2-12-01.
338	"	"	"	" Narendra Nath Bannerji	do.	Trader	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh, on 11-12-01.
339	"	"	"	" Kaliprasanna Chakravarty.	do.	Zemindar	do.
340	"	"	"	" Parvati Charan De, B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader	do.
341	"	"	"	" Srikanta Sen, B.L. ...	Hindu	Pleader and Trader	do.
342	"	"	"	" Mohim Chunder Majumdar.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Betagari	At a Meeting of the Betagari Hita Sadhani Sabha, on 20-12-01.
343	"	"	"	" Dwijendra Nath Chakravarty.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Dhalla	At a Public Meeting held at Sukrail, on 20-12-01.
344	"	"	"	" Tarini Charan Ghose	Kayastha	Pleader, Judges Court	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh, on 11-12-01.
345	"	"	"	Mollah Atanullah	Mahomedan.	Landowner	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
346	"	"	"	Moulvi H. Ahmed	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh, on 11-12-01.
347	"	"	"	Mr. D. P. Sen Gupta	Vaidya	Teacher and Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Sukrail, on 20-12-01.
348	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chunder Mullick.	Kayastha	Zemindar, Talukdar Amla	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh, on 11-12-01.
349	"	"	Tangail	A. M. Ghuznavi	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate and Vice-Chairman, Tangail.	At a Meeting of the Tangail People's Association, on 8-12-01.
350	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Hamid Khan Usugzi.	do.	Talukdar	do.
351	"	"	"	Babu Bijoy Chunder Ganguli	Brahmin	Teacher	do.
352	"	"	"	" Ishan Chundra Gupta	Vaidya	Talukdar	do.
353	"	"	"	" Tarak Chundra Roy, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Tangail Municipality.	do.
354	"	"	Muktalgacha.	" Brajendranarain Acharya Chaudhuri.	do.	Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held on 15-12-01.
355	"	"	"	" Nagendranath Acharya Chaudhuri.	do.	do.	do.
356	"	"	Jamalpur	" Soshimohan Ghose, B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader	At a Meeting of the Bar Library Room, 19-12-01.
357	"	"	"	" Dwarkanath Sen	Vaidya	do.	do.
358	"	"	Kisoregunj.	" Atul Chunder Acharya Chaudhuri.	Brahmin	Zemindar	At Kisoregunj Meeting on 2-12-01.

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359	Bengal	Calcutta	Chitagong	Babu Nogendra Kumar Roy	Vaidya	Pleader, Hony. Magistrate, Jt. Secretary Chitagong Assn.	At a Meeting of the Chitagong Association on 12-12-01.
360	"	"	"	" Annada Charan Dutt	do.	Pleader, Chitagong	do.
361	"	"	"	" Ramesh Chunder Rakhit.	Kayastha	Pleader	do.
362	"	"	"	" Kali Kumar De ...	do.	Landholder	do.
363	"	"	"	" Benimadhab Das, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner	do.
364	"	"	"	Moulvi Reajuddin Ahmed...	Mahomedan.	Pleader	do.
365	"	"	"	Hazi Abdul Karim ...	do.	Trader	do.
366	"	"	"	Babu Dhirendralal Kastagir	Vaidya	Vakil	do.
367	"	"	"	" Kalisankar Chukravarty.	Brahmin	Editor of "Jyoti"	do.
368	"	"	"	" Prasannokumar Roy...	Vaidya	Vice-President, Chitagong Association, Holder of Certificate of Honour, Hony. Magistrate, Member of District Board.	do.
369	"	"	Comillah	" Basanta Kumar Majumdar.	Hindu	Zemindar	At Comillah Residents' Meeting on 15-12-01.
370	"	"	"	" Rajaninath Naudi, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader, Vice-Chairman Municipal Board.	do.
371	"	"	"	" Govind Chunder Das, M.A., B.L.	Hindu	Vakil, High Court	do.
372	"	"	"	" Akhil Chunder Dutt, B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader, Comillah	At a Meeting of the Comillah Bar Association on 21-12-01.
373	"	"	"	" Mathuramohan Deb...	Brahmin	do.	do.
374	"	"	"	" Kailash Chundra Dutt	Vaidya	do.	do.
375	"	"	"	" Girish Chundra Sen ...	do.	do.	do.
376	"	"	"	" Gurudayal Singha ...	Brahmo	Merchant	At Comillah Residents' Meeting on 15-12-12.
377	"	"	"	" Upendra Mohan Mitra	Kayastha	.....	do.
378	"	"	"	" Bhudhar Das, B.L. ...	Vaidya	Pleader, Comillah	do.
379	"	"	Noakhali	" Rajmohan Mukerjee ..	Brahmin	Pleader	By the Members of the P. K. Jubilee School at Noakhali Suhrid Samiti on 12-12-01.
380	"	"	"	" Hem Chundra Chaudhuri.	Vaidya	Zemindar	do.
381	"	"	"	" Sitakanta Halidar, B.A.	Brahmin	Teacher, Noakhali	do.
382	"	"	Lakhimpur.	" Jagatbandhu Dutt ...	Kayastha	Pleader, Lakhimpur	At a Meeting of the Bar Association Lakhimpur, Noakhali.
383	"	"	Rangpur	" Umesh Chundra Gupta	Vaidya	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Rangpur.
384	"	"	"	" Radharaman Majumdar.	Kayastha	Zemindar and Hon Magistrate	do.
385	"	"	"	" Jogesh C. Majumdar	Vaidya	Pleader, Rangpur	do.

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386	Bengal	Calcutta	Rangpur	Babu Kuladanandan Roy	Hindu	Pleader, Rangpur	At a Meeting held at the Union Club Rangpur on 7-12-01.
387	"	"	"	" Satish Chundra Roy, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
388	"	"	Raiganj	" Kulada Kanta Ghose, B.A.	Kayastha	.....	At Raiganj Meeting on 17-12-01.
389	"	"	Dinajpur	" Krishnaprosad Bhuttacharja	Brahmin	Merchant	By Dinajpur Congress Committee, 8-12-01.
390	"	"	"	" Lalit Chundra Sen, B.L.	Vaidya	Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
391	"	"	"	" Modhusudan Roy, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
392	"	"	"	" Rakhhal Das Sen, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman Municipality.	do.
393	"	"	"	" Hari Charan Sen ...	do.	Zemindar	do.
394	"	"	"	" Baradakanta Roy, B.L.	do.	Pleader	do.
395	"	"	"	" Jadunath Roy, B.L.	Brahmin	do.	do.
396	"	"	"	" Umesh Chundra Khansnabis.	Hindu	Zemindar	do.
397	"	"	"	" Kailash Chandra Das	Kayastha	Pleader	do.
398	"	"	Phulbaria	" Kedar Nath Bose ...	Kayastha	Pleader, Phulbaria	At a Meeting of the Residents 14-12-01.
399	"	"	"	" Ananda Nath Chaudhuri.	do.	do.	do.
400	"	"	"	" Barada Kantha Ganguli	Brahmin	do.	do.
401	"	"	Midnapur	" Brojendra Kumar De, B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader	At a Meeting held at Midnapur 14-12-01.
402	"	"	"	" Nanigopal Sinha, M.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
403	"	"	"	" Bhupati Lal Guin ...	Tanti	Merchant	do.
404	"	"	"	" Jatindranath Mullick Chaudhuri.	Hindu	Zemindar	do.
405	"	"	"	" Prangovinda Das, B.A.	do.	Teacher	do.
406	"	"	"	" Peary Lal Ghose ...	Kayastha	Pleader	do.
407	"	"	"	" Raghunath Das, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, Vice-Chairman, Sadar Local Board.	do.
408	"	"	Ghatal	" Haradhan Chaudhuri	Hindu	Pleader, Ghatal	At a Meeting of the Sadesb Hitaisini Sobha, Ghatal, on 13-12-01.
409	"	"	"	" Narain Prosad Dutt ...	Kayastha	Pleader, Chairman, Ghatal Municipality.	do.
410	"	"	Kinchkapur.	" Nageswar Prosad Sinha Roy.	do.	Zemindar	At a Meeting of the Kinchkapur "Sadesb Hitakarini Sobha" on 13-12-01.
411	"	"	"	" Natabar Mandal, B.A.	Satgop	Landholder	do.
412	"	"	"	" Kuber Chandra Sirkar	do.	Head Pandit	do.
413	"	"	"	" Bhriguram Singh ...	Khetri	Landowner	do.
414	"	"	"	" Gnanendra Nath Bose	Brahmo	Journalist, Late Sub-Editor of "A. B. Patrika."	do.

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415	Bengal	Calcutta	Contai	Babu Girish Chandra Maity	Hindu Kaibartya.	Zemindar, Kalaguchia, Midnapur, Honorary Magistrate, Member, L. Board, Contai, Secretary, Kalaguchia M. E. School.	At a Meeting at Contai on 10-12-01.
416	"	"	"	" Bepin Behary Sasmal	Brahmo	Zemindar	At a Meeting at Contai on 1-12-01.
417	"	"	"	" Sashi Bhushan Chakravarty.	Brahmin	Teacher	do.
418	"	"	Tamluk	" Sarat Chandra Hazra, B.L.	Hindu	Pleader, Tamluk	At a Meeting of the Tamluk Conference Committee.
419	"	"	"	" Ram Chandra Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	do.	do.
420	"	"	"	" Jadupati Chakravarty	Brahmin	Mukteer, do.	do.
421	"	"	"	" Rasik Lal Bhomic ...	Kaibartya	Pleader, do.	do.
422	"	"	"	" Surendra Nath' Sinha, B.L.	Kayastha	do.	do.
423	"	"	"	" Rasamay Sinha, L.L.B.	Khetri	do.	do.
424	"	"	"	" Baranashi Bannerji, B.L.	Brahmin	do. and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
425	"	"	Cuttack	" Jogomohan Lal ...	Behary Kayastha.	Government Pensioner and Zemindar.	At a Meeting of the Orissa Association, Cuttack, on 9-12-01.
426	"	"	"	" Ram Sankar Roy ...	Hindu	Pleader, Cuttack	do.
427	"	"	"	" Nimai Charan Mitra...	Kayastha	do.	do.
428	"	"	"	" Janakinath Bose, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
429	"	"	Puri	" Bidhubushan Bannerji	Brahmin	Pleader, Puri	At Puri District Conservator Committee, on 16-12-01.
430	"	"	Balasure	" Bhagwan Chandra Das	Teeli	Zemindar and Merchant, Hony. Magt., Munc. Commr. and Member, Local Board.	At Balasure National Society Meeting held on 8-12-01.
431	"	"	"	" Upendra Chandra Roy	Kayastha	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
432	"	"	"	" Lalit Mohan Sirkar ...	do.	Legal Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
433	"	"	"	" Birendra Kumar Mondul.	Subarnabanik.	Zemindar, Balasure	do.
434	"	"	Sylhet	" Sarat Chunder Dutta...	Vaidya	Pleader	At Sylhet Public Meeting on 20-12-01.
435	"	"	"	" Nikunjbehary Dutt, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
436	"	"	"	" Bepin Chunder Pal ...	Kayastha	Pleader and Journalist	do.
437	"	"	"	" Kamnikumar Chunder, M. A., B. L.	do.	Pleader, Silchar	At Silchar and Karimgunj Meeting, 18-12-01.
438	"	"	"	" Sundari Mohan Das, B. A.	Hindu	Moulvi Bazar, Sylhet	By a Public Meeting held at Sylhet Bar Library on 19-12-01.
439	"	"	"	" Kaliprosanno Mitra, B. L.	do.	Pleader	At a Meeting of the South Sylhet Association on 15-12-01.
440	"	"	"	" Ramonimohon Das ...	Kayastha	Zemindar, Tea Planter and Merchant.	do.

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441	Bengal	Calcutta	Cachar	Babu Aghor Chunder Sen ...	Vaidya	Municipal Commissioner, Superintendent, Madura Tea Estate.	By a Public Meeting held at Silchar on 19-12-01.
442	"	"	"	" Sashindra Chundra Sinha	Hindu	Editor "Weekly Chronicle"	do.
443	"	"	Goalparah	" Hariprosod Nath ...	do.	Mukteer, Goalpara ...	At a Public Meeting held at Goalpara on 21-12-01.
444	"	"	"	" Basanta Kumar Chaudhuri, M.A.	Brahmo	Head Master, Goalpara School	do. on 18-12-01.
445	"	"	Dhubri in Assam	" Upendranath Bose ...	Kayastha	Pleader, Dhubri ...	At Bar Library at Dhubri on 22-12-01.
446	"	"	"	" Peary Mohan Dutta ...	do.	do.	do.
447	"	"	"	" Upendranath Chatterje, B. L.	Brahmin	do.	do.
448	"	"	Jalpaiguri	" Khirodranjan Dhur, B. L.	Kayastha	do.	At a Meeting of the Jalpaiguri Branch Indian Association, on 15-12-01.
449	"	Rajshahy	Rajshahy	Raja Ramonikanta Ray Bahadur, B.A.	Brahmin	Zemindar, Member, Rajshahy Association.	At a Meeting of the Rajshahy Association, held on 8-12-01.
450	"	"	"	Babu Jadab Chunder Sen ...	Vaidya	do. Madhabpur Chowgram, Rajshahy.	do.
451	"	"	"	" Syamakanta Sannyal...	Hindu	Manager, Raj Estate, Chowgram.	At an Extraordinary Meeting of the Rajshahy Association, on 20-12-01.
452	"	"	"	" Rajanikanta Majumdar	Brahmin	Teacher ...	By a Meeting of the Rajshahy Association, held on 8-12-01.
453	"	"	"	" Chundernath Chaudhuri, L.M.S.	Kayastha	Medical Practitioner, Member, District Board, and Secy., Standing C. Committee, Rajshahy.	do.
454	"	"	"	Kumar Gopalendranath Roy	Brahmin	Zemindar ...	do.
455	"	"	"	Babu Mohindrakumar Saha Chaudhuri, B.L.	Hindu	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
456	"	"	"	" Srigovinda Roy ...	...	.....	.....
457	"	"	"	" Rakhal Chunder Mandal.	...	.....	.....
458	"	"	"	" Lalit Mohan Moitra ...	Brahmin	Zemindar and Talukdar, Rajshahy.	By a Meeting of the Rajshahy Association on 8-12-01.
459	"	"	Nator	Moharajah Bahadoor Jogodindra Nath Roy.	do.	Zemindar, Chairman, Reception Committee 17th I. N. Congress.	At a Public Meeting held at Nator at on the 17-12-01 and also by the N.M.E. Division, Calcutta.
460	"	"	"	Babu Romesh Chunder Sircar, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	At a Public Meeting at Nator, on 17-12-01.
461	"	"	"	" Ramakanta Bhattacharya.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
462	"	"	Pabna	" Suresh Chunder Pakrashi.	do.	Zemindar ...	By Pabna Town Hall Meeting, on 8-12-01.
463	"	"	"	" Sitanath Adhikary ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
464	"	"	"	" Dinonath Biswas, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
465	"	"	"	" Durgakanta Chackerbutty.	do.	do.	do.

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466	Bengal	Dacca	Dacca	Babu Sashibhusan Roy ...	Kayastha	Pleader, Dacca ...	At a Meeting of the Dacca Bar Library, on 21-12-01.
467	"	"	"	" Rama Kantha Nandi...	Hindu	do.	do.
468	"	"	"	" Ganpat Chunder Roy	do.	Pleader, Munshigunj ...	At Munshigunj Meeting, on 13-12-01.
469	"	"	"	Dr. Chundra Sekher Kali, L.M.S.	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner, Dacca ...	At Dacca Bar Library, on 21-12-01.
470	"	"	"	Babu Khitish Chunder Guha	Hindu	Zemindar ...	do.
471	"	"	"	" Rajkumar Chukravartty	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
472	"	"	"	" Peary Lal Das, B.L. ...	Sudra	Pleader, Dacca ...	At a Public Meeting held at Dacca Bar Library, on 21-12-01.
473	"	"	"	" Bepin Behary Chukravartty.	Brahmin	Civil Commissioner, Dacca ...	do.
474	"	"	"	" Devendra Nath Das, B.L.	Sudra	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Dacca Municipality.	do.
475	"	"	"	" Hem Chunder Roy Chaudhuri.	Brahmin	Zemindar ...	do.
476	"	"	"	" Sarat Chunder Gupta	Vaidya	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, District Board Dacca, Vice-Chairman, Local Board Munshigunj.	do.
477	"	"	Munshigunj.	" Mohim Chunder Bose	Kayastha	Zemindar ...	At Munshigunj Meeting on 13-12-01.
478	"	"	"	" Kishori Mohan Bose...	do.	do.	do.
479	"	"	"	" Bilash Chunder Roy ...	do.	Pleader, Munshigunj ...	do.
480	"	"	"	" Umesh Chunder Das, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
481	"	Bhagalpur.	Purneah	" Jogendra Nath Mukerji, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, Vice-Chairman, Purneah Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at the Bar Library Hall, Purneah, on 7-12-01, also at a Meeting held at Cossipur of the inhabitants of Cossipur, Baranagor, Synthie, &c., on 8-12-01.
482	"	"	"	" Nanda Lal Bannerji ...	do.	Vakil, Purneah ...	At a Meeting held at the Bar Library Hall, Purneah, on 17-12-01.
483	"	"	"	" Jyotish Chunder Bhat-tacharya, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judges Court ...	do.
484	"	"	"	" Satkari Bannerji, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
485	"	"	"	" Soshibhusan Koer, B.L.	Sadgop	do.	do.
486	"	"	"	" Nishikanta Sen ...	Vaidya	Vakil, Purneah ...	do.
487	"	"	Bhagalpur	" Harendra Lal, M.A., B.L., I.T.S.	Brahmin	Pleader Bhagalpur, Law-Lecturer, T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagalpur, Editor of "Nava-prova."	At a Public Meeting held at Bhagalpur on 19-12-01.
488	"	"	"	" Surjaprosad, B.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Lawyer ...	By a Public Meeting held at Bhagalpur Institute on 7-12-01.
489	"	"	"	" Sarodaprosad Mukerji, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
490	"	"	"	" Rashbehary Mondul ...	Hindu	Zemindar ...	do.

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491	Bengal	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur	Babu Suresh Chunder Roy ...	Brahmin	Pleader ...	At a Meeting of Bhagalpur Bar Association.
492	"	"	"	" Upendra Nath Bagchi, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil and Commissioner, Bhagalpur Municipality.	do.
493	"	"	"	" Ajodhyaprosad Singha	Hindu Rajput.	Zemindar ...	By a Public Meeting held at Bhagalpur Institute on 7-12-01.
494	"	"	"	" Probodh Chunder Bannerji.	Brahmin	Bhagalpur ...	do.
495	"	"	"	" Dinobandu Bannerji, B.L.	do.	Pleader ...	At Bhagalpur Bar Association.
496	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdulkarim Khan...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	By a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
497	"	"	"	Babu Badrinath Upadhyaya	Maithil Brahmin	do.	By a Public Meeting held at Bhagalpur on 19-12-01.
498	"	"	"	Mr. D. N. Singha	Kayastha	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
499	"	"	"	Babu Charoo Chunder Bose, M.A.	do.	Professor, T.N. Jubilee College	do.
500	"	"	"	" Srikumar Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
501	"	"	"	" Anantaprosad Mondul	Hindu	Zemindar and Member of the Madhupura H. E. School Committee.	do.
502	"	"	"	" Motilal ...	Vaisya	Proprietor "Behar News" and Merchant.	At a Meeting of the Gya Association.
503	"	"	"	" Upendra Chunder Singha.	Kayastha	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Hon. Magistrate.	do.
504	"	"	"	" Gopalji Chaudhuri ...	Brahmin	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Bhagalpur on 19-12-01.
505	"	"	"	" Baidyanath Thakur ...	do.	do.	do.
506	"	"	"	" Abinash Prosad Singha	Khetri	do.	do.
507	"	"	"	" Shyamapado Ghose ...	Kayastha	Doctor ...	do.
508	"	"	Malda	" Radhesh Chunder Sett, B.L.	Hindu	Pleader and Joint Secretary, Malda Club.	At Malda Residents' Meeting on 21-12-01.
509	"	Behar	Bankipur	Samsul Haqfyuz ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	At Bankipur Public Meeting, on 19-12-01.
510	"	"	"	Roy Gopalsingh Chaudhuri, B.L.	Bhumihar Brahmin.	do.	do.
511	"	"	"	Babu Deo Saran Singh ...	Rajput	Pleader and Hony. Magistrate	do.
512	"	"	"	" Gopal Saran Singh ...	do.	Zemindar, Arrah, and Hony. Magistrate.	do.
513	"	"	"	" Syama Charan Bannerjee, M.A.	Brahmin	Vakil ...	At a Public Meeting held at A. S. School, Bankipur, on 12-12-01.
514	"	"	Muzafferpur.	" Saroshi Charan Mitra, B. L.	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court ...	At a Meeting at Muzafferpur, 20-12-01.
515	"	"	"	" Biswanath Porsad Mapla.	Khetri	Indigo Planter and Zemindar	do.
516	"	"	"	" Iswari Prosad ...	Hindu	Banker and Zemindar ...	do.
517	"	"	"	Moulvi Ubaidul Bari ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
518	"	"	"	" Syad Ali Karim ...	do.	Trader ...	do.

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519	Bengal	Behar	Shahabad	Babu Makhan Lal, B.A., B.L.	Behary Kayastha.	Pleader ..	At a Public Meeting on 21-12-01.
520	"	"	"	" Raghunath Singh, B.A., B.L.	Rajput	do.	At a Public Meeting held on 12-12-01.
521	"	"	"	" Rajebnarain Sahay, B.A.	Kayastha	Zemindar ...	do.
522	"	"	"	" Deo Kumar ...	Jain	do.	At a Public Meeting on 22-12-01.
523	"	"	"	" Ramkumar Roy ...	do.	Zemindar and Banker ...	At a Public Meeting on 17-12-01.
524	"	"	"	" Kanaichand ...	do.	do.	do.
525	"	"	Patna	" Nibaran Chunder Chatterji.	Brahmin	Journalist ...	At a Public Meeting Bankipur, on 19-12-01.
526	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Karim ...	Mahomedan.	Persian Trader ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association held on 12-12-01.
527	"	"	"	Adiluzzaman Khan ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
528	"	"	"	Moulvi Samsul Alam ...	do.	do.	do.
529	"	"	"	Mahomed Zakeya ...	do.	do.	do.
530	"	"	"	Babu Bhrigunandan Singha	Khetri	Pleader and Zemindar, Bankipur.	At a Public Meeting held at Bankipur on 19-12-01.
531	"	"	"	Moulvi Inayet Karim ...	Mahomedan.	Trader ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association held on 12-12-01.
532	"	"	"	Mr. Salaiman ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Bankipur ...	do.
533	"	"	"	Babu Hanumanta Sahay ...	Hindu	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Bankipur on 19-12-01.
534	"	"	"	" Kalikumar Sinha, B.A.	Behary Kayastha.	Zemindar, Author of the "Star of Sikri," late Editor of the "Behar Guardian," Member of the Executive Committee of the Behar Institute, Organising Secretary of the Temperance Council of N.-W. P. and Oudh and Behar.	do.
535	"	"	"	" Alakh Kumar Singha	do.	Zemindar and Secretary, Literary Association, Bankipur.	do.
536	"	"	"	" Gajadhar Prosad ...	do.	Muncl. Commr., Member Dist. Board, Patna, Chairman Sadar Local Board, Member of the Board of Visitors of the Behar School of Engineering, Vice-President of the Behar Institute, President Patna Total Abstinence Society, President of the Dispensary Committees at Manair, Porapur, Masaurhi and Bharatpur, President of the Kayastha conference. President of the Kayastha Sadar Sava of India, Member of the Behar Landholder's Association, Member of the Oriental Literary Committee of Patna, Vice-President of the Temperance Council for N.-W. P. and Oudh and Behar, also Pleader and Zemindar.	do.
537	"	"	"	" Gopal Sahay ...	Vaisya	Banker and Zemindar ...	At a General Meeting held at Bankipur on 19-12-01.

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538	Bengal	Behar	Patna	Babu Baldeonarain Singh ...	Behary Kayastha.	Zemindar ...	At a General Meeting held at Bankipur on 19-12-01.
539	"	"	Gaya	" Gosto Behary Chaudhuri.	Kayastha	Railway Service ...	By a Public Meeting held at Bishundill on 18-12-01.
540	"	"	"	" Surendranath Bannerji	Brahmin	Accountant, B. D. Railway Bishundill.	do.
541	"	"	"	Moulvi Ikramul Hug ...	Mahomedan.	Landholder ...	At Comtt. Meeting of Mahomedan Association.
542	"	"	"	Babu Kedar Nath, B.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Vakil and Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting of Gaya Bar Association.
543	"	"	"	" Jugal Kisore, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Zemindar, Rawana Gya.	do.
544	"	"	"	" Parmeswar Lal, M.A.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
545	"	"	Arrah	" Durga Prosad ...	do.	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Arrah.
546	"	"	"	Mr. A. N. Singh ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
547	"	"	"	" Raghbir Saran, B.L.	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, Proprietor of Coal Mines in the District of Manbhum.	do.
548	"	"	"	Babu Bhagabat Sahay ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
549	"	"	"	" Gopalji Sahay ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
550	"	"	"	Munshi Abdul Khair ...	Mahomedan.	Trader ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
551	"	"	Darbhanga	" Hafizullah ...	do.	do.	do.
552	"	"	Munghyr	Moulvi Abdul Hamid ...	do.	Zemindar ...	At a Committee Meeting of Mahomedan Association.
553	"	"	"	" Samsul Aageen ...	do.	do. and Teacher ...	do.
554	"	"	"	Sayed Imdad Hossain ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
555	"	"	Begasarai	Moulvi Abdul Huq ...	do.	Pleader, Member of Munghyr District Board and Begusarai Local Board.	do.
556	"	"	Chapra	Moulvi Sayed Mohibul Hossain.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
557	"	"	"	Babu Brajo Kisore Prosad M.A., B.L.	Behary Kayastha.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	At a Congress Committee Meeting at Chapra on 8-12-01.
558	"	"	"	" Hem Chandra Mitra, B.A., B.L.	Bengoly Kayastha.	Pleader, Chapra ...	do.
559	"	"	"	" Subh Narayan B.A., B.L.	Behary Kayastha.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
560	"	"	"	" Sankar Prosad L.L.B.	Khetri	do.	do.
561	"	"	"	" Gopalje, B.A., B.L. ...	Kayastha	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Chapra on 16-12-01.
562	"	"	"	" Raghunath Prosad ...	do.	Zemindar Saran ...	At a Public Meeting held at Chapra on 12-16-01.
563	"	"	"	" Ladhie Saran ...	Hindu	Mukteer ...	do.
564	"	Chotanagpur.	Ranchi	" Brajendra Lal Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Meeting of the Bar Association, held on 11-12-01.
565	"	"	"	" Joykali Dutt, M.A., B.L.	Brahmo	do.	do.
566	"	"	Purulia	" Lalit Mohan Ghose, M.A.	Kayastha	Zemindar ...	do.

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567	Bengal	Chota-nagpur.	Purulia	Babu Krishna Kisor Adhikary, M.A.	Brahmin	Merchant	At a Meeting of the Bar Association, on 11-12-01.
568	"	"	"	Mr. George Patrick Cook ...	European	do.	do.
569	"	"	"	Babu Lalit Kisore Mitra ...	Kayastha	Vakil, High Court and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting of the Manbhumi Pleader's Association, on 13-12-01.
570	"	"	"	" Gopal Chunder Bose...	...	Landholder and Manager of Zemindar.	do.
571	"	"	"	" R. K. Sarkar ...	Hindu	.....	do.
572	"	"	"	" Sarat Chunder Sen, B.L.	Vaidya	Vakil	do.
573	"	"	Giridhi	" Moniraj Marwari ...	Marwari, Hindu.	Merchant	At a Public Meeting, held at Giridhi on 9-12-01.
574	"	"	"	Khoja Mahomed Noor, B.A.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
575	"	"	"	Babu Raj Krishna Sahava...	Khetri	Coal Merchant	do.
576	"	"	"	" Dharanidhar Bannerji, B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader	do.
577	"	"	"	Sheikh Biroo, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Proprietor of Coal Mine	do.
578	"	"	"	Babu Manoranjan Guha ...	Kayastha	do.	do.
579	"	"	Hazaribagh	" Akhoy Krishna Ghose, B.L.	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting of the Hazaribagh Association, on 21-12-01.
580	"	"	"	" Nirmal Chunder Ghose, B.L.	do.	do.	do.
581	N.-W. P.	Benares	Benares	Sanjami Ram Ram Nakulabadhat Sanyasi.	Avadhut	.....	At Benares Sanyasis Meeting held on 22nd Agrahan, 1308.
582	"	"	"	Agamacharjya Sarendranath Nakalavairs.	do.	.....	do.
583	"	"	"	Swami Ramdas ...	do.	.....	do.
584	"	"	"	Tridandi Jyoti Prosad ...	do.	.....	do.
585	"	"	"	Acharja Bisweshar ...	do.	.....	do.
586	"	"	"	Tripathi Bhavadass ...	do.	.....	do.
587	"	"	"	Abadhuti Bimala ...	Brahmin	Jogini	do.
588	"	"	"	" Jogo Mohini ...	do.	do.	do.
589	"	"	"	Kumari Radha Rani ...	do.	do.	do.
590	"	"	"	Abadhuti Nritya Kali ...	do.	do.	do.
591	"	"	"	" Kalika ...	do.	do.	do.
592	"	"	"	" Kamala ...	do.	do.	do.
593	"	"	"	Abadhut Bireswar ...	Abadhut	Abadhut	do.
594	"	"	"	Mr. Bistu Charan Panchagni	Brahmachari.	do.	do.
595	"	"	"	Tripathi Devendra Nath ...	do.	do.	do.
596	"	"	"	Mr. Jogesh Chandra Panchagni.	do.	do.	do.

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597	N.-W.P.	Banares	Banares	Mr. Radha Krishna Dass ...	Agarwalla	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting held at Carmichael Library on 22-12-01.
598	"	"	"	" H. B. Rao ...	Christian	Principal, Type-Writing Institution.	do.
599	"	"	"	Babu Batuk Proshad ...	Khetri	Broker and Zemindar ...	do.
600	"	"	"	" Annada Charan Dutt, B.A.	Kayastha	Municipal Commissioner ...	do.
601	"	"	"	" Nivaran Chandra Gupta, M.A., L.L.B.	Vaidya	Vakil ...	do.
602	"	"	"	Mr. M. Aminuddeen Ahmed	Mahomedan.	Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
603	"	"	"	Babu Kesavprosad Singh ...	Khetri	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Carmichael Library on 22-12-01.
604	"	"	"	" Jugal Kishore ...	do.	do.	do.
605	"	"	"	" Gopal Hari ...	do.	Service ...	do.
606	"	"	"	" Shyamsunder Dass, B.A.	Khetri	Professor, C. H. College, Benares.	do.
607	"	"	"	" Meghnath Bannerji ...	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
608	"	"	"	" Jagannath Pal Sinha...	Hindu	do.	do.
609	"	"	"	" Rupnarain Sinha ...	Brahmin	Zemindar and Talukdar ...	do.
610	"	"	"	" Vyash Baldeo Das, B.A.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
611	"	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Pandit Tej Bahadur Safru, M.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin	Sawyea ...	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 14-12-01.
612	"	"	"	" Kailashnarain Haksar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Educational Service ...	By the Secretary on 25-12-01.
613	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Bannerji, B.A.	do.	Lawyer ...	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 14-12-01.
614	"	"	"	" Bijayakrishna Bose, B.A.	Kayastha	Teacher ...	do.
615	"	"	"	" Charu Chunder Mitra	do.	Zemindar ...	At a Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathsala on 14-12-01.
616	"	"	"	" Ramananda Chatterji, M.A.	Brahmin	Principal, Kayastha Pathsala...	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 14-12-01.
617	"	"	"	" Moheswar Prosad, B.A.	Kayastha	College Service ...	do.
618	"	"	"	Mr. Satchitananda Singh, Barrister-at-Law.	do.	Lawyer ...	do.
619	"	"	"	Babu Nepal Chunder Roy Chaudhuri.	Brahmo	Service in a High School ...	do.
620	"	"	"	Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia.	Brahmin	Vakil, H. C., Allahabad ...	do.
621	"	"	"	Babu Bhagwandin Dobe, M.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin	Lawyer ...	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 14-12-01.
622	"	"	"	" D. D. Gupta, B.A. ...	Vaishya	Student, M. A. College, Allahabad.	do.
623	"	"	"	Lala Krishna Das ...	Khetri	Zeminder and Banker ...	do.
624	"	"	"	" Mohan Lal ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
625	"	"	"	Mr. Raj Bahadur ...	Brahmin	Rais ...	do.

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626	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Moulvi Mahomed Issaac ...	Mahomedan.	Trader ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
627	"	"	"	Mr. Hafiz Shamuzzdha ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
628	"	"	Cawnpur	Pundit Broja Narayan Gurti, M.A.	Brahmin	Vakil, Patkapur, Cawnpur ...	At a General Meeting of the Residents of Cawnpur held on 19-12-01.
629	"	"	"	Babu Troylakhya Nath Bannerjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
630	"	"	"	" Hem Chandra Chatterjee, B.L.	do.	Professor of S. P. College ...	do.
631	"	"	"	" Nogendra Nath Bannerjee.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
632	"	"	"	Pandit Jugalnarayan Gurti, M.A.	Cashmere Brahmin.	Pleader, Patkapur, Cawnpur ...	do.
633	"	"	"	Moulvi Naseeruddin, B.A....	Mahomedan.	Trader ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
634	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Ganguli	Brahmin	Pleader, Cawnpur ...	At a General Meeting held at Cawnpur on 19-12-01.
635	"	"	Dhera Dun	H. B. S. Dalharal Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law ...	At Lala Boldeo Sing, held on 14-12-01.
636	"	"	Gazipur	Moulvi Salamat Ullah ...	do.	Trader ...	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Association.
637	"	"	Saharanpur	Mr. Lakshmi Chand, B. A., L.L.B.	Agarwala Kayastha.	Vakil, H. C., Saharanpur ...	.....
638	"	"	Aligarh	Babu Shyam Sunder Lal ...	Kayastha	Head Clerk, Office of the Tutor Guardian of Minor Nawabs of Murshidabad.	At a Meeting held at Aligarh on 22-12-01.
639	"	"	Agra	" Tarachand Mukherji...	Brahmin	Retired Superintendent ...	At a Public Meeting held at Agra on 15-12-01.
640	"	"	"	Munshi Narayan Prosad Asthana, M.A. L.L.B.	Kayastha	Vakil, Agra ...	do.
641	"	"	"	Mr. Jawhari Lal, B.A. ...	do.	Rais, Agra ...	do.
642	"	"	"	Munshi Avadh Behary Lal M.A., L.L.B.	do.	Vakil, H. C., Agra ...	do.
643	Oudh	Lucknow.	Lucknow	Mr. K. P. Mukherjee	Brahmin	Pension-holder ...	By the Committee of N.-W. P., Oudh and Behar on 20-12-01.
644	"	"	"	Babu Bepinbehari Basu, M.A.	Kayastha	Advocate ...	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 4-12-01.
645	"	"	"	" Gangaprosad Varma, M.A., L.L.B.	Khetri	Editor ...	do.
646	"	"	"	Pandit Gokurna Nath Misra, M.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
647	"	"	"	" Sheo Behari Lal Misra	do.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
648	"	"	"	Babu Harihar Prosad ...	Kayastha	do. ...	do.
649	"	"	"	Pandit Parameswar Nath Safri.	Khetri	do. ...	do.
650	"	"	"	Babu Mahabir Prosad ...	Agarwalla	Mohajan and Zemindar ...	do.
651	"	"	"	" Ganga Prosad Varma	Kayastha	Proprietor of "Advocate" Lucknow.	At Advocate Library Hall on 4-12-01.
652	"	"	"	" Sitaram Seth, B. A., L.L.B.	do.	Vakil ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
653	Oudh	Lucknow.	Lucknow	Babu Sita Ram ...	Hindu	Vakil, Lakhimpur (Oudh) ...	At Advocate Library Hall on 4-12-01.
654	"	"	"	" Krishna Baldeo Varma	Khetri	Zemindar	By the Lucknow Committee on 4-12-01.
655	"	"	"	" Chedilal Varma	do.	Pensioner and Banker	do.
656	"	"	"	" Gopaldas Varma ...	do.	Merchant and Banker	do.
657	"	"	"	Pandit Ganesh Behary Misra	Brahmin	Zemindar and Banker	do.
658	"	"	"	Mr. Banku Behary Lal of Rai Barielly.	Kayastha	Zemindar	do.
659	"	"	Fyzabad	Lala Ram Raj Habizlal ...	Agarwalla	Mohajan	At a Meeting on 15-12-01.
660	"	"	"	Babu Balak Ram ...	Kayastha	Zemindar and Vakil	At Fyzabad Meeting.
661	"	"	"	Rai Ramsaran Das Bahadur; M.A., F.A.U., M.A.S.P., M.R.A.S. (London).	Hindu Kayastha	Zemindar and Bank Manager	At Aijumani Fazib, Fyzabad on 15-12-01.
662	"	"	"	Babu Rudra Dutt Singha, M.A.	do.	Zemindar, Fyzabad	do.
663	"	"	"	" Sundarlal Rajey ...	Hindu	Merchant, Fyzabad	do.
664	"	"	"	Rai Gokul Chand Bahadur	Khetri	Pleader, Fyzabad	do.
665	"	"	"	Pandit Ratan Nath Koal ...	Cashmeri	Proprietor, Ajodhya Bank	do.
666	"	Oudh	Furruckabad.	Lala Sambhu Nath ...	Kayastha	Vakil and Member Municipal Board.	At a Meeting held at Furruckabad on 22-12-01.
667	"	"	Gorokepur	Muushi Iswari Saran, B.A.	do.	Vakil and Landholder	At a Public Meeting held at Gorokepur on 20-12-01.
668	"	"	"	Mr. Tanji Lal ...	do.	Pleader	do.
669	"	"	"	" Alfred Nandy ...	Christian	Barrister-at-Law	do.
670	Punjab	Meerut	Meerut	" H. C. Roy ...	Vaidya	Medical Practitioner	At a Meeting held at Meerut on 15-12-01.
671	"	"	"	Babu Prahlad Singha ...	Vaishya	Landholder and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
672	"	"	"	" Kedar Nath ...	Hindu	.....	.....
673	"	"	"	" Devi Sahaya ...	do.	.....	.....
674	"	Lahore	Lahore	Sheikh Umar Baksh ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held in the premises of Bharat Insurance Company, Ld. on 15-12-01.
675	"	"	"	Mr. Duni Chand ...	Hindu	Barrister-at-Law, Landholder and Director of P. Mutual Hindu Family Relief Fund.	do.
676	"	"	"	Mr. Hur Kissen Lal, B.A.	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Managing Director of Lahore Spinning and Weaving Mills Co., Ld, Punjab Cotton Press, Peoples Banking and Commercial Association, Ld., Punjab National Bank, Ld., and of Bharat Insurance Company, Ld.	do.
677	"	"	"	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Vice-President Managing Committee, D B. N. College, Lahore.	do.
678	"	"	"	" Modan Gopal, M.A. ...	do.	Pleader and Managing Director of Punjab Publishing and Stationary Company, Ld.	do.

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679	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Lala Dwarka Das, M.A. ...	do.	Pleader Chief Court ...	At a Public Meeting held in the premises of Bharat Insurance Company, Ltd. on 15-12-01.
680	"	"	"	" Charu Mani ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
681	"	"	"	" Jeswant Rai, B.A. ...	do.	College service ...	do.
682	"	"	"	Pandit Madhab Ram, B.A....	do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Umbala	do.
683	"	"	"	Sirdar Joadha Singh, B.A., L.L.B.	Sikh	do.	do.
684	"	"	"	" Tulsa Singh ...	do.	do.	do.
685	"	"	"	Lala Ganesh Lal, B.A. ...	Hindu	do.	do.
686	"	"	"	" K. Sain ...	do.	do.	do.
687	"	"	"	Babu Shyama Charan Mukerjee.	Brahmin	Proprietor, Medical Hall, Umbala.	do.
688	"	"	"	Mahomed Ali Chesti ...	Mahomedan.	Proprietor of Rafigi Hind ...	do.
689	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdur Nabi ...	do.	Trader ...	By Mahomedan Association 14-12-01.
690	"	"	"	Mr. S. P. Roy ...	Brahmin	Barrister-at-Law ...	At Bharat Insurance Co., Ltd. 15-12-01.
691	"	Delhi	Delhi	Babu Indur Narayan ...	Hindu	Merchant ...	do.
692	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Khair ...	Mahomedan.	Trader ...	By Mahomedan Association.
693	"	"	"	M. Fuzlul Huq. ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
694	"	Amritsar	Amritsar	Babu Narayan Singh ...	Hindu	Pleader, Amritsar ...	At Bharat Insurance Co., Ltd. 15-12-01.
695	"	"	"	" Kalia Ram ...	do.	Contractor ...	At Amritsar Meeting.
696	"	"	"	" Metab Singh ...	do.	do.	do.
697	"	"	"	" Nathu Ram ...	do.	do.	do.
698	"	"	"	Moulvi Iquamat Hossain ...	Mahomedan	Trader ...	By Mahomedan Association.
699	"	Umbala	Umbala	Captain T. Banon of Kulla.	Christian	Fruit Grower ...	At Umbala.
700	Central Provinces.	Nagpur	Nagpur	Hon'ble B. K. Bose Rai Bahadur.	Kayastha	Advocate ...	At Nagpur on 15-12-01.
701	"	"	"	Hazi Heyat Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Trader and Zemindar ...	By Mahomedan Association.
702	"	"	"	Mr. Madha Kissan Padhuje, B.L.	Marhatta	Pleader and Editor "Dashoshebak."	At Nagpur on 15-12-01.
703	"	"	"	" K. R. Ram Chunder...	Guzeratti Brahmin.	Contractor and Banker ...	do.
704	"	"	"	" V. G. Joshi ...	Marhatta Brahmin.	Pleader and Editor "Deseoshebak."	do.
705	"	"	"	" K. V. Laskhan Rao ...	Telung Brahmin.	Landowner ...	do.
706	"	"	"	" Gobinda Rao Bishun Kakachey.	Brahmin	Banker ...	do.

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707	Central Provinces.	Nagpur	Nagpur	Moulvi Md. Abdul Latiff Khan.	Mahomedan.	Trader	At Mahomedan Association.
708	"	"	"	Mr. Bashudeb Ramkissen Pandit, B.A.	Brahmin	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate	At a Meeting of the Standing Congress Committee held at Nagpur on 15-12-01.
709	"	"	"	" Krishna Rao Pathuk, B.A.	do.	Pleader	do.
710	"	"	"	" Raghu Ram Sitaram Dikhit Rao Bahadur.	do.	Contractor	do.
711	"	"	"	" Gobinda Meghashayam Badkosh.	do.	Pleader	do.
712	"	"	"	" Sreedhar Triyambak Deshna-akh.	do.	do.	do.
713	"	"	"	Babu Sadasiva Rao Bahadur	do.	do.	do.
714	"	"	"	Mr. S. B. Nagarkus	Hindu	Service	do.
715	"	"	Bilashpur	" Sarat Chundra Maitra	Brahmin	Pleader and Secretary to the School Board, Bilashpur.	At a Meeting of the Bilashpur Standing Congress Committee on 16-12-01.
716	"	"	"	" Nagendranath De	Kayastha	Barrister-at-Law	do.
717	"	"	"	Dr. T. N. Roy, L. M. S.	Vaidya	Medical Practitioner	do.
718	"	"	"	Mr. Manindra Nath Sircar, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader, Bilashpur	do.
719	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Vaintal Lemaye, B.A.	Konkanastha Brahmin.	Honorary Secretary, Rajaram Sitaram Dixit Library (Sitabuldi).	At Nagpur Town Hall Meeting held on 15-12-01.
720	"	"	Wardha	" Sankar Ganesh Despande.	Naidu Brahmin.	Pleader	At Wardha.
721	"	"	"	" Damoder Nilkanta Khaze.	Brahmin	do.	do.
722	"	"	Raipur	Babu Devendranath Chaudhuri, B.L.	do.	do.	At Raipur on 10-12-01.
723	"	"	"	Mr. C. W. Thaker	Bhatia Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law	do.
724	"	"	"	" H. S. Gour, M.A.	Rajput Hindu.	do. and Secretary, District Council.	do.
725	"	"	"	" Gobinda Prosad Dobe	Brahmin	Pleader, Malgujar, Member Municipal Committee and of District Council.	do.
726	"	"	"	" Ratan Chand Bagri	Marwari Benia.	Merchant and Malgujar	do.
727	"	"	"	Mahomed Yajaf Khan	Mahomedan.	Merchant	do.
728	"	"	Hosangabad.	Mr. Raoji Govinda	Brahmin	Pleader	At Hosangabad on 16-12-01.
729	Berar	Amraoti	Amraoti	" L. C. Bapat	do.	do.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held at Goctural, 19-12-01.
730	"	"	"	Mr. L. N. Dobe	do.	do.	do.
731	"	"	"	" Waman Appazi	do.	Pensioner	do.
732	"	"	"	" S. M. Deva	do.	Pleader and Jaigirdar	do.

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733	Berar	Amraoti	Amraoti	Mr. Kadiabhdya Ahmedali...	Mahomedan.	Merchant	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held at Gogtural, 19-12-01.
734	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur R N. Mudhalkar, B.A., L.L.B.	Marhatta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court and Landowner.	At Berar Standing Congress Committee held at Amraoti on 22-12-01.
735	"	"	"	Mr. G. S. Mudhakermain, B.A.	do.	Landowner	do.
736	"	"	"	" Raghabendra Sakhararam Vattegeri.	do.	Pleader and Landowner	do.
737	"	"	"	" Ram Chandra Awaji Despande.	do.	Pleader	do.
738	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	J. A. Wadia, Esq. ...	Parsi	.....	Bombay Presidency Association Council on
739	"	"	"	L. P. Adulja Esq. ...	Hindu	Vakil, High Court	do.
740	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mr. Duje Abuje Khare.	do.	Pleader, High Court	do.
741	"	"	"	Bezouji M. Vakil Esq. B.A., L.L.B.	Parsi	do.	do.
742	"	"	"	Mr. Karji Vinayak I. Sankar Sett.	Hindu	Landlord and Justice of the Peace.	do.
743	"	"	"	Dr. P. J. Swami ...	do.	Medical Practitioner	do.
744	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta...	Parsi	Barrister-at-Law	do.
745	"	"	"	Sitalwad Esq. ...	Khetri	Advocate	do.
746	"	"	"	Rustom Kiar Kama, Esq., L.L.B.	Parsi	Solicitor, High Court	do.
747	"	"	"	D. E. Wacha, Esq. ...	do.	President, City Improvement trust, Bombay.	do.
748	"	"	"	N. M. Samarath Esq., L.L.B.	Hindu	Pleader, High Court	do.
749	"	"	"	M. K. Ghandi, Esq. ...	do.	Barrister-at Law	do.
750	"	"	"	Dr. Joseph Benjamin ...	Jew	Medical Practitioner	do.
751	"	"	"	Mr. Mulji Bhardas Kampaon	Hindu	Tobacconist	do.
752	"	"	"	" Rama Navadas Veshowje.	Vaeshoar Benia	do.	do.
753	"	"	"	Damodar Ratansey Esq. ...	Hindu	Merchant	do.
754	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mr. Hari Sitaram Dixit B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Solicitor, High Court, and Member, Legislative Council.	do.
755	"	"	"	Viruarem K. Ranade Esq.	do.	Vakil, High Court	do.
756	"	"	"	L. B. Joglekar, Esq. ...	do.	Vakil, Distt. Court (Thana) ...	do.
757	"	"	"	Mr. B. N. Bhagekar ...	do.	.....	do.
758	"	"	"	" A. V. Kalhatkar ...	Brahmin	Merchant	do.
759	"	"	"	" Khemji Hirji Kayani	Jaina	Merchant, Hon'y Secy. Cutchi Dassaswal Join Committee, and Cutchi Dassaswal Mondal.	By the Meeting of the Jain Association of India.
760	"	"	"	" Jaithe Bhai Bharadhauan	do.	Cotton Merchant, Vice-President of the Cutchi Dassaswal Jaina Committee.	By the Coste Meeting on the 22-12-01 of Cutchi Dossali Aswal Jaina Community, and by the Meeting of the Jaina Association of India and Bengal Jaina Sabha on 22-12-01.
761	"	"	"	" Manickji Jaithe Bharadhauan.	do.	Merchant	do.

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762	Bombay	Sind	Sind	Mr. Thakurdas Ticondas Vagirain, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu	Pleader, Karachi	By the Standing Congress Committee.
763	"	"	"	" Har Chandra Kishandas, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	do.	do.
764	"	"	"	" Tahilram Khem Chand	do.	President Karachi Municipality	do.
765	"	"	Karachi	" Wadhupal Noharan ...	do.	Pleader	do.
766	"	"	"	" Roop Chand Fate Chand.	do.	Merchant and Commission Agent.	do.
767	"	"	"	" Ratan Chand Fate Chand.	do.	do.	do.
768	"	"	Shikarpur	" Dhanoomal Kotoomal	Bhatiya	Late Head Clerk to Distt Magistrate.	At Shikarpur Meeting on 15-12-01.
769	"	"	"	" Gurmukh Singh Ram Singh.	Chatria	Proprietor Charitable School, Shikarpur.	do.
770	"	Deccan	Poona	Keshab Raghunath Avarti Esq.	Brahmin	Contractor	By the Standing Congress Committee, Poona on 19-12-01.
771	"	"	"	Bal Gangadhar Tilak Esq. B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Editor "Keshari" Poona, Member, Sarba Janik Sabba	At Poona Sarba Jainik Sabba on 18-12-01.
772	"	"	Nasik	Mr. Gopal Rao Vinayak Joshi.	do.	.....	At Nasik on 8-12-01.
773	"	"	"	" Varunon Abaji Kalkarai	do.	Doctor, Nasik	do.
774	"	"	Ahamadnagore.	" Ganesh Krishna Chitab, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu	do.	By the Standing Congress Committee, Ahamadnagore on 21-12-01.
775	"	"	"	Rao Shaheb Panduraj Rasal	do.	Pensioner and Moneylender ...	do.
776	"	"	"	Mr. Balvanta Babaji Deshpande, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader	do.
777	"	"	"	" Gajanan Narayan Nisal	do.	Moneylender	do.
778	"	"	Bhuswal	Dalatraya Govinda Jurukar, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin	Pleader, Khanesh, District Bhusowal.	At a Meeting on 14-12-01.
779	"	Surat	Surat	John Smedley Esq.	Englishman.	Magistrate for the County of Derbyshire.	At Surat on 30-12-01.
780	"	"	"	Mr. R. Parthanji	Parsi	Government Service	do.
781	"	Ahamadabad.	Ahamadabad.	" Ramchhad Lal Bhoji Lal.	Benia	Manager Wadoji Wharji	At Guzerat Shava.
782	"	"	"	" Sett Dalsakh Bhanwadi Lal.	Hindu	Merchant	At Guzerat General Meeting on 17-12-01.
783	"	"	"	" Veerchand	Jaina	do.	do.
784	"	"	"	" Sett Chiraan Bhai Lalbai.	do.	do.	do.
785	"	"	"	" Sett Bhogilal Beerchand Dipchand.	do.	do.	do.
786	"	"	"	" Thakorelal Harilal	Benia	do.	do.
787	"	Dharwar	Dharwar	" Vinayak Vasudeb Bhandarkar, B.A.	do.	Pleader	At Dharwar Meeting.
788	"	"	Hubli	" Jonardhan Raghunath Joshi.	do.	Chief Clerk, Law Reporter's Office, Hubli, Ahamadnagore.	At a Public Meeting at Hubli.

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789	Government of India.	Shikandrabad.	Shikandrabad.	Mr. Keshevroo Seentoorrao Kovatkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Hyderabad (Deccan).	At a Public Meeting held at Shikandrabad on 13-12-01.
790	"	"	"	" Sheshadie Ramchandra Naik.	do.	Banker, Hyderabad (Deccan)...	do.
791	Madras	Madras	Madras	C. Y. Chintamani, Esq. ...	Brahmin	Journalist, Madras ...	At a General Meeting on 13-12-01.
792	"	"	"	Mr. Sama Sundara Nadur...	Nadur	Merchant ...	do.
793	"	"	"	" C. S. Raja Gopala Chariar.	Brahmin	Land-owner ...	do.
794	"	"	"	" P. S. Sivaswami Ayer, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court ...	By the Madras Mohasabha on 25-12-01.
795	"	"	"	" P. N. Ramman Pillay	Hindu Nair.	Editor, "Madras Standard"	At a General Meeting on 13-12-01.
796	"	"	"	" V. Ryrü Nambiar, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court and Member, Mohajani Sabha.	At a Meeting on 18-12-01.
797	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court and Member, Viceroy's Council.	At Mahajani Sabha.
798	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mr. G. Sreenivasa Row, B.A., B.L.	do.	Member, Madras Legislative Council.	At Madura on 14-12-01.
799	"	"	"	Mr. G. S. Iyer ...	do.	.....	.....
800	"	"	Aska	" Kalluree Krishna Rambiar Gara.	do.	Pleader, Aska District ...	At a Public Meeting on 15-12-01.
801	"	"	"	" Kalluree Nilachalam...	do.	Translator, Sessions Court, Ganjam.	do.
802	"	"	"	" N. Padmanath Swami	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	do.
803	"	"	Bellary	" Kolochalam Venkata Rao.	do.	First Grade Pleader ...	do.
804	"	"	"	" Gooty Lakshmanarao	do.	Teacher ...	do.
805	"	"	Chittoor	" N. Srinivasa Varadachary.	do.	First Grade Pleader ...	At Chittoor on 30-11-01.
806	"	"	"	" V. Venkaiya ...	do.	Landlord and Pleader, Chittoor	do.
807	"	"	"	" N. K. Ramasami Aiya B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court and Editor "Awakener of India."	At a Meeting on 30-11-01.
808	"	"	Salem	" V. C. Subja Sahib ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant ...	At Salem Standing Congress Committee on 22-12-01.
809	"	"	"	H. S. M. Chunda Mya Sahib.	do.	do.	do.
810	"	"	"	F. F. F. Abdus Saleman Sahib.	do.	do.	do.
811	"	"	"	M. V. Osman Sahib ...	do.	do.	do.
812	"	"	"	Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariyar, B.A.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
813	"	"	"	D. Wilson, Esq. ...	Native Christian.	Proprietor, "Dakshna Deepan"	do.
814	"	"	"	Mr. R. V. Subramanya Chettiar.	Vaisya	Merchant ...	do.
815	"	"	"	" T. Subramanya Vyer...	Brahmin	Landholder ...	do.
816	"	"	"	S. M. Mahomed Sahib ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Municipal Councillor.	do.

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817	Madras	Madras	Salem	Mr. K. S. Lakshminayan Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader	At Salem Standing Congress Committee on 22-12-01.
818	"	"	"	" T. Adinarayana Chettiar.	Vaisya	Landholder	do.
819	"	"	"	" N. V. Krishna Chettiar	do.	Banker	do.
820	"	"	"	" V. Sreeram Murty Chettiar.	do.	Proprietor, Indigo Factory; Landholder; Member, Taluk Board, Salem, Chairman Union; Panchayat, Ethapur and Member, Devashanan Committee.	do.
821	"	"	"	" T. A. Seetaram Iyer...	Brahmin	Merchant	do.
822	"	"	"	" T. S. Hari Chettiar ...	Vaisya	Member, Temple Committee; Mattadar and Sowkar.	do.
823	"	"	"	" G. Chakalinga Chettiar	Hindu	Zemindar	do.
824	"	Vizagapatam.	Vizagapatam.	Sri Sri Vikaram Deo Bahadur, Cousin of the Maharaja of Jeypur in the Vizagapatam District.	Khetri	Maintenance-holder	Elected in the Hindu Reading Room in Vizagapatam on 9-12-01.
825	"	"	"	Mr. O. V. Jagannath Sastri	Brahmin	1st Grade Pleader, Vizagapatam.	Elected at Public Meeting held in the town of Kasbar in Vizagapatam on 20-12-01.
826	"	"	"	" Bhupatirajir Venkata Vereha Lakshmi Narasingha.	Khetri	Landholder	Elected in Hindu Reading Room on 9-12-01.
827	"	"	"	" Bakurpada Venkata Ramanavarty Gara.	Vriya Brahmin.	do.	do.
828	"	"	"	" Bhupati Ranju Venkapatate Raju Gara, B.L.	Khetri	Vakil	do.
829	"	"	"	" Bhupati Raju Surjanarayuna Gara.	do.	Landholder	do.
830	"	"	"	" Giriwalla Appay Pantalu Gara, B.A.	Brahmin	Pleader	Elected in Vizagapatam on 9-12-01.
831	"	Trichinopoly.	Trichinopoly.	" G. Narasinha Chettiar	Vaisya	Cloth Merchant	Elected at the District Congress Committee, Trichinopoly on 18-12-01.
832	"	"	"	" M. L. Muthuveeran Chettiar.	do.	Merchant	do.
833	"	"	"	" M. K. Ram Chunder Chettiar.	do.	do.	do.
834	"	"	"	" Venkata Nawaree Chetty.	do.	do.	do.
835	"	"	"	" M. S. Anantha Rathnam Iyer, Mirasdar.	Brahmin	Late Chairman and Magistrate of Trichinopoly Taluq.	do.
836	"	Ganzam	Berhampur	" Iyengar Rama Moorty	Telegu Brahmin.	Pleader	Elected at Public Meeting of the Berhampur Association on 10-12-01.
837	"	"	Sampet	" Kurada Jagannedham P. Gara, B.A.	do.	do.	do.
838	"	"	Berhampur	" Marolla Venkata Chelapathi Row Pantalu Gara.	do.	do.	do.
839	"	"	"	" Potapragada Venkata	do.	Vakil	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Race, Religious Denominations and Caste.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
840	Madras	Ganzam	Berhampur	Mr. Gandhi Raghav Rao Pantalu Gara, B.A., B.L.	Telegu Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Ganzam, District Berhampur.	Elected at Public Meeting of the Berhampur Association on 10-12-01.
841	"	"	"	" Batchu Jagannadha Dass.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Berhampur	do.
842	"	"	"	" Nyapati Ramanjee Swami.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Ganzam.	do.
843	"	"	"	" Pantalu Gara, B.A., B.L.	do.	District Berhampur ...	do.
844	"	"	"	" Param Kusam Venkata Dass.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
845	"	"	"	" R. Lakshaji ...	do.	Typist ...	do.
846	"	"	"	" Varoha Giri Venkata Jagin Pantalu Gara.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Berhampur	do.
847	"	"	"	" Sheik Abdul Kadir Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Merchant ...	do.
848	"	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore	" N. Giri Chettiar ...	Sudra	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting on 7-12-01.
849	"	"	"	" C. A. Venkata Krishna Aiyar.	Brahmin	2nd Grade Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting on 15-12-01.
850	"	"	"	" K. V. Sreenivasa, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court ...	At a Public Meeting on 7-12-01.
851	"	"	"	" C. Devasigamany Pillai	Native Christian.	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting on 18-12-01.
852	"	"	"	" M. G. Arogi Samy Pillai, B.A.	do.	do.	At a Public Meeting on 7-12-01.
853	"	Krisna	Guntur	" Nyapati Haqumanta Rao,	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting at Guntur on 10-12-01.
854	"	"	"	" Aka Ramiah Gara ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
855	"	"	"	" Tolati Apparow Gara	do.	Proprietor ...	do.
856	"	"	"	" Kowta Srirumaba Gara	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
857	"	"	"	" Devagarptam Sheshu Chelupati Rao.	do.	Editor ..	do.
858	"	"	"	" Vinjamani Bhowan Chri Gara.	do.	Pleader, Guntur ...	do.
859	"	"	"	" Kasi Krisna Charbe ...	do.	Mamladar ..	do.
860	"	"	"	" Kakani Pundari Kakshdu.	do.	Pleader, Guntur ...	do.
861	"	Nellore	Nellore	" A. R. Arunachalya ...	do.	Vakil, Nellore ...	Under the Auspices of Krisna District Association on 18-12-01.
862	"	"	"	" M. Changya ...	do.	Vakil ...	do.
863	"	"	"	" S. Venkata Subbu Rao	do.	do.	do.
864	"	"	Namilian Talug.	" S. Srinivasa Ayer, B.L.	do.	Landholder ...	At Namilian Talug Sabha on 18-12-01.
865	"	Tanjore	Tanjore	" T. V. Thuljaram Tencer.	do.	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting on 16-12-01.

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866	Madras	Masali-patam.	Masulipatam.	Mr. S. Hanumantya Rao, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, District Court ...	Under the Auspices of Krishna District Association on 18-12-01.
867	"	"	"	" Nyapati Seshagiri Rao	do.	Member, Krishna District Association.	do.
868	"	"	"	" A. L. Novsighum ...	do.	Vakil, District Court ...	do.
869	"	"	"	" L. R. C. Rao Gara ...	Vaisya	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting on 22-12-01.
870	"	Ellore	Ellore	" Motai Venkata Subbarao Gara.	do.	Proprietor ...	Elected at Ellore Garden Meeting on 11-12-01.
871	"	"	Ellore Talug.	" Samanchi Bhuma Sanakaran Gara.	Brahmin	Pleader, Ellore ...	At a Public Meeting held at Chemmabis Garden on 11-12-01.
872	"	Chinglepat.	Conjeevaram Talug.	" D. V. Narasimma Chariar, B.A.	Hindu	Pleader and Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Mohajan Sova of Conjeevaram on 16-12-01.
873	"	Tinnevelly.	Tinnevelly	" M. Krishna Row ...	Marhatta Brahmin.	Landholder ...	At Tinnevelly Jubilee Hall Public Meeting on 12-12-01.
874	"	"	"	" Sadhuram Subhyar ...	Hindu	.....	At Kallanda Kurichi on 14-12-01.
875	"	"	"	" S. Palaniandy Mudaliar, B.A.	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	At a Public Meeting on 10-12-01.
876	"	"	"	" S. Varoda Raja Tyerr	Brahmin	do.	do.
877	"	"	Virudupati	" P. V. S. Vaslikuthi Naidu.	Nadar Hindu.	Merchant ...	At a Meeting of Khetria Parpalana Sova of Virudupati on 22-12-01.
878	"	Godavery.	Godavery	" P. Subburaju ...	Hindu	Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting on 2-12-01.
879	"	"	"	" P. V. S. Gopulam ...	Brahmin	Pleader ...	At Coconada Meeting on 4-12-01.
880	"	"	"	" G. Venkata Ratna ...	do.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
881	"	"	"	" D. L. Devalraj ...	do.	do.	do.
882	"	"	"	Sree Rajah K. R. Ram Chunder Raja Bahadur.	Khetri	Proprietor ...	do.
883	"	"	"	Dr. Surjanarayan ...	Brahmin	Inamdar ...	At Godavery Meeting on 4-12-01.
884	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ranganai Kulu Naida, B.L.	Hindu	Vakil, District Court ...	do.
885	"	"	"	" C. Parthasurady Naida	do.	Telegraph Master ...	do.
886	"	"	Coconada	" Radham Guvaruj Sared	Vaisya	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting on 4-12-01.
887	"	"	"	" Brahmananda Row Pantalu Gara.	Brahmin	Landholder ...	do.
888	"	"	Rajahmendry.	" K. Venkatreddi Naidu Gara, B.A., B.L.	Sudra	Pleader, Rajahmendry ...	At a Public Meeting on 12-12-01.
889	"	"	"	" K. Venkata Ratnam Gara.	Brahmin	School-Master ...	do.
890	"	"	"	" Somanchi Sitaramayaza Gara, B.A., B.L.	do.	First Grade Pleader, Rajahmendry.	At Tanespat on 23-12-01.

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891	Government of India.	Secundrabad.	Gulbergah	Mr. Giri Rao Modhu Ghata	Brahmin	Pleader, High Court, Gulbergah.	At Gulbergah on 13-12-01.
892	"	"	"	Raja N. Venkata Raghu Rao Bahadur.	Khetri	Zemindar ...	do.
893	"	"	"	Mr. A. Ranga Rao ...	Brahmin	Vakil ...	do.
894	"	"	"	Lala Rajpat Rao ...	Khetri	Doctor ...	do.
895	"	Triplieane.	Triplicane	Mr. I. V. Ramanuj Ram, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court
896	"	North Arcot.	Vellore	" Natteri Krishnama Chariar, B.A.	Hindu	Landholder and Sowcar ...	At Vellore Branch of North Arcot District Association on 15-12-01.