

REPORT  
OF  
THE ELEVENTH  
Indian  
National Congress,

HELD AT

POONA,

On the 27th, 28th, and 30th December,

1895.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The Eleventh Indian National Congress, which held its sittings in the closing week of 1895 at Poona amidst so much enthusiasm, is universally acknowledged to have been a most brilliant success. Whether we look at the attendance of the delegates—the largest on record save one—or bear in mind the spirit of unanimity and devotion to duty which animated the entire proceedings, we can come only to one conclusion—that the Eleventh Congress more than sustained the reputation of previous Congresses. The number of visitors too was unprecedentedly large and this in spite of the fact that for the first time in the history of the Congress, ordinary visitors were charged Rs. 10 each for admission instead of the usual Rs. 5. The enthusiasm displayed was often of the wildest description, and when the session came to an end, every one felt that a most remarkable gathering had brought its labours to a close—a gathering in every way worthy of the great historic reputation of the Capital of the Marathas, whose arms resistless at one time in every direction, enabled them to be for more than a century the first power in India.

The  
Eleventh  
Congress.

Not that the work of the Reception Committee was this time as smooth as on previous occasions. A controversy—mild in the beginning—about lending, as usual, the Congress Pandal for the use of the Social Conference had in course of time developed into a relentless war of words and roused passions and prejudices which threatened at one time to do serious injury to the Congress itself. Happily the sagacity and patriotism of the Honorable Mr. Justice Ranade allayed the angry strife and saved the national cause from harm and not a trace of the bitter dissensions was to be seen in the entire course of the Congress proceedings.

With the Eleventh Session, the Congress may be said to have entered on its second cycle. When one recalls to mind the struggles and trials it has passed through during these ten-years, the hopes and fears of the earlier workers, the ridicule, the misrepresentation and even the calumnies with which it has often been assailed and sought to be extinguished, one's heart is filled with feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction at the thought that after all the inherent vitality of the organization and the unselfish character of its aims and objects have triumphed over every thing. The Congress has grown with its growth and one now feels confident that, under the watchful eye of Providence, this great national institution of India will in course of time secure all the reforms, to the advocacy of which it has pledged itself. It was this feeling of confidence and hope which

animated the assembled delegates at Poona, lent so much dignity to their deliberations and kept the flame of their enthusiasm aglow throughout the sittings. It is to be fervently hoped that with this commencement of the second cycle of its existence, our unconventional Convention will labour even more strenuously and show better practical results than it has been able to do during the past decade. The experience of each year should enable it to correct its errors and improve its imperfections. It is only thus that the Congress will be able to enlarge the sphere of its usefulness and widen the basis of its popularity. This is the only royal road to ultimate success. Reforms everywhere are slow-footed. In India their pace must be particularly slow. A bureaucracy, alien, self-sufficient and intensely jealous of its privileges, trying to guard its interests by all manner of subtle devices and ever on the alert to take advantage of every unfortunate difference between the different classes of the Indian community to strengthen its own position, must always constitute a formidable barrier in the path of Indian progress. History however teaches us—and perhaps no history better than that of the English people themselves—that where the underlying principles of a reform are truth, justice and humanity not all the ingenuity, not all the obstruction of persons, interested in staying the tide of that reform, will prove of any avail. The Congress, from the first day of its existence, has been firmly convinced of the justice and righteousness of its demands. So long, therefore, as these demands rest on so secure a foundation, nothing can prevent their ultimate triumph. The promised land may not yet be even in sight. But indications are not wanting that a view of it may before long be vouchsafed to the more fortunate among us. In this faith and hope, the Congress must continue its work of the past ten years—continue it with unflagging zeal and unabated enthusiasm till it leads this ancient country to an honoured place among the nations of the world.

The proceedings of the Eleventh Indian National Congress opened with an address of welcome to the assembled delegates by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide. There was something extremely touching in the sight of this venerable old man; with the accumulated load of seventy winters on his shoulders, rising in his quiet dignity, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of over five thousand of his countrymen, to welcome men who had come from all parts of the country—far and near—to give deliberate expression to the wants and aspirations of the Indian people. Enthusiastic as the youngest delegate present, conscious of being engaged in the discharge of a high patriotic duty in spite of old age and its infirmities, Mr. Bhide presented at the time a noble object lesson. The address was extremely thoughtful, most elegantly expressed and full of sage and practical reflections. The following passages are quoted here as of special interest,—

After having completed its first cycle of ten years' existence, the Congress now enters upon a fresh cycle of another ten years of useful activity, as a great instrument of political

education, welding together all the various races and creeds of India into a great and glorious whole, destined under Providence to take its rank among the foremost nations of the world. The welding process is always a work of time, and implies a long course of heating and hammering, and this process of heating and hammering has to be repeated times out of number before the union is completed. The hammering is done for us under Providence by great extraneous agencies represented by the supremacy of a militant civilization and literature, which will allow us no rest and no seclusion from the outside world, but will force us to take our place in the race of material improvement in which it deservedly occupies the foremost position. Not all the hammering in the world, however, can accomplish the full results of the welding process unless it is accompanied by a responsive generation of internal heat, without which the outside forces would only splinter us to pieces, as has been unfortunately the case in many other parts of the world, where old civilizations have crumbled down and never learnt to raise their head again. Even in our own days in these last years of the 19th century, we have before us the spectacles of a great Mahomedan power in Europe and a great Mongolian power in Asia unable to retain their places from sheer inability to generate the heat without which the outside influences can never work to any good account. A hundred years ago the city where we now meet was the centre of a Native confederacy of powers, which held together the whole continent of India from the foot of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Dwarka in the West to Cuttack in the East, and appeared at one time well able to dispute on equal terms the place of supremacy with the great European power which had established itself in the lower Gangetic Valley and on the Coromandel Coast. You all know what change a hundred years have effected. The moral union among even the stronger races that inhabit India was of such a loose and unorganised character that it gave way at all points when the struggle commenced in right earnest. If after a hundred years we had stood in no better position than we did then in regard to these moral forces which tend to union, and strength in union, our condition would be helpless indeed. Fortunately for us our affairs have been entrusted to the safe keeping of a power which has won a world-wide reputation as the mother of great nations and the liberator of mankind. Brought up under such a discipline, which while it strikes, strikes gently and lends its helping hand to all who aspire to rise again, we have benefitted by the education that we receive and by the material civilization which annihilates time and distance, and brings us together to feel a common interest in our own elevation under the vivifying influence of a literature and a history, the like of which the world has not known in the past for its triumphs in the emancipation of mankind. The meetings of this Congress represent the highest triumph of the influences that have been at work for fifty years and more and it is for us to respond to this noble call in a way worthy of the place we occupy in the world's history.

I know there are those among our critics who dispute the truth of this position and proclaim with an air of superior wisdom that India is but a geographical expression and that there is no Indian nation as such, but only a congeries of nations, races and creeds, who have no cohesion in them and are only prevented from throttling each other by the fear of the *Pax Britannia* which rules over us all. At times indeed we do present in our internal quarrels about trifles a humiliating spectacle which provokes this scorn and ridicule of nations better circumstanced than ourselves. But I feel that with the magnificent spectacle we now see before us, you will agree with me in thinking that these temporary aberrations do not represent our true condition, and that the races and creeds in India have learnt to love and respect

each other, and to work together for their common elevation. Here in this gathering we have representatives from the most distant provinces, Bengal, Assam, Punjab, N. W. Provinces, Rajputana, Sind, Gujarath, Maharastra, Carnatic, Telangan, and the Dravid country. Nobody forces us to come together from all these distant places, and nothing but a common spark of heavenly fire could animate so many of the best and noblest of the land to sacrifice time, money and convenience and testify by their presence in these gatherings from year to year that they are determined to forget all their differences and do all that is in their power to build up the great Indian Nation which has been their aspiration by day and dream by night, and which, if not fulfilled before their eyes, will certainly be accomplished in the near future. All the elements which go to make a common united nation are now present with us: a common political citizenship, a common loyalty to the Queen-Empress, a community of interests, under the influence of which no part can thrive or suffer without the whole sharing in the prosperity or misfortune and a common language and literature which binds us morally and spiritually together and connects us with the wider world outside. Differences of race and creed there still exist, but they are getting more and more tolerant of each other, less and less angular every day, and it is the function of the National Congress, its chief and most glorious function, to induce in all the electric current of enlightenment which will hasten the union and make it strong to bear the strain which time may place upon it. The watch-word of the Congressmen is Indians first, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Christians, Punjabees, Marhattas, Bengalees, and Madrasees-afterwards. It is for us by the moderation, and business-like character of our deliberations, by our mutual toleration of each others' feelings and prejudices to justify in act and word the hopes and aspirations of those who, in the not distant future, seek to realise the dream of a united and federated India, resting secure in its loyal dependence on the Great British Nation and able to lead the nations of Asia in the path of progressive advancement in all directions of human activity.

I have said that the welding process is a process of hard hammering and heating. We should not delude ourselves with the thought that things will be made easy for us and that we could enter upon this new inheritance until we are regenerated, and our sins in the past have been washed out in the tears that burn with repentance. Our whole nature has to be purified and elevated by constant struggles with injustice in ourselves and others. Many people among us do not sufficiently realise how hard this struggle is naturally bound to be. They seem to imagine that we can pass from the old world to the new; pass from the dominion of custom and status to one of individual freedom and responsibility, from a fond clinging to the past to an earnest confidence in the future, from obedience to force to an appreciation of self-imposed law, in fact from a narrow cast-iron type of life to a freer and more liberalised form of existence, without budging an inch or sacrificing anything. The sooner they abandon visions such as these, the better will it be for them and for us all. There will be struggles, our consciences accusing and excusing night and day, castes and creeds in conflict with one another in endless directions. Such struggles are inevitable and people who are put out by the first signs of such differences are not the men from whom we can expect success in such high tasks. The process of fusion-always requires and develops a great amount of heat. The heat of controversy is only a form of such struggle for self-improvement. Already the struggle has commenced in earnest, and though it is a most unpleasant experience to those who have to take part in it, we have to reconcile ourselves to its inevitable necessity.

Compromises and adjustments are practical lessons which can only be learnt usefully and become parts of our second nature,—habit—when we are earnestly engaged in a war of principle. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is not for me to enter more into the history of our recent experiences in Poona. I can however assure you, brother-delegates, that if the struggle was keener here than elsewhere, it was due to the fact that on both sides there was an earnest desire to make this Congress gathering as great a success as any that preceded it. How far we have succeeded in giving you all a cordial welcome, and providing for your comforts and conveniences is more than I can say at present with confidence. This much is certain that this gathering of delegates is one of the largest that have hitherto taken place. We see assembled here the representatives of all the races, classes and creeds that inhabit this vast country. They come from all provinces and I can only hope that our actual success in the arrangements adopted here will not fall far short of what we desire.

Mr. Bhide made the following remarks about the attitude of the Mahomedans in Poona towards the Congress :—

Our Mahomedan friends in this town have, as in some other places, held aloof, but it is a matter of great satisfaction to us to find that this organized attempt to stand aloof is entirely confined to this city, and that the Mahomedans of other places have more or less cordially co-operated with their Hindoo brethren in this national work. Even our local Mahomedan friends, who have held aloof, have found it necessary to formulate their reasons for so doing. This is a very welcome change, as it makes the question not one of feeling but one of reasonableness, with which argument is possible, and further discussion may lead to a change of conviction. It is urged by our Poona Mahomedan friends that the Congress does not represent adequately all the races of India. This statement is itself a great concession, because the fact of representation is not denied, but the question is narrowed to a consideration of its adequacy. The proportions are not certainly adequate in regard to the population test, but judged by the test of the spread of English education, the adequacy will not seem to be very far from the true numbers. Besides what defect exists in this respect will be most satisfactorily removed by Mahomedans sending more representatives to the Congress. The second reason assigned is difficult to deal with. Even the bitterest enemies of the Congress do not now venture to question the honesty of the motives which lead so many men from all provinces to cast in their lot with its success. Its wisdom has been questioned. Its practical usefulness might be improved, but there is only one opinion now that it is an honest, spontaneous, native Indian effort to co-operate loyally with the British rulers of the land, to setting forth the non-official view on all the great questions of the day which engage public attention. Great British Statesmen have always been anxious to see such an organization spring up in the land. Lord Ripon paved the way for it by his local and municipal reforms. Lord Landsdowne assigned a distinct constitutional function to the Congress. It is not necessary, therefore, to dwell further on this reason which has been assigned by our Mahomedan friends in justification of their position. The third reason has more force in it. But every year the Congress programme of work has shown improvement on its practical side, and the leading Bombay organs have especially noted this feature as a hopeful characteristic of this year's work. The note and the resolutions issued by the Reception Committee will be the best answer to this charge that we can give for the present. The fourth reason assigned is that the Congress is not important enough to deal satisfactorily with the subjects it takes up. This is however a defect for which the responsibility is on



other shoulders. It rests with the Government to utilise this vast force of public opinion, and I feel sure a day will come when such a recognition will be cordially extended to it. The rulers in the land have recognized its value by undertaking some of the reforms which it has striven for. They no doubt are waiting to see that it strikes its roots deeper in the soil, and when they recognize it as a part of their deliberative machinery, the Congress will naturally be enabled to claim the full measure of the importance to which its title at present may to some appear inadequate. The fifth reason assigned is one which, in our opinion, calls for no answer. The Congress meets and deliberates from a faith in the capacity and willingness of Government to do all that it can to promote the material prosperity, and raise the general condition of the people of India. If this were not its faith, it would not meet from year to year. If it meets as it has been doing, it is because it wishes to co-operate with Government in this work. The question is not what Government is doing, but how we respond to the call it makes on us. If Government errs, it errs from ignorance, from want of touch with the people, from differences of language, race and creed, from variations in its stand-point, which cannot be the stand-point of the millions under its rule. It is to supply this want that it becomes the duty of the people to organise themselves and give voice to public opinion. The last argument of an appeal to the Koran is an argument which begs the whole question at issue, and the Mahomedans of other parts have shown by their attendance here that they do not desire to transfer their responsibility for inaction in the matter to their scriptures. These explanations, it is hoped, will satisfy our Mussalman friends in Poona that their position is untenable, and will secure more sympathetic action on their part in future.

Mr. Bhide thus concluded his interesting address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am now an old man past three score years and ten—the allotted span of human life. I remember the time when English education first commenced in this city, and I was one of the first recipients of that education. Fifty years have since then passed and during all these years I have tried to be an humble worker in all fields of progressive activity. I feel I have not lived in vain, when I see before me the dream of my younger years realised in being privileged to take part in such an assemblage as this. Ladies and Gentlemen, I now request you to proceed with the formal election of your President.

The Hon. Mr. P. Ananda Charlu (Madras) then proposed that the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji should be elected as President of the Eleventh National Congress. The motion, having been duly seconded by Dr. K. N. Bahadurji (Bombay) and supported by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar (Berar) was received with acclamation and the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji was then conducted to the Presidential Chair by the Chairman of the Reception Committee amidst demonstrations of the greatest enthusiasm. Mr. Banerji has always been the first favourite on Congress platforms. He occupies the foremost place among Indian orators. At the same time, he combines with his stirring eloquence “the most untiring zeal, the deepest earnestness and the most incessant activity.” Dr. Bahadurji only expressed what every one present at the meeting felt in his mind, when he said ; “When we remember his many and magnificent services

to the country, whether in connection with Municipal Government, or as a sober and well-informed journalist, or as a chosen representative of the people in the Legislative Council or as an illustrious delegate to England to plead for India before the bar of the British public, who were, as once it was said, electrified by his oratory, or as a devoted instructor of Indian youth or as a most indispensable worker in the Congress cause or in the cause of our reformed Legislative Councils, it cannot but call forth our admiration and affection for the man and fill us to-day with joy and gratulation that we shall have the honour and high privilege of being presided over and guided in our deliberations by a real man of the people whom the country delighteth to honour." The President's inaugural address was in every way worthy of the man and the occasion. The speaker's voice, clear, ringing powerful, and his stirring and impressive delivery made the oration which took full three hours, a most extraordinary—a supreme effort of human eloquence. The speech deals with a vast variety of subjects in a most masterly manner and is, in many places, a model of sober but earnest and effective criticism. Almost at the outset, Mr. Banerji thus referred to the peculiar circumstances, amidst which the Congress met in Poona:—

In addressing you on this occasion it is impossible not to advert for a moment to the circumstance of the Congress being held at Poona. This is the first time the Congress assembles in this great historical city. It was purely an accident that deprived Poona of the honor of being the birth-place of the Congress. The first Congress was to have been held here, but sickness broke out in the city, and the *venue* had to be changed to Bombay. But though deprived of this honor by an untoward accident, your citizens and the people of the Deccan at large have had a great hand in the up-building of the Congress. Nearly two centuries ago your ancestors built up an Empire which contended with Britain for supremacy in India. But those days of strife are past and gone. If war has its victories, peace also has her triumphs, and this Congress will remain to you and to those who have worked with you as a monument of your energy and of your devotion to the country in these times, when the triumphs of peace are the most enduring.

It would be mere affectation on my part were I to ignore those events which preceded the session of the Congress at Poona, and which for a time at least filled the public mind of India with alarm and anxiety. I am a stranger to your local politics and your local feeling. I have no right to judge. I have not the means to judge. Who am I that I should judge? But spectators sometimes see more of the game than the actual players. And this I will venture to say that those who were in favour of the Social Conference being held in the *Pandal* and those who were opposed to it were all animated by one common sentiment of devotion to the Congress movement. They differed in their methods. We who stand outside your local controversies, while we sympathise with the deep-seated convictions of all parties and admire the noble sacrifice which the Secretary of the Conference has made to restore amity and concord, must ask you to exercise mutual charity and forbearance, to forget and to forgive, and to unite in one common effort to make this Congress, worthy of the best traditions of the Congress, worthy of the capital of *Maharashtra*, and an example to all future Congresses. In this connection I cannot help

expressing my sense of admiration at the conciliatory attitude so strikingly displayed by Mr. Justice Ranade, Secretary of the Social Conference, at a critical stage in the history of the controversy to which I have referred. It averted a crisis which might have proved disastrous to the best interests of the Congress. The Congress owes a heavy debt of gratitude to Mr. Justice Ranade.

After dwelling at some length on the binding character of the unwritten law of the Congress and the necessity of now having a clearly defined constitution for that body, Mr. Banerji thus described what he called the triumphs of the Congress :—

From the consideration of the constitution of the Congress we pass on to discuss the constitution of the Government of this country ; and as in our own case, so also here, much remains to be done. At this stage, and standing upon the vantage-ground we happen to occupy, we may pause for a moment to take a brief retrospect of the past, if only to derive from it the inspiration and guidance for the future. The illustrious men—I feel the less hesitation in bearing my humble testimony to their worth, as I was not one of them—who founded the Congress at Bombay—some of whom are dead and gone, whose memories we revere, and the memory of none do we cherish with a greater measure of reverence than that of the young, the versatile, the brilliant Kashinath Trimbak Telang—these illustrious men did not in their wildest dreams anticipate the great future which awaited their movement. In this connection I am reminded of the exquisite lines of Longfellow which occur in his "Spanish Student" describing the spirit which pervades the achievements of the man of genius. The man of genius, says he, finds around him.

"All the means of action.

The shapeless masses,—the materials ;

They lie everywhere around him. Footsore and weary with travel he comes, and with the uncounted charcoal he inscribes on the wall. And lo and behold ! transfigured by the magic of his touch.

All its hidden virtues shine.

• • • • •  
It gleams a diamond."

The forces were there; the materials were there; they lay in shapeless masses. The hour had come; the men were there. They communicated to them the Promethean spark, the celestial fire which made them instinct with life, and under their controlling guidance the Congress has developed into a movement fraught with unspeakable blessings to generations of my countrymen yet unborn. The birth of the Congress had, indeed, been foreseen by the great men who had been associated with the Anglo-Indian Government in the early stages of its progressive development. Macaulay, speaking from his place in Parliament on the occasion of the enactment of the Charter Act, used language which had about it the ring of prophetic inspiration. "It may be," said he, "that the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system, that our subjects, being brought up under good Government, may develop a capacity for better Government, that being instructed in European knowledge they may crave for European institutions. I know not whether

such a day will ever come, but when it does come, it will be the proudest day in the annals of England." We have met to celebrate this day, the proudest in the annals of England and India. The National Congress is the outcome of those civilizing influences which Macaulay and his coadjutors were instrumental in implanting in the Government of this country. It has a brilliant record. I will claim this for the Congress that it has not taken up a single question which it has not brought within the range of practical politics, or which it has not brought nearer to solution. You took up the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. It has been declared to be a counsel of perfection by so high an authority as Lord Dufferin. You took up the Excise question. In my Province, in the more crowded districts, the outstills have been abolished. You agitated for the reform of the Police. In my Province a Police Commission was appointed, and, though the Police remains very much what it was, I must say that a genuine effort is being made by the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission. You insisted in season and out of season upon the wider employment of our countrymen in the higher offices of State. The Public Service Commission was appointed; and though I cannot congratulate the Government upon the manner in which it has dealt with the recommendations of the Commission, as the outcome of their deliberations, the maximum limit of age for the Open Competitive Examination was raised. Last but not least, is the crowning triumph of the Congress in the recognition by the Government of the representative element in the reconstitution of the enlarged Councils.

But the subjective triumphs of the Congress—its moral victories—are even more remarkable than its outward achievements. You have introduced a new spirit into the country. You have infused a new enthusiasm into your countrymen. You have brought together the scattered elements of a vast and diversified population—you have welded them into a compact and homogeneous mass—you have made them vibrate with the new-born sentiment of an awakened nationality—you have unified them for the common purposes of their political enfranchisement. Along with the new-born impulse which you have thus communicated, and which draws its inspiration from the living examples of English greatness, you have placed before your countrymen lofty ideals of public duty, which are slowly transforming the national character, imparting to the flexibility of the East, the stamina and the stability of the West. Above all, you have taught your countrymen to glory in the British connection, and to seek to perpetuate it not by submitting to invidious and irritating distinctions, but by claiming to participate in full in the rights of British citizenship.

The President's speech must be read in its entirety. It is so important and deals with so many subjects that it is impossible to give any adequate idea of it by means of a summary or extracts. The following passages, however, on the subjects of Legislative Councils, the Financial situation, the Military Policy of the Government, the Poverty of the masses, the Public Service, the separation of Judicial and Executive functions, and India in English politics, may be called here:—

I say once again that if the Indian Councils Act is to be given effect to, in the spirit in which it was conceived by the distinguished statesmen who took part in its enactment, if it is to give to the people of India a living representation of the whole community and not of small sections of the people the number of elected members must be sensibly increased; at

any rate discretion should be given to the Government of India to increase the number, subject to such rules as the Government may think fit to make in that behalf. This can be easily done by a small modification of Sec. I of the Statute of 1892. Such a measure would strengthen the popular element in the Council; but the Government would also share in the benefits which it would confer. A larger number of elected representatives in the Councils would place the Government in touch with the real opinion of the country. The voice that would be heard in the Councils would not be the voice of this party or of that party, of this clique or of that, but the living voice of the Indian people.

The discussion of the Budget.

Under the Indian Councils Amended Act of 1892 not only have the Councils been partially reconstituted, but their functions have been enlarged—the discussion of the Budget has been allowed, whether it is proposed to levy any new tax or not. This right, however, is to be exercised subject to an important reservation. Members may discuss the Budget—may make any observations they please—but they cannot move any Resolution in respect of any item in the Budget or divide the Council thereupon. This seems to me to be altogether a needless restriction, having regard to the fact that the Government has a standing majority in the Councils. If the non-official members were united to a man they could not carry any Resolution, if the Government was firmly resolved to oppose it. I venture to submit that if there is one class of questions more than another in respect of which the representatives of the people should exercise any control, it is financial questions. No taxation without representation is the theory of modern civilised Government. We do not ask the Government to embody this principle in the administration of the country. We know that politics is a practical art, and it cannot deal with principles in the abstract. Every political principle must be tested by reference to the actual circumstances under which it is sought to apply it; but when, as in this case, the acceptance of our recommendation can lead to no practical inconvenience but on the contrary is calculated still further to extend the immediate objects of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, and to add to the popularity of the administration, we feel that we stand on sure ground, and that we may appeal with confidence to the Government to adopt it. Englishmen are our teachers. At their feet we have learnt those constitutional principles which have moulded the Governments of civilized worlds, and which we hope will one day be incorporated in the Government of this country. If there is one thing more than another which their constitutional history impresses upon the mind of the reader, it is this: the zealous solicitude which the English people show at every stage of their history to ensure to their representatives, and to them alone, the full and absolute control over the finances of the country. A money Bill becomes law when it has passed the House of Commons. The House of Lords has no sort of jurisdiction over it. I find that in the Ceylon Legislative Council there is no bar to a member moving any Resolution on a financial question, provided the previous assent of the Governor has been obtained thereto. A beginning might, indeed, be made upon these lines. If the Government hesitates to grant to our representatives in Council the right of moving Resolutions on the Budget without some reservation, the concession may be made subject to the restriction to which I have referred, and which obtains in the Ceylon Legislative Council.

Finance.

If your Legislative Councils are an important matter for your consideration, your finance form the back-bone of your administration. Tell me, said John Bright in substance, in one of his speeches, what the financial condition of a country is, and I will tell you all

about its Government and the condition of its people. The financial test is the most crucial. Judged by it our position is truly deplorable. It is no exaggeration to say that the financial position of India is one of ever-recurring deficit, and of ever-increasing debt. I should be sorry to say one word which would convey to the mind of any one an exaggerated notion of the difficulties by which the Government of India is surrounded. Let there be "Naught extenuate or aught set down in malice." But I think I am strictly within the limits of truth when I say that, so far as our financial position is concerned, debt and deficit represent the order of the day. Let me ask you to follow me as I rapidly glance over a few facts and figures in connection with the financial history of the sixty years from 1834 to 1894. During this period you have had 34 years of deficit amounting in round numbers to 83 crores of rupees, and 26 years of surplus amounting to 42 crores of rupees in round numbers, with the net result that you have a net deficit of about 41 crores of rupees which makes an average of deficits of something over sixty-five lacs of rupees per year. Our debt kept pace without deficit. They are twin sisters which march apace. It must be so in the nature of things. An ever-increasing deficit must produce an ever-accumulating debt. During the same period the Public Debt increased from 26 crores to 210 crores; and 42 crores of this amount were incurred within the last ten years. If we are not bankrupts, at any rate we are on the high roads to it. If an ordinary individual found that his expenditure was steadily increasing, that his income was not increasing in the same proportion, that his resources were strained to the utmost, and that his debt was fast accumulating, he would feel that he was perilously near bankruptcy. But I suppose Governments are not like ordinary mortals. They do not participate in the common failings of our ordinary human nature—and hence the optimism of our rulers.

Times without number have we in Congress assembled, under the guidance of my esteemed friend, Mr. Wacha, whose knowledge of details is only surpassed by his zeal for the public good, (*Loud Cheers*) protested against the extravagant military expenditure of the Government. The Government is in quest of a scientific frontier, by which we understand a frontier which is better capable of being defended against a foreign invader than a frontier which is not scientific. But, as Colonel Hanna has pointed out in a little book on frontier policy which I would like to recommend to you, that which is scientific is fixed and definite. What is scientific to-day cannot be unscientific to-morrow. (*Hear, hear*). A scientific frontier cannot constantly be receding in the distance like the *ignis fatuus*, as you advance towards it. (*Laughter*). Let me tell the Government of India, in your name, that the true scientific frontier against Russian invasion does not lie in some remote inaccessible mountain which has yet to be discovered, nor is it to be found in the House of Commons as some one said, but it lies deep in the grateful hearts of a loyal and contented people. (*Loud Cheers*). If India is loyal and grateful, and is united by a common sentiment of devotion to British rule, resolved to die in its defence, India can raise a barrier which will defy the effort of the most powerful foreign invader who yet has desecrated our territories. (*Hear, hear*). Where have you heard of a foreign invader being triumphant against the efforts of a united people, and of a people too like ourselves, as countless as the stars of heaven, and as multitudinous as the sands of the sea. I have heard of this Russian invasion since the days of my childhood. The Russians have not come. They will never come: and if they do come and if India is loyal and united, then they will find behind the serried ranks of one of the finest armies in the world the multitudinous races and people of India united as one man ready to die for their Sovereign and in the defence of their hearths and homes (*Loud Cheers*).

Protest  
against the  
Military po-  
licy of the  
Government.

But I am bound to add that the Government is alienating the sympathies of the people by wasting their resources upon these frontier wars. The commonest domestic improvements are starved, the most urgent domestic reforms are postponed through want of funds. But when it comes to a question of granting a subsidy to some frontier Chief, or embarking upon some frontier expedition, or entertaining the son of a Prince who has been useful to us in frontier politics, then our Government is as rich as the richest Government in the world. (*Laughter*).

The poverty  
of the mas-  
ses.

The poverty of the masses of our countrymen has been the theme of endless discussion here and elsewhere. We know what the views of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji are. (*Loud Cheers*). He holds that the average income per head of the population in India is Rs. 20 against Lord Cromer's estimate of Rs. 27 a year. Whether it is Rs. 20 or Rs. 27 per head makes no difference. It is striking evidence of the deplorable poverty of the masses of our population. If you compare the economic condition of the masses of our people with that of more fortunately situated countries in Europe, this truth forces itself upon our attention with painful impressiveness. Lord Cromer is my authority. Lord Cromer, then Sir Evelyn Baring, gave some figures in 1882 which throw a lurid light upon the economic condition of our people. The average income of the population per head in Great Britain was estimated by him at £33 a year; in France it was £23; in Turkey, which is the poorest country in Europe, it was £4. Mulhal gives the income per head of the Russian population at £9. Upon this income of £33 the English tax-payer pays a tax of £2-12 per head; the Indian tax-payer upon his income of Rs. 20 or Rs. 27 a year pays a tax of 2s. 6d. per head. The English tax-payer thus pays a tax of 7 per cent. upon his income of £33, while the Indian tax-payer pays a tax of 5 p. c. upon his income of Rs. 27. It will be readily admitted that five per cent. upon an income of Rs. 27 is a much more serious matter—involves a much heavier sacrifice—than 7 per cent upon an income of £33. I ask you to bear in mind one little consideration. The average calculation is made by dividing the whole income of community, whatever it may be among the heads of population. But it is, after all, an average. There must be a large number whose income is below the average, as there must be a large number whose income is above it. I ask you for one moment to consider what must be the condition in life of that large number of people whose income is below Rs. 27 a year? It is no wonder, then that 40 millions of our people live upon one meal a day, as stated by Sir William Hunter, or that we have those periodical famines which decimate thousands and hundreds of thousands of our population. Cuvier has remarked that famines are impossible in this age. So they are in European countries, but not in this hapless land of ours, which a great orator in the last century described as "the garden of Asia, the granary of the East." We must all note with thankfulness that an influential journal like the *Pioneer*, supposed to be the exponent of official opinion, takes the popular view of the matter. That journal freely admits:—that the masses in India are poor, very poor; that our administration is an expensive one; that money is often wasted in enterprises like the Chitral imbroglio, and that in various directions, without administrative injury, economy and retrenchment might be enforced."

How does  
the Public  
Service ques-  
tion stand?

How does this public service question stand? The resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893 in favour of Simultaneous Examinations, stands there in the journals of the House. It has not been cancelled. Nor has it been given effect to. What has happened since we met last? A number of petitions has been presented to the House in support of the Resolution to which I have referred, but not as many as one might have wished

or hoped for, having regard to the importance of the question and the magnitude of our interests therein. I am bound to say that we have not done our duty in this matter. I feel called upon to repeat the appeal I made last year that we should go on presenting petitions to the House of Commons till we get what we want. Let us convince the British public that we are in earnest about this matter, and I am confident that justice will be done to us. It is no use according a Resolution here once a year, and then going to sleep over it for the rest of the twelve months.

Never did the case for Simultaneous Examinations receive a more striking measure of support than from the results of the Open Competitive Examinations for 1895. There were sixty-six vacancies. There were several Indian candidates. But only one passed, Mr. Shaik Ashgar Ali of the Punjab. In your name I desire to congratulate this gentleman, chiefly because he is a Mahomedan and a native of the Punjab. I should like to put it to the staunchest opponent of Simultaneous Examinations to say if the success of this solitary native of India represents justice—adequate justice to India. The *Pioneer* newspaper, referring to this year's Final Examination, remarked that, having regard to the results, the case for Simultaneous Examinations must now be considered to be hopeless. What are the results which are supposed to justify this inference? A Mahomedan gentleman was at the top of the list at the Final Examination, and three other Indian candidates occupied very high places. But in considering the results of the Final Examination in their bearing upon the question of Simultaneous Examinations, we must also take into account the results of the Open Competitive Examination for the same year: and if we do so, we are forced to the conclusion that they accentuate the necessity for holding Simultaneous Examinations, both as a matter of justice to India, and with a view to ensure the efficiency of the Service.

I desire to put this question of the efficiency of the Civil Service in the fore-ground. I am distinctly of opinion that Simultaneous Examinations would add to its efficiency; and the results of the recent Open Competitive Examination certainly point to that conclusion. Look at the disparity of marks between the successful candidates at the top and those at the bottom of the list, say between the first ten and the last ten candidates. As regards the first ten candidates, the marks vary from 2,125 to 3,738; as regards the last ten, the marks vary from 1,493 to 1,587. If these marks are to be regarded as any test of merit, it must be admitted that there was a great and unusual disparity in respect of merit between the men at the top and the men at the bottom. If a selection could have been made from a wider field, if the examination was held in India as well as in England, it is reasonable to infer that there would have been some chance of this disparity being removed, and perhaps a better class of candidates selected in the place of those occupying the places at the bottom of the list. It is impossible to resist this conclusion, and to that extent it is impossible to shut our eyes to that other conclusion to which it points, that Simultaneous Examinations are calculated to add to the efficiency of the Service, by widening the field of selection. I regard it as a *sine qua non* that the selected candidates should be required to complete their period of probation in England.

We claim to be admitted to all competitive examinations for the Indian Services, Our Claim  
no matter to what particular department of the public service they may refer. We claim to be admitted to the Competitive Examinations for the Police Service held in India as



well as in England. We claim to be admitted to the Examinations for recruitment to the higher offices in the Forest Department. We are excluded from these Examinations, and we are excluded because we are natives of India. (*Shame! shame!*). Our disqualification is our race. The crime of colour is alleged against us. We are supposed not to possess the qualities required for these services, by reason of our being members of the race to which it is our misfortune to belong. But there are so many races in India. (*Laughter*). Do they all suffer from the same disqualification—are they all wanting in the precious qualities required for these services? For the exclusion applies to them all. A slur is thus put upon us. But we are not ashamed of our nationality. We are proud that we are Indians; some of us are the inheritors of a civilization which carries the mind back to the dawn of human civilization. (*Hear, hear*). But we are also British subjects. *Civis Romanus sum* was the boast of the ancient world. It is our proud privilege to be British subjects, and we claim the rights which belong to our political connection. (*Cheers*). We are confident that the English people will not permit the perpetuation of invidious distinctions of race in the government of their great Dependency. Themselves free, all in the enjoyment of equal rights and equal privileges, their natural instinct would be to extend to others the blessings which have made them so great, so happy, and so prosperous. (*Cheers*).

The separation of Judicial and of Executive functions.

The question is really not one of expense but is more or less one of prestige. In the official mind—I should not like to say this of all the officials—there are many officials who think differently. Mr. R. C. Dutt is himself an official—there seems to be an idea that to deprive the chief executive officer of the District of his judicial powers would be to deprive him of his prestige and lower him in the estimation of the public. But surely prestige that is bound up with a system which in theory is indefensible, and which in practice leads to injustice, is a very poor sort of prestige indeed, and must defeat its own object. Prestige which perpetuates injustice and excites discontent and dissatisfaction among the masses, for they are the chief sufferers by this injustice, is not worth having. It is no aid to the Government. It is a source of weakness and embarrassment. The old Scriptural-text is true now as it was in the primitive days when it fell from prophetic lips—“Righteousness exalteth a nation.” No Government can afford, under any pretext whatsoever—call it prestige, call it policy, call it by what name you like—to do aught or to suffer aught which may lead to defeat the end of justice as between man and man, which all Governments are commissioned by a writ from on High to maintain and promote.

Again I admit that Governments are bound to proceed with caution. I would find fault with a Government that was not cautious, reasonably cautious, against which the charge of recklessness could be brought in any form or shape, whether in regard to the people's money or the people's happiness or convenience; but the Government may in this connection begin the experiment in selected Districts, and await the result. I am afraid there may be parts of the country so disturbed that an experiment of this kind may not be desirable in the public interests. But having admitted that the proposal embodies a counsel of perfection, public opinion has a legitimate right to ask the Government to move on, and to give effect to it in a cautious and tentative spirit. It will not do in these days to recognize the perfection of a principle in the abstract, and then refuse to give effect to it in practice. The present position of absolute inaction on the part of the Government in this matter is untenable. Let a great Government like ours yield before the importunate clamour of public opinion has as-

sumed proportions, where a concession made will have the appearance of having been wrung under compulsion. Let not the words "too late" be written upon the policy of Government in this or in other matters.

We have endeavoured so far to steer clear of party politics. But the bulk of our friends belong to the Liberal side. With the exception of Mr. Pincott and Sir Richard Garth I cannot at this moment think of any Conservative politician who sympathises with the Congress movement. From the Liberal ranks we have received the largest measure of sympathy. When the delegates went to England in 1890 it was the Liberal Associations which organized their meetings in the Provincial centres. When the Liberals came into power, their sympathy with our popular aspirations was marked. It was a Liberal Parliament that recorded the Resolution in favor of Simultaneous Examinations, though I regret to say that it was a Liberal Secretary of State who nullified that Resolution. It was a Liberal Government that practically ordered the withdrawal of the Jury Notification. It was the mandate of a Liberal Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, that saved in Bengal the system of Local Self-Government menaced by the Municipal Bill of 1892. It was a Liberal Government, too, that reimposed the import duties on cotton goods in the interests of India.

Do we belong to any party in English politics?

Speaking for myself, I will say this, that until Indian questions are taken up as party questions, until they become factors in determining the issues of party contests, they cannot occupy a prominent place in English politics, or engage a large measure of public attention in England. Before the English people can be expected to do justice to India, they must feel an interest in Indian topics; and they will not, and cannot feel any interest in them, so long as Indian questions remain outside the pale of party politics. We have it on the authority of John Morley that "Indian affairs entered materially into the great battle of parties" in the last century, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which for its moral results was a great and far-reaching event, was mainly prompted by party considerations.

What is our attitude with regard to the Government? I decline to discuss the charge of disloyalty which used to be brought against us in the early days of the Congress movement. Having regard to the official recognition which was extended to us by Lord Landsdowne's Government, this is no longer a question of practical politics. Are we then Her Majesty's constitutional Opposition in this country? I hardly think so. Our position is not analogous to that of a Parliamentary Opposition. A Parliamentary Opposition is bound to oppose all measures of the Government. It is its duty to oppose. It opposes for the mere sake of opposition. Its opposition is actuated by considerations of party spirit, under the influence of which the motives and the policy of the Government are liable to be needlessly aspersed. Our position is different. We are not bound to oppose the measures of Government. We are not expected to do so. Our countrymen would have a ground of complaint against us, if we did so, without sufficient cause. We do not oppose for the mere sake of opposition, and with a view to embarrass the Government, so that we may step into its place when the position is no longer tenable. We oppose bad measures. We support good measures. We may oppose the policy of Government, but we impute no motives. Above all, our opposition is not dictated by any considerations of party-spirit; but by the sole and single-minded desire to serve our countrymen and to broaden and deepen the foundations of British rule upon the unchangeable basis of a nation's affections.  
(Loud Cheers).

The following magnificent peroration concluded this speech of extraordinary power and brilliancy :—

Conclusion  
of the Presi-  
dent's speech

We should be unworthy of ourselves and of our preceptors—we should, indeed, be something less than human—if, with our souls stirred to their inmost depths, our warm Oriental sensibilities roused to an unwonted pitch of enthusiasm by the contemplation of these great ideals of public duty, we did not seek to transplant into our own country the spirit of those free institutions which have made England what she is. In the words of Lord Lansdowne, a wave of unrest is passing through this country. But it is not the unrest of discontent or disloyalty to the British Government—it is the unrest which is the first visible sign of the awakening of a new national life. It is the work of Englishmen—it is the noblest monument of their rule—it is the visible embodiment of the vast moral influence which they are exercising over the minds of the people of India. Never in the history of the world have the inheritors of an ancient civilization been so profoundly influenced by the influx of modern ideas. In this Congress from year to year we ask England to accomplish her glorious work. The course of civilization following the path of the sun has travelled from East to West. The West owes a heavy debt to the East. We look forward to the day when that debt will be repaid, not only by the moral regeneration, but by the political enfranchisement of our people. (*Loud Cheers*).

In our efforts for the improvement of our political status we feel that we may appeal with confidence to the sympathies of the Anglo-Indian community. They are Englishmen. By instinct and by tradition they are the friends of freedom. In regard to many, their interests in the country are permanent. In regard to many more, in view of the falling exchange, they are looking forward to making India their permanent home. Burke's well-known aphorism of the Anglo-Indians of his day being "birds of prey and passage" is well-nigh an extinct tradition. Our interests and their interests are identical. Their political status is not a whit removed from ours. If they have more influence in the Government, it is due to sufferance. They cannot claim it as a matter of right. Any extension of our political privileges would benefit them as well as ourselves. Difference there will always be between different sections of the same community, as there is in this country between zemindars and ryots; as there is in European countries between capitalists and labourers. But we are essentially members of the same community, in the sense that we have common rights and common grievances, and that it is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder to remedy our grievances and to promote our rights. We are all interested in the development of our manufactures, and we all know what pressure is brought to bear upon the Government here—sometimes marked under the guise of philanthropy, sometimes less thinly veiled—to interfere with the growth of our manufacturing industries. Here, as in other matters, united we stand, divided we fall. (*Applause*.)

There is another agency—impalpable and invisible, noiselessly advancing onwards amid the din of our strifes toward the accomplishment of its own hidden purposes—which is helping us in this onward struggle. That agency is Time. Time is with us—Time, present, and future, is our ally. "Truth," says the Latin Proverb, "is the daughter of Time." We rely upon the beneficent forces of the Unseen Time. I know not whether there ever was a golden age in the past. It is a beautiful tradition. It embalms the ever-present sense of dissatisfaction which humanity feels with the present. Dissatisfaction is the parent of all progress. It stirs us on to ceaseless activity for the betterment of our race. A golden age is

indeed, looming in the future. There is a golden age in store for us and our children. It is this feeling which reconciles us to the present. We feel that if political freedom, in the sense in which it is enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere, is not to be our lot, it will be the inheritance of those who, coming after us, will bear our names and carry on our work. In that faith we work. In that faith we ask others to work. It is the faith which is the cement of the Congress movement. It implies confidence in the progressive character of British rule. It implies confidence in ourselves. Let it not be said that this confidence is misplaced. Let it not be said that the enthusiasm which animated us in the first days of the Congress movement is on the wane. The past ought to encourage us. The future ought to stir us into enthusiasm. The noblest heritage which we can leave to our children and our children's children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and the fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people. Let us so work with confidence in each other, with unwavering loyalty to the British connection, that we may accomplish this great object within a measurable distance of time. Then will the Congress have fulfilled its mission—justified the hopes of those who founded it, and who worked for it—not, indeed, by the supersession of British rule in India, but by broadening its basis, liberalizing its spirit, ennobling its character, and placing it upon the unchangeable foundations of a nation's affections. It is not severance that we look forward to—but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire which has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions—that is what we aim at. But permanence means assimilation, incorporation, equal rights, equal privileges. Permanence is incompatible with any form of military despotism which is a temporary makeshift adapted to a temporary purpose. England is the august mother of free nations. She has covered the world with free States. Places, hitherto the chosen abode of barbarism, are now the home of freedom. Wherever floats the flag of England, there free Governments have been established. We appeal to England gradually to change the character of her rule in India, to liberalise it, to shift its foundations, to adapt it to the newly-developed environments of the country and the people, so that, in the fulness of time, India may find its place in the great confederacy of free States; English in their origin, English in their character, English in their institutions, rejoicing in their permanent and indissoluble union with England a glory to the mother-country, and an honour to the human race. Then will England have fulfilled her great mission in the East, accomplished her high destiny among nations, repaid the long-standing debt which the West owes to the East, and covered herself with imperishable renown and everlasting glory. (*Loud and long continued Cheers.*)

The appointment of a thoroughly representative Subjects Committee to draft the resolutions to be adopted by the Congress and generally to settle the nature and order of the business to be brought before that body, terminated, as usual, the proceedings of the first day.

The next day—the 28th of December, the Congress met at 11 A.M. and with one hour's recess from 2 P. M. to 3 P. M. sat till 5-30 P. M. Eight resolutions, all of them, except perhaps the first, of very great importance, were adopted. The first resolution, which referred to certain draft rules framed by the Poona Congress Committee in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, proposed

that these rules should be circulated by the Poona Committee to the different Standing Congress Committees in the country with instructions to report to the General Secretary and the Standing Council at least three months before the next Congress. The resolution was moved by Mr. J. Ghosal of Calcutta, a veteran Congress-man, in a neat little speech, in which, however, he took care to say that personally he was of opinion that the time had hardly arrived to fetter the Congress with any hard and fast rules. Mr. Jaishi Ram of Lahore, in seconding, suggested the formation of "a sort of Cabinet or Council, to consist of, at least, one member from each Province to meet at least once a year for a few days in some central province." The second resolution was with reference to the Royal Commission, at present sitting in London, to inquire into the administration of Indian Expenditure. The Congress resolved that the present inquiry was bound to be unsatisfactory and practically useless, unless (i) questions of policy were included in the scope of the enquiry and (ii) facilities were afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. The Congress also advocated that the proceedings of the Commission should be conducted with open doors. Babu Baikunth Nath Sen, (Bengal) who was in charge of this resolution, observed that the inquiry was due to the efforts of the British Committee of the Congress. "But" said he, "those sympathetic and generous gentlemen did not ask for this sort of thing; their demand was for a Commission of a more comprehensive character. Most, if not all, of you know what that demand was.....It was a demand for an inquiry into the condition of the people of India and their wants; into their capacity to bear the present financial burdens; into the possibility of the reduction of expenditure; into the nature of the system of their revenue; into the financial relations between India and England and also generally with regard to their system of Government." With regard to the exclusion of questions of policy from the scope of the inquiry, he contended that he failed to see how the question of expenditure could be considered apart from questions of policy which regulated that expenditure. The speaker also urged strongly that the inquiry ought to be conducted with open doors. "We do not" said he "know at present what sort of evidence has been offered. It may be that some of the evidence has to be met with rebutting evidence. How can you rebut evidence, the nature of which is not known?" The resolution was seconded by the Hon. Mr. Jambulingam Mudliar (Madras) who said that it was necessary that the labours of the Commission should result in something more than a mere audit of the accounts of the Government of India. "We have" he said, "confidence enough both here and in England that they do their account-business very properly and it is not for the purpose of auditing their accounts that we have for so many years been asking for a Commission of enquiry. Our object in asking for the Commission

was to see if any remedies could be devised to meet the growing and overgrowing expenditure of this country and whether any relief could not be given to our overburdened masses." The next speaker to this resolution was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad, always a favourite on Congress platforms. He expressed his disappointment at the results of the transfer of the Government of India from the old East India Company to the Crown direct. "Before Her Majesty," said Mr. Malaviya, "assumed the direct Government of this country, more earnest attention was given to Indian affairs; there was a keener desire to see that no injustice was done which could be averted and that the interests of the people of India were properly protected and promoted, than unfortunately often seems to be the case now. In the year 1773, when the East India Company applied for a renewal of their charter, there was an inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee into the administration of India by that Company. That inquiry was followed by another inquiry in the year 1793; and that was followed by similar inquiries every twenty years, until the Government of India passed from the Company to the Crown. Every one of these inquiries led to important reforms, because it disclosed the defects which existed in the administration during the preceding twenty years. Since Her Majesty has assumed the Government of this country, no such inquiry has been held." After referring to the labours of the Parliamentary Committee, which sat from 1871 to 1874, and which is generally known as the Fawcett Committee, Mr. Malaviya proceeded to observe:—"That the Commission may be of any earthly use and may entitle its recommendations to any weight in the minds of reasonable men, it must inquire into the capacity of the Indian people to bear the existing public expenditure. It must inquire whether their means permit of their having the Civil and Military Services maintained at the present high scale of salaries. It must inquire and find out whether these services cannot be obtained at a cheaper rate, whether a larger employment of the children of the soil will not secure a great and a much needed relief to the tax-paying community in India. Unless all this is done, no one should expect the Commission to be productive of any substantial good to the country."

The third resolution was a protest against the reckless and irresponsible growth of the expenditure—and especially the Military expenditure—of the country, and was moved by Mr. D. E. Wacha of Bombay, a tried veteran in the cause of the Congress and now its Joint General Secretary. There are few public men in India who have paid such close attention to the several political and industrial questions of the day as Mr. Wacha. In particular his knowledge of Indian finance is almost unrivalled and after Mr. Dadabhoj Naoroji, Mr. Wacha has always been the financial adviser of the Congress. His speech on this occasion was as usual a most valuable array of facts and figures, and should

be read in its entirety. It is difficult to give in a small compass the many points which Mr. Wacha makes therein, or even to choose a representative extract. The burden of his theme, however, was that the irresponsible aggressions on the frontier, resulting in a reckless growth of Military expenditure,—*that* and not exchange was the true cause of our financial embarrassment. On this point, Mr. Wacha has the satisfaction to find that such great authorities on Indian finance as Sir David Barbour, Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. A. J. Wilson, are now ranged on the same side of the controversy as himself. The Congress is often accused by the apologists of Government of indulging in mere destructive criticism on this subject of finance and Military expenditure. This is how Mr. Wacha meets the charge :—

Military and  
Civil Ex-  
penditure.

When we cry out for curtailment, the Government of India throws in our teeth the challenge that we should show them the way, as if we were in possession of all those minute details with the aid of which it was possible to submit suggestions! Our representatives in the Supreme Council were twitted on this matter last year. Our good friend, the Hon. Mr. Mehta, (*Loud Cheers*), endeavoured to grope his way through the maze of the budget as best he could. I pointed out what these difficulties of details were in my Presidential Address at the Belgaum Provincial Conference in May last. What happens is this. That finance and revenue accounts published by the Government of India are of a very incomplete character. Though these ponderous tomes bristle with figures, when you dive deep into them and endeavour to go to the bottom of a given charge, you find yourself stumbling. You cannot make any progress because the very details which are requisite for purposes of analysis or comparison are either suppressed or given in a form which defy such analysis. Our efforts prove futile. I can take at random any head or sub-head of an account and make clear to you my allegation. But it is impossible I can do so at the present moment. As things are, it is not possible to make what are called "constructive" proposals, when we are not furnished with the materials to enable us to do so. We can only offer "destructive" criticism and we cannot be blamed for it. In this respect, I think, our own Local Government may be said to be more advanced than the Imperial authorities. The detailed statement of the annual budget is on the whole pretty satisfactory and full of those minor details which are so necessary for purposes not only of comparison and criticism but suggestions. Were the Supreme Government to make available for members of its Council, as well as the public at large, all those minute details, on the basis of which the annual financial statement is prepared, I for one am quite sure that we would be in an infinitely better position to assist the Government in our endeavour to curtail expenditure than we are. But so long as it prefers to conceal these and allows the public to grope in the dark, nothing practical is at present possible.

A Mahomedan delegate—Munshi Shaik Hussain (Junnar)—seconded the resolution, which was further supported by Mr. S. K. Nair of Madras and Dr. K. N. Bahadurji of Bombay.

Resolution IV appealed "to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the Administration of Justice," and was

entrusted to Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, the eminent Calcutta lawyer, and one of the ablest of Congress leaders. Mr. Ghose has given great thought to this subject and has done much, both in this country and England, to bring it within the pale of practical politics. His speech was a model of close and cogent reasoning. The great desirability of this reform is indeed admitted by Government themselves, who, however, plead inability to carry it out for want of funds. Mr. Ghose, however, contends that so far as the Administration of Justice is concerned, Government have no financial loss to bear, but that there is a considerable surplus, after paying all expenses, to the credit of the Government under the head of Public Justice. And he thinks that "it seems unreasonable that we should be put off on the ground of financial embarrassment, when there is a yearly surplus which ought undoubtedly to be devoted to improving the very administration which yields that surplus." "But," says Mr. Ghose, "this is after all not the real objection."

It is time that the reasonable heads of the government and the public at large should know and realise what the real objection of our opponents is. Not long ago, a distinguished Indian Civilian belonging to this Presidency, I think I ought to mention his name because he made no secret of it—Mr. James, Commissioner in Sind,—wrote an article in an English magazine, in which he described the present system which combines judicial and executive functions in one officer as "the mainstay of British power in India." (*Shame.*) The real objection then is the apprehension on the part of the Executive officers that their prestige will suffer, if the reform we advocate is carried out. I cannot help thinking that the vice of our present administration is that justice is too often sacrificed at the altar of that bugbear known as Prestige. (*Hear, hear.*) I have always understood that the real "mainstay of British power in India" was not in a system which tended to pervert justice, but in the belief that English courts dispensed even-handed justice. I am sure I express the opinion of every one present here when I say that that is the true "mainstay of British power in India," and anything which tends to impair that confidence in the minds of the people strikes at the root of what is the true "mainstay of British Power."

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalwad, a rising public man on the Bombay side, who seconded the resolution, very pertinently asked how it was that while Government had no money to effect so urgent a reform as the separation of Judicial and Executive functions, they never had any difficulty in finding money for border wars, or to grant a large annual sum as Exchange Compensation allowance to its overpaid European Officers. Mr. Harchand Roy (Karachi), Mr. Bipin Behary Bose (Lucknow), Dr. B. Luxmandas (Rajputana) and Mr. B. R. Sahasrabudhe (Satara) having also spoken in support of the resolution, it was adopted unanimously.

Resolution V referred to the Jury Bill, then before the Supreme Legislative Council, and was moved by Mr. W. C. Bonerji, twice President of the Congress,



and one of the foremost and most respected of Indian leaders. Mr. Bonerji is one of the finest speakers in India and he subjected the Government measure to most effective criticism. Subsequently the most obnoxious provisions of the Bill—notably that about special verdicts—were withdrawn by Government. Mr. Bonerji thus dwelt on the importance of Trial by Jury in India :—

The Jury  
Bill.

We learn English almost from our childhood. We try to speak English and write English, and what is the result?—We are told specially by our Anglo-Indian friends that we only write and talk Baboo English—(*Laughter*)—and they make fun of us. Of course, we do not venture to make fun of the English-Marathi, the English-Hindoostani and the English-Gujarati that is spoken. (*Cheers and Laughter*). Far be it from us to do that. What we say is that a man, who is to translate in his own mind into English the words coming from a witness, probably a rustic witness, words with which he is not familiar, words which do not bring an echo to his own mind, has his whole mind bent upon taking this down as correctly as possible; he cannot attend to the witnesses, he can only attend to the language and put that language on paper. Whether he takes it down correctly or incorrectly, Goodness alone knows. (*Laughter*). But the trials, when they are not held with the assistance of juries, take place upon the basis of what they take down; it is upon the basis of what they take down that the lives of persons charged with capital offences and liberties of persons charged with other offences are either sacrificed or put in jeopardy. The High Court, no doubt, is an institution for which almost every person in this country has great regard—I may say an affectionate regard; but they can only deal with cases that go before them upon the written evidence taken down under the circumstances to which I have alluded. If you had Indian gentlemen as jurymen sitting with those Judges, they would not have to translate into any language other than the language in which witnesses give their evidence. They would be able to watch the demeanour of witnesses, they would be able to know from hesitation in speaking and from various little things, what an untruthful one gives out. With the man who knows the way in which the witnesses live and talk, no witness can with success expect to be believed when he ought not to be believed. Therefore, in a country like this, where trials take place under these circumstances, trial by jury is the only trial at which truth can be arrived at.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Venkat Subba Iyer of Madras, Mr. Gutikar (Belgaon) Mr. K. R. Desai and Mr. Joseph Benjamin of Ahmedabad and Mr. S. B. Bhate (Belgaon) speaking in its support.

The next resolution referred to a certain Notification of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, which has practically had the effect of gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States. Mr. Seymour Key moved it in a very telling speech, Mr. Ramchandra Pillai seconding and Mr. V. V. Modak and Mr. G. B. Phansalkar supporting it. This Notification runs as follows :—

Gagging the  
Press.

“No newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing news or comments on public news, shall, without the written permission for the time being

in force of the Political Agent, be edited, printed or published after the first day of August 1891 in any local area administered by the Governor-General in Council but not forming part of British India; (2) If after the day aforesaid any person shall, without the permission aforesaid, edit, print or publish any such newspaper or work as aforesaid in any such area aforesaid, the Political Agent may, by an order in writing, require him to leave such local area within seven days of such order, and prohibit him from re-entering such local area without the written permission of the said Political Agent. For any breach, as mentioned in the last paragraph of the despatch, the offender shall be liable to forcible expulsion from such local area in pursuance of an order to be made in writing by such Political Agent.

It is needless to say that such a Notification cannot fail to be an engine of oppression and terrorism in the hands of an unscrupulous Political Agent. Mr. Seymour Keay's criticism of it, which is most scathing, will be found on pp. 90-92 of the detailed report.

Mr. Kalicharan Banerji, the well-known orator of Bengal moved Resolution VII, which advocated the holding of all Competitive Examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England. The Congress has always attached very great importance to this reform, without which, indeed, it is impossible to remedy many of the evils that characterize the existing administration. The House of Commons has indeed admitted the justice of our claim but the Indian bureaucracy will move heaven and earth before it will allow effect to be given to that resolution. The grievous injustice involved in the existing arrangements to the Natives of India, the solemn pledges of equal treatment repeatedly given by the British Government in the matter, their remaining practically unfulfilled till now and the attempt which is being made of late to repudiate those pledges,—these and other points were clearly brought out by Mr. Kalicharan Banerji in a speech of great power. Mr. Sundernath Khote of Bombay seconded the proposition which was supported by Mr. Devrao Vinayak (Berar) and Mr. Hafiz Abdul Rahim (Aligarh). The last named gentleman—a Mahomedan—said ;—

The strongest argument, put forward by some of my co-religionists and apparently accepted by Government is that the Mahomedans and some of the Hindoo martial races will not have an equal chance with the other Hindoos if the resolution is carried into effect. I do not admit this theory to be correct; but supposing it is correct, gentlemen, does it stand to reason that if one member of a family be sick and the doctors order him to have a restricted diet, that the other members of the same family should be asked to be content with the same diet? (*Laughter and Applause*). Certainly, not even sick people themselves will agree to this proposal, because the diet prescribed will weaken all and there will be no one to care for them. (*Cheers*).

Examina-  
tion in In-  
dia and  
England.

Resolution VIII, which was a very important one, referred to the forward military policy pursued during recent years by the Government of India,

and was in the following terms :—" In view of great extensions of the British power on the North-West and North-East of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by Parliament when it passed Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the Forward Military Police will involve India in hopeless financial confusion."

Mr. H. A. Wadia of Rajkot, a very fine speaker and a disciple of Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, moved it in an eloquent speech. The speaker, after deploring the departure from the wise policy of Lord Lawrence, thus proceeded :—

Forward  
Military  
Police.

It was Gilgit and Chilas yesterday. It is Chitral and Mastuj to-day. To-morrow, Sir, it may be some unspeakable pass! A third day, and some unutterable height! The question is—*Where is the line to be drawn?* And that question must be answered not at Guildhall banquets and in post-prandial orations; not to gentlemen who are addressed but are not taxed; not to people who applaud but do not pay, and who, we may not uncharitably believe, would applaud a great deal less if they had to pay a little bit more. (*Cheers*). No, Sir, that question must be answered here at Poona and Bombay, at Madras and Nagpore, at Allahabad and Lahore, perhaps at Simla, certainly at Calcutta. It must be answered in our Legislative Halls to our Members in Council, to those whose duty it is and whose task it shall be,—I will not say to *represent*, for I wish to offend no prejudices—but I will say to *interpret* to our rulers the views and wants, the ways and wishes of the tax-payers of the land; and who, when the occasion comes, will remind our rulers of the poor thousands whose insufficient incomes are not exempted from taxation; of the poorer millions on whom the savage salt-tax inflicts a daily privation and almost inhuman wrong; of the tens of millions, poorest of all, who, in this land of plenty, where nature herself is so bounteous, live a life of semi-starvation and meet with mute resignation death which is premature and therefore unnatural. When I say all this I do not forget, and I do not ask you, my countrymen, to forget the limitations and restrictions imposed on our Legislatures. It is on that account that we need the interference and the control of a Parliament. We have been told by Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour that practically there is no control in India over the Military Expenditure. We know that it is necessary according to the Act that Parliament's sanction must be obtained before Her Majesty's forces are employed in wars beyond our frontiers. But that provision has been disregarded and set at naught. There will be no control, no efficient control by Parliament unless Parliament has behind it the voice of the British public and that voice will be raised only when the British tax-payer's pocket is touched. We therefore ask that England must share with India the expenses incurred in the defence of India's frontiers.

Mr. D. G. Padhye (Bombay) seconded the resolution in a short but lucid speech, in the course of which he observed :—

We would not like to ask England simply because she is rich to give us a contribution; it is not a dole of charity we ask, but it is fair and simple justice that we demand. (*applause*). We say that if England is to benefit by operations on the North-West frontier which are for the benefit of her manufactures and industries, she should bear her share of the expenses. It was for the benefit of those manufactures and industries that Burmah was annexed and it will be much more for her benefit than for that of India if further military operations are undertaken on the North-West and Eastern frontiers. It is on those grounds that we ask England to share the expenses of future operations, and I hope you will carry the resolution with acclamation. (*Cheers*).

Mr. W. A. Chambers (Bombay) also spoke in support of this resolution. He said :—

In a word, the resolution means that if India is to be saved from bankruptcy, England must come to her aid. Now, that is not a mere platitude, that is not a mere commonplace, for every man who knows anything of Indian finance, admits that India in her present financial condition is not able to bear the burden put upon her. But you ask that India shall have it paid for her by England. Well, I do not know that England will pay your bills, because the English tax-payer, like every other class of people, keeps hold of his money pretty tight. There is, however, one gleam of satisfaction to be derived, and I get it from my reading of the English newspapers. It is that one of the most notoriously reactionary countries in England is hoist with her own petard; I allude to Lancashire. Lancashire, which beats the big drum as loudly as any other reactionary politicians in England, now understands what the beating of the big drum costs in India. (*Cheer*). She has to pay the bill and she does not like it. It is understood she shall pay part of the Chitral expenses. In this respect I think we have got our Anglo-Indian friends with us.

Forward Military Policy

This was the last resolution passed by the Congress on this day. The next day being a Sunday, the Congress adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday the 30th December. Before adjourning however, the President was authorized amidst demonstrations of enthusiasm to send a telegram of congratulations to Mr. Gladstone on his completing his 86th year that day.

The programme of work for the third day was a very heavy one, no less than 18 resolutions being on the agenda paper, four of which were, however, only of a formal character. Before commencing the proceedings, the President made several announcements, one of which was to the effect that he has received a telegram from H. H. the Maharajah of Durbhanga, one of the staunchest supporters of the Congress, urging the Congress to take steps to perpetuate the memory of the late Pandit Ajudhyanath, the Maharaja offering to subscribe Rs. 2,000 towards the fund. Mr. Parameshvaram Pillai (Madras) was then called upon to move Resolution IX, which related to the grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa. In an able and interesting speech, Mr. Pillai described the position of Indian settlers in South Africa and the unfair and un-

justifiable manner in which all kinds of civic disabilities are being sought to be imposed upon them by the white population. Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhinji (Bombay), Mr. J. M. Samant (Sholapur) and Mr. Vithal Luxman (Gulbarga) also spoke to the resolution. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar (Berar) then moved a resolution regarding the indebtedness of Indian agriculturists, protesting against any restriction of the right of private alienation of lands by legislation as remedy against agricultural indebtedness, and advocating as such remedy a spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the present system of the revenue collections in those parts of the country where the permanent settlement did not obtain. Mr. Mudholkar warned the Government that any restriction of the right of private alienation would mean a breach of faith and a confiscation of property "so universal that the British Government, strong as it is, ought not to court the grave and wide discontent which it is sure to arouse." But this political danger is not the only objection to the course contemplated by Government. There are economic objections also against it. Mr. Mudholkar enumerates three :—(1) that it will deprive agriculturists of all credit ; (2) that it will deprive them of stimulus to work ; and (3) that it will lead to minute subdivisions. Mr. R. P. Karandikar (Satara), always a careful and well-informed speaker, seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted. The next resolution was moved by Mr. V. R. Natu (Belgaon.) It referred to the subject of interpellations in Legislative Councils, in regard to which the Congress urged that members putting questions should be allowed to preface their questions by a short explanation of the reasons for them. Mr. Natu, who spoke from personal experience as ex-member of the Bombay Legislative Council, showed clearly how the officers of Government often misunderstand intentionally or unintentionally the questions put to Government because of the absence of prefatory explanations by the interpellating members. Mr. N. V. Gokhale, always a sober and thoughtful speaker, seconding this resolution, observed :—"The right that has been given us is no doubt powerful for good ; but at the same time you find a tendency and a distinct tendency on the part of a bureaucratic Government to cut away that right by methods which I cannot help calling insidious subterfuges, and therefore it is proposed in this resolution that Government should be asked to remove the restrictions which surround the exercise of the right and that members should be given an opportunity of explaining the true meaning and scope of the questions which are put by them to Government." Mr. Sivaswamy Aiyar also spoke in support of the resolution.

Resolution XII,—a rather lengthy one, was proposed by Dr. K. N. Bahadurji (Bombay) in a long and eloquent speech. The resolution urged that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and the other for Native troops, worked on identical lines ; and

that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with a due leaning to the utilization of indigenous talent. The Congress also urged upon the attention of Government the claims and grievances of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants and Assistant Chemical Analysts. In the course of his speech, Dr. Bahadurji said :—

The system of obtaining military medical loans for the work of the civil medical department was no doubt, a necessity in the early times, but whatever its necessity then, with the rapid expansion and development of the various and special branches of the civil medical department, the military loan system ought to have stopped. Why, the military medical department wants for its own work only about half of the number of men that it lends to the civil branch! This very growth of the civil department, let alone its growing needs, pleads for its independent life and recruitment suited to its wants. And here again be it acknowledged to the lasting credit of those great and good members of the military medical service itself, who, rising superior to all considerations of mere selfish service gains, plainly and boldly said "No," when the question was directly put to them by their leader, who seemed to have more regard for the interest of his service than his science and his profession—whether they would like all medical and scientific appointments to be reserved for members of their service. Unfortunately, however their voice was not heeded and the anomalous system took birth and grew. And what has this system come to mean in these days? I will not speak to you here in my own words about it, but will speak to you in the words of Mr. Ernest Hart, an eminent authority, who, as you are all aware, has spoken them after he saw things with his own eyes, and made a personal study of the question last year in our country. "The military medical men," says Mr. Hart, "had learnt their work as army Surgeons at Netley, but what preparations had they made for the diverse duties which came within the range of the Government medical service in India? The Indian medical service man seems to be expected by Government to be fit for any post that may be vacant—he is assumed to be equally fit to be in charge of a lunatic asylum, and, in the capacity of Sanitary Commissioner, to supervise the sanitation of a province, though the chances are that he has had no special training for either post. It is a bizarre and stereotyped system under which men who are trained for work of one kind are put to work of quite another kind, and work their way up by mere seniority, with the result that not only are the responsible sanitary reports no more than mere clerks' work, telling that there was an epidemic at such and such a place, and so many people died of it, but measures of vital importance (I am still quoting Mr. Hart) to the health of the community were either neglected or imperfectly carried out." No wonder, then that he condemns the system as radically wrong, and this is no soft impeachment. Thus then, our cry that our present system of civil medical administration, embracing the departments of medical science, and education and sanitation, is not only anomalous but indefensible in principle and mischievous in practice has now come to be recognised as reasonable and well founded. (*Cheers.*)

Service of  
the Country

The resolution was seconded by the Hon. Mr. B. G. Tilak (Poona) in an effective speech delivered in Marathi and was supported by Mr. Venkat Rangaya Chetty (Madras), Dr. Nilratan Sarkar (Bengal) and Dr. B. K. Bhatava-

dekar (Bombay). A protest was next moved by the Hon. Mr. Subha Row (Madras) in an able and well-argued speech, against the Bill, to amend the Legal Practitioner's Act, then before the Supreme Legislative Council. The measure, which seriously threatened the independence of the Bar, has since been virtually abandoned and no more therefore need be said about it here. But at the time of the meeting of the Congress, the danger was considered to be a real and imminent one and vigorous speeches were made in the Congress against the Bill by the gentlemen who seconded and supported the Hon. Mr. Subha Row's motion—Ray Jyotindra Nath Choudhary (Bengal) Mr. M. V. Joshi (Berar) Munshi Madhavlal (Benares) and Mr. Chatterjee from Bengal.

Resolution XIV related to fixity of land tenure and was moved by Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay) in a powerful speech. It declared that in the interests of the country, it was necessary that there should be greater fixity in the tenure on which land was held in the temporarily settled districts and that Government should impose on its own action; in the matter of enhancing the assessments, the same restrictions that it had imposed on the rights of private landlords. In the course of his speech, Mr. Samarth mentioned certain facts to show that the condition of the agriculturists, so far from improving, was actually growing worse and worse :—

Fixity on  
tenure of  
Land.

If they are kept in view, the statistical witchery of those, who advocate increase of assessment on the ground that the agriculturists are prospering, vanishes into thin air. The facts are:—(1) the unchecked growth of population; (2) the disinclination on the part of cultivators to migrate to other districts, however congested their own districts may be; (3) their chronic condition of indebtedness; (4) the increasing exhaustion of the soil; (5) the want of capital in the hands of the landholding classes to replenish their depleted fields; (6) the lack of enterprise and of initiative power in the peasantry, as also their ignorance, as also their improvidence, which, by the way, they have in common with their rulers; (*Laughter.*) (7) the inflexibility of the revenue demand; (8) the figures of crime, which show a large increase in all seasons of scarcity, showing thereby how small really is the margin of surplus profit left in the hands of the cultivator even in favourable season; (9) the sad tale revealed by the statistics of the Registration Department, namely, the large number of transfers every year of considerable areas from the cultivator to the money-lender; (10) the artificial and arbitrary character of the system of assessment in so far as it proceeds upon the assumption that the holder of the land will realize for certain the expectations of intensive cultivation upon which the Government demand is proportioned, and in so far again as it admittedly takes no note whatever of the class to which he belongs and the pecuniary resources at his command; (11) and finally the insecurity engendered by a periodic increase of assessment and the deterrent effect it has upon agricultural improvement in general. This last matter, gentlemen, is of a very serious character, and I may say that the policy underlying it is in direct contravention of some of the Despatches of the Secretary of State from 1862 onwards.

The resolution was seconded by Ganjam Venkataratnam (Coconada) and supported by the Hon. Mr. Tilak (Poona), Mr. M. M. Chakrabattý (Bengal) Mr. Pandurang Bapuji (Berar) and Mr. Bhagirath Prasad (Nagpore).

Mr. Bhagirath Prasad (Nagpore) next called attention to the injustice done to the Central Provinces in the matter of nominating a member to the Supreme Legislative Council on their behalf, Mr. S. L. Gokhale of Nagpore seconding the resolution. Mr. Ambica Charan Mujumdar (Calcutta) entered a vigorous protest against the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the European employes of Government. The motion having received the support of Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi (Madras) Mr. P. C. Roy (Bhagalpore) and Mr. R. H. Gokhale (Baroda) was unanimously adopted. Messrs. M. R. Bodas (Bombay) and F. Rangachariar (Madras), next called the attention of the Congress to the grievances of third class Railway passengers. Mr. Venkat Ramaya Chetty (Madras), seconded by Mr. Najmudin, a Mahomedan delegate from Satara and supported by Mr. Mahadev Gangadhar (Bombay) and Mr. Deva (Kolaba), dwelt on the numerous hardships imposed upon the poorer classes of the people by an excessively rigorous Forest administration. Mr. G. K. Gekhale (Poona) advocated that the first opportunity afforded by an improvement in the finances of the country should be utilized to reduce the salt duty, as its high rate meant grievous suffering to the millions of India. Mr. Heranbo Chandra Moitra (Calcutta) moved the next resolution in a very eloquent speech. The resolution declared that it was inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn and called upon Government to increase public expenditure on all branches of education and to establish technical Schools and Colleges in the country. Among the speakers to this resolution was the Rev. Mr. Sunderland, an American gentleman who attended the Congress as a delegate from the Punjab. He spoke in very glowing terms of the Indian National Congress, the work done by it and the future lying before it and ridiculed the idea of any civilized Government contenting itself with spending only one per cent. on public education. The next resolution related to import and excise duties on Cotton goods and was proposed by Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay), who spoke with the knowledge of an expert on the subject. The Congress asked the Government of India to stand firm in its policy of levying import duties for revenue purposes—an appeal, alas! soon shown to have been made in vain. The Hon. Mr. P. Anandacharlu seconded the resolution which was supported by Mr. Tulsiram (Madras) and Mr. V. N. Apte (Poona). The next resolution—the last of those which were not merely formal—was the usual omnibus resolution, containing the views of the Congress on a number of different subjects. It was proposed by Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee (Bombay) and seconded by Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay).



Four formal resolutions were next passed. It was resolved to hold the Congress for 1896 in Calcutta. A sum of Rs. 60,000 was voted to meet the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress organ, *India*. The Congress tendered its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee for their noble work on behalf of India. The entire audience rose as this proposition was moved. Equally enthusiastic was the demonstration amidst which Mr. A. O. Hume was re-appointed General Secretary of the Congress for 1896, Mr. D. E. Wacha being appointed Joint General Secretary for work in India. A vote of thanks to the President, moved by Rao Bahadur S. B. Jatar, was also enthusiastically carried. Finally the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji rose to close the sittings of the Congress and delivered a most thrilling speech, in the course of which he spoke in appreciative terms of all those who had contributed, in one way or another, to make the Eleventh Congress a success. One name was inadvertently omitted—that of Messrs G. B. Naik & Co., who had supplied about 5,000 fans to the delegates and visitors at their own cost. At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Banerji declared the Eleventh Indian National Congress dissolved.

Thus came to an end the labours of the Eleventh Congress of the Indian people. A most brilliant success it was from every point of view. The delegates dispersed amidst hearty and enthusiastic cheers for the Queen-Empress, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and last but certainly not least Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress.

# RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

## ELEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT POONA

On the 27th, 28th, and 30th December, 1895.

### RESOLUTION I.

**Resolved**—That the draft rules in regard to the constitution and working of the Indian National Congress, as framed by the Poona Congress Committee in accordance with the resolution, in that behalf, of the last Congress, be circulated by the Poona Committee to all the Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report to the General Secretary and the Standing Counsel at least three months before the next Congress.

Constitution of  
the Congress.

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### RESOLUTION II.

**Resolved**—That this Congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, nor be of any practical advantage to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would, in all probability, yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors.

Expenditure  
Commission.

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### RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress again records its firm conviction that in view of the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country, the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army-Services and other military expenditure, Home Charges and the cost of Civil Administration; and it notices with satisfaction that expert opinion in England has now come over to the view of the Indian Parliamentary Committee that growth in military expenditure is a more potent cause of Indian financial embarrassment than the condition of exchange.

Military  
and Civil  
Expenditure.

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### RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That this Congress again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice.

Separation of Ju-  
dicial and Execu-  
tive functions.

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RESOLUTION V.

**Trial by Jury.**  
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**Resolved**—That this Congress views with alarm the constant changes that are being made and threatened on the subject of trial by Jury in this country, and, regard being had to the fact that no demand for any such change has been made by any portion of the population of British India, trusts that the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council on the subject will not be further proceeded with; and this Congress, reaffirming resolutions passed by former Congresses, also trusts that trials by Jury will be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply and that their verdicts should be final.

RESOLUTION VI.

**Liberty of the Press.**  
—

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

RESOLUTION VII.

**Simultaneous Examinations.**  
—

**Resolved**—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England.

RESOLUTION VIII.

**Forward Military Policy.**  
—

**Resolved**—That in view of the great extensions of the British power on the North-West and North-East of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by Parliament when it passed Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the forward Military policy will involve India in hopeless financial confusion.

RESOLUTION IX.

**Indian Colonists in South Africa.**  
—

**Resolved**—That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake.

**RESOLUTION X.**

**Resolved**—That, in the opinion of this Congress, any proposal to restrict the right of private alienation of lands by legislation as a remedy for the relief of agricultural indebtedness will be a most retrograde measure, and will, in its distant consequences, not only check improvement but reduce the agricultural population to a condition of still greater helplessness.— The indebtedness of the agriculturist classes arises partly from their ignorance and partly from the application of a too rigid system of fixed revenue assessments which takes little account of the fluctuating conditions of agriculture in many parts of India ; and the true remedy must be sought in the spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the present system of revenue collections in those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not obtain.

The indebtedness  
of the  
Agriculturist  
classes.

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**RESOLUTION XI.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress notes with satisfaction that the right of interpellation, vested in non-official members of the Legislative Councils, has, on the whole, been exercised in a spirit of moderation, which has secured the approval of the authorities here and in England ; and the Congress, being of opinion that the practical utility of interpellations would be greatly enhanced, if the members putting them were allowed to preface their questions by a short explanation of the reasons for them, urges that the right to make such explanations ought to be granted.

Right of  
Interpellation.

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**RESOLUTION XII.**

**Resolved**—(a) That this Congress notices with satisfaction that its views in regard to the urgency and lines of reform in regard to the condition of the Civil and Military Medical Services of the country are being endorsed in influential Medical and Military circles, and that in the interests of the public, Medical Science and the profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, this Congress once again affirms ( 1 ) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and the other for native troops, worked on identical lines ; ( 2 ) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection, and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with a due leaning to the utilisation of indigenous talent, other things being equal.

Medical Service

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(b) That this Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require thorough and open inquiry with a view to the redressing of long standing anomalies and consequent grievances ; and the Congress notices with regret that in their recent scheme of the reorganisation of the Chemical Analyser's department, the oft-admitted claims of Assistant Chemical Analysers have been apparently overlooked by Government.

**RESOLUTION XIII.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress, while fully sympathising with any genuine effort which the Government may make for the suppression of law-touts, views with grave alarm those provisions of the Bill to amend the Legal Practitioners' Act, now pending

Suppression of  
Law-touts.

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the consideration of the Supreme Legislative Council, which propose to invest District Judges and Revenue Commissioners with the power of dismissing legal practitioners and, in cases coming under the Act, to throw the entire burden of proving their innocence upon the latter ; and this Congress, being of opinion that the provisions of the Bill are calculated to prejudicially affect the independence of the Bar and to lower the position of legal practitioners in the eyes of the public without, in any way, helping to suppress law-touts or to further the ends of justice, urges that it should be dropped.

#### RESOLUTION XIV.

Land Question.  
—

**Resolved.**—That this Congress express its firm conviction that in the interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that there should be greater fixity in the tenure on which land is held in the temporarily settled districts than exists at present, and that Government should impose on its own action restrictions against enhancement of assessment similar to those which it has deemed necessary in the interests of tenants to impose upon the rights of private landlords in permanently settled estates.

#### RESOLUTION XV.

Central Provinces  
and the Supreme  
Legislative  
Council.  
—

**Resolved.**—That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy that the Government of India have this time followed in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking Local Bodies to make recommendations for such nomination and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the N. W. Provinces.

#### RESOLUTION XVI.

Exchange  
Compensation.  
—

**Resolved.**—That this Congress repeats its protest of the last two years against the grant of Exchange Compensation allowance to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving now an annual expenditure of over a crore and a half of rupees.

#### RESOLUTION XVII.

Third Class  
Railway  
Passengers.  
—

**Resolved.**—That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for recognising the grievances of third class Railway Passengers, from whom the largest portion of railway revenue is derived, in their recent resolutions on the subject, desires to express its hope that Government will take effective steps to bring about an early redress of those grievances.

#### RESOLUTION XVIII.

Forest  
Grievances.  
—

**Resolved.**—That this Congress is of opinion that the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of forest subordinates in various ways, which have led to much discontent throughout the country. The objects of forest conservancy, as announced in the resolution of 1894, are declared to be not to secure the largest revenue but to conserve the forests in the interest chiefly of the agricultural

classes and of their cattle. The existing set of rules subordinate the latter consideration to the former and an amendment of the rules with a view to correct this mischief is, in the opinion of the Congress, urgently called for.

### RESOLUTION XIX.

**Resolved**—That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Secretary of State for India for his promise of September last to take an early opportunity to reduce the Salt Duty, and, concurring with previous Congresses, once more places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of salt taxation imposes upon the poorest classes of the country—a hardship which renders it incumbent on Government to take the first opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

Salt Duty.  
—

### RESOLUTION XX.

**Resolved**—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn, or that fees in educational institutions, wholly or partially supported by the State, should be increased, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

Public Education.  
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### RESOLUTION XXI.

**Resolved**—That this Congress is of opinion that the objection taken by Lancashire manufacturers to the exemption of Indian yarns below 20s from excise duty is not well-founded, and trusts that the Government of India will stand firm in its policy of levying import duties for revenue purposes, as such levy does not conflict in any way with principles of free trade.

Cotton Duties.  
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### RESOLUTION XXII.

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

Omnibus  
Resolution.  
—

- (a) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand rupees ;
- (b) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch, published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages ;
- (c) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (d) The taking of immediate steps to improve the lot of the poorer classes in India, fully fifty millions of the population—a number yearly increasing, dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and several millions actually perishing, in every decade, by starvation ;
- (e) 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;

- (f) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army;
- (g) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of military service;
- (h) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India;
- (i) The regulation of the imposition of the Water-cess by certain defined principles, affording security to the rights of land-owners and of persons investing money in land.

#### RESOLUTION XXIII.

British  
Committee Grant.

**Resolved.**—That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "India," and also for the expenses of the Joint-General Secretary's office, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1896.

#### RESOLUTION XXIV.

Vote of thanks to  
the British  
Committee.

**Resolved.**—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

#### RESOLUTION XXV.

Appointments of  
General and  
Joint-General  
Secretaries.

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

#### RESOLUTION XXVI.

Meeting place of  
the 12th  
Congress.

**Resolved.**—That the Twelfth Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day 1896, as may be later determined upon, at Calcutta.

**SURENDRANATH BANERJEE.**

*President of the Eleventh Indian National Congress.*

POONA,  
30th December, 1895.

DETAILED  
Report of the Proceedings  
OF THE  
Eleventh Indian National Congress,  
HELD AT  
POONA

On the 27th, 28th, and 30th December, 1895.

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FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first sitting of the Congress commenced at 2 P. M., on Friday the 27th December 1895.

First Day.

RAO BAHADUR V. M. BHIDE, in opening the proceedings, said :—

Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Reception Committee, I beg to welcome you all most cordially. I am a very old man and with your permission I will ask my friend, Professor Gokhale, to read my address for me.

Chairman of  
Reception Com-  
mittee's Address.

MR. G. K. GOKHALE then read the address which was as follows :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

On behalf of the Reception Committee and the general public of this Presidency, I offer to you all a most cordial welcome to this ancient and historical city, where we have now met under this roof to inaugurate the sittings of the 11th session of the Indian National Congress. There is a peculiar propriety in our meeting together here on this occasion. Such of you, as have been privileged to labour in this great national cause for the last 10 years and more, know full well that it was in Poona that our General Secretary first discussed the scheme of the National Congress with his native friends, (*Cheers*) and it was in this city that its first sitting was to have taken place in December 1885. Untoward circumstances, however, interfered with that arrangement, and at the eleventh hour the meeting had to be transferred to Bombay. After having completed its first cycle of ten years' existence, the Congress now enters upon a fresh cycle of another ten years of useful activity, as a great instrument of political education, welding together all the various races and creeds of India into a great and glorious whole, destined under Providence to take its rank among the foremost nations of the



First Day.

Chairman of  
Reception Com-  
mittee's Address.

world. (*Cheers*). The welding process is always a work of time, and implies a long course of heating and hammering and this process of heating and hammering has to be repeated times out of number, before the union is completed. The hammering is done for us under Providence by great extraneous agencies, represented by the supremacy of a militant civilization and literature which will allow us no rest and no seclusion from the outside world, but will force us to take our place in the race of material improvement, in which it deservedly occupies the foremost position. Not all the hammering in the world, however, can accomplish the full results of the welding process, unless it is accompanied by a responsive generation of internal heat, without which the outside forces would only splinter us to pieces, as has been unfortunately the case in many other parts of the world, where old civilizations have crumbled down and never learnt to raise their head again. Even in our own days, in these last years of the 19th century, we have before us the spectacle of a great Mahomedan power in Europe and a great Mongolian power in Asia unable to retain their places from sheer inability to generate the heat, without which the outside influences can never work to any good account. A hundred years ago, the city, where we now meet, was the centre of a Native confederacy of powers, which held together the whole continent of India from the foot of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from Dwarka in the West to Cuttack in the East, (*Cheers*) and appeared at one time well able to dispute on equal terms the place of supremacy with the great European power which had established itself in the lower Gangetic Valley and on the Coromandel Coast. You all know what change a hundred years have effected. The moral union among even the stronger races that inhabit India was of such a loose and unorganised character that it gave way at all points when the struggle commenced in right earnest. If after a hundred years we had stood in no better position than we did then in regard to these moral forces which tend to union and strength in union, our condition would be hopeless indeed. Fortunately for us, our affairs have been entrusted to the safe keeping of a power which has won a world-wide reputation as the mother of great nations and the liberator of mankind. Brought up under such a discipline, which, while it strikes, strikes gently and lends its helping hand to all who aspire to rise again, we have benefited by the education that we receive and by the material civilization which annihilates time and distance, and brings us together to feel a common interest in our own elevation under the vivifying influence of a literature and a history, the like of which the world has not known in the past for its triumphs in the emancipation of mankind. (*Loud Cheers*). The meetings of this Congress represent the highest triumph of the influences that have been at work for fifty years and more and it is for us to respond to this noble call in a way worthy of the place we occupy in the world's history. (*Loud applause.*)

I know there are those among our critics who dispute the truth of this position and proclaim with an air of superior wisdom that India is but a geographical expression and that there is no Indian nation as such, but only a congeries of nations, races and creeds, who have no cohesion in them and are only prevented from throttling each other by the fear of the Pax Britannica which rules over us all. At times indeed we do present in our internal quarrels about trifles a humiliating spectacle which provokes this scorn and ridicule of nations better circumstanced than ourselves. But I feel that with the magnificent spectacle we now see before us, you will agree with me in thinking that these temporary aberrations do not represent our true condition, and that the races and creeds in India have learnt to love and respect each other, and to work together for their common elevation. Here in this gathering we have representatives from the most distant provinces, Bengal, Assam, Punjab, N. W. Provinces, Rajputana, Sindh, Gujarath, Maharastra, Carnatic, Telangan, and the Dravid country. Nobody forces us to come together from all these distant places, and nothing but a common spark of heavenly fire could animate so many of the best and noblest of the land to sacrifice time, money and convenience and testify by their presence in these gatherings from year to year that they are determined to forget all their differences and do all that is in their power to build up the great Indian

Nation, which has been their aspiration by day and dream by night, and which, if not fulfilled before their eyes, will certainly be accomplished in the near future. (*Cheers.*) All the elements which go to make a common united nation are now present with us; a common political citizenship, a common loyalty to the Queen-Empress, (*Loud Applause*) a community of interests, under the influence of which no part can thrive or suffer without the whole sharing in the prosperity or misfortune, and a common language and literature which binds us morally and spiritually together and connects us with the wider world outside. Differences of race and creed there still exist, but they are getting more and more tolerant of each other, less and less angular every day, and it is the function of the National Congress, its chief and most glorious function, to induce in all the electric current of enlightenment, which will hasten the union and make it strong to bear the strain which time may place upon it. (*Cheers*) The watch-word of the Congress-men is Indians first, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Christians, Panjabees, Mahrattas, Bengalees, and Madrasees afterwards. (*Cheers*) It is for us by the moderation and business-like character of our deliberations, by our mutual toleration of each other's feelings and prejudices, to justify in act and word the hopes and aspirations of those, who, in the not distant future, seek to realise the dream of a united and federated India, resting secure in its loyal dependence on the great British Nation and able to lead the nations of Asia in the path of progressive advancement in all directions of human activity. (*Cheers*)

First Day.

Chairman of  
Reception Com-  
mittee's Address.

I have said that the welding process is a process of hard hammering and heating. We should not delude ourselves with the thought that things will be made easy for us and that we could enter upon this new inheritance until we are regenerated, and our sins in the past have been washed out in the tears that burn with repentance. Our whole nature has to be purified and elevated by constant struggles with injustice in ourselves and others. Many people among us do not sufficiently realise how hard this struggle is naturally bound to be. They seem to imagine that we can pass from the old world to the new, pass from the dominion of custom and status to one of individual freedom and responsibility, from a fond clinging to the past to an earnest confidence in the future, from obedience to force to an appreciation of self-imposed law, in fact from a narrow cast-iron type of life to a freer and more liberalised form of existence, without budging an inch or sacrificing anything. The sooner they abandon visions such as these, the better will it be for them and for us all. There will be struggles, our consciences accusing and excusing night and day, castes and creeds in conflict with one another in endless directions. Such struggles are inevitable and people who are put out by the first signs of such differences are not the men from whom we can expect success in such high tasks. The process of fusion always requires and develops a great amount of heat. The heat of controversy is only a form of such struggle for self-improvement. Already the struggle has commenced in earnest, and though it is a most unpleasant experience to those who have to take part in it, we have to reconcile ourselves to its inevitable necessity. Compromises and adjustments are practical lessons which can only be learnt usefully and become parts of our second nature,—habit—when we are earnestly engaged in a war of principle. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is not for me to enter more into the history of our recent experiences in Poona. I can, however, assure you, brother-delegates, that if the struggle was keener here than elsewhere, it was due to the fact that on both sides there was an earnest desire to make this Congress gathering as great a success as any that preceded it. (*Cheers*) How far we have succeeded in giving you all a cordial welcome, and providing for your comforts and conveniences is more than I can say at present with confidence. This much is certain that this gathering of delegates is one of the largest that have hitherto taken place. (*Cheers*) We see assembled here the representatives of all the races, classes and creeds that inhabit this vast country. They come from all provinces and I can only hope that our actual success in the arrangements adopted here will not fall far short of what we desire.

First Day.

Chairman of  
Reception Com-  
mittee's Address.

The last Congress gave a commission to the Poona Committee to frame a draft constitution which will give some stability to our organisation and provide for its permanence. The Committee have accordingly prepared such a draft. I trust it will receive due consideration at the hands of this Congress. The necessity for some written code like this is becoming every day more and more apparent and it is hoped that our labours in this respect will commend themselves to you all.

Our Mahomedan friends in this town have, as in some other places, held aloof, but it is a matter of great satisfaction to us to find that this organized attempt to stand aloof is entirely confined to this city, and that the Mahomedans of other places have more or less cordially co-operated with their Hindu brethren in this national work. (*Applause*) Even our local Mahomedan friends, who have held aloof, have found it necessary to formulate their reasons for so doing. This is a welcome change, as it makes the question not one of feeling but one of reasonableness, with which argument is possible, and further discussion may lead to a change of conviction. It is urged by our Poona Mahomedan friends that the Congress does not represent adequately all the races of India. This statement is itself a great concession, because the fact of representation is not denied, but the question is narrowed to a consideration of its adequacy. The proportions are not certainly adequate in regard to the population test, but judged by the test of the spread of English education, the adequacy will not seem to be very far from the true numbers. Besides what defect exists in this respect will be most satisfactorily removed by Mahomedans sending more representatives to the Congress. The second reason assigned is difficult to deal with. Even the bitterest enemies of the Congress do not now venture to question the honesty of the motives which lead so many men from all provinces to cast in their lot with its success. Its wisdom has been questioned. Its practical usefulness might be improved, but there is only one opinion now that it is an honest, spontaneous, native Indian effort to co-operate loyally with the British rulers of the land, by setting forth the non-official view on all the great questions of the day which engage public attention. Great British statesmen have always been anxious to see such an organization spring up in the land. Lord Ripon (*Loud and Prolonged Cheers*) paved the way for it by his local and municipal reforms. Lord Lansdowne assigned a distinct constitutional function to the Congress. It is not necessary, therefore, to dwell further on this reason which has been assigned by our Mahomedan friends in justification of their position. The third reason has more force in it. But every year the Congress programme of work has shown improvement on its practical side, and the leading Bombay organs have especially noted this feature, as a hopeful characteristic of this year's work. The note and the resolutions issued by the Reception Committee will be the best answer to this charge that we can give for the present. The fourth reason assigned is that the Congress is not important enough to deal satisfactorily with the subjects it takes up. This is, however, a defect for which the responsibility is on other shoulders. It rests with the Government to utilise this vast force of public opinion, and I feel sure a day will come when such a recognition will be cordially extended to it. The rulers in the land have recognized its value by undertaking some of the reforms which it has striven for. They no doubt are waiting to see that it strikes its roots deeper in the soil, and when they recognize it as a part of their deliberative machinery, the Congress will naturally be enabled to claim the full measure of the importance to which its title at present may, to some, appear inadequate. The fifth reason assigned is one, which, in our opinion, calls for no answer. The Congress meets and deliberates from a faith in the capacity and willingness of Government to do all that it can to promote the material prosperity, and raise the general condition of the people of India. If this were not its faith, it would not meet from year to year. If it meets as it has been doing, it is because it wishes to co-operate with Government in this work. (*Hear, hear.*) The question is not what Government is doing, but how we respond to the call it makes on us. If Govern-

ment errs, it errs from ignorance, from want of touch with the people, from differences of language, race and creed, from variations in its stand-point, which cannot be the stand-point of the millions under its rule. It is to supply this want that it becomes the duty of the people to organise themselves and give voice to public opinion. The last argument of an appeal to the Koran is an argument which begs the whole question at issue (*Laughter*) and the Mahomedans of other parts have shown by their attendance here that they do not desire to transfer their responsibility for inaction in the matter to their scriptures. (*Cheers*) These explanations, it is hoped, will satisfy our Musalman friends in Poona that their position is untenable, and will secure more sympathetic action on their part in future. (*Cheers*)

First Day.  
—  
Chairman of  
Reception Com-  
mittee's Address.  
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The large number of delegates that have attended this gathering, the fact that a small city like ours has been able to undertake this national work which has taxed the energies of much larger presidency towns, the earnestness, which, notwithstanding our differences, has animated the people of the Deccan to put forth all their energies, the desire on the part of our Mahomedan friends to take their stand on argument and not merely on feeling—these are elements of hope and satisfaction. The ideas represented by the Congress programme must filter from the higher to the lower strata of society, and the lead that Poona has taken in this matter justifies the hope that Patna and Lucknow, Benares and Cawnpore, Delhi and Amritsar, Ahmedabad and Karachi, will now come to the relief of the presidency towns, which alone have till now borne this great annual charge. More satisfactory than all these elements of hope and progress—considered from the standpoint of the success of the present session—is, however, the choice that we have made this year for the office of the President of the 11th Congress. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji (*Loud Cheers*) joins in himself all that is good and enlightened in young and in old India. He is pre-eminently a man of work, working in a profession which is the peculiar privilege of the Brahmin community to which he belongs, (*Cheers*) and working at it with a zeal and energy that has won for him the foremost place in the heart of what may well be called the hope and blossom of coming years,—the hearts of many thousands of students in all parts of the country. He has been a Congress-man ever since its birth, and he has laboured for it both day and night, both here and in England, with a success that is borne witness to, by the approval of the entire nation. Under such guidance, this year's session is bound to be a conspicuous success. (*Loud Applause*)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am now an old man past three score years and ten, the allotted span of human life. I remember the time when English education first commenced in this city, and I was one of the first recipients of that education. Fifty years have since then passed, and during all these years, I have tried to be an humble worker in all fields of progressive activity. I feel I have not lived in vain, when I see before me the dream of my younger years realized in being privileged to take part in such an assemblage as this. Ladies and gentlemen, I now request you to proceed with the formal election of your President. (*Loud and Prolonged Cheers*)

RAO BAHADUR V. M. BHIDE, again rising, said :—

Now, Gentlemen, it is left for you to select your President and proceed with the business of the Congress.

The HON'BLE MR. P. ANANDA CHARLU said :—

Brethren, the Chairman of the Reception Committee has already announced to you who is to be the Chairman or President and also told you everything that need be said to recommend him to your consideration and he wound up by saying that you are to make a formal election of that President so decided upon. If, gentlemen, anybody is fitted to be President of an assembly like

Election of  
President.  
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First Day.

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Election of  
President.  
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this, the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee is undoubtedly that person. ( *Cheers* ) He has been a prominent member of the Congress ever since its birth, and as I have before said, if any one is qualified to fill the chair, to guide the wisdom of an assembly of this description, it is he who combines in himself the most stirring eloquence, the most untiring zeal, the deepest earnestness and incessant activity. ( *Cheers* ) Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee is in that respect the fittest person and one whose name you may justly receive with acclamation. ( *Cheers* ) There is, I believe, something fitting in my coming forward to make this proposition today, because I am the past master of all those present here—in fact the immediate past master but one. The immediate past master was one whom I had requested to give way, because he happens to belong to the same Province out of which the President-Elect comes. Therefore, gentlemen, I have never enjoyed a greater pleasure in performing the duty of a past master than I do now in proposing for your acceptance the name of Surendra Nath Bannerjee. ( *Cheers* ) I purposely omit the little prefix—I mean the Honourable—which has been put to his name but which does not add anything to him. Over again I ask you to accept his name with acclamation. ( *Loud Cheers* )

DR. K. N. BAHADURJEE, in seconding the proposition, said :—

Mr. Chairman and brother delegates: I feel highly honoured indeed in being called upon to second the proposal for the election of our President. Under different circumstances I should have felt diffident and nervous in rising to speak to a proposition for the formal election of the President of our national assembly. But Surendra Nath Bannerjee is a name to conjure with, to be sure. To mention the very name is to call forth one's best conceptions of self-sacrifice, devotion to duty, love for one's country, gifted oratory, and last but not least, fortitude, patience, and perseverance which spell success. I need hardly illustrate these noble and distinguishing qualities of the honourable gentleman by reference to incidents in his remarkable life; so well-known he is to you all. But there is just an incident or two that I should like to mention and that ought to be remembered by every true patriot and worker for one's fellowmen. Though steeped in grief at a heavy family bereavement, Surendra Nath Bannerjee did not allow his fortitude and his spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty to forsake him. On the very day of his heavy loss he attended and addressed a meeting called to promote the country's cause, and but for his moving eloquence, the meeting would not have been the success that it was. ( *Cheers* ) And again his intense love for our Congress impelled him as if by special grace and will of Providence to attend the Calcutta Congress at a time when he was actually lying prostrate with high fever. When we remember his many and magnificent services to the country, whether in connection with municipal government, or as a sober and well-informed journalist, or as a chosen representative of the people in the Legislative Council, or as an illustrious delegate to England to plead for India before the bar of the British public who were, as once it was said, electrified by his oratory, or as a devoted instructor of Indian youth, or as a most indispensable worker in the Congress cause or in the cause of our reformed Legislative Councils, it cannot but call forth our admiration and affection for the man and fill us today with joy and gratulation that we shall have the honour and high privilege of being presided over and guided in our deliberations by a real man of the people whom the country delighteth to honour. ( *Cheers* ) It goes without saying that the born leader of the people that he is and familiar as he is with the work of many a Council Chamber, he will make a most capable and successful President of this our country's Council Chamber. I beg, therefore, formally to second the proposition that the Hon. Surendra Nath Bannerjee do preside over this our 11th Indian National Congress, and I doubt not that you will accept this proposal with joy and enthusiasm. ( *Cheers* )

Mr. MUDHOLKAR, in supporting the proposition, said:—

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in response to the call which the management have made upon me to support the nomination of Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee to preside over our deliberations, which has been made by my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu, I am sure no elaborate advocacy is required on my part. Mr. Bannerjee is a man who is from the people, he is of the people, and he is thus eminently fitted to preside over this Congress in the name of the people. I have had the advantage, which I believe many of his friends outside Bengal have not, of hearing his eloquence in an assembly almost as large as this and I can testify to the great command he has over the English language and to the power he has in making himself heard. I have seen him address an audience, where by his eloquence he has made men who came to curse remain to bless. He has not only the gift of eloquence, he is not only one of the best platform-orators we have in India, but perhaps one of the best that the English nation possesses. ( Cheers ) But what is more, he is a man who has an undying love for his country and he has shown not by mere word of mouth but by action that he has the greatest love for his country. What his services are has been spoken to by Dr. Bahadurjee and I need not go over the same ground again. All I will say is that knowing the gifts he possesses and the great claim he has on our gratitude, I think, we cannot confer a greater honour upon ourselves than by electing him unanimously as President of this Eleventh Session of the National Congress. ( Loud Applause )

The proposition having been carried by acclamation, Rao Bahadur Bhide installed the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee in the chair, after which Mr. Ghosal placed round the President's neck a garland of unique design, presented by Bai Laxmibai.

The President, who was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, then rose to deliver his inaugural address. He said :

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you heartily for electing me as President of this Congress. I can conceive of no higher honor—no loftier trust—no more exalted dignity—than that to which you have summoned me by your united suffrages. The highest reward which in these days a public man may receive, next to the approbation of his own conscience, is the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. For him what higher mark of honor or what nobler incentive to duty could there be than his election as the President of an assembly like this, which is the non-official Parliament of his nation? But great as the honor is, far higher is the responsibility which belongs to it. It is a part of the divine arrangement that where there is a privilege there is also a corresponding duty. Your President is not only your speaker; he is something more. It is his duty to maintain order, to regulate your proceedings and to facilitate the despatch of your business. Having regard to the magnitude of this assembly, this in itself would make a heavy demand upon the resources, physical and mental, of the strongest and the ablest among us. But your President has other duties imposed upon him. During the three days that the Congress is in session he is your spokesman, your organ, the right arm of your strength. He voices forth the spirit which animates you in your deliberations, the temper which guides you in the solemn and arduous task which lies before you. One may well stagger at a responsibility so vast and so many-sided; but your forbearance and generosity is the saving element in the situation. The moment you induct any one into this chair—the moment you instal him in his office—from that moment you accord him in an unstinted measure your sympathy and your support. You forgive him his faults—you overlook his mistakes—you help him in his task—and you send him forth to his work, with your prayers and your benedictions. It has been truly remarked that the manner in which people conduct themselves at a public meeting is

First Day.

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President.

President's Ad-  
dress.

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some evidence of their capacity for self-government. Judged by this test you are past-masters in the art. (*Cheers*) For I know of no assembly more orderly in its conduct, more deferential to constituted authority, more firm in its adherence to its programme and yet withal more moderate in the expression thereof than these yearly gatherings of the National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) Nay more, weak as your President may be, he and the Congress are supported by an unseen force of immense potency. The good wishes of the educated community follow us. They are present in spirit, if not present in body. They are watching our deliberations with intense interest. They pour forth their hearts' prayer for the success of our work. (*Loud Cheers*)

The Congress has found a place in the Hindu pantheon.

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I was not a little amused and interested to read in an English newspaper the other day a statement to the effect that the women of my Province had idolized the Congress, and that it had duly found its place in the Hindu pantheon. The fact is laid hold of by the writer as evidence of the superstition and ignorance of the people and their incapacity for representative institutions. I was not aware that any responsible Congressman had ever asked for representative institutions for our women or for the masses of our people. However much we may love and respect our ladies, we do not think they are yet qualified for representative government. They are not even supposed to be qualified in England. Our demand is much more limited. We should be satisfied if we obtain representative institutions of a modified character for the educated community who by reason of their culture and enlightenment, their assimilation of English ideas and their familiarity with English methods of Government might be presumed to be qualified for such a boon. But it would be useless to traverse the statement or the inference which is sought to be deduced from it. It would be almost cruel to dissipate the little romance which has gathered round our great movement. But this I will say on your behalf, that god or no god, whether the Congress has found a place in the Hindu pantheon or not it is enshrined in the hearts of the educated community of India—it excites their deepest reverence, stirs their most earnest enthusiasm—it is the god of their idolatry—it is indissolubly bound up with and forms part and parcel of the life of New India. (*Loud and Prolonged Cheers*)

The Meeting at Poona.

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In addressing you on this occasion it is impossible not to advert for a moment to the circumstance of the Congress being held at Poona. This is the first time the Congress assembles in this great historical city. It was purely an accident that deprived Poona of the honor of being the birth-place of the Congress. The first Congress was to have been held here, but sickness broke out in the city, and the *venue* had to be changed to Bombay. But though deprived of this honor by an untoward accident, your citizens and the people of the Deccan at large have had a great hand in the up-building of the Congress. Nearly two centuries ago your ancestors built up an Empire which contended with Britain for supremacy in India. But those days of strife are past and gone. If war has its victories, peace also has her triumphs; and this Congress will remain to you and to those who have worked with you as a monument of your energy and of your devotion to the country in these times, when the triumphs of peace are the most enduring.

It would be mere affectation on my part were I to ignore those events which preceded the session of the Congress at Poona, and which for a time at least filled the public mind of India with alarm and anxiety. I am a stranger to your local politics and your local feeling. I have no right to judge. I have not the means to judge. Who am I that I should judge? But spectators sometimes see more of the game than the actual players. And this I will venture to say that those who were in favour of the Social Conference being held in the *Pandal* and those who were opposed to it were all animated by one common sentiment of devotion to the Congress movement. They differed in their methods. We who stand outside your local controversies, while we sympathise with the deep-seated convictions of all parties and admire the noble sacrifice

which the Secretary of the Conference has made to restore amity and concord, must ask you to exercise mutual charity, and forbearance to forget and to forgive, and to unite in one common effort to make this Congress, worthy of the best traditions of the Congress, worthy of the capital of *Maharashtra*, and an example to all future Congresses. In this connection I cannot help expressing my sense of admiration at the conciliatory attitude so strikingly displayed by Mr. Justice Ranade, Secretary of the Social Conference, at a critical stage in history of the controversy to which I have referred. It averted a crisis which might have proved disastrous to the best interests of the Congress. The Congress owes a heavy debt of gratitude to Mr. Justice Ranade.

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We cannot afford to have a schism in our camp. Already they tell us that it is a Hindu Congress, although the presence of our Mahomedan friends completely contradicts the statement. Let it not be said that this is the Congress of one social party rather than that of another. It is the Congress of united India, of Hindus and Mahomedans, of Christians, of Parsees and of Sikhs, of those who would reform their social customs and those who would not. Here we stand upon a common platform—here we have all agreed to bury our social and religious differences, and recognise the one common fact that being subjects of the same Sovereign and living under the same Government and the same political institutions, we have common rights and common grievances. And we have called forth this Congress into existence with a view to safe-guard and extend our rights and redress our grievances. What should we say of a Faculty of Doctors who fell out, because though in perfect accord as to the principles of their science, they could not agree as to the age at which they should marry their daughters, or whether they should re-marry their widowed daughters or not.

The Congress of  
United India.

The Congress has now been in existence for eleven years. We have not as yet got a written constitution, though, I hope, we shall provide ourselves with one before we separate. But there has grown around us a body of usages, the unwritten customary law of the Congress, which govern our movement. If there is one principle more than another, which is uniformly accepted, and universally assented to, it is this—that no matter what differences of opinion may exist among us as regards religious beliefs or social usages, they shall be no bar to our acting together in Congress—they shall not be permitted to interrupt the cordiality of our relations as Congressmen. Never was the truth of this remark more strikingly illustrated than in connection with the agitation on the Consent Bill. Congressmen and Congress-leaders arrayed themselves on opposite sides. Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, whose ill-health we all deplore, and who if he were better would probably have occupied the chair which I so unworthily fill, (No! No!) strenuously opposed the Bill; our great leader, Mr. Allan Hume, was as strenuously in favour of it. Our political opponents fanned the flames. They looked forward to an approaching schism. They were disappointed. We rapidly closed our ranks. This controversy took place in the early part of 1891: the Congress of 1891 held at Nagpur was as successful as any of the previous Congresses had been. Ours is a political and not a social movement; and it cannot be made a matter of complaint against us that we are not a social organization any more than it can be urged against any of my lawyer friends that they are not doctors. Even in regard to political matters, such is our respect for the opinions of minorities, that so far back as 1887, I think it was at the instance of Mr. Budruddin Tyabji, who once was our President and whose elevation to the Bench of the Bombay High Court is a matter of national congratulation a resolution was passed to the effect that where there is practical unanimity among a class, though in a minority in the Congress, that a question should not be discussed, it should forthwith be abandoned. We who show such great respect for the opinions of others deserve at least an equal measure of consideration from all, be they friends or

The unwritten  
Law of the  
Congress.



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Special danger to which an organization like the Congress is exposed.

There is a special danger to which an organization such as ours, is exposed and which must be guarded against. In the days of its infancy, when it is persecuted and reviled, the members stand fast together, their cohesion is great, and the compactness of the organization is in proportion to the pressure of adverse circumstances brought to bear upon it. But when these days are past and gone, when the sun of prosperity begins to shine upon it, when the prestige of victory comes to be associated with its honored name, when opposition has dwindled down to the proportions of an occasional and feeble protest, uttered by some journalist who is not abreast of the times and who has not perhaps forgotten his old love for the movement, then we are confronted with the danger of there being developed from within the seeds of dissension and dispute. Relieved from the pressure of adverse circumstances, the cohesion of the members is apt to grow less, their enthusiasm to cool and the consistency of the organization to give way to the demoralizing influence of success.

I am sure we have not yet arrived at that stage. We are still exposed to the taunts and jeers of our opponents—we are still regarded as a set of impracticable people whose knowledge of all things, specially of finance, leaves much room for improvement. Our progress though satisfactory, considering our opportunities and the short time we have been in existence as an organization, is insignificant when compared with what we have yet to achieve before we reach the goal of our aspirations, the promised land of equal freedom and of equal rights with British subjects, which has ever been the dream of Congress leaders, and which when realized will constitute, in the words of the late Sir Madhava Row, the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to British rule. Having regard to our achievements in the past, the possibilities which unfold themselves in the future, and the trust we have assumed to safeguard and extend the sphere of our rights, we should be false to ourselves if we did not stand shoulder to shoulder, forgetful of all differences, in the one common endeavour to uphold the national interests as represented by the Congress.

**Constitution of the Congress.**

This leads me to the question of the constitution of the Congress. Having regard to recent events we must accord to it the fore-front place—the place of honor—in our debates. I have referred to the usages, the unwritten law, of the Congress. It must be admitted that the time has come when we must clearly define these usages, and accord to them the deliberate and authoritative sanction of the Congress. The need of a constitution was felt very early in the history of our movement. We are fighting a constitutional battle, and it was felt that we should place our organisation upon a constitutional basis. So far back as the year 1887 at the third session of the Congress held at Madras, the very first Resolution that was passed was a Resolution appointing a Committee to draft a set of rules to be laid before the Congress on the last day of its sitting. I will read to you the Resolution :—

“ That a Committee be appointed consisting of the gentlemen marginally enumerated to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the institution and working of the Congress with instructions to report thereon on the 30th instant.”

In accordance with this resolution the Committee reported on the 30th December, and a resolution was passed to the effect that the rules be circulated to the Standing Congress Committees who were to work on them so far as practicable, and to report thereon to the next Congress. Let me reproduce the text of the Resolution.

“ That the rules drafted by the Committee appointed under resolution—stand over for consideration till next Congress, but that in the meantime copies be circulated to all Standing Congress Committees with the request that they will during the coming year act in accordance

with these rules so far as they may seem to them possible and desirable, and report thereon to the next Congress with such further suggestions as to them may seem meet."

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I regret to have to say that the matter was not reported to the next Congress which met at Allahabad and was not considered by them. It was not considered till 1894 at the Madras Congress of last year. In 1893 when the Congress met at Lahore, a strongly-felt wish was expressed in favour of providing the Congress with a constitution without further loss of time. It was, I think, those good and self-sacrificing men connected with the Anglo-Vedic College who urged upon us the need of a constitution. They pointed to their own great College as evidence of what might be done by organised effort proceeding upon a constitutional basis. Nothing however was done in 1893. It was too late to discuss the question. In 1894 at the last session of the Congress held in Madras, the matter was again considered when the following Resolution was passed :—

"That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage and the like, and with this view the Congress requests the Standing Committee of Poona to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their report; these reports together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for consideration."

The Poona Committee have, I understand, at the last moment drawn up a body of rules which they have circulated to the Congress Committees. The Standing Congress Committees have not considered these rules and the reports are not before us. I have not the smallest desire to excuse the Standing Congress Committees elsewhere at the expense of the Poona Committee. They might easily have moved in the matter and appealed to the Poona Committee; but they took no action—they slept over the matter. I think we must all share the responsibility of this tardy action on the part of the Poona Committee. We are never tired of reminding the Government of their broken promises. The one charge which we urge against the Government—which we repeat *ad nauseam*,—which we re-iterate in season and out of season, is that they have made large promises which they have only inadequately redeemed, and that the measure of their performances falls short of the measure of their promises. Are we not in all conscience amenable to the same charge? We have more than once solemnly undertaken to provide the Congress with a constitution. More than once have we broken this promise. Our declarations are a dead letter. We have not carried them out. But it is no use lamenting over the past. Let the dead past bury their dead. Let us retrieve the mistakes and omissions of the past. Let us, before we separate, have a few well-defined rules which will embody existing practice and obviate future difficulties. We may follow the precedent set by the Madras Congress of 1887; appoint a committee to frame rules on the first day with instructions to report on or before the last day of the Congress. We need not circulate these rules to the Standing Congress Committees. That is the old plea for inaction. We shall not have any rules at all if we are to repeat the hapless experiment of former years. Nor need our rules be like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, rigid and inflexible, admitting of no change, no modification. If we find any rule working badly, there is nothing to prevent our changing it. I earnestly appeal to you, brother-delegates, as a fellow-worker and an old Congress-man to apply yourselves to this task. It will be evidence of your practical wisdom, of your ready recognition of public opinion, and of your capacity to adapt yourselves to the environments of your situation. A Congress with a constitution would be far more potent for good than a Congress without a constitution. A representative body, like the Congress, organized upon a constitutional basis, cannot long exist by the side of a bureaucratic Government without powerfully in-

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—

fluencing it for good. A Congress with a constitution would be the living protest of the educated community against a form of administration, where the will of the few and not the voice of the many prevails.

**The triumphs of  
the Congress.**  
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From the consideration of the constitution of the Congress we pass on to discuss the constitution of the Government of this country; and as in our own case, so also here, much remains to be done. At this stage, and standing upon the vantage-ground we happen to occupy, we may pause for a moment to take a brief retrospect of the past, if only to derive from it the inspiration and guidance for the future. The illustrious men—I feel the less hesitation in bearing my humble testimony to their worth, as I was not one of them—who founded the Congress at Bombay—some of whom are dead and gone, whose memories we revere, and the memory of none do we cherish with a greater measure of reverence than that of the young, the versatile, the brilliant Kashinath Trimbak Telang—these illustrious men did not in their wildest dreams anticipate the great future which awaited their movement. In this connection I am reminded of the exquisite lines of Longfellow which occur in his "Spanish Student" describing the spirit which pervades the achievements of the man of genius. The man of genius, says he, finds around him

" All the means of action.

The shapeless masses,—the materials ;

They lie everywhere around him. Footsore and weary with travel he comes, and with the uncouth charcoal he inscribes on the wall. And lo and behold ! transfigured by the magic of his touch,

" All its hidden virtues shine.

\* \* \* \* \*  
It gleams a diamond."

The forces were there; the materials were there; they lay in shapeless masses. The hour had come; the men were there. They communicated to them the Promethean spark, the celestial fire which made them instinct with life, and under their controlling guidance the Congress has developed into a movement fraught with unspeakable blessings to generations of my countrymen yet unborn. The birth of the Congress had, indeed, been foreseen by the great men who had been associated with the Anglo-Indian Government in the early stages of its progressive development. Macaulay, speaking from his place in Parliament on the occasion of the enactment of the Charter Act, used language which had about it the ring of prophetic inspiration. "It may be," said he, "that the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system; that our subjects, being brought up under good Government, may develop a capacity for better Government, that being instructed in European knowledge they may crave for European institutions. I know not whether such a day will ever come, but when it does come, it will be the proudest day in the annals of England." We have met to celebrate this day, the proudest in the annals of England and India. The National Congress is the outcome of those civilizing influences which Macaulay and his coadjutors were instrumental in implanting in the Government of this country. It has a brilliant record. I will claim this for the Congress that it has not taken up a single question which it has not brought within the range of practical politics, or which it has not brought nearer to solution. You took up the question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. It has been declared to be a counsel of perfection by so high an authority as Lord Dufferin. You took up the Excise question. In my Province, in the more crowded districts, the outstills have been abolished. You agitated for the reform of the Police. In my Province a Police Commission was appointed, and, though the Police remains very much

what it was, I must say that a genuine effort is being made by the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission. You insisted in season and out of season upon the wider employment of our countrymen in the higher offices of State. The Public Service Commission was appointed; and, though I cannot congratulate the Government upon the manner in which it has dealt with the recommendations of the Commission, as the outcome of their deliberations, the maximum limit of age for the Open Competitive Examination was raised. Last but not least, is the crowning triumph of the Congress in the recognition by the Government of the representative element in the reconstitution of the enlarged Councils.

First Day.

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But the subjective triumphs of the Congress—its moral victories—are even more remarkable than its outward achievements. You have introduced a new spirit into the country. You have infused a new enthusiasm into your countrymen. You have brought together the scattered elements of a vast and diversified population—you have welded them into a compact and homogeneous mass—you have made them vibrate with the new-born sentiment of an awakened nationality—you have unified them for the common purposes of their political enfranchisement. Along with the new-born impulse which you have thus communicated, and which draws its inspiration from the living examples of English greatness, you have placed before your countrymen lofty ideals of public duty, which are slowly transforming the national character, imparting to the flexibility of the East, the stamina and the stability of the West. Above all, you have taught your countrymen to glory in the British connection, and to seek to perpetuate it not by submitting to invidious and irritating distinctions, but by claiming to participate in full in the rights of British citizenship.

Hitherto we had placed the reform of the Legislative Councils in the forefront among our topics of discussion. Then came the Councils Act of 1892 which reconstituted the Councils and enlarged their functions. What is our attitude with regard to this Act? Are we satisfied with it and with the manner in which it is being worked? I am afraid we must answer the question in the negative. We regard the measure in the light of a cautious experiment which is being tried by the Government. Caution is an element of statesmanship. But caution carried to an excess—caution which is but another name for timidity—is a mistake, and may even amount to a blunder. We have no objection to the Government exercising due caution before it takes “a big jump into the unknown.” Weighted with the sense of its great responsibility, the Government must look around before it makes an important departure from the lines of its ancient policy. But what we complain of is that the experiment might have been tried under conditions more favourable to its success, more consonant to the declarations which were made in Parliament by statesmen on both sides of the House at the time of the enactment of the measure. Mr. Gladstone looked forward to a living representation of the Indian people. Lord Salisbury was anxious that the machinery provided should give representation not to small sections of the people but to the living strength and the vital forces of the whole community. Have these anticipations been realized by the light of accomplished facts? In Bengal seven elected members represent the living strength and the vital forces of a whole community of 70 millions of people. The Councils have been enlarged, but in no sense so as to provide even a tolerably moderate representation of the people. In the United Kingdom a population of 40 millions is represented by 670 members. In Bengal, a population of 70 millions is represented by only seven elected members, or, if you like, by 10 members if you take the nominated non-official members to represent the people, or by 20 members if you take the whole Council to represent the province. The result is that the election taking place under a system of rotation, whole divisions are left unrepresented in the Council. Out of the six Divisions in Bengal at the present moment the Presidency Division, which is the most important, and the Chhota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions, are left out in the representation. I am aware that this is a faulty arrangement which might be rectified by lumping up the Divi-

Legislative Councils.

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sions, as is done elsewhere, so as to enable the whole Province to take part in the elections. But is it possible under any conceivable arrangement, by any form of administrative manipulation, to secure in the words of Mr. Gladstone, the living representation of the Indian people, or, in the words of Lord Salisbury, the representation of the whole community, and not of small sections of the people, without materially adding to the strength of the elective element in the Councils? But we are confronted with a difficulty on the very threshold. Under Section I of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the maximum number of Additional Members for the Governor-General's Council is fixed at 16, and the maximum number of Additional Members for the Legislative Councils of Madras and Bombay is fixed at 20; and as regards Bengal and the North-Western Provinces the position seems to be still more unsatisfactory. The number of members for the Bengal Council is not to exceed 20, and that for the North-Western Provinces is not to exceed 15. Why in the Calcutta Municipality we have 75 members to represent a population of 700,000 inhabitants, and a much lesser number of rate-payers; in the District Boards in Bengal the number varies from 10 to 40. In some of our more important Mofussil Municipalities the number is more than 20; in most Municipalities having an average income varying from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 a year, the number is fixed at 18. But here, in the representation of great Provinces in their Legislative Councils, the number is never to exceed 25, and is often less. I am well aware of the difficulties of the Government. They must have a standing majority in the Councils. They will say: "It is all very well for you to raise these objections. Your counsel is a counsel of perfection, we admit. But there are practical difficulties in the way which we, as practical administrators, must take note of. We must have a standing majority in the Councils. If we add to the elective element we must add to the number of nominated members. The requisite number of officials may not be available at the Presidency towns, or if available their appointment to the Councils may lead to serious administrative inconvenience and may involve additional expense—a matter which is not to be overlooked in these days of poverty and impecuniosity." We fully admit the force of these objections. But the difficulties are really not insuperable. They admit of easy solution. The Government need not appoint official members to the Councils to secure a majority. There are plenty of people who, though non-officials, would in this respect serve them better than officials. The experience of public bodies, where officials and non-officials meet for the transaction of public business, entirely confirms this view of the matter. In the Calcutta Municipality the proportion of elected members is two-thirds of the entire body. The Government is in a hopeless minority. The Chairman is an official and is appointed by the Government. He is the organ of the Government. Though in a minority, I have never known a Chairman fail to carry through any Resolution upon which he has set his heart. Whenever he wants it he has a majority. The experience of the District Boards in Bengal entirely bears out the same view. One-half of the members are elected, the other half are nominated. The nominated members are not necessarily officials. The Chairman is the Magistrate of the District. He holds the balance of power. He is the dictator of the situation. He rules the District Boards. In the Councils the position of the Government will be still more favourable. The President will be the head of the Local Government, his prestige will be great, his personality will carry immense influence; and if the number of members be materially increased as we suggest, though only one-half of them should be nominated and among the nominated members there should be non-officials, the Government will still have a standing majority.

I say once again that if the Indian Councils Act is to be given effect to, in the spirit in which it was conceived by the distinguished statesmen who took part in its enactment, if it is to give to the people of India a living representation of the whole community and not of small sections of the people the number of elected members must be sensibly increased; at any rate discretion should be given to the Government of India to increase the number, subject to such rules as the Government may think fit to make in that behalf. This can be easily done by a

small modification of Section 1 of the Statute of 1892. Such a measure would strengthen the popular element in the Councils; but the Government would also share in the benefits which it would confer. A larger number of elected representatives in the Councils would place the Government in touch with the real opinion of the country. The voice that would be heard in the Councils would not be the voice of this party or of that party, of this clique or of that, but the living voice of the Indian people.

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I am well aware of the objections that will be urged against my proposal. It will be said: "You got the Councils Act amended only the other day. It is too early to think of amending it again." To that I have an obvious reply to give: It is never too early to raise the cry for reform. We must cry betimes, cry late, cry incessantly, fill the air with our importunate clamour, and then only can we hope to move the Government to take any action. *Quia non movetur*, in the words of Sir Robert Walpole, is the accepted creed of all Governments. They never move except under the irresistible pressure of a public opinion which will admit of no delay or postponement. You have your own experience to guide you in the matter. You began the agitation for the reform of the Councils in 1885. In Bengal we began it earlier, and the concession was made to us, though not in complete accordance with our anticipations or our wishes, only so recently as 1892. In making the present demand we are encouraged by the unquestionable success which has so far attended the experiment which is being tried. Sir Charles Elliott, speaking from his place as President of the Bengal Legislative Council, thus bore testimony to the distinct accession of strength to the Council which the addition of the elective element has secured:—

Objections to the proposed change.

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"I am quite satisfied in my own mind that the extension of the Council has materially added to its strength, and to its popularity, and to its power of doing good for the country. Of the Hon'ble Members present, there are, I think, three whose term of office will come to an end before we meet next time, and who may be re-elected or who may not. If they are re-elected, we shall welcome them back; if not, we hope we shall find in their successors, colleagues who are as generous and as zealous as they have been."

The Councils have been reconstituted, and their functions have been enlarged. The most important addition to the functions of the Councils consists in conferring upon members the right of interpellation. We are truly grateful to the Government for this right. It is an inestimable boon. No Government which did not feel strong in the strength of conscious rectitude would venture to confer such a boon upon a foreign Dependence. In the dark days of the Second Empire in France, when repression was the order of the day, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies were deprived of this right.

Interpellation.

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It was the feeling of conscious rectitude that in the main led the Executive Council of the Government of India to recommend that this right should be conferred upon Members of Council. Sir Charles Elliott has let us into the secrets of his "prison house." He told us the other day from his place as President of the Bengal Legislative Council, that Sir George Chesney argued in the Executive Council that the Government had nothing to conceal. Lord Dufferin urged that it would often help the Government to dispel false reports and to clear up misconceptions which were embarrassing to the administration. Lord Dufferin never showed greater prescience. I will here only refer to two questions that were asked in the course of this year. A few months back it was reported in one of the Anglo-Indian papers of Calcutta—the *Indian Daily News* I think it was,—that the Government had it in contemplation to frame a new set of rules in connection with the Official Secrets' Act with a view to render these rules more stringent in their operation. The report created a considerable stir. Articles appeared in the newspapers; the motives of Government were aspersed. A question

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was put in Council. The Chief Secretary replied that there was no truth in the report, and that the Government did not mean to take any action in regard to these rules. The misconception was removed—the excitement disappeared. Take the other case. Sometime ago there appeared a very sensational account of a murder case at Chittagong in one of the newspapers, which, if true, implied a grave reflection upon the local officials. A question was put in Council. A very elaborate answer was given, and the conduct of the officials was placed in its proper light.

Proposed rumour  
regarding the  
restriction of  
the right.

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During the year now closing, ugly rumours were afloat to the effect that the Government intended to restrict the right. There went forth a unanimous protest against the proposed restriction from the Indian Press and from such organs of Anglo-Indian opinion as sympathised with the legitimate aspirations of the people. There was not, indeed, the shadow of a justification for the proposed restriction. Questions must always be more or less vexatious. To say that the questions were vexatious was to object to them, because they were questions. To say that the questions put were too many was to ignore the obvious circumstances of the situation. The Councils did not meet as often as might be expected—the opportunities for asking questions were limited, and they necessarily accumulated in the hands of members.

Right of interpel-  
lation declared by  
official and non-  
official testimony  
to have been use-  
fully exercised.

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It is, indeed, the unanimous testimony of officials and non-officials that the right has been exercised in a manner that is creditable to the members and conducive to the public interests. The writer on Indian affairs in the *Times*, a discriminating Judge in these matters, thus observes :—

“ The practical operation of the system indicates that the Viceregal forecast of its working, from Lord Ripon onwards, was the correct one. The questions asked in the Supreme and Provincial Legislature during the past two years cover the whole area of Indian administration and of the economic interests of the people. With scarcely an exception, they have tended to a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled ; and in important instances they have furnished a valuable opportunity of placing the actual facts before the public. ”

With regard to the exercise of the right in the Bengal Council, the same writer thus bears equally satisfactory testimony :—

“ In a forward province like Bengal, with Calcutta as its capital, and a native Press extremely active if not always accurately informed, the practice of interpellation has proved even more useful. The Bengal Government has to deal with the chronic unrest arising out of the desire of the educated classes to enjoy an ever increasing share of the higher posts of the Administration. The present Governor of Bengal has recognized the necessity of dealing with such aspirations in a spirit of fairness, and, indeed, of generosity. Sir Charles Elliott has opened up the higher offices of his Government to natives of India to an extent never dreamt of by his predecessors. ‘ It is only the confidence which Englishmen in India have in the practical sagacity and sound common sense of Sir Charles Elliott as an experienced administrator,’ writes the leading Calcutta journal, ‘ that induces them to refrain from regarding with suspicion the liberal concessions which he has inaugurated, concessions which, as we have said, no other Government up to the present time has ventured to imitate.’ But a section of the Bengali Press by a curious misapprehension demands that all offices for which the Public Service Commission declared natives to be eligible shall forthwith be filled by a native, irrespective of the fact that there may be many European officers better qualified for the individual post. It is, of course, unsuitable for a Government to enter into newspaper controversies, and a misconception of this character becomes a source of widespread political disquiet in Bengal. Fortunately a distinguished Hindu member of the Bengal Council put a question which embodied the general misapprehension and enabled the Government to correct it. ”

From non-official let us pass on to official testimony, and the testimony which I am going to quote is that of no less exalted an official than Sir Charles Elliott. The late Lieutenant-Governor was a thorough-going official—some would prefer to call him a typical bureaucrat. But at any rate he was no mean judge of the matter. This was what he said from his place as President of the Bengal Legislative Council :—

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“ I think you will agree with me that the results have not altogether met the anticipations which we formed. Somehow or other—it is difficult to say how—a sort of idea has grown up in the public mind that an interpellation must necessarily be hostile, and that an Hon'ble Member who puts an interpellation may be presumed to have a desire to heckle the Government or to expose its shortcomings in some way or another. I think it is most unfortunate that such a feeling should have grown up. It has been due to criticisms which have been passed on the style of questions put, not so much in this Council, as in the Councils of other provinces, and I think in many cases these criticisms, whether applied to other provinces or applied to this Province, have not been altogether reasonable or sympathetic. I certainly feel that I have nothing very much to complain of as regards the spirit with which interpellations have been put here, but I think that we might put interpellations upon a better footing if it were thoroughly understood that the Government desire to deal with all the Members of this Council as its trusted Councillors whom it wishes to associate with itself in its policy, and to whom it wishes to impart the information which it possesses.”

Having regard to the testimony of the high authorities I have quoted, might we not ask for the removal of those restrictions which seem to me to defeat the purposes of a beneficent legislation. In the House of Commons “ sometimes when an answer has been given, further questions are addressed to the Minister on the same subject,” apparently with a view to offer an explanation or remove a misconception. In the House of Lords greater latitude is allowed in putting questions (Erskine May, “ Parliamentary Practice,” page 320). In the House of Lords when a question is put, the member putting it may make a speech in explanation of the question, and by way of preface to it. One of the objects which the Government had in view in conferring the right of interpellation was to afford opportunities for clearing up misconceptions with regard to the measures of Government and the conduct of officials. Looking at the matter from this stand-point, it seems to me that the object which the Government had in view would be best served by adopting the practice of the House of Commons—a practice which has been sanctioned by the wisdom of ages.

Expansion of  
the Right of In-  
terpellation.

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Under the Indian Councils Amended Act of 1892 not only have the Councils been partially reconstituted, but their functions have been enlarged—the discussion of the Budget has been allowed, whether it is proposed to levy any new tax or not. This right, however, is to be exercised subject to an important reservation. Members may discuss the Budget—may make any observations they please—but they cannot move any Resolution in respect of any item in the Budget or divide the Council thereupon. This seems to me to be altogether a needless restriction, having regard to the fact that the Government has a standing majority in the Councils. If the non-official members were united to a man they could not carry any Resolution, if the Government was firmly resolved to oppose it. I venture to submit that if there is one class of questions more than another in respect of which the representatives of the people should exercise any control, it is financial questions. No taxation without representation is the theory of modern civilised Government. We do not ask the Government to embody this principle in the administration of the country. We know that politics is a practical art, and it cannot deal with principles in the abstract. Every political principle must be tested by reference to the actual circumstances under which it is sought to apply it; but when, as in this case, the acceptance of our recommendation can lead to no practical inconvenience but on the contrary is calcu-

The discussion of  
the Budget.

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**First Day.**

lated still further to extend the immediate objects of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, and to add to the popularity of the administration, we feel that we stand on sure ground, and that we may appeal with confidence to the Government to adopt it. Englishmen are our teachers. At their feet we have learnt those constitutional principles which have moulded the Governments of civilized worlds, and which we hope will one day be incorporated in the Government of this country. If there is one thing more than another which their constitutional history impresses upon the mind of the reader, it is this : the zealous solicitude which the English people show at every stage of their history to ensure to their representatives, and to them alone, the full and absolute control over the finances of the country. A money Bill becomes law when it has passed the House of Commons. The House of Lords has no sort of jurisdiction over it. I find that in the Ceylon Legislative Council there is no bar to a member moving any Resolution on a financial question, provided the previous assent of the Governor has been obtained thereto. A beginning might, indeed, be made upon these lines. If the Government hesitates to grant to our representatives in Council the right of moving Resolutions on the Budget without some reservation, the concession may be made subject to the restriction to which I have referred, and which obtains in the Ceylon Legislative Council.

**The Mandate Theory.**

The question of the Budget naturally leads me to consider how our laws are made. A private member may, indeed, introduce a Bill subject to leave being granted by Government. Practically, however, the work of legislation is left in the hands of the Government. It must be so, in this as in all other countries. So far as the local Councils are concerned, if it is proposed to introduce a Bill it is prepared by the local Government in the Legislative Department. It is then submitted to the Government of India, and the sanction of the Government having been obtained, it is introduced into the Council. In the Governor-General's Council before a Bill is introduced it is submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State. The result is that, whether a Bill is introduced into a local Legislative Council with the assent of the Government of India, or into the Supreme Legislative Council with the assent of the Secretary of State, the sanction of superior authority in each case operates in the nature of a mandate upon the somewhat susceptible minds of official members. They vote in a solid phalanx. The amendments of non-official members have absolutely no chance. There is the mandate, express or implied. The Bill must be passed as assented to by the Government of India or the Secretary of State. Legislation under these circumstances becomes a foregone conclusion—the debate a mere formal ceremony—some people will call it a farce. (*Hear, hear!*)

But the theory of a mandate was never so broadly stated as it was last year by His Excellency the Viceroy and some of his official colleagues, on the occasion of the debate on the Excise Bill. Sir Henry Brackenbury, the Military Member, observed with the bluntness of a soldier, that in the matter of voting "they were bound to obey orders given by proper and constituted authority." His Excellency the Viceroy would not accord to Members absolute freedom "to speak and vote in the Council for the measure they think best." The right must be exercised subject to an important qualification—they must recognise the responsibility under which they exercised their rights in the Council. His Excellency went on to observe that even Members of Parliament are not free to act as they please, but are distinctly subject to the mandate of their constituents. This exposition of the theory of a mandate from higher authority, to vote not in accordance with the dictates of one's own conscience, but rather in obedience to superior authority, elicited a strong protest in Council from Sir Griffiths Evans, Mr. Pherozshaw Mehta, and others, and I am sure you too, will record your protest against a principle which if accepted would be fatal to the independence of non-official members of Council. Whether or not Members of Parliament act under any mandate received from their constituents is a matter which we need not discuss here. Members of Parliament are well able to take care of themselves and their consciences. The mandate theory is an old theory—

it does not appear before us even in a new garb. After the lapse of a century, it is presented to us in the nakedness of its original simplicity. It formed the subject of an emphatic protest from Edmund Burke, one of the greatest names in English politics. His colleague in the representation of Bristol had raised the question, and Burke replied in a letter which has found a permanent place in the political literature of England. I will read an extract from his letter to the Electors of Bristol, which might fittingly be laid before those who take a different view of the subject :—

“ *Authoritative instructions, mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws of the land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution.* ”

Yet Burke was a Conservative. He called himself a Whig—but he was truly a Conservative statesman—he was a Heaven-appointed Conservative—one made so by the hand of Nature. His sympathies and leanings were all distinctly towards the Conservative side of questions. In these days he would have taken his place in the front rank of Conservative leaders, only his conservatism was not prompted by self-interest ; it was tempered by philosophy and a love of country, rare among professional politicians. Burke was the founder of modern conservative philosophy. Confronted with the destructive forces of the French Revolution, his whole life was passed in reconciling the conflicting elements of order and progress. Lord Elgin is a Radical and a Home Ruler. It would almost seem that in this matter the Conservatism of the last century was really more sound and progressive than the Liberalism of the present. It is remarkable that only a year before this exposition of the mandate theory, a very different exposition had been heard of the same theory in the Council Chamber of the Bengal Legislative Council. It was on the eve of the enlargement of the Council. Popular constituencies were about to be formed. Mandates might be issued by these constituencies upon their representatives. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. Sir Charles Elliott took time by the forelock, as he always did when he was in office, and warned would be representatives against the contingency of mandates being issued by their constituents. Thus he observed from his place in the Bengal Council on the 25th February, 1893 :—

“ We are now on the eve of an important reconstruction of this Council the details of which are at present unknown. But we are aware that there will be a considerable extension and expansion of the principle of representation, and I think it very important that it should be understood to what extent and of what character the representation ought to be. I do not venture to forecast what orders we may receive from the Secretary of State or from the Government of India on this subject, but I wish most emphatically to record my agreement with what has fallen from the Advocate-General, that, however much a Member of this Council may be a representative of any Corporation, or of any interest, or of any body or Association existing in these Provinces, he will, on his appointment as a Member of this Council, act according to his lights and according to his conscience. His position ought not to be that of a delegate, and he ought not to be called upon to record his vote in accordance with the views of constituents whom he represents, unless he heartily and personally agrees with them. ”

Whose authority are we to accept, that of the Viceroy or his late Lieutenant ? It is seldom that we find Sir Charles Elliott on the popular side. When he is with us, we may be quite sure that we have exceptionally good reasons for thinking that we are in the right.

Somehow or other Secretaries of State, and before them the Board of Control, have been wedded to this mandate theory. They have claimed this right from time to time. The Duke of Argyle in a Despatch, dated the 24th November 1870, maintained that “ the Government of India were mere executive officers of the Home Government who had the ultimate

Secretaries of  
State and the  
Mandate theory.

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power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure and of requiring also all the official Members of the Council to vote for it." The theory has, however, been always strenuously resisted by the independent Members of Council, and by none more strenuously than by Sir Barnes Peacock, perhaps the greatest English lawyer who ever set foot on Indian soil. He said: "He had always understood, and he still held, that the office of a Member of Council was a high and honourable one; but if he believed that the constitution of this Council was such that its members were bound to legislate in any manner that either the Board of Control or the Honorable Court of Directors might order, he should say that instead of being a high and honourable office, it was one which no man who had a regard for his own honour and independence could consent to hold; for his own part he would state freely and without hesitation that he would rather resign his office than hold it on that tenure.....He believed that the trust and duty committed to every member of the Legislative Council was to act according to his own judgment and conscience."

**Finances.**  

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If your Legislative Councils are an important matter for your consideration, your finances form the back-bone of your administration. Tell me, said John Bright in substance, in one of his speeches, what the financial condition of a country is, and I will tell you all about its Government and the condition of its people. The financial test is the most crucial. Judged by it our position is truly deplorable. It is no exaggeration to say that the financial position of India is one of ever-recurring deficit, and of ever-increasing debt. I should be sorry to say one word which would convey to the mind of any one an exaggerated notion of the difficulties by which the Government of India is surrounded. Let there be "Naught extenuate or ought set down in malice." But I think I am strictly within the limits of truth when I say that, so far as our financial position is concerned, debt and deficit represent the order of the day. Let me ask you to follow me as I rapidly glance over a few facts and figures in connection with the financial history of the sixty years from 1834 to 1894. During this period you have had 34 years of deficit amounting in round numbers to 83 crores of rupees, and 26 years of surplus amounting to 42 crores of rupees in round numbers, with the net result that you have a net deficit of about 41 crores of rupees, which makes an average of deficits of something over sixty-five lacs of rupees per year. Our debt kept pace with our deficit. They are twin sisters which march apace. It must be so in the nature of things. An ever-increasing deficit must produce an ever-accumulating debt. During the same period the Public Debt increased from 26 crores to 210 crores; and 42 crores of this amount were incurred within the last ten years. If we are not bankrupts, at any rate we are on the high road to it. If an ordinary individual found that his expenditure was steadily increasing, that his income was not increasing in the same proportion, that his resources were strained to the utmost, and that his debt was fast accumulating, he would feel that he was perilously near bankruptcy. But I suppose Governments are not like ordinary mortals. They do not participate in the common feelings and the common failings of our ordinary human nature—and hence the optimism of our rulers.

**What is the cause of the present financial difficulties?**  

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What is it that has brought the country to its present deplorable financial position? The answer must be that it is in the main the aggressive military policy of the Government. The depreciated rupee has much to answer for; it is responsible for many sins of omission and commission, but it is not wholly nor even mainly chargeable with the present financial embarrassments of the Government. Sir Auckland Colvin in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century* observes that the increase of Indian expenditure from 1883-84 to 1892-93, amounting to about 11 crores of rupees, was due to three causes, and he regards the Military charges as the first and the foremost of these (*vide* page 873; *The Nineteenth Century* for November). In the course of the same article he observes:—"There can be no improvement in Indian finances so long as Indian revenues are depleted by the claims of frontier extension, or exposed to the risk and requirements of war." Fall in the exchange and the abnormal activity in the State con-

struction of railways on a gold basis, when the exchange value of silver is rapidly falling, are, in the opinion of Sir Auckland Colvin, the other and less effective causes of this increased expenditure. Sir William Harcourt in the course of a recent debate on Chitral held that the additional military charges were among the elements which have disorganised Indian finance. Let me quote his words :—

“ The question of the ability of India to bear a burden of this character is a very serious question. We all know, with reference to the expedition to Afghanistan that there was a large addition made some years ago to the Indian Army, and that that addition to the Army was among the elements which have led to the financial difficulties of India.”

The British Committee of the National Congress took substantially the same view of the matter. In a Note which they circulated they held that it was not exchange so much as the increase in Civil and Military expenditure which was responsible for the financial difficulties of the Government of India. Sir James Westland accused the Committee of having committed “ a gigantic blunder.” The Committee came back to the attack and showed that their mistake was not a huge blunder, and that it was due to the system of accounts sanctioned by the authority of the Indian Finance Department, over which Sir James Westland presided. They further pointed out that “ the expenditure on the Civil and Military Services exhibits the large increase of Rs. 8,54,346 apart from any increase in exchange.”

It is not then exchange—it is not some economic monster over which the Government of India has no control and which cannot be disposed of by the closing of the Mints—that is responsible for the present deplorable condition of Indian finance. It is in the main the Military policy pursued by the Government which has brought us to our present position. The Military charges have steadily increased. At the time of the Indian Mutiny with an Army of 240,000 men, the Military expenditure of the country came up to 11 crores of rupees. In 1864 with a reduced army the expenditure was 14 crores of rupees. In the meantime the amalgamation scheme between the Indian Government and the War Office had been carried out—that contract had been entered into, which, in the felicitous language of the late Mr. Fawcett, was a contract between a dwarf and a giant, in which of course the dwarf went to the wall. In 1884, with an army of 189,000 men, the expenditure came up to 17 crores of rupees ; in 1895-96 it is 20 crores of rupees exclusive of exchange. In March 1885, Sir Auckland Colvin, speaking from his place as Finance Minister, estimated the net cost of the Army ( exclusive of exchange ) at 150,000,000 rupees. This amount he considered to be about the normal expenditure in India and in England. If we add another crore of rupees ( excluding exchange ) for Military works, not taking into account special defence works, the net Military expenditure may be fixed at 16 crores of rupees. Now within the last 20 years this normal expenditure has been exceeded by more than 50 crores of rupees. Let me give you the rough details :

	Rx.
Afghan War .....	11,500,000
Annexation of Upper Burma	4,000,000
Increase in Army ( 9 full years )	13,500,000
Expeditions, Increased Ex- penditure, Occupation of Upper Burma, etc. ... }	22,800,000
	Rx. 51,800,000

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Chitral.

This policy, so disastrous to the financial interests of India, is being followed by our rulers with unabated zeal ; and the most recent illustration of it is afforded by the annexation of Chitral. The expedition to Chitral was condemned by the Indian Press with singular unanimity. But whatever justification there might have been for the expedition, there is absolutely none for the permanent occupation of the country. In the proclamation issued by the Government there was a distinct promise that when the object of the expedition had been attained, the forces would be withdrawn. I quote the exact words of the Proclamation :—

“ The sole object of the Government of India is to put an end to the present, and to prevent any future, unlawful aggression on Chitral territory ; and as soon as the object has been attained the forces will be withdrawn. ”

Thus was a solemn declaration made before all India that after the object of the expedition had been attained, which was the relief of the beleaguered garrison and the protection of Chitral against any present and future troubles, the army would be withdrawn. I must express my unqualified surprise that with this declaration before it, to the faithful observance of which the honour of the Government was pledged, the Government of India with Lord Elgin at its head, should have unanimously recommended the occupation of the country. I desire to place the moral consideration in the forefront ; (*Cheers*) that which is morally indefensible cannot be politically expedient. (*Hear, hear*) Politics divorced from morality is no politics at all ; (*Cheers*) it is political jugglery of the worst description. It is not for one moment to be supposed that the semi-civilized races, who have thus been treated, whose forbearance and neutrality was secured by a promise made to be broken, are insensible to the binding character of a moral obligation. (*Hear, hear*). They will feel the wrong and the insult ; they will brood over the injustice, which, in the words of Carlyle, never fails to “ revenge itself with compound interest.” (*Hear, hear.*) What explanation has the Government of India to offer in support of its policy ? I have not heard of any, except the halting and lame defence that was put forward by the Prime Minister from his place in Parliament. The annexation was sought to be justified on grounds of moral, if not of physical, strategy. It was said that if the troops were withdrawn and the country was abandoned, it would involve loss of prestige and produce a detrimental effect upon the minds of the tribes. It seems to me, with all deference, that the Prime Minister’s moral strategy is very much wide of the mark. Moral strategy inconsistent with moral principles is a very poor sort of strategy. (*Hear, hear*) If the tribes are human beings—I suppose they are—(*Laughter*) with human instincts and feelings, this breach of a solemn promise will have a disastrous effect upon their minds. It will have a far more detrimental effect than what might be supposed to be produced by the alleged loss of prestige, consequent upon the withdrawal of the troops. It will alienate their sympathies and convert them into discontented allies or open foes. If this be one of the objects which is sought to be attained by the new code of moral strategy, I have nothing to say to it.

The financial aspect of the question

But what about the financial aspect of the question. That is the consideration which presses most upon us. From this point of view its gravity cannot be over-estimated. When the expedition started last summer, it was stated, confidently stated, that 15 lakhs of rupees would suffice to cover all expenses. Wise men shook their heads. But all doubts and misgivings gave way for the time at least, before the positive assurances of the Government and its organs in the Press. Have these confident predictions been fulfilled ? How many fifteen lakhs of rupees have been spent upon the expedition, it is difficult to say ; but this ludicrously low estimate serves to indicate the want of foresight which is sometimes displayed by the Financial Department in dealing with estimates. (*Hear, hear*) In India the public memory is notoriously short ; (*Laughter*) but we have not yet quite forgotten the story of the missing four crores which had disappeared amid the mountain-passes of Afghanistan, and which the

Financial Department was at its wit's end to discover. (*Laughter*) The estimate was fixed at 15 lakhs of rupees, but the expedition, it is believed has cost nearly two crores of rupees; and the further question occurs—will not the occupation of Chitral involve an addition to the Indian Army and to the already excessive Military expenditure of the Empire? Mr. Balfour in the course of the discussion which took place in the House of Commons in September last, gave the assurance that there would be “no addition to the Indian Army.” “The Indian Government inform us categorically,” he went on to observe, “that the existing body of troops in India would suffice to meet every necessity. The garrison force in Gilgit will be diminished; there will be re-distribution of troops, but no addition will be required.” The obvious retort to which the explanation is liable is that if Chitral could be occupied without any addition to the forces, the Indian Government had at its disposal an overgrown army in excess of the requirements of the country. However that may be, can we rely upon this assurance? Can we rely upon the ever-shifting phases of Central Asian politics? We will not say that the Government will deliberately depart from an assurance thus solemnly given, but the Government may be driven into a position, by reason of the occupation of Chitral, which may compel the Government to add to the Army and the military expenditure of the Empire. It is impossible to say what may or may not happen in Central Asian politics. A forward movement on the frontier involves the Government in indefinite responsibilities which it is impossible to foresee and calculate upon with confidence. Thus observed Lord Lawrence many many years ago:—

“We foresee no limits to the expenditure which such a move (a forward move) might require; and we protest against the necessity of having to impose additional taxation on the people of India, who are unwilling, as it is, to bear such pressure for measures which they can both understand and appreciate.....our true policy, our strongest security will be found to be in the contentment, if not in the attachment, of the masses...in husbanding our finances and consolidating and multiplying our resources.”

Times without number have we in Congress assembled, under the guidance of my esteemed friend, Mr. Wacha, whose knowledge of details is only surpassed by his zeal for the public good, (*Loud Cheers*) protested against the extravagant military expenditure of the Government. The Government is in quest of a scientific frontier, by which we understand a frontier which is better capable of being defended against a foreign invader than a frontier which is not scientific. But, as Colonel Hanna has pointed out in a little book on frontier policy which I would like to recommend to you, that which is scientific is fixed and definite. What is scientific to-day cannot be unscientific to-morrow. (*Hear, hear*) A scientific frontier cannot constantly be receding in the distance like the *ignis fatuus*, as you advance towards it. (*Laughter*) Let me tell the Government of India, in your name, that the true scientific frontier against Russian invasion does not lie in some remote inaccessible mountain which has yet to be discovered, nor is it to be found in the House of Commons as some one said; but it lies deep in the grateful hearts of a loyal and contented people. (*Loud Cheers*) If India is loyal and grateful, and is united by a common sentiment of devotion to British rule, resolved to die in its defence, India can raise a barrier which will defy the efforts of the most powerful foreign invader who yet has desecrated our territories. (*Hear, hear*) Where have you heard of a foreign invader being triumphant against the efforts of a united people, and of a people too like ourselves, as countless as the stars of heaven, and as multitudinous as the sands of the sea. I have heard of this Russian invasion since the days of my childhood. The Russians have not come. They never will come: and if they do come and if India is loyal and united, then they will find behind the serried ranks of one of the finest armies in the world the multitudinous races and peoples of India united as one man ready to die for their Sovereign and in the defence of their hearths and homes. (*Loud Cheers*)

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Protest against  
the Military policy  
of the Government.

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But I am bound to add that the Government is alienating the sympathies of the people by wasting their resources upon these frontier wars. The commonest domestic improvements are starved, the most urgent domestic reforms are postponed through want of funds. But when it comes to a question of granting a subsidy to some frontier Chief, or embarking upon some frontier expedition, or entertaining the son of a Prince who has been useful to us in frontier politics, then our Government is as rich as the richest Government in the world. (*Laughter*)

Many distinguished Indian Statesmen have condemned the Forward policy.

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But we are in excellent company in condemning the forward policy which is now in the ascendant in the Councils of the Government. Some of the most distinguished statesmen who have adorned the annals of modern Indian history, one of them intimately acquainted with frontier affairs, to whose foresight the salvation of the Empire was due at a critical time, have repeatedly warned the Government to confine their attention to within their own dominions, and to devote themselves to the improvement of the condition of the people. This was what Lord Lawrence wrote :—“ Taking every view, then, of this great question—the progress of Russia in Central Asia, the effect it will, in course of time, have upon India, the arrangements which we should have to make to meet it—I am firmly of opinion that our proper course is not to advance our troops beyond our present border, nor to send English officers into the different States of Central Asia, but to put our own house in order by giving the people of India the best government in our power, by conciliating, as far as practicable, all classes, and by consolidating our resources. ”

Lord Lawrence's advice was “ to put our house in order by giving the people of India the best form of Government in our power ” and “ by conciliating all classes. ” The same views, if not expressed in the same words, were shared by a host of other eminent statesmen and soldiers, among whom I may mention the names of Lord Canning, Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Henry Durand, Sir William Muir, and last though not least, Sir William Mansfield, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, the father of your excellent Governor.

Are these old-fashioned ideas ?

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Are these ideas to be regarded as old-fashioned and antiquated ? Have circumstances so changed as to call for a complete change, and not only a change but an absolute reversal of the policy of masterly inactivity associated with the honoured name of Lord Lawrence ? I do not think so. The circumstances connected with border politics have perhaps undergone some change, but not such as to require the adoption of a spirited frontier policy, leading to a sensible addition to the Indian Army and to numerous petty little wars which have completely disorganised our finances. The Simla Army Commission which submitted its Report in 1884 recognized this change, but nevertheless did not recommend any addition to the Indian Army. The Commission considered the Army, such as it then was, sufficient for all purposes of offensive and defensive operations. What is it, then, that has brought about this change—this radical and fundamental change in the policy of our rulers ? It was the Penjdeh incident which upset the equanimity of the Government, and plunged the country into an expensive military programme, which has brought the Indian Government to the verge of bankruptcy. It was immediately followed by the addition of thirty thousand men to the Army. As Sir Auckland Colvin has observed, what were our rulers to do with such a fine and splendidly organised Army if they did not occasionally indulge in the luxury of a frontier expedition, at the expense of the Indian tax-payer ? In all conscience the temptation is great ; and the late Sir William Mansfield, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, went so far as to observe that the real cause of the agitation set on foot in his time for an aggressive policy “ was what might be styled Brevet Mania or K. C. B. Mania rather than Russophobia. ”

Home Charges.

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In dealing with the question of Indian Finance the Home Charges loom largely in view. They have gone on steadily increasing. In ten years they have risen over 30 per cent. In 1882 they were Rs. 17,369,000. In 1892 they were Rs. 22,911,000. They have been the

subject of adverse comment by successive Viceroys. Charges are thrown upon us which should be borne by the Home Treasury, or in respect of which there should be an adjustment between the Home and the Indian Treasuries. Charges are thrown upon us, which, or charges similar to which, in the case of the free and independent Colonies, are borne by the Home Government. We paid £500,000 for the construction of the India Office in London. The Home Government paid £100,000 for the construction of the Colonial Office in London. Can anybody tell me why the Colonial Office cost £100,000 in the construction, and the India Office £500,000? Did it make any difference that the one was paid for out of our money and the other out of the money of the English tax-payer, who can look after his purse and can control the public expenditure? But let us proceed. We pay all the charges of the India Office in London amounting to £230,000 a year. The Home Government pays £41,000 for the Colonial Office in London. We pay £12,500 a year for the maintenance of the Chinese Legation, and £7,000 a year for the Persian Legation. The cost of the Residency in Turkish Arabia and of the Consulate in Bagdad, amounting to Rs. 1,72,360, is entirely paid from the Indian revenues, as if England in her imperial relations was in no way interested in their maintenance. Is not Bagdad one of the head-quarters of Central Asian politics—the focus of intrigue in that part of the world? And is not England interested in the maintenance of the Consulate there?

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The economic aspect of this question is not to be overlooked. England does not levy any direct tribute upon India. But these Home Charges operate in the nature of a tribute. As Sir George Wingate very properly observed many many years ago in connection with these Home Charges:—"The taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another.....In this case, they constitute no mere transfer of one portion of the national income from one set of citizens to another, but are an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount drawn from the taxed country."

The economic aspect of the question.

The Home Charges constitute a serious drain, and add to the ever-increasing poverty of the country. But it is no use repeating the old complaint. We must be prepared to formulate definite proposals in this connection for the consideration of Government. I cordially endorse the view which has been put forward by a writer in the columns of India, to the effect that the Home Government should bear a portion of the Home Charges. I trust the Royal Commission now enquiring into Indian Expenditure will see its way to make a recommendation to that effect. This would be nothing but fair and just, and what is due to the interests of India.

Definite proposals in connection with the Home Charges.

We have fought the wars of England in the past with our blood and treasure. In the Abyssinian Expedition, it was we who fought and bled; (*Hear, hear*) it was the Indian Government which spent its treasure and sacrificed the lives of its brave soldiers. (*Cheers*) It was your Bombay troops who, in the somewhat pompous language of Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, "planted the standard of St. George on the heights of Rasselas." In the Afghan wars in Lord Lytton's time India bore the entire expense, save and except a sum of five millions sterling, contributed by Mr. Gladstone's Government.

We have fought the wars of England in the past.

Is Central Asian Policy, a policy in which India alone is interested? Does it not affect the Imperial relations of England as a great Asiatic, and even as a great European, power? It is true we are interested—largely interested—but we are not solely and exclusively interested. Why, then, should we alone be required to pay towards the promotion of schemes and projects, of wars and negotiations, of commissions and entertainments to Royal Princes which are due to the requirements of Imperial policy? When many years ago, I think it was in the sixties, the Sultan of Turkey was entertained at our expense, the Government stated in reply to a question that the money had been paid out of the Indian Treasury, as it was believed that the en-

Central Asian politics.



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tainment would be gratifying to the Mahomedan subjects of Her Majesty. Is it proposed to justify on the same principle the entire burden of the Nasarulla entertainment being thrown on the Indian exchequer? No explanation has been given on this score, though Sir William Wedderburn pressed hard to bring about a division of the expenditure between the two countries. Sirdar Nasarulla went to England as the guest of the English people—and at the invitation of the British Government. If there was any policy underlying this personal matter, it was one solely prompted by the exigencies of England's imperial position? If so, was it just and generous for a great and rich Government like that of England to saddle a poverty-stricken country like India with the entire cost of the entertainment? It is a small matter. But if in a paltry affair like this, there is an utter absence of the spirit of fairness and of a desire to do strict justice in dealing with the finances of an unrepresented Dependency, what may we not expect in matters of greater moment? (*Cheers*)

**The apportionment of the Home Charges.**  
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The apportionment of the Home Charges between England and India would not only be just, but is desirable from another point of view. At the present moment nobody seems to be responsible for Indian finance. In the felicitous language of the late Mr. George Yule, whose memory this Congress holds in high honour, India was a trust committed by Providence to the care of Parliament. (*Loud Cheers*) Parliament has thrown the trust back upon Providence. In the Indian Legislative Council the debate on the Budget is more or less academic in its character. The members cannot move any resolution in respect of it. In Parliament the Indian Budget is introduced at the fag-end of the Session, and is discussed before empty benches. No English Minister would dare to deal with the English Budget in this way; but if the English Treasury made a contribution to the Home Charges, we may be quite sure the British tax-payer would insist upon a scrutiny as to how the money was spent, and the British member of Parliament, now usually so apathetic with regard to Indian affairs, would be responsive to the call of his constituents. The real and genuine, and not the mere nominal, control of the English Parliament would thus be secured. This would be an advantage worth having, for we have unstinted confidence in the justice and generosity of the British people and their representatives in Parliament.

**The poverty of the masses.**  
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The poverty of the masses of our countrymen has been the theme of endless discussion here and elsewhere. We know what the views of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji are. (*Loud Cheers*) He holds that the average income per head of the population in India is Rs. 20, against Lord Cromer's estimate of Rs. 27 a year. Whether it is Rs. 20 or Rs. 27 per head makes no difference. It is striking evidence of the deplorable poverty of the masses of our population. If you compare the economic condition of the masses of our people with that of more fortunately situated countries in Europe, this truth forces itself upon our attention with painful impressiveness. Lord Cromer is my authority. Lord Cromer, then Sir Evelyn Baring, gave some figures in 1882 which throw a lurid light upon the economic condition of our people. The average income of the population per head in Great Britain was estimated by him at £33 a year; in France it was £23; in Turkey, which is the poorest country in Europe, it was £4. Mulhal gives the income per head of the Russian population at £9. Upon this income of £33 the English tax-payer pays a tax of £2-12 per head; the Indian tax-payer upon his income of Rs. 20 or Rs. 27 a year, pays a tax of 2s. 6d. per head. The English tax-payer thus pays a tax of 7 per cent. upon his income of £33, while the Indian tax-payer pays a tax of 5 per cent. upon his income of Rs. 27. It will be readily admitted that five per cent. upon an income of Rs. 27 is a much more serious matter—involves a much heavier sacrifice—than 7 per cent. upon an income of £33. I ask you to bear in mind one little consideration. The average calculation is made by dividing the whole income of the community, whatever it may be, among the heads of population. But it is, after all, an average. There must be a large number whose income is below the average, as there must be a large number whose income is above it.

I ask you for one moment to consider what must be the condition in life of that large number of people whose income is below Rs. 27 a year? It is no wonder, then, that 40 millions of our people live upon one meal a day, as stated by Sir William Hunter, or that we have those periodical famines which decimate thousands and hundreds of thousands of our population. Cuvier has remarked that famines are impossible in this age. So they are in European countries, but not in this hapless land of ours, which a great orator in the last century described as "the garden of Asia, the granary of the East." We must all note with thankfulness that an influential journal like the *Pioneer*, supposed to be the exponent of official opinion, takes the popular view of the matter. That journal freely admits:—"that the masses in India are poor, very poor; that our administration is an expensive one; that money is often wasted in enterprises like the Chitral imbroglio, and that in various directions, without administrative injury, economy and retrenchment might be enforced."

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I am glad to find that the Salvation Army have had their attention prominently called to the poverty-stricken condition of our masses. With an all-comprehensive philanthropy which does honour to their Christianity they have not forgotten the Indian poor. Their scheme for the reclamation of the submerged tenth will include our submerged fifth. Their scheme for Indian peasant-settlements is well worth consideration; and, whatever we may think of its details, our sympathies must go forth on behalf of a project so noble, so generous, so full of the spirit of true Christian charity.

Upon this miserable income of Rs. 27 a year, the native of India has to pay a tax of 5 per cent., while the Englishman with an average annual income of £33, pays only a tax of 7½ per cent. The furthest limits of taxation have, indeed, been reached. The import duties on cotton goods which had been abolished in Lord Ripon's time had to be re-imposed to meet the exigencies of an impécunious Government. This was an extreme step which no Government anxious to secure the votes of Lancashire would take except under a sense of supreme and imperious necessity. That the duties should have been re-imposed is evidence of the financial crisis to which the country has been reduced. The duties are not meant to be protective; they never were protective in their character. They were levied for revenue purposes; they are now levied for revenue. There is not a more earnest advocate of Free Trade than Mr. Gladstone. He was a member of the Government of Sir Robert Peel when the principles of Free Trade were for the first time recognised by an English Government in the administrative measures of the country. Mr. Gladstone strongly opposed the partial repeal of these duties in Lord Lytton's time, on the ground that if they militated against the principles of Free Trade, the financial condition of the Government was an essential element in the consideration. From his place in Parliament he thus denounced the repeal of the duties:—

The Import Duties upon cotton goods.

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"What an invidious, almost odious, picture of inequality we exhibit to the millions of India. The Free Trade doctrines that we hold so dear, that we apply them against the feelings of the Indian people in their utmost rigour and without a grain of mercy, disappear in a moment when it is a question of dealing with those whose interest and opinions we cannot lightly tamper with, namely, the free colonists of the Empire. The Governor-General, says he, cannot see that financial difficulty can in any way be pleaded as a reason against what he calls fiscal reform. If that be a true principle of Government, it has been discovered for the first time by the present Viceroy. There has not been a Free Trade Government in this or any country which has not freely admitted that the state of the revenue is an essential element in the consideration of the application even of the best principle of Free Trade."

I am free to admit there is some protection involved in allowing Indian yarn only to be taxed above 20s count, and imposing a duty upon all descriptions of cloth and yarn imported from the United Kingdom. But the measure of this protection is infinitesimal when you bear in mind that the duty on cloth and yarn imported of 20s count and under, according to the esti-

Very slight protection involved in the Import duties now levied.

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mate of Mr. O'Connor, is about four lakhs out of a total of about a crore and-a-half. Manchester imports but little of these coarser fabrics ; there is little or no competition here ; nobody perhaps would object if these four lakhs of rupees were abandoned by exempting from duty all imported yarn and cloth of 20s count and under. For myself I would prefer a remission of the salt duties to this remission of the import duties.

But Manchester has another grievance. While only Indian yarns of the finer kind are taxed, all cotton fabrics of the finer sort imported from England are taxed. The Government charges more upon the manufactured goods than upon the yarns. To that extent the finer cloths which are imported are handicapped against Indian goods of the same class. To that extent there is protection. This may be easily remedied by fixing a lower duty upon these manufactured goods imported from England, say a duty of four per cent. instead of five per cent.

**Lord George Hamilton and the Import duties.**  
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What the ultimate fate of these duties will be, it is difficult to say. Manchester is vigorously agitating for their repeal. The present Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, had, indeed, strongly denounced the imposition of these duties from his place in Parliament, while he was a member of the Opposition. The supporters of the duties were politely told by his Lordship that they were so many "shrieking units" of the Indian community who chiefly lived in the metropolitan towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—I am quoting from memory, I cannot be sure whether Poona was included—and who had learnt the methods of Western agitation, but that their opinion was in no way to be confounded with the opinion of the great body of the people. By a strange irony of fate his Lordship has apparently joined hands with "the shrieking units," whom he had not long ago so vigorously denounced. It is very evident from his recent utterances that, while, as he tells us, he firmly adheres to his former views, he does not see his way to gratify the wishes of Lancashire. He is waiting for the Despatches of the Government of India on the subject. The elections are over. There is a long time yet to think of the next elections, and in the mean time many things may happen. If Manchester has a grievance, and there can be no doubt that she feels she has a grievance, let her agitate for financial justice to India, and she will command the sympathies of educated India.

**Exchange Compensation allowance.**  
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From one point of view Manchester has, indeed, a grievance. The duties are levied, and yet Exchange Compensation Allowance is granted to the European officials of the Government. Practically the proceeds of the duties are paid as compensation allowance. The proceeds of the duties come up to about a crore and-a-half a year. The disbursements under Exchange Compensation Allowance come up to about the same sum. Abolish the Exchange Compensation Allowance and you need not impose the duties. As between the two I would rather abolish the duties than grant Exchange Compensation Allowance. If the allowance was made upon actual remittances sent to England, or if it was granted only to such officials as had joined the service before the rapid fall in the rupee had set in, there might be some show of a justification. As it is, it constitutes an invidious and irritating distinction between the European and the non-European officials of the Government. According to the most recent explanation given by Lord George Hamilton, the object of the Exchange Compensation Allowance is to afford European servants of the Government the opportunity of making remittances Home and providing themselves with English-made articles. Whether they do so or not is quite another matter.

Exchange Compensation Allowance seems to me to be useless for the purpose for which it is granted. It is not a sufficient inducement to the senior officers to continue after their term of service has been completed ; while the popularity of the Indian Civil Service among the educated youth in England, notwithstanding the rapid fall in the Exchange, may be judged from the fact that three English candidates who had recently qualified themselves both for the Home as well as the Indian Civil Service preferred the latter.

The grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the highly paid officers of the Government lays our rulers open to a serious complaint. It is said that these high officers of Government who are the masters of the situation have quietly added to their own salaries, while the humbler classes of public servants who can hardly make two ends meet, who have to eke out their miserable pittance by resort to practices which will not bear the test of scrutiny, but which dire necessity imposes upon them, still continue to draw salaries which were fixed many many years ago. In Bengal a Salaries Commission, consisting of some of the highest officials in the land, was appointed in 1885. They submitted their Report in 1886. They recommended, having regard to the rise in the price of foodgrains, that an increase of at least 75 per cent. should be made to the pay of the ministerial servants of the Government. The recommendation has not been given effect to: it remains a dead letter. The question was prominently brought to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor at the meeting of the local Council when the Budget was discussed in April last. His Honor expressed sympathy with the proposal, but I am not aware that the matter has gone beyond the stage of a mere expression of a pious hope that some day, under better auspices and in more favourable times, the evil might be remedied. In the meantime my information is that the peons of the various Government offices, drawing wages varying from seven to ten rupees a month, and who had applied for increase, were told by Sir Charles Elliott that he could not grant their request, because, forsooth, in August and September last the price of common rice had gone down, and more than 12 seers of rice could be had for the rupee. ( *Laughter* )

Ours is a political organisation; but we cannot overlook considerations which affect the development of our industries and our manufactures. The economic condition of a people has an intimate bearing upon their political advancement. Looking at the matter from this point of view we feel that it is our duty to safeguard our industries. Their conservation is a matter of grave national importance. We have our cotton industry in Bombay, the Jute industry in Bengal, the tea industry in Assam and the coal and iron industries in Central and Southern India. Factory Acts which have hitherto been understood to be framed for the protection of operatives are now sought to be used for the avowed object of restricting and raising the cost of production. "Pressure," I understand, "is now to be put upon the Secretary of State to ignore the interests of the people of this country and to order a Factory Act for India, which will prevent our mills from competing with those in England." Lancashire people engaged in cotton industry have attacked the cotton industry in India, insisting on a stricter Factory Act and shorter working hours, quite oblivious of the hardships this would obviously entail on the people of India generally, and overlooking the fact that Japan is already a serious rival to India as well as England. Then the Jute manufacturing industry has been threatened by the jute manufacturers in Dundee, on the plea that their trade is suffering from the competition of the Indian Mills. They too seem to forget the important factor that there are many Jute Mills on the continent of Europe and go straight for the Indian Mills, because they are under the British Government.

I now pass on to consider an important question which must soon engage a large share of public attention. You are aware that under the East India Company, Parliamentary Committees used to be appointed every 20 years on the eve of the renewal of the Charter of the Company. Some of the most beneficent chapters in Indian history are associated with the labours of these Committees. The investigations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1833 led to the enactment of the Charter Act of that year. One of the happy results of the labours of the Parliamentary Committee of 1853 was the throwing open to general competition of the appointments in the Indian Civil Service. Apart from these direct results, these periodical enquiries exercised a healthy influence over the course of Indian administration. Indian officials after all are men, and when they knew that after every 20 years there would be this examina-

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Exchange Compensation allowance and the humbler servants of Government.

Our industries and manufactures.

The Royal Commission.

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tion, this scrutiny into Indian affairs, they naturally were careful, as to the policy they pursued and as to the details of their administration. Ever since 1853—ever since India has passed under the government of the Crown,—there has not been a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry into Indian affairs, with the exception of the abortive Committee that was appointed when Lord Randolph Churchill was Secretary of State. The Committee collapsed almost as soon as it was appointed, owing to the dissolution of Parliament.

It will be my duty later on to refer to the labours of the British Committee and of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. But at this stage, I may be permitted to observe that the appointment of the Royal Commission was mainly due to their incessant and devoted efforts, and where all so richly deserve our thanks, it would be invidious to mention names. But if I am permitted to refer to any one who in a special degree is entitled to our acknowledgments, it is Sir William Wedderburn, the President of the British Committee. Sir William Wedderburn is well-known in this Presidency, but his is a name which is held in universal honour throughout India as that of a fearless, self-sacrificing, and devoted champion of Indian interests. (*Loud Cheers*) The one idea upon which he has been ceaselessly harping ever since his retirement from official life made it possible for him to devote himself, according to the natural impulses of his generous heart, to the service of the land of his adoption, was the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into Indian expenditure. It formed the theme of his eloquent address from the Presidential chair of the Congress held at Bombay; and at last success has crowned his efforts and those of his colleagues.

The Commission is now sitting. We regret the Commission has decided to carry on its deliberations with closed doors. We believe publicity would have materially helped the Commission in the important work in which it is engaged. "Light, kindly light," is what we need amid "the encircling gloom" that surrounds us. None the less we expect great results from the labours of the Commission. We are confident the labours of the Commission will mark an epoch in the history of our financial relations with England. Sir Henry Fowler had, indeed, observed, when the Commission was appointed, that no question of policy would lie within the competence of the Commission. The terms, however, of the appointment do not seem to me to exclude the consideration of the policy which governs the administration of the Civil and Military expenditure of the Empire. The terms are wide enough to include such a consideration. The Commission is appointed to enquire into (a) "the administration and management of the military and civil expenditure incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council or of the Government of India," and (b) "the apportionment of charge between the Governments of the United Kingdom and India for purposes in which both are interested."

The administration and management of the Civil and Military expenditure of the Empire necessarily includes considerations of policy. To hold otherwise would be to unduly limit the scope of the enquiry, and to restrict it to mere matters of account-keeping. As the *Times* truly says:—"Any curtailment of the scope of the Royal Commission's enquiry which might debar reasonable men from coming to a conclusion on these questions would be received with disappointment in England and with deep dissatisfaction throughout India."

The second part of the enquiry is, if possible, of still greater importance. It intimately affects the Home Charges. Our complaint is that the Indian Exchequer is saddled with charges which should not be thrown upon us. It is not a complaint uttered by irresponsible critics in the Press, but it is a complaint to which statesmen of the eminence of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Northbrook, and others have lent the weight of their names. I have no right to anticipate the decision of the Commission, but I am sure I re-echo your sentiments when I say

that the people of India appeal to the Commission for justice, for that financial justice, for which they have cried so often, but have hitherto cried in vain.

We too have a duty to perform in this connection. Three members of the British Committee are on the Commission. We know how nobly they are doing their work. But our side of the case must be represented, and adequately represented. The Commission must be placed in touch with popular opinion in India. In this matter I am happy to be able to say that we are in complete accord with our Anglo-Indian fellowsubjects. In the whole compass of the political literature of the last ten years, there is nothing more searching, yet more discriminating, than Sir Griffith Evans' criticism on the Home Charges. Every Association in the country ought to send representations to the Commission, bearing on the question of Indian expenditure, and on the adjustment of charges between India and England. There should go forth from us an unequivocal and emphatic demonstration against the present system by which England throws upon India charges incidental to her Imperial responsibility, and which in equity ought to be shared between the two countries, with some reference not only to the mutual benefits derived, but also to the capacity of each country to bear the burden.

The question of the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service is, to my mind, more or less a financial problem. It is intimately connected with the question of the poverty of the people. That is the view of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji; that was the view of the late Mr. Robert Knight, than whom there was not an abler financial expert or a more ardent friend of the people of India. The considerations bearing upon this point are obvious. The more of the foreign element there is in the public service, with the high pay which must necessarily be given to them for service in a foreign country, the more you widen and deepen that channel by which the wealth of the country flows out—the greater is the impetus you give to that drain which is going on and which has gone on for the last hundred years and more, and which is more or less incidental to the present state of things. A part of the salaries of these highly paid officials must be spent out of the country, for the support of their wives and children, while they are yet in the service; and when they have retired, the whole of their pensions, with exceptions which hardly call for notice, must be spent abroad. This means the loss of this portion of the national wealth which is absolutely indefensible, if substantially service of the same quality could be obtained by employing the children of the soil. The employment of a foreign element in the public service of a country, with the prospect of the salaries of these public servants leaving the country, is morally wrong, economically disastrous, and politically inexpedient, unless it is evident that the gain in other respects outweighs the financial loss, or in the end averts greater financial loss than what is incidental to the employment of this foreign agency. (*Hear, hear*)

We fully recognize the fact that British capital has been sunk in the development of the resources of the country. We are grateful to British capitalists for the boon. Their enterprise has afforded us great advantages: It has given an impetus to trade and commerce: It has facilitated intercourse between the most distant parts of the Empire: It has annihilated time and space. But in regard to the great Railway undertakings, to which I chiefly refer, the capital is English, mostly in gold, which adds to the unfavourable exchange, the higher employes are English, the bulk of the profits goes to England. The drain continues, though undoubtedly the resources of the country being developed, it is better able to bear the strain.

In asking for the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service, we not only take our stand upon the solemn promises of our Sovereign which we cherish with the most affectionate ardour, but we rely upon high considerations of expediency. We are interested in the solvency of the Empire—in the financial stability of the Government; for with it are bound up the happiness and prosperity of our people. Therefore it is that we make this demand. The financial consideration runs through it all.

First Day.

Our duty in regard to the Royal Commission.

The wider employment of Indians in the Public Service.

British capital sunk.

We rely upon high consideration of expediency.

**First Day.**

Poverty of the masses—a political danger—the parent of public disorders.

Abject, deplorable poverty is the prolific parent of public disorders. A people groaning under an intolerable load of poverty, with whom existence is a burden, have no interest in the maintenance of the public tranquillity ; there is no project, however wild or reckless or inconsistent with the public interests, which in their desperation they might not adopt. I need not quote familiar instances in the history of the world. Oriental nature is not materially different from human nature in other parts of the world.

Disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans.

We all deplore the recent disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans. We would give worlds to avert them. They throw back the cause of political advancement. But how rare is it that we find respectable people mixed up in these disturbances. People who have anything to lose will not expose themselves to the risk. Those who have nothing to lose, with whom existence is one long incessant struggle, would dare all things and do all things. A people steeped in poverty represents a political danger, the magnitude of which it is difficult to exaggerate.

How does the Public Service question stand ?

How does this public service question stand ? The resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893 in favour of Simultaneous Examinations, stands there in the journals of the House. It has not been cancelled. Nor has it been given effect to. What has happened since we met last ? A number of petitions has been presented to the House in support of the Resolution to which I have referred, but not as many as one might have wished or hoped for, having regard to the importance of the question and the magnitude of our interests therein. I am bound to say that we have not done our duty in this matter. I feel called upon to repeat the appeal I made last year that we should go on presenting petitions to the House of Commons till we get what we want. Let us convince the British public that we are in earnest about this matter, and I am confident that justice will be done to us. It is no use recording a Resolution here once a year, and then going to sleep over it for the rest of the twelve months.

Recent events accentuate the need for Simultaneous Examinations.

Never did the case for Simultaneous Examinations receive a more striking measure of support than from the results of the Open Competitive Examination for 1895. There were sixty-six vacancies. There were several Indian candidates. But only one passed, Mr. Shaik Ashgar Ali of the Punjab. In your name I desire to congratulate this gentleman, chiefly because he is a Mahomedan and a native of the Punjab. I should like to put it to the staunchest opponent of Simultaneous Examinations to say if the success of this solitary native of India represents justice—adequate justice to India. The *Pioneer* newspaper, referring to this year's Final Examination, remarked that, having regard to the results, the case for Simultaneous Examinations must now be considered to be hopeless. What are the results which are supposed to justify this inference ? A Mahomedan gentleman was at the top of the list at the Final Examination, and three other Indian candidates occupied very high places. But in considering the results of the Final Examination in their bearing upon the question of Simultaneous Examinations, we must also take into account the results of the Open Competitive Examination for the same year ; and if we do so, we are forced to the conclusion that they accentuate the necessity for holding Simultaneous Examinations, both as a matter of justice to India, and with a view to ensure the efficiency of the Service.

Simultaneous examinations would add to the efficiency of the Civil Service.

I desire to put this question of the efficiency of the Civil Service in the fore-ground. I am distinctly of opinion that Simultaneous Examinations would add to its efficiency ; and the results of the recent Open Competitive Examination certainly point to that conclusion. Look at the disparity of marks between the successful candidates at the top and those at the bottom of the list, say between the first ten and the last ten candidates. As regards the first ten candidates, the marks vary from 2,125 to 3,738 ; as regards the last ten, the marks vary from 1,493 to 1,587. If these marks are to be regarded as any test of merit, it must be admitted

that there was a great and unusual disparity in respect of merit between the men at the top and the men at the bottom. If a selection could have been made from a wider field, if the examination was held in India as well as in England, it is reasonable to infer that there would have been some chance of this disparity being removed, and perhaps a better class of candidates selected in the place of those occupying the places at the bottom of the list. It is impossible to resist this conclusion, and to that extent it is impossible to shut our eyes to that other conclusion to which it points, that Simultaneous Examinations are calculated to add to the efficiency of the Service, by widening the field of selection. I regard it as a *sine qua non* that the selected candidates should be required to complete their period of probation in England.

One word more before I leave the question of Simultaneous Examinations. One of the objections raised was that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, it would involve unfairness to the martial races : the Mahomedans and the Sikhs would have no chance. The results of this and last years' Examinations afford a complete contradiction to this view of the matter. The only successful Indian candidate at the Open Competitive Examination for 1895 was a Mahomedan gentleman ; among the successful candidates for 1894 was a Sikh gentleman ; and last but not least, the candidate who heads the list of passed probationers at the Final Examination for this year is a Mahomedan. Our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen are rapidly coming to the fore-front, and I think I express the sense of this Congress when I say that we all await with pleasure the advent of that day when in full association with Hindos and others in their intellectual activities, they will stand shoulder to shoulder with them in that political struggle which will only end when Hindus and Mahomedans, and Parsis and Sikhs, all races and all creeds in India, will have won for themselves the full rights of British citizenship.

You will remember that the Resolution of the House of Commons did not concern the Covenanted Civil Service alone. It referred to *all* Civil Services, and it affirmed the principle of Simultaneous Examinations in regard to them all. In Bengal a qualified sort of Competitive Examination is held for selection to the office of Assistant and District Superintendents. A similar examination is held in London. The examinations are not held simultaneously. They are not held at the same time ; nor are the same papers set. That is not, however, what we complain of. We have a much more serious grievance when you consider the matter from another point of view. Natives of India are excluded from these examinations. They are not allowed to compete. They are to be promoted to the office of Assistant and District Superintendents of Police from among the rank of Inspectors.

I have carefully read the Report of the Public Service Commission. There is absolutely nothing in the recommendations of the Public Service Commission to justify this exclusion. The Commission recommend (*vide* page 121 of their Report ) " limited competition amongst candidates selected in England," and similar " competition amongst candidates selected in India." They further say that " endeavours should be made to introduce a reasonable proportion of Native officers in the higher ranks of the Police." The grievance to which I refer has formed the subject of representations to the Government of Bengal and the Government of India, but so far without any result.

The Government seems to be of opinion that racial distinctions imply moral distinctions, distinctions of character, which involve the possession of one set of moral qualities rather than another. With the express declaration of the Charter Act of 1833, which lays down that " No Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be excluded from any office under the said Company"—with the gracious message of the Queen's Proclamation still ringing in our ears—led me repeat those noble words—" Our subjects of what-

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Objection that the martial races would be placed at a disadvantage fully disproved.

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The other Civil Services.

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The opinion of the Public Service Commission.

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Racial distinctions do not imply distinctions of character.

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ever race or creed be freely admitted to all offices the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, their ability, and their integrity duly to discharge,"—with this express provision in the Charter Act and with the gracious assurance of our Sovereign—it is too late in the day to fall back upon mere racial considerations. Racial qualifications are not moral qualifications. The Competitive Examination is a better test of moral qualifications than the mere accident of race. It must be so in the nature of things; for what inequalities temper, of character and disposition, do we not observe among members of the same race? This question was thoroughly gone into by the Committee that was appointed with Lord Macanlay at its head, on the eve of the creation of the system of Open Competitive Examinations for appointments to the Indian Civil Service. The Committee submitted its report in 1854 to Sir Charles Wood, and in that Report the Committee thus observed:—

“Early superiority in science and literature generally indicates the existence of some qualities which are securities against vice, industry, self-denial, a taste for pleasures not sensual, a laudable desire of honourable distinction, a still more laudable desire to obtain the approbation of friends and relations. We therefore believe that the intellectual test which is about to be established will be found in practice to be also the best moral test which can be devised.”

I should not have thought it necessary to refer to this all but forgotten controversy, were it not that there is a distinct indication of public opinion in some quarters, so notably displayed in the Despatches published in the Blue-Book on “Simultaneous Examinations,” in favour of the system of nomination as against competition—a feeling that competition as between members of the same race is a good test, but is inadequate and ineffectual as a test, as between members of different races and nationalities. I am free to admit that competition does not represent a perfect test. But there is nothing perfect in this world. Human institutions suffer from the original taint of imperfection. It is the best practicable test we have.

**Our claim.**  
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We claim to be admitted to all competitive examinations for the Indian Services, no matter to what particular department of the public service they may refer. We claim to be admitted to the Competitive Examinations for the Police Service held in India as well as in England. We claim to be admitted to the Examinations for recruitment to the higher offices in the Forest Department. We are excluded from these Examinations, and we are excluded because we are natives of India. (*Shame! shame!*) Our disqualification is our race. The crime of colour is alleged against us. We are supposed not to possess the qualities required for these services, by reason of our being members of the race to which it is our misfortune to belong. But there are so many races in India. (*Laughter*) Do they all suffer from the same disqualification—are they all wanting in the precious qualities required for these services? For the exclusion applies to them all. A slur is thus put upon us. But we are not ashamed of our nationality. We are proud that we are Indians; some of us are the inheritors of a civilization which carries the mind back to the dawn of human civilization. (*Hear, hear*) But we are also British subjects. *Civis Romanus sum* was the boast of the ancient world. It is our proud privilege to be British subjects, and we claim the rights which belong to our political connection. (*Cheers*) We are confident that the English people will not permit the perpetuation of invidious distinctions of race in the government of their great Dependency. Themselves free men, all in the enjoyment of equal rights and equal privileges, their natural instinct would be to extend to others the blessings which have made them so great, so happy, and so prosperous. (*Cheers*)

**Military Service**  
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In this connection it is impossible not to refer to the exclusion of our countrymen from the commissioned ranks in the Army. The bravest Native soldier, a born warrior, and though he may have in him the making of a great Captain, cannot in these days rise beyond the

rank of a Subadar-Major or a Ressaldar-Major in the British Army. A Shivaji, a Hyder Ali, a Ranjit Singh, a Madhoji Scindia, could not now have risen to the position of the Colonel of a Regiment or the Captain of a Company. (*Laughter*) This ostracism of a whole people, this exclusion of the representatives of the Military races in India from high command in the Army, cannot add to the strength and the stability or the greatness of the Empire. The Romans, the up-builders of the mightiest Empire in the ancient world, followed a different policy. Gibbon says:—"But in the eye of the law all Roman citizens were equal, and all the subjects of the Empire were citizens of Rome \* \* \*, and the bold adventurer from Germany or Arabia was admitted with equal favour to the Civil or Military command which citizens alone had been once entitled to assume over the conquests of his fathers (P. 45, Chap. XLIV.; Vol. V., "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.") Trust in the people, confidence in the ruled, is the secret of successful imperial sway. (*Hear, hear*) Never was there a more striking illustration of this truth than in the splendid results which followed the adoption of this policy by Akbar. (*Cheers*) A stranger to the country, the son of a Prince who had been driven from his throne, beset with enormous difficulties at the commencement of his reign, he surmounted them all and founded the mightiest Empire of his time, which for nearly two centuries continued to flourish with undiminished vigour. What was the secret? Where had Akbar learnt it? He loved the people and trusted them. They returned his love with an abundant measure of gratitude which constituted the greatest bulwark of his throne. The grandsons of those who had fought against his grandfather became his Ministers, the rulers of his Provinces, the Captains of his Army. Raja Man Singh carried the Moghul standard from the wilds of Assam to the mountain-passes of Afghanistan. Himself a Hindu, he was made the Governor of the Mahomedan province of Cabul; and he subjugated for his Mahomedan Sovereign the Hindu province of Bengal. Birbal, another Hindu favourite, was sent in charge of an expedition to punish the Yusufzais in Swat, and when the news of his death was brought, his Sovereign shed floods of tears. In the words of Colonel Malleston: "To all alike, whether Uzbek, or Afghan, or Hindu, or Parsi, or Christian, he offered careers, provided only that they were faithful, intelligent, true to themselves." Russian despotism is not, indeed, to be compared to the benevolent rule of the British in India. But the native subjects of the Czar in Central Asia are admitted to the commissioned ranks in the Army. Here in Congress from year to year we record a Resolution in favour of the establishment of a Military College in India at which natives of India may be educated and trained for a military career. I understand that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, when he was Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, expressed himself in favour of such an institution, as affording a training-ground for the scions of respectable families among the martial races in India who might aspire to military distinction. The martial races have done splendid service in the up-building of the Empire. An outlet should be provided for the gratification of their legitimate ambition. Thus wrote the shrewd, the wise, the statesman-like Sir Henry Lawrence many many years ago:—

"If Asiatics and Africans can obtain honourable position in the Armies of Russia and France, surely Indians, after a tried service of a century under England's banner, are entitled to the same boon, nay justice."

The question of the separation of the Civil and Military Medical Services will engage your attention. For the agitation in this matter we are indebted to the indefatigable efforts of Dr. Bahadurji and his associates. They have brought it within the range of practical politics, and, as I learn, have secured the sympathies of so earnest and influential a medical reformer as Dr. Ernest Hart. The question is not a mere professional one. It has a public side to it. The profession is interested, and the public also interested. I have great respect for the Indian Medical Service. The members of that Service have been the pioneers in this

Medical reform in  
India.

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country of the system of medicine as taught in Europe; but it is no disparagement to the Service to say that it is not fit for anything and every thing, that it has not the exclusive monopoly of the knowledge of the most recent advances made in medical science, and that professional and scientific work may require special training for which the Service may not afford facilities.

**A recent order  
of the Secretary  
of State.**

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In this connection I may be permitted to refer on the authority of the *Glasgow Herald* to a recent ruling by the Secretary of State for India, under which he reserves to himself the discretion to disqualify a candidate for the Indian Medical Service who may have been considered qualified by the examiners. This is what the *Glasgow Herald* says :—

“Thirty-three candidates, four of whom are Natives of India, will compete for sixteen vacancies in the Indian Medical Service on 2nd proximo. The Secretary of State for India, it should be noted, now has the power of rejecting any candidate who has been successful at the examination. This was not the case until a few months ago. A candidate who succeeded in passing the examination recently, and was able to produce the necessary certificates as to moral character, was objected to by the India Office authorities, but they were compelled to accept him. Immediate authority was, however, sought by the Secretary of State from Parliament, and in future the appointment of any successful competitor who may be considered an undesirable person by the Military Department and Medical Board at the India Office will be vetoed.”

We have sufficient confidence in Secretaries of State to feel assured that the discretion here claimed will not be capriciously exercised. But when such a rule does not obtain in respect of any other competitive examination which regulates public appointments in India, the justification for this departure from ordinary practice does not seem to be apparent.

**The separation of  
Judicial and Executive  
functions.**

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The question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions in the administration of criminal justice has always formed a chief plank in the Congress platform. It is one of those questions which we claim to have brought within the range of practical politics. Lord Dufferin declared it to be “a counsel of perfection;” and two successive Secretaries of State, representing the two political parties in England, Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley, both expressed themselves in favor of this reform. The wisdom of the proposal is thus admitted in the abstract. But no serious effort has yet been made to recognise it in the practical work of administration. Mr. R. C. Dutt has showed in his admirable Note which we have more than once considered in this Congress that the reform may be carried out with little or no extra expenditure. Sir Richard Garth has again and again accentuated the need for the introduction of this reform. Every year cases occur which add to the ever-accumulating evidence on the subject. I desire to make a suggestion in this connection for your consideration. I think a Blue-Book should be published every year from each Province by some recognized Association giving the cases occurring in that Province, which point to the need for the speedy carrying out of this reform. We shall then have paved the way for the reform by the inexorable logic of facts which will carry home conviction to every unprejudiced mind. A Resolution of the House of Commons in favour of the reform would perhaps help the Government to introduce it. Of course, a large measure of discretion must be vested in the Government in the carrying out of the reform.

**The question not  
one of expense.**

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The question is really not one of expense but is more or less one of prestige. In the official mind—I should not like to say this of all officials—there are many officials who think differently, Mr. R. C. Dutt is himself an official—there seems to be an idea that to deprive the chief executive officer of the District of his judicial powers would be to deprive him of his prestige and lower him in the estimation of the public. But surely prestige that is bound up with a system which in theory is indefensible, and which in practice leads to injustice, is a

very poor sort of prestige indeed, and must defeat its own object. Prestige which perpetuates injustice and excites discontent and dissatisfaction among the masses, for they are the chief sufferers by this injustice, is not worth having. It is no aid to the Government. It is a source of weakness and embarrassment. The old Scriptural text is true now as it was in the primitive days when it fell from prophetic lips—"Righteousness exalteth a nation." No Government can afford, under any pretext whatsoever--call it prestige, call it policy, call it by what name you like—to do aught or to suffer aught which may lead to defeat the ends of justice as between man and man, which all Governments are commissioned by a writ from on High to maintain and promote.

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Again I admit that Governments are bound to proceed with caution. I would find fault with a Government that was not cautious, reasonably cautious, against which the charge of recklessness could be brought in any form or shape, whether in regard to the people's money or the people's happiness or convenience ; but the Government may in this connection begin the experiment in selected Districts, and await the result. I am afraid there may be parts of the country so disturbed that an experiment of this kind may not be desirable in the public interests. But having admitted that the proposal embodies a counsel of perfection, public opinion has a legitimate right to ask Government to move on, and to give effect to it in a cautious and tentative spirit. It will not do in these days to recognize the perfection of a principle in the abstract, and then refuse to give effect to it in practice. The present position of absolute inaction on the part of the Government in this matter is untenable. Let a great Government like ours yield before the importunate clamour of public opinion has assumed proportions, where a concession made will have the appearance of having been wrung under compulsion. Let not the words "too late" be written upon the policy of Government in this or in other matters.

The experiment may be cautiously introduced.

In this connection I cannot help referring to the deplorable instances of failure of justice in many criminal cases where Europeans are the accused and natives of India are the aggrieved party. It is a difficult and delicate matter to deal with ; but we have a right to appeal for help to all right-minded Englishmen interested in upholding the fair fame of British justice. The Court of Directors in a despatch that is well-known observed that it was not only necessary that justice should be done in India, but that the people should be convinced that justice has been done. Sir James Fitz-Stephen, a disciple of Carlyle, a worshipper of the doctrine of might as against right, of the doctrine of force as against the principle of moral persuasion in the Government of communities, declared from his place in the Supreme Legislative Council that a single act of injustice done or believed to be done was more disastrous to British rule than a great reverse on an Asiatic battle-field. It is because we know that this class of cases is creating a great deal of dissatisfaction and discontent among the masses and is weakening the hold of the Government upon them, that we feel it our duty to call prominent attention to that matter. A writer in the columns of *India* suggests a modification of the law which is worth considering. He says,—

Criminal cases between Europeans and Natives of India.

"I believe that in cases like the above the Court ought to be a mixed court, *i. e.*, one of the Judges ought to be Native and the other a European ; and that the Jury should be half European and half Native. This is the only practical means by which a great scandal in our administration of justice can be removed and a serious political danger obviated."

Two Bills are now before the Supreme Legislative Council which will demand your earnest attention—the Legal Practitioners' Bill and the Jury Bill. There is a feeling in some quarters that a wave of reaction has set in and is unsettling the minds of our rulers. We all recognise the fact that human progress is largely made up of action and re-action ; that the cause of reform never moves forward in a straight line, but that it swings backward and for-

The Legal Practitioners' Bill.

**First Day.**  
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ward like the pendulum of a clock ; and that the forward movement more than makes up for the rebound. However that may be, both these Bills have filled the public mind with alarm, which, in the case of the Jury Bill, has partly been removed by the re-assuring message which His Excellency the Viceroy was able to give to the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha in reply to their address. The object of the Legal Practitioners' Bill is to suppress law-touts. With that everybody will sympathise. But those who object to the Bill say, and I think with great force, that the Bill is calculated to suppress Mofussil Pleaders rather than law-touts. Certain it is that the Bill proposes some very serious innovations. It proposes to arm the District Judge and the Commissioner of the Division with the power of removing a Pleader, and the Commissioner of the Division with the power of removing a Revenue Agent. Under the Legal Practitioners' Act of 1879, this power belongs exclusively to the High Court. It is a power which with the exception of a brief intermission of a few years, has always been vested in the High Court. The District Courts can only make recommendations in this behalf. A power like this vested in the District Courts would, it was strongly urged at the Calcutta Meeting, deal a heavy blow at the independence of the Mofussil Bar. Pleaders will practise with a halter round their necks. They dare not hurt the susceptibilities of the District *Hakims*. They dare not show excess of zeal in any case in which local official opinion may have been enlisted against their client. The client will suffer. The public will suffer. Undoubtedly the dismissed Pleader will have the right to appeal the High Court. But it is one thing to contest an open recommendation, and quite a different thing to seek to upset a final verdict. I may here remark that Her Majesty's Judges of the superior courts in England have not the power of disbarring a barrister practising before such Courts. It is only the Benchers of the Inn of Court to which a barrister happens to belong who can disbar him. When Her Majesty's Judges in England cannot dismiss practitioners who appear before them, surely such a power should not be vested in our Mofussil Judges.

**It is a public question.**  
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The question is not one that merely concerns lawyers. It has an important public bearing. The public are quite as interested as the lawyers. The independence of the Mofussil Bar is a matter of public concern. To imperil their independence is to aim a blow at the beginnings of national life, and to sap the springs of constitutional agitation in the Mofussil. The Bar constitute the pillar of our public movements. Our Mofussil Pleaders are the life and soul of our Municipalities and our District Boards. They are the secretaries and working members of our religious and social institutions. There is no movement in the Mofussil which does not owe its origin to them, or is not mainly guided by them. With such a law as this, they dare not take part in public movements, especially of a political character which might expose them to the displeasure of the local officials. It would be a public misfortune, it would throw back the cause of reform, if a law were passed which would interfere with the independence of such a useful body of men.

**The Jury Bill.**  
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The Jury Notification was issued as you know in 1892. A Commission was appointed in 1893 to report upon the matter. The Notification, as you are aware, was subsequently withdrawn. The object of the present Bill is, as defined in the statement of Objects and Reasons, to give effect to such of the recommendations of the Jury Commission as have been approved of by the Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State. The most important provision of the Bill is that which refers to the amendment of Section 303 of the Criminal Procedure Code, empowering Judges to require Juries to bring in special verdicts. But this is precisely the provision of the Bill, which is in entire conflict with the recommendation of the Jury Commission. This question of special verdicts was considered by them, and was unanimously rejected. And who were the members of the Jury Commission ? The President was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. Among the Members were Sir Romesh Chander Mitter, late Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal ; Mr. Wilkins, the present Legal Remembrancer ; and last but not least, Sir Griffith

Evans, the present Officiating Advocate-General, in whom the Government has such great confidence that ever since 1878 the Government has continued appointing him as a Member of the Supreme Legislative Council. Apart from the weight which must belong to the opinion of such a body of men, we find the views of the Jury Commission in this respect are supported by high authority. The High Court of Calcutta describe the proposed amendment as "a radical and dangerous change in the law." The majority of the Judges of the Bombay High Court do not consider the amendment as called for, and the Government of Bengal, which issued the Jury Notification in 1892, accords to it only a qualified measure of support. "After full consideration," says the letter of the Bengal Government, "the Lieutenant-Governor is disposed to agree with the Commission ( the Jury Commission ) that there is no absolute necessity for a change, as under the present law a Judge can and a good Judge does, put the issue before the Jury, so that they should be obliged to give a verdict on each point; but since all Judges do not, Sir Charles Elliott would prefer to see such a change made in the wording of Section 303 as shall show that the procedure should always be as above described, the Judge laying down each issue and calling on the Jury for a special verdict on each." The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is of opinion that "there is no absolute necessity for this change in the law" if a good Judge could always be found to preside at a Session's trial in a Jury District. The Judicial Branch of the Civil Service in Bengal is surely not so wanting in capable men that it would be difficult to find good Judges for the few districts where Trial by Jury prevails. It seems to me that it would be very unwise to enact a law which is likely to create a great deal of public dissatisfaction, when the evil complained of, if it is real, might be remedied by administrative arrangements, unattended with any expense or inconvenience.

The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill in commenting upon this provision, remarked that it was liable to be attended with abuse. It seems, however, that there is no real cause for alarm, so far as this particular section of the Bill is concerned. We have the assurance of His Excellency the Viceroy that the effective, but at the same time the conservative, administration of the law would be secured and in a form that would recommend itself to the approval of public opinion. The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha is to be congratulated upon having obtained this expression of opinion from His Excellency. I will quote the words of His Excellency in this place :—

"I do not think it would be proper for me to enter into any discussion of the details of a Bill now before the Legislative Council, but I may say a word or two as to procedure. I cannot help thinking that a wholly disproportionate excitement has been got up over this matter. I gather that you, at all events, assent, unreservedly, to the recommendations of the Jury Commission, and acknowledge, therefore, that reforms are desirable in the law. On one point there is admittedly great difference of opinion. If the Government had ignored that point and left it out of the Bill, this difference of opinion, and all the consequences that result from differences of opinion would have remained. The Government thought it better that this point should be carefully and deliberately considered, and it will be carefully and deliberately considered in the proceedings of the Legislative Council. As the Hon'ble Member who introduced the Bill stated at the time, that is the object with which the Government have introduced this particular provision, and I venture to hope that by the co-operation of all who take an interest in the due, the effective, but still in the conservative, administration of the Law, the result of the discussions in Calcutta will be that the law will be put into a shape which will meet the approval of your Sabha as well as the rest of the community."

I think I express the sense of this Congress when I say that we are all deeply grateful to His Excellency for this re-assuring message. The provision of the Bill, in regard to the appointment of special jurors is, I think, a distinct improvement.

First Day.  
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 Extention of the  
 system of Trial by  
 Jury.  
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The system of Trial by Jury in the form in which it exists is undoubtedly English in its character. But the principle which underlies it, is the principle of the *Panchayet* system, which in this country is as old as the hills, and is graven deep on the instincts of the people. I think it will be admitted on all hands, that on the whole the experiment has been a success and therefore we are justified in calling for an extension of the system, for which, indeed, we have repeatedly prayed, and which, we find, is supported by the high authority of Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, one of the members of the Jury Commission. I am glad to learn that the Government of Bengal has recommended the extension of the system to six new districts. That Government is to be congratulated on this decision.

Education.  
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There are other important questions included in your programme. If I had time I should have liked to have dwelt upon them : I should have specially liked to have referred to the question of Excise and the question of Education. We must press for local option. The Government has no right to thrust liquor-shops upon unwilling communities. We must safeguard the interests of Education—primary, technical, and high. I am bound to say that the Government expenditure on Education is small when compared with similar expenditure incurred in other countries, and it is inadequate to the growing requirements of a progressive community like ours. It is my contention that in India the expenditure per head of the population is the lowest, as compared with British possessions in other parts of the world—in Asia, America, Africa and the Australian Continent. Here is a table which I have drawn up and which bears out this view of the matter:—

Countries.	Population	State expenditure on Education.	Cost per head. S. d.
Great Britain and Ireland	37,879,285	£756,906,6	3—11½
Belgium ... ..	6,069,321	£676,297	2 2½
France ... ..	38,343,192	£2,761,723	1 5½
Russia ... ..	115,226,542	£3,820,496½s.	3½
United States ...	62,622,250	£32,528,328	10 4½
South African Republic	119,128	£43,823 ...	7 4½
New South Wales ...	1,132,234	£693,652	12 3
New Zealand ...	626,658	£411,922	13 1½
Queensland ...	393,718	£253,758	12—10½
Tasmania ... ..	146,667	£44,864 ...	6 1½
Victoria ... ..	1,140,465	£739,784	12—11½
Western Australia ...	49,782	£10,397 ...	4 2½
Cape Colony ... ..	1,527,224	£147,424	1—11½
Natal ... ..	543,913	£34,188 ...	1 3/15
British Guiana ...	288,328	£18,116 ...	1 3-1/13
Jamaica ... ..	648,558	£30,786 ...	11-2/5
Mauritius ... ..	71,655	Rs. 453,52	As. 10 Ps. 1½
Ceylon ... ..	3,008,466	Rs. 508,116	„ 2 „ ½
India ... ..	221,172,958	Rs. 8,211,820	„ 0 „ 7-1/7
Bengal ... ..	70,000,000	Rs. 26,460,00	„ 0 „ 7¼

Thus it will be seen that while the expenditure on education per head of the population in Ceylon is over 2 ans., in Mauritius it is 10 ans., in Natal, 1s.-3d., in British Guiana it is 1s.-11d. and even in Russia it is 3½d., in India it is only a little over 7 pies. Comment on these figures is unnecessary. I cannot say whether these figures include contributions made by local bodies. Even if such contributions were to be added, it would not, I think, make an appreciable difference.

We are indebted to Professor Oxenham for his defence of High Education. We are not in favour of High Education *vs.* Primary Education. We are in favour of all Education, high and low. They act and re-act upon each other. They are part and parcel of a common and indissoluble system. High Education does not benefit the recipients alone. It benefits the whole community, for if John Stuart Mill is to be accepted as our authority in these matters, the ideas of the educated classes filter downwards and become the ideas of the masses.

First Day.

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It has, indeed, been said that we should not take up too many questions, that we should content ourselves with a few, and press them upon the attention of Government. There is considerable force in this observation. By covering a wider ground, we lose in concentration, and we run the risk of losing in effect. The more important questions are apt to be lost sight of in the consideration of the less important ones. From the point of view of presentation to Government, this is a disadvantage. But the Congress being national, its interests embracing the whole field of national concerns, it is difficult to curtail our programme, without leaving untouched a large number of questions which affect important interests. I think, however, we may adopt a middle course. I think we should give special prominence to a few questions only, such as Indian Finance, including the Home Charges and Military Expenditure, the Separation of Judicial and Executive functions, the question of Simultaneous Examinations, the still further reform of the Legislative Councils, and one or two other matters which might be mentioned.

General observations.

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From the consideration of our work here we may pass on to discuss our work in England. Our voice would be that of one crying in the wilderness, but for our organization in London, the British Committee, our paper *India*, and our Parliamentary Committee. The money that we spend in England is worth its weight in gold. (*Hear, hear*) It fructifies abundantly in the increasing interest which is being created in England in regard to Indian affairs. It is preparing the way for an abundant harvest of good in which, under the Providence of God, our children and our children's children are destined to share. But how shall we fittingly describe the services of those good men and true, with Sir William Wedderburn at their head, who ungrudgingly devote their time and attention, often at considerable personal sacrifice, to work for us on the British Committee and the Parliamentary Committee! They say the word "gratitude" does not occur in our language. But the sentiment is there, deep-rooted in the hearts of our people; and in your name I desire to express our sense of profound gratitude to the members of the British Committee, and of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, for their disinterested services to India. (*Loud Cheers*)

Work in England.

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Never was there greater need than now for vigilance both here and in England. At the recent General Elections our Parliamentary friends sustained a defeat all along the line. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Herbert Paul, Mr. W. S. Caine, (*Cheers*) and other friends of Indian reform, have all lost their seats, though we hope constituencies will soon be found for them which will return them to Parliament. My distinguished friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee fought in the Liberal interest as bravely as man ever fought, (*Loud Cheers*) but he too was defeated. Mr. Bhowngree has been returned to Parliament in the Conservative interest. I hope and trust Mr. Bhowngree will find time to read our programme and our proceedings; and if he does so, I am sure he will find that we are as warmly interested as we could be in the maintenance of Imperial unity, and that we are advocates of reform and not of revolution, and of reform as a safeguard against revolution. He must know that reforms indefinitely postponed lead to violent changes—that reforms quietly, steadily, cautiously introduced, so that the new adapts itself to the old and the old becomes a part of the new, add to the stability and strength of Governments. I hope that as the result of his studies he will see his way to sympathize with our programme. His conservatism in English politics need not stand in the way of his adoption of the very

Need for renewed vigilance.

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**First Day.**  
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moderate programme of the Congress. Sir Richard Garth is a Conservative in politics. He is not able to accept the whole of our programme—he is not in favour of Simultaneous Examinations; but there is no stauncher friend of the Congress movement, whether among Liberals or Conservatives, and we Congressmen are deeply beholden to him for his defence of our cause, when it was assailed by the late Sir George Chesney.

**Do we belong to any party in English politics?**  
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We have endeavoured so far to steer clear of party politics. But the bulk of our friends belong to the Liberal side. With the exception of Mr. Pincott and Sir Richard Garth I cannot at this moment think of any Conservative politician who sympathises with the Congress movement. From the Liberal ranks we have received the largest measure of sympathy. When the delegates went to England in 1890 it was the Liberal Associations which organized their meetings in the Provincial centres. When the Liberals came into power, their sympathy with our popular aspirations was marked. It was a Liberal Parliament that recorded the Resolution in favour of Simultaneous Examinations, though I regret to say that it was a Liberal Secretary of State who nullified that Resolution. It was a Liberal Government that practically ordered the withdrawal of the Jury Notification. It was the mandate of a Liberal Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley that saved in Bengal the system of Local Self-Government menaced by the Municipal Bill of 1892. It was a Liberal Government, too, that reimposed the import duties on cotton goods in the interests of India.

**Indian questions should become party questions.**  
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Speaking for myself, I will say this, that until Indian questions are taken up as party questions, until they become factors in determining the issues of party contests, they cannot occupy a prominent place in English politics, or engage a large measure of public attention in England. Before the English people can be expected to do justice to India, they must feel an interest in Indian topics; and they will not, and cannot, feel any interest in them, so long as Indian questions remain outside the pale of party politics. We have it on the authority of John Morley that "Indian affairs entered materially into the great battle of parties" in the last century, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which for its moral results was a great and far-reaching event, was mainly prompted by party considerations.

**What is our attitude.**  
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What is our attitude with regard to the Government? I decline to discuss the charge of disloyalty which used to be brought against us in the early days of the Congress movement. Having regard to the official recognition which was extended to us by Lord Lansdowne's Government, this is no longer a question of practical politics. Are we then Her Majesty's constitutional Opposition in this country? I hardly think so. Our position is not analogous to that of a Parliamentary Opposition. A Parliamentary Opposition is bound to oppose all measures of the Government. It is its duty to oppose. It opposes for the mere sake of opposition. Its opposition is actuated by considerations of party spirit, under the influence of which the motives and the policy of the Government are liable to be needlessly aspersed. Our position is different. We are not bound to oppose the measures of Government. We are not expected to do so. Our countrymen would have a ground of complaint against us, if we did so, without sufficient cause. We do not oppose for the mere sake of opposition, and with a view to embarrass the Government, so that we may step into its place when the position is no longer tenable. We oppose bad measures. We support good measures. We may oppose the policy of the Government, but we impute no motives. Above all, our opposition is not dictated by any considerations of party-spirit, but by the sole and single-minded desire to serve our countrymen and to broaden and deepen the foundations of British rule upon the unchangeable basis of a nation's affections.  
( Loud Cheers )

**Disadvantage,**  
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We should suffer a distinct loss of power, were we to constitute ourselves into a permanent opposition to the Government. If we oppose with discrimination and judgment, our protests will not fail to command sympathy and respect. But if we oppose in the spirit of

captious fault-finding ; if we oppose for the mere sake of opposition, if we oppose simply because somebody must oppose, we expose ourselves to the risk of being considered hostile critics, even when our representations deserve a better fate. (*Hear, hear!*)

First Day.

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To-day is the first day of the eleventh session of the Congress. Many sessions of the Congress must yet be held before even our moderate programme is accomplished. The car of human progress moves slowly forward. But he who has set his hand to the plough cannot afford to look back. He must spend and be spent in the cause. How many brave comrades, whose memories we mourn, have fallen ; how many more will yet fall before the journey through the wilderness is accomplished, and we are in view of Canaan. To some choice spirits, elevated by faith and hope, may be vouchsafed, as was vouchsafed to Moses of old from the heights of Sinai, a glimpse into the promised land, a foretaste of that precious treasure of civil and political rights, which, in the Providence of God and under the auspices of English rule, is to be the destined heritage of their nation. As for the rest they must possess their souls in patience, supported by the undying faith that their cause, based upon the highest justice, must eventually triumph. 'A man with a conviction,' says John Stuart Mill in his Essay on Representative Government, 'is equal to ninety-nine without one.' The man of earnest faith is irresistible and all-conquering. We Congressmen know what we are about ; we know our minds, we know our methods ; we stick to them with resolute tenacity of purpose—with a faith which, so far as some of us are concerned, I will say, does not belong to the things of this world. And who will say that the future is not ours ? (*Hear, hear!*)

Congress-men  
cannot turn back.

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We feel that in this great struggle in which we are engaged, the moral sympathies of civilised humanity are with us. The prayers of the good and the true in all parts of the world follow us. They will welcome as glad-tidings of great joy the birth of an emancipated people on the banks of the Ganges. For have they not all read about our ancient civilization ; how, in the morning of the world, before the Eternal City had been built upon the Seven Hills, before Alexander had marched his army to the banks of the Tigris, before Babylonian astronomers had learnt to gaze upon the starry world, our ancestors had developed a great civilization, and how that civilization has profoundly influenced the course of modern thought in the highest concerns of man ? Above all, we rely with unbounded confidence on the justice and generosity of the British people and of their representatives in Parliament. (*Loud Cheers.*)

The sympathies of  
civilised humanity  
are with us.

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It is not that we mistrust the authorities here. But the higher we mount, the purer is the atmosphere. The impurities generated by local causes cannot touch those who, removed from local influences, represent in a loftier sphere of responsibility the majesty and the greatness of the English nation. Let us freely acknowledge the tribute we owe to the British Government in India. What Government could have accorded a speedier recognition to Congress claims than the Government of India has done ? Within the life-time of a generation we have achieved changes—beneficent changes of far-reaching moment—which it would have taken many generations to accomplish elsewhere, which in less fortunately situated countries could not have been accomplished except, perhaps, after bloodshed and tumult. All this we freely acknowledge. For all this we are truly grateful. All this fills with hope for the future. (*Loud Cheers.*)

We do not mis-  
trust the Govern-  
ment of India.

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Nevertheless we feel that much yet remains to be done, and the impetus must come from England. To England we look for inspiration and guidance. To England we look for sympathy in the struggle. From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our peoples. England is our political guide and our moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political duty. English history has taught us those principles of freedom which we cherish with our life-blood. We have been fed upon the strong food of English constitutional freedom. We have been taught to admire the eloquence and genius of the great masters of English poli-

But the impetus  
must come from  
England.

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**First Day.**  
—

tical philosophy. We have been brought face to face with the struggles and the triumphs of the English people in their stately march towards constitutional freedom. Where will you find better models of courage, devotion, and sacrifice; not in Rome, not in Greece, not even in France in the stormy days of the Revolution—courage tempered by caution, enthusiasm leavened by sobriety, partisanship softened by a large-hearted charity—all subordinated to the one predominating sense of love of country and love of God.

We should be unworthy of ourselves and of our preceptors—we should, indeed, be something less than human—if, with our souls stirred to their inmost depths, our warm Oriental sensibilities roused to an unwonted pitch of enthusiasm by the contemplation of these great ideals of public duty, we did not seek to transplant into our own country the spirit of those free institutions which have made England what she is. In the words of Lord Lansdowne, a wave of unrest is passing through this country. But it is not the unrest of discontent or disloyalty to the British Government—it is the unrest which is the first visible sign of the awakening of a new national life. It is the work of Englishmen—it is the noblest monument of their rule—it is the visible embodiment of the vast moral influence which they are exercising over the minds of the people of India. Never in the history of the world have the inheritors of an ancient civilization been so profoundly influenced by the influx of modern ideas. In this Congress from year to year we ask England to accomplish her glorious work. The course of civilization following the path of the sun has travelled from East to West. The West owes a heavy debt to the East. We look forward to the day when that debt will be repaid, not only by the moral regeneration, but by the political enfranchisement of our people. (*Loud Cheers.*)

The interests of  
Anglo-Indian and  
the Indian Com-  
munities are  
identical.

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In our efforts for the improvement of our political status we feel that we may appeal with confidence to the sympathies of the Anglo-Indian community. They are Englishmen. By instinct and by tradition they are the friends of freedom. In regard to many, their interests in the country are permanent. In regard to many more, in view of the falling exchange, they are looking forward to making India their permanent home. Burke's well-known aphorism of the Anglo-Indians of his day being "birds of prey and passage" is well-nigh an extinct tradition. Our interests and their interests are identical. Their political status is not a whit removed from ours. If they have more influence in the Government, it is due to sufferance. They cannot claim it as a matter of right. Any extension of our political privileges would benefit them as well as ourselves. Difference there will always be between different sections of the same community, as there is in this country between zemindars and ryots; as there is in European countries between capitalists and labourers. But we are essentially members of the same community, in the sense that we have common rights and common grievances, and that it is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder to remedy our grievances and to promote our rights. We are all interested in the development of our manufactures, and we all know what pressure is brought to bear upon the Government here—sometimes masked under the guise of philanthropy, sometimes less thinly veiled—to interfere with the growth of our manufacturing industries. Here, as in other matters, united we stand, divided we fall. (*Applause.*)

We rely upon the  
beneficent forces  
of the unseen  
(time.)

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There is another agency—impalpable and invisible, noiselessly advancing onwards amid the din of our strifes towards the accomplishment of its own hidden purposes—which is helping us in this onward struggle. That agency is Time. Time is with us—Time, present and future, is our ally. "Truth," says the Latin Proverb, "is the daughter of Time." We rely upon the beneficent forces of the Unseen Time. I know not whether there ever was a golden age in the past. It is a beautiful tradition. It embalms the ever-present sense of dissatisfaction which humanity feels with the present. Dissatisfaction is the parent of all progress. It stirs us on to ceaseless activity for the betterment of our race. A golden age is, indeed, looming in the future. There is a golden age in store for us and our children. It is this

feeling which reconciles us to the present. We feel that if political freedom, in the sense in which it is enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere, is not to be our lot, it will be the inheritance of those who, coming after us, will bear our names and carry on our work. In that faith we work. In that faith we ask others to work. It is the faith which is the cement of the Congress movement. It implies confidence in the progressive character of British rule. It implies confidence in ourselves. Let it not be said that this confidence is misplaced. Let it not be said that the enthusiasm which animated us in the first days of the Congress movement is on the wane. The past ought to encourage us. The future ought to stir us into enthusiasm. The noblest heritage which we can leave to our children and our children's children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and the fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people. Let us so work with confidence in each other, with unwavering loyalty to the British connection, that we may accomplish this great object within a measurable distance of time. Then will the Congress have fulfilled its mission—justified the hopes of those who founded it, and who worked for it—not, indeed, by the supersession of British rule in India, but by broadening its basis, liberalizing its spirit, ennobling its character, and placing it upon the unchangeable foundations of a nation's affections. It is not severance that we look forward to—but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire which has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions—that is what we aim at. But permanence means assimilation, incorporation, equal rights, equal privileges. Permanence is incompatible with any form of military despotism, which is a temporary makeshift adapted to a temporary purpose. England is the august mother of free nations. She has covered the world with free States. Places, hitherto the chosen abode of barbarism, are now the home of freedom. Wherever floats the flag of England, there free Governments have been established. We appeal to England gradually to change the character of her rule in India, to liberalise it, to shift its foundations, to adapt it to the newly-developed environments of the country and the people, so that, in the fulness of time, India may find its place in the great confederacy of free States, English in their origin, English in their character, English in their institutions, rejoicing in their permanent and indissoluble union with England, a glory to the mother-country, and an honour to the human race. Then will England have fulfilled her great mission in the East, accomplished her high destiny among nations, repaid the long-standing debt which the West owes to the East, and covered herself with imperishable renown and everlasting glory. (*Loud and long continued Cheers.*)

**THE PRESIDENT:**—According to our annual practice, I now call upon the delegates of the different Congress Circles to elect the members of the Subjects Committee.

**Election of Subjects Committee.**

**MR. GHOSAL:**—The following are proposed as members of the Subjects Committee:—

### BOMBAY.

1.	THE HON. MR. P. M. MEHTA...	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bombay.
2.	THE HON. MR. C. H. SETALVAD	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
3.	THE HON. MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
4.	MR. D. E. WACHA ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
5.	„ H. A. WADIA ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
6.	„ J. E. MODI .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
7.	„ N. V. GOKHALE .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
8.	„ W. A. CHAMBERS .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
9.	„ NARAYANDAS DWARKADAS	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.
10.	„ FAZAL BHAI NURMAHOMED	.....	.....	.....	.....	do.

First Day.  
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 Election of Sub-  
 jects Committee.  
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11.	MR. RUSTOM K. R. KAMA .....	Bombay.
12.	„ V. K. BHATAWDEKAR .....	do.
13.	„ KARIMBHAI NANSKY .....	do.
14.	„ DWARKADAS DHARAMSI ...	do.
15.	„ VITHALDAS DAMODAR THAKARSI ...	do.
16.	„ DAMODAR LAHMIDAS KHMJI .....	do.
17.	„ KHAN SAHEB PALANJI RATANJI ...	do.
18.	„ SAKHARAM KESHAV .....	do.
19.	„ DAMODAR KASHINATH VARTAK .....	do.
20.	„ JANARDAN DAMODAR DIXIT .....	do.
21.	„ N. R. VAIDYA ... ..	do.
22.	„ S. D. VAIDYA ... ..	do.
23.	„ L. V. GHARAT ... ..	do.
24.	„ GOKULDAS RANDAS PAREKH .....	do.
25.	„ GHANASHAM N. NADKARNI .....	do.
26.	„ B. N. BHAIKAR .....	do.
27.	„ S. S. SETLUR .....	do.
28.	„ H. S. DIXIT .....	do.
29.	„ D. G. PADHYE ... ..	do.
30.	„ P. P. KHARE .....	do.
31.	„ M. V. BHAT .....	do.
32.	„ J. G. MANTRI .....	do.
33.	„ M. R. BODAS .....	do.
34.	DR. K. N. BAHADURJI .....	do.
35.	„ M. G. DESHMUKH .....	do.
36.	„ BHALCHANDRA K. BHATAWDEKAR .....	do.
37.	„ S. W. KANE .....	do.
38.	„ G. B. KEER .....	do.
39.	MR. S. M. NAMJOSHI .....	Ratnagiri.
40.	„ V. H. BARVE .....	do.
41.	„ V. N. GOLE .....	do.
42.	„ G. B. RANADE ... ..	do.
43.	„ S. B. PHADAKE .....	do.
44.	„ HARCHANDRARAI VISHNUDAS .....	Sindh.
45.	„ PESOMAL ZOWKIBAN .....	do.
46.	„ JAFFER FUDOO ... ..	do.
47.	„ TAHILRAM KHEMCHAND ...	do.
48.	SETH AMBATLAL WADILAL .....	Guzerath.
49.	DR. JOSEPH BENJAMIN .....	do.
50.	„ SOLOMAN ABRAHAM .....	do.
51.	MR. KESHAVLAL MOTILAL .....	do.
52.	„ JEEVANLAL VARAJRAI, BAR-AT-LAW .....	do.
53.	„ CHIMANLAL NARBHERAM „ ...	do.
54.	„ GOPALRAV RANCHANDRA DABHOLKAR .....	do.
55.	„ CHATOORBHAI SHANKARBHAI .....	do.
56.	„ MANIHAL NABHOOBHAI DWIVEDI .....	do.
57.	„ RANCHHODLAL NAGARDAS ... ..	do.
58.	„ RANCHHODLAL V. PATWARI .....	do.
59.	„ GANPATRAV SITARAM MUKADAM ...	do.
60.	„ MANASUKHRAM NARSIDAS .....	do.
61.	„ GOVINDRAV APPAJI PATIL .....	do.

62.	MR. LALLOOBHAI ASHARAM SHAH.	.....	Bombay.	First Day. Election of Subjects Committee
63.	" G. B. JOSHI B. A., LL. B.	.....	Kolhapur.	
64.	DR. W. B. KULKARNI	.....	do.	
65.	MR. KESHAV. G. AJREKAR B. A., LL. B....	.....	do.	
66.	" V. K. RASHINKER B. A., LL. B. ....	.....	do.	
67.	" K. P. KHADILKAR B. A.	.....	Sangli.	
68.	" G. B. PHANSALKAR	.....	Satara.	
69.	" B. R. SAHASRABUDDHE	.....	do.	
70.	" R. P. KARANDIKAR	.....	do.	
71.	" S. B. BHATE	.....	Belgaon.	
72.	" S. A. CHHATRE	.....	do.	
73.	" R. G. KHOT	.....	do.	
74.	" V. R. NATU B. A., LL. B.	.....	do.	
75.	REV. R. A. HUME	.....	Ahmednagar.	
76.	MR. K. V. PATWARDHAN	.....	do.	
77.	" MOHANLAL HIRALAL	.....	do.	
78.	" V. B. CHAUKAR	.....	do.	
79.	RAOSAHEB CHANDULAL MATHURADAS	.....	Surat Circle.	
80.	" NAGINDAS BEJJBHUKANDAS	.....	do.	
81.	" MOTIBHAI MOTILAL DESAI	.....	do.	
82.	" JAMRITRAM LALBHAI DESAI	.....	do.	
83.	" R. B. KARANDIKAR B. A. LL. B....	.....	Dharwar.	
84.	" R. S. CHITGUPPI Bar-at-Law	.....	do.	
85.	" Y. N. RANADE	.....	Sholapur & Bijapur.	
86.	" ALI MAHOMED BEHJI	.....	do.	
87.	" V. R. KIRLOSKAR	.....	do.	
88.	" P. L. NAGPURKAR	.....	do.	
89.	" RAGHAVENDRABAY KRISHNA VAKIL...	.....	do.	
90.	" PANDURANGRAY ANANT DESAI B. A. LL. B. ....	.....	do.	
91.	" G. M. SHAH	.....	do.	
92.	" D. B. CHAKRADEVA	.....	do.	
93.	RAO BAHADUR V. M. BHIDE	.....	Poona.	
94.	" " N. B. DANDEKAR	.....	do.	
95.	" " S. B. JATAR.	.....	do.	
96.	THE HONORABLE MR. B. G. TILAK B. A. LL. B.	.....	do.	
97.	MR. V. R. PATWARDHAN B. A. LL. B....	.....	do.	
98.	" GANGARAM BHAI MEHASKI	.....	do.	
99.	" DORABJI DADABHOY BOOTI	.....	do.	
100.	" K. P. GADGIL Bar-at-Law.	.....	do.	
101.	SHRIMANT BABA MAHARAJ	.....	do.	
102.	DR. G. K. GARDE	.....	do.	
103.	PROF. G. K. GOKHALE	.....	do.	
104.	MR. R. D. NAGARKAR	.....	do.	
105.	" C. V. NATU	.....	do.	
106.	" S. V. DATE	.....	do.	
107.	" B. R. NATU	.....	do.	
108.	RAO BAHADUR B. P. JOSHI	.....	do.	
109.	" " V. B. SOHANI	.....	do.	
110.	MRS. IS. H. SATHE	.....	do.	
111.	" D. S. GARUD	.....	Dhulia.	
112.	" M. K. APTE	.....	do.	

First Day.	113.	MR. G. N. KETKAR	.....	.....	Nasik.
—	114.	" G. B. VAIDYA	.....	.....	do.
Election of Sub- jects Committee.	115.	" K. S. DESHPANDE	.....	.....	do.
—	116.	" R. B. GOGTE B. A. L. L. B.	.....	.....	do.
	117.	" P. B. BHAGAWAT B. A. L. L. B.	.....	.....	do.
	118.	" C. B. MORGAEONKAR	.....	.....	Bhusawal.
	119.	" A. R. MAHALAS	.....	.....	do.

## BERAR.

1.	MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR,	.....	.....	Berar.
2.	Rav Saheb Devraj Vinayak.	.....	.....	do.
3.	MR. M. V. JOSHI.	.....	.....	do.

## CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1.	MR. RAJARAM SITARAM DIKSHIT	.....	.....	Nagpore.
2.	" LAXMAN DAJIBA GADRE B. A. L. M. & S.	.....	.....	do.
3.	" R. K. GOKHALE.	.....	.....	do.
4.	" KESHAV RAO PHATAK	.....	.....	do.
5.	" H. M. PANDIT	.....	.....	do.
6.	" D. N. KHARE, B. A., L. L. B.	.....	.....	Wardha.
7.	" LAXMAN GOVIND DEVASKAR	.....	.....	do.
8.	" NAGENDRA NATH DE, BAR-AT-LAW	.....	.....	Bilaspore.
9.	" SARATCHANDRA MITTER, M. A. B. L.	.....	.....	do.
10.	" DAMODAR RAMCHANDRA SHRIKHANDE	.....	.....	Saugor.
11.	" BALWANT KASHINATH AGNIHOTRI	.....	.....	Harda.
12.	" BALIRAM NARAYAN DESHMUKH, B. A. B. L.	.....	.....	Chhindawara.
13.	" BHAGIRATH PRASAD, B. A.	.....	.....	Bhandara.

## N. W. PROVINCES.

1.	MIRSHI MADHOLAL	.....	.....	Benares.
2.	PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALVIYA, B. A. L. L. B.	.....	.....	Allahabad.
3.	BABU DURGA CHARAN BANNERJI..	.....	.....	do.
4.	BABU SHRI RAM.	.....	.....	Mirzapur.
5.	BABU TRILOKYANATH.	.....	.....	Cawnpur.
6.	HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM	.....	.....	Aligarh.
7.	BABU KEDARNATH	.....	.....	Agra.

## OUDH.

1.	BABU GANGA PRASAD VARMA.	.....	.....	Lucknow.
2.	" BIPIN BEHARI BOSE	.....	.....	do.

## PANJAUB.

1.	BAKSHI JAISHIRAM	.....	.....	Lahore.
2.	LALA JETHUMAL	.....	.....	do.

## RAJPUTANA.

First Day.

1. DR. BAXI LACHUMAN DAS...

Ajmere.

Election of Sub-  
jects Committee.

## BENGAL.

1. Babu J. GHOSAL,

Calcutta.

2. " KALICHARAN BANERJI.

do.

3. " M. GHOSE

do.

4. " HERAMBO CHANDRA MAITRA

do.

5. " RAI JYOTINDRANATH CHAUDHARI.

do.

6. " MINAKALI MUKERJI.

do.

7. " KALI PRASANNA KAVYABISHARAD.

do.

8. " CHANDRA BHUSHON BANERJI

do.

9. DR. DR. NIL RATAN SIRKAR..

do.

10. BABU JYOTINDRA NATH TAGORE

do.

11. " KRISHNA KUMAR MITTER

Maimensing.

12. " J. CHAUDHARY

Pabna.

13. " MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRAVARTY

do.

14. " SARAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY

Dacca.

15. " UMESH CHUNDER DAS

do.

16. " SUDARSAN CHAKRAVARTY...

Rajshahye.

17. " MADHAVA CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

Dinajpur.

18. " RAKHALDAS SEN

do.

19. " BAIKUNT NATH SEN

Moorshidabad,

20. " HEM CHANDRA MOZUMDAR

do.

21. " AMBIKA CHARAN MOZUMDAR

Faridpur.

22. " ASWINI KUMAR DATTA

Bakerganj.

23. " MADHU SUDAN SINHA

Maldha.

24. " SURESH CHANDRA ROY

Bhagalpur.

25. MR. J. M. KERR

Howra.

26. BABU HARI PRASAD CHATTERJI

Nadia.

27. " INDU BHUSHAN BHADURI

do.

28. " SURENDRA NATH GHOSE

Jessor.

29. " JOGESH CHANDER DAS GUPTA

RANGPORE.

30. " HARISH CHUNDRAS GOSWAMI

Hoogli.

31. " UPENDRA NATH BOSE, GOALPARA

Assam.

## MADRAS.

1. THE HONORABLE P. ANANDA CHARLU

Madras.

2. " C. SANKARA NAIR

do.

3. " N. SUBRAW

do.

4. " C. JUMBULINGAM MUDLIAR

do.

5. " C. VIGIARAGHAVA CHARU

do.

6. MR. M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR

do.

7. " C. PARAMESWARAN PILLAI

do.

8. " M. VENKATRAMA CHETTY

do.

9. " VENKATA SUBBA IYER

do.

10. " V. MASILAMONI PILLAI

do.

11. " T. RANGA CHARI

do.



First Day.  
 Election of Sub-  
 jects Committee.

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12.	Mr. C. SRINIWASA CHARI	.....	.....	Madras.
13.	„ M. VIRAGHOPAL PILLAI	.....	.....	do.
14.	„ JAGANNATHA SHASTRI	.....	.....	Vizagapattam.
15.	„ G. VENKATA RATNAM	.....	.....	Godavari.
16.	„ C. RANGA CHARI	.....	.....	Krishna.
17.	„ KUPPUSWAMI SARMA	.....	.....	Trichinapoly.
18.	„ SADHU RAMASUBBA IYER	.....	.....	Tinnevelly.
19.	„ M. GOPALA MENON	.....	.....	Malabar.
20.	„ HAKIM NANU MEEAH SAHIB	.....	.....	Cuddapah.
21.	„ K. SRINIVASA RAO	.....	.....	Bellary.
22.	„ C. S. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR	.....	.....	do.
23.	„ B. VENKATARAMANNA	.....	.....	Tirupatar.
24.	„ P. RAMACHANDRA PILLAI	.....	.....	Secunderabad.
25.	„ P. S. SIVASWAMY IYER	.....	.....	do.
26.	„ SEYMOUR KEAY	.....	.....	do.
27.	„ D. SESHAGIRI IYER	.....	.....	Salem.
28.	„ ATU APPADU PANTULU	.....	.....	Ganjam.

# SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 28th December, 1895.

The Congress met at 11 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, before we proceed to the business of the day, I desire to read to you two telegrams which I have received. One is from our good friend, the Maharaja of Durbhanga, (*Cheers.*) and the other from the Rajah of Ramnad in the Madras Presidency, who, last year, contributed Rs. 10,000 (*Cheers*) towards the expenses of the Madras Congress. I think it would be only courteous to these distinguished noblemen if I were to read substance of their telegrams to the Congress. The Maharaja of Durbhanga "wishes every success to the Congress, and sincerely hopes that all differences of opinion will be made up by amicable concessions from all parties." (*Cheers*) It is now a matter of the past, for all differences have been made up. The Rajah of Ramnad says :—"My best wishes and congratulations on the 11th session of the Congress; I regret my inability to attend Congress, but my spirit will be there. Long life, prosperity and success to this our great national movement for our rights." (*Cheers.*) I am also reminded that the Rajah Rampal Singh, than whom there is no stauncher friend of the Congress, has written to the Poona Standing Committee, expressing his inability to be present here, however much he wanted to be present, and I am sure we all regret the fact that he is not able to be here. (*Cheers.*)

Second Day.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, I will now ask my friend Mr. J. Ghosal to read out the rules for the conduct of business.

MR. GHOSAL :—Gentlemen, these are the rules for the conduct of business. Please hear them attentively, as the business of the Congress will be conducted strictly in accordance with them.

## ELEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1895.

### RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

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

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

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

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

5. The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak, and no one should exceed this without the special permission of the President. The President will sound his gong once to warn each speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close,

Rules for the  
conduct of  
business.

Second Day.

Rules for the  
conduct of  
business.

and he will sound it a second time when that period has elapsed ; and should he consider that the speaker ought to cease speaking, the President will touch the gong again, when the speaker must, there and then, close his address.

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

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

8. Any one who wishes to propose a new subject for discussion by the Congress must give previous notice of it in writing to the President at the commencement of the sitting, with a copy of any resolution he wishes to propose, his own name, and the name of the Congress Circle he belongs to.

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

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

THE PRESIDENT :—The first resolution on the Agenda paper is one regarding the draft rules for the constitution of the Congress framed by the Poona Committee, and I now call upon Mr. Ghosal to move it.

MR. GHOSAL ( Bengal ) moved :—

“ That the draft rules in regard to the constitution and working of the Indian National Congress, as framed by the Poona Congress Committee, in accordance with the Resolution in that behalf of the last Congress, be circulated by the Poona Congress Committee to all the Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report to the General Secretary and Standing Counsel at least three months before the next Congress. ”

Resolution I.  
The constitution  
and working of  
the Congress.

MR. J. GHOSAL.

He said :—Mr. President, and brother-delegates,—I am very sorry I have lost my voice and am afraid I shall not be able to make myself heard by you, but I shall try my best. It is a mere formal Resolution and does not require a long speech or any particular argument from me to make it acceptable to you. Last year, in Madras, we passed a Resolution by which we empowered the Poona Standing Committee of the Congress to frame rules for our constitution and to send out copies of them to all the Standing Congress Committees some time before this Congress meeting, in order that they should be able to consider and report on them to the Congress. But, unfortunately, owing to certain circumstances which need not be mentioned—

and I do not blame the Poona Committee for not being able to prepare the rules and circulate them in time—this was not done. Only a portion of last year's Resolution has been carried out ; the other portion regarding the circulation to the different Standing Committees has not been carried into effect, and therefore we cannot take up the matter at this Congress. By the Resolution I am now moving, we hope to get the rules circulated before the next meeting, so that the several Standing Committees may fully consider them and send their reports on the rules to the General Secretary and the three members who form the Standing Counsel of the Congress, namely, the Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu, the Hon. Mr. Pheroźshah Mehta and Mr. W. C. Bonerjee. Then we shall be able to take up the subject at the next meeting. I believe most of the members of the Standing Committees, who will have to consider and report on the rules, are present here, and I think it is better that I should say a few words expressing my views on the subject, because I have been connected with the Congress from almost the very beginning, and I have always had to assist in making the necessary arrangements and framing rules for the conduct of the business ; so I know a little about constitutions and what we require and what we do not require. I think the time has hardly arrived when we should fetter this Congress with hard and fast rules. For it is still in its infancy. *What* are ten years in the age of a national and representative institution like this ? To fetter it with hard and fast rules would be to prevent its healthy growth. We should allow it free scope and natural growth, helping it and nursing it as much as possible, according to surrounding circumstances and its powers of assimilation. We can get examples of this, if we compare the French and English constitutions. At the beginning of the Revolution, the French drafted a set of rules, calling them the rights of man, by which they thought they would be able to guide the future generations, and you know what the effect was. I think they had thirteen different constitutions in hardly as many years. Now, look on the other side. The ideal constitution of all the civilized countries is the British constitution, and that constitution can be summed up in two words. It has grown and not been made. It has grown by centuries of observation according to circumstances, and the growth of education and general improvement of the country and the people. Some of you will be surprised to hear that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, who are the chief Executives of the British Government, have no place in the British constitution ; it is guided more by unwritten than written laws. That is the ideal constitution, and for this reason, I am not at all sorry—I do not think it is a cause for lamentation but rather one for congratulation—that we are not ready and are not going to pass a hard and fast set of rules to bind down the Congress in its infancy. I hope the members of the Standing Committees will consider the matter very carefully before coming to a final decision. With these words I commend the resolution to your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. JAISHI RAM ( Lahore ), in seconding the resolution, said :—Gentlemen, in seconding this resolution, I regret to say I do not agree with all that has fallen from my friend Mr. Ghosal. The resolution which we passed at Madras last year runs thus :—“ That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled and that rules and regulations should be laid down as to the number of delegates, their qualifications, the localities of assemblage and the like ; and with this view the Congress requests the Congress Committee of Poona to draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their report,—these reports, together with the draft rules, and the report thereon, to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration.” This resolution is one of practical importance. During the last ten or eleven years we have been able to hold sessions of the Congress, twice in the province of Bengal, once in the Punjab, once in the Central Provinces, twice in Madras, three times in the Presidency of Bombay : and it has survived to the disappointment of our enemies and it will survive. (*Cheers*) During this period we have done more than was anticipated, but now the time has arrived when we should lay down its foundation on a solid footing. Every representative institution has got its own

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Resolution I.  
The constitution  
and working of  
the Congress.

MR. J. GHOSAL.

MR. JAISHI RAM.

**Second Day.****Resolution I.  
The constitution  
and working of  
the Congress.****MR. JASHI RAM.**

constitution, and it is the constitution that gives stability to institutions. The Poona Congress Committee have now drafted certain rules with that object, and the document they have prepared is a very valuable one. You will all have to consider these rules carefully, as pointed out by my friend Mr. Ghosal, and in considering them I may impress upon you that the time has now come when we should add something real and substantial to the talk which we have for four days every year in the month of December for our deliberations. I may point out that there are three or four subjects which you should specially consider. To begin with, I may venture to say that we now require a sort of Cabinet or Council to consist of, at least, one member from each province to meet at least once a year for a few days in some Central Province. This Council, or whatever you may call it, should consider fully how to carry out our aims and objects and what practical steps should be taken in order to further those aims. Then another suggestion I wish to put forward is that we ought to know our own strength. Those who have worked in different provinces in this country have come to know that almost everybody who lives in the country is a Congressman at heart. But still we meet with two sorts of people. There are some men who are Congressmen at heart only, while there are, again, Congressmen from within as well as from without. We should register the names of those of our brethren who are of the latter class. Then we should manage to have annual meetings of such Congressmen. We have got the Congress, in which subjects of Imperial importance are discussed; then we have got the Provincial Conferences, in which the subjects affecting the Provinces are deliberated upon; but we should further carry on our plans that we may succeed in having Divisional Conferences as well, so that every Congressman may be in a position to take part in the deliberation of subjects affecting the different stations as well as the Provinces. In our constitution, we should bear in mind that election and representation should be the system which should be recognised, and all the office-holders should be elected, every member having a right to vote; and again, to carry out our aims we should require certain funds and each Congressman whose name is registered should pay something towards those funds. We should have local funds and one-tenth or some other proportion should be placed at the disposal of the Cabinet. With these few remarks I second the proposal which will be fully discussed next year. (*Applause.*)

**THE PRESIDENT:**—Gentlemen, the first resolution has been duly proposed and seconded. Those who are in its favour should hold up their hands. (*All, all.*) Carried unanimously.

**THE PRESIDENT:**—The next resolution will be moved by Babu Baikunth Nath Sen.

**Resolution II.  
The Expenditure  
Commission.****BABU BAIKUNTH  
NATH SEN.**

**BABU BAIKUNTH NATH SEN (Bengal)** said:—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I stand here to move the second resolution which is to this effect:—

“That this Congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, nor be of any practical advantage to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would, in all probability, yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors.”

He said:—I wish this resolution had been entrusted to some abler hands, and in making that observation I do not simply follow the ordinary etiquette of disabling ourselves. I do really and sincerely wish that it had been placed in better hands. Considering the momentum of financial difficulty which has been gradually on the increase, and having regard to the ruinous magnitude it has now assumed, it is impossible for you to over-estimate the importance of this resolution, especially since the enquiry is now being proceeded with in England. That enquiry is due to the efforts of our friends, the members of the British Com-

mittee. (*Applause*) Those sympathetic and generous gentlemen, who constitute the British Committee, did not ask for this sort of thing: their demand was for a Commission of a more comprehensive character. Most, if not all, of you know what that demand was; it was in the shape of amendment, and was made through Mr. Samuel Smith at the time when the Budget was before the House of Commons. It was a demand for an enquiry into the condition of the people of India and their wants; into their capacity to bear the present financial burdens; into the possibility of reduction of expenditure; into the nature of their system of revenue; into the financial relations between England and India, and also, generally, with regard to the system of Government. The demand was of that nature, but what have we got,—a semblance, if not a shadow, of that Commission? That in itself is unsatisfactory; but now at the very outset of the enquiry, we are met with this objection: Party interest wishes that the enquiry should be limited simply to the checking of accounts; that is, that the enquiry should be reduced to one of the nature of an audit only. We people, on the other hand, say that the enquiry ought to be with regard to the lines of policy which regulate the expenditure. It is not yet settled what the Commission will do; at a very early stage it was almost certain that an enquiry into the lines of policy would be avoided; but matters stand, as far as I have been informed, on a rather improved footing. The President of the Commission seems now to show agreeableness to admit and receive evidence bearing upon the lines of policy. There is an indication that such evidence might now be considered relevant, so there is hope; but still the matter is uncertain. We however fail to see how the question of expenditure can be considered, apart from the questions of policy which regulate such expenditure. If the Commissioners report with respect to the expenditure, will they not have to report whether the present expenditure under certain heads is to be continued or maintained? We have got before us the Military Expenditure, the Civil Expenditure, the Home Charges and also the Burmah charges up to now, but it is not simply an examination of those accounts and the passing of a release certificate to the responsible officers, if there are any, that we want. Will the Commission consider that their duty will be done by simply examining the books? Can they conscientiously place their hands on their breasts and say, "we have discharged our duty by going into the accounts?" Unsatisfactory as the Commission is, will it not be still more so, if this question of policy regulating the expenditure be not gone into? (*Hear, hear.*) Besides, looking at the matter from a Government point of view, no practical advantage would be derived by the Government if this question of policy be not considered, for we all know that the Indian Government, sometimes under pressure from higher authority, are put to heavy expenditure, which, if they could avoid it, they would not pay. If those questions are not considered, the Indian Government will remain under that disability. On the other hand, if these principles are criticised, if the lines of policy are criticised, and if there are any conclusions arrived at by the Commission in favour of certain policies which the Indian Government wish to maintain, the Indian Government would be practically stronger on that account; but the exclusion of evidence regarding those points will place the Government under that disadvantage. Now, what is being done? The Commission is holding its enquiry with closed doors. Ought that to be done? (*No, no.*) The inquiry ought to be held with open doors so as to give facility to persons interested to offer evidence. We do not know at present what sort of evidence has been offered. It may be that some evidence has to be met with rebutting evidence. How can you rebut evidence, the nature of which is not yet known? Therefore it is very essential that the enquiry should be conducted with open doors, and that every facility should be given for adducing evidence. We have got several gentlemen who would be quite willing to go over to England for the purpose of giving evidence, but in this uncertain state of things, that is, not knowing whether the Commission will finally decide upon receiving evidence bearing upon the questions of policy, it is rather a risky thing. If people could know for certain that evidence of that nature would be received, there are amongst us, I know, many who would be quite willing to go to England. Apart from that, there should be better arrangements made for the reception of evidence and further faci-

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Resolution II.  
The Expenditure  
Commission.

BABU (BAIKUNTH  
NATH SEN.

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Resolution II.  
The Expenditure  
Commission.

BABU BAIKUNTH  
NATH SEN.

THE HON. MR.  
JAMBOOLINGAM  
MUDLIAR.

ilities should be given in the shape of recording evidence in India. Cannot the Commission depute one of its members to India for the purpose of receiving that evidence? If they are really bent upon ascertaining the truth and if they are really determined and willing to come to a correct conclusion, is it not their duty to send one of their members here to record evidence? (*Cheers.*) That would give facilities for the reception of evidence. Light ought to be thrown on all subjects. Therefore the doors of this enquiry should be open. Ingress should be given to the light, and, in this way, satisfaction would be given both to the public as well as to the Government, and, I believe, to the Members of the Commission itself. With these remarks, having regard to the time allowed me, I place this resolution before you for your acceptance. (*Applause.*)

THE HON. MR. JAMBOOLINGAM MUDLIAR (Madras), in seconding the motion, said:—  
Mr. President and brother-delegates,—the main points of this resolution divide themselves into two heads. First, the lines of policy which regulate expenditure must be enquired into, and the labours of the Commission should not terminate in a mere audit of the accounts of the Government. We have trust and confidence enough, both here and in England, that they do their account-business very properly, and it is not for the purpose of auditing their accounts that we have for so many years been asking for a Commission of enquiry. Our object in asking for the Commission was to see if any remedies could be devised to meet the growing and overgrowing expenditure of this country, and whether any relief could not be given to our overburdened masses? And this question cannot be adequately settled by a certificate that the present account, as entered in the account-books between England and India, is accurate. Therefore if our demands and wishes are to be carried out and if any relief is to be given to the masses of this country, the lines of policy on which that expenditure is incurred must necessarily be gone into. I will illustrate my remarks by one or two examples. Take for instance the Home Charges, which at present amount to the fearful sum of £18,000,000 or £20,000,000; and of that the Stores charges amount to about one-tenth. If we enter into the lines of policy, the questions will necessarily arise: Whether it is necessary to purchase all these stores in England and pay for them in sterling; whether it would not be possible to start manufactories here for the production of such stores or a portion thereof and pay for them in the silver money of the country? To take another instance: if we examine the grounds of policy we shall be in a position to state whether the transfrontier warfares both on the North-East or North-West are justifiable under the Act for the better government of India, and if, on a proper examination of that Act and on a proper examination of the policy, we find these warfares were not justified, we shall be entitled to claim relief and that relief will go to the masses. Similar instances could be multiplied. With reference to these transfrontier warfares I should like to relate to you an amusing instance of the ignorance of the India Office in saying that they confess they are not aware as to what was the India that was entrusted to their care in 1858; that they have no map to show the line of demarcation which distinguishes the India of those days and the extensions made up to date! (*Laughter.*) That shows the gross and crass ignorance that prevails in the India Office as to where they should fix these boundaries, and they are, consequently, always in search of an imaginary boundary which is called a scientific boundary. The next point is that facilities must be afforded for the reception of evidence other than the purely official and Anglo-Indian evidence. At present, as pointed out by my predecessor, those facilities do not exist. The enquiry, as you have been told, is being conducted *in camera*, as if it was some kind of indecent divorce suit. (*Laughter.*) I do not for my own part understand the secrecy or the indecency or what is the danger connected with the enquiry. We have had Commissions in this country which have been conducted with open doors. We have had the Education Commission, the Public Service Commission and the Famine Commission, and there have been in the United Kingdom the Anglo-Irish Commission, the Welsh Commission and various other Commissions, and all of them have been conducted with open doors; therefore why poor unfortunate India should have her affairs enquired into this time in

this private and secret manner I cannot understand. Sure it is that we have non-official witnesses to go before this Commission, who can make themselves useful in the service of this country by advancing opinions and information acquired by years of study, but the difficulty is that they do not understand the nature of the heads of enquiry. The difficulty, again, is that they do not understand the evidence that is being given by the Anglo-Indian and official witnesses. It is not for the purpose of forming a mutual adulation society in England that we asked for the enquiry; but it was for eliciting opinions from all sides and getting light from all quarters and of finding out whether the present expenditure is justified or whether that exorbitant and extravagant expenditure is not justified by sound policy. I therefore recommend this resolution to your acceptance, I will simply add that we did not want and never asked for a Commission or Committee simply for the purpose of exchanging admiration for the excellent work which Governments of India and England have been doing. (*Applause.*)

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (Allahabad) said:—Mr. President and brother-delegates,—it is a painful duty I come to perform in supporting the resolution which has been moved by my friend Mr. Baikunthanath and which has been so well seconded by the last speaker. Gentlemen, when Her Majesty the Queen of England (*Cheers.*) assumed the direct government of this country, we rejoiced over the event. We rejoiced because we felt that we were taken in hand by the sovereign of a country which boasted of free institutions, the like of which did not exist in any other country. We rejoiced because we felt that, whatever might have been the events of the early days of British rule, from the moment Her Majesty adopted us as her own subjects, all unpleasant recollections of the past were done away with, and we could claim to stand on an equal footing with our fellow-subjects of Great Britain and Ireland. (*Cheers.*) We also rejoiced because we felt and believed that the English people, having fought their own constitutional battles through centuries, and having got the principle of 'government for the people' established firmly in their own land, would not fail to see that the administration of this country was conducted on the same principle, so as to improve the condition of the people in all material respects. I am sorry, however, to think, gentlemen, that our administrators—the bureaucracy which govern us, here and in England—compel us at times to doubt whether we were right in rejoicing at that event; and why? Because before Her Majesty assumed the direct government of this country, more earnest attention was given to Indian affairs; there was a keener desire to see that no injustice was done which could be averted and that the interests of the people of India were properly protected and promoted, than unfortunately often seems to be the case now. In the year 1773, when the East India Company applied for a renewal of their Charter, there was an enquiry by a Parliamentary Committee into the administration of India by that Company. That enquiry was followed by another enquiry in the year 1793; and that was followed by similar enquiries every twenty years, until the Government of India passed from the Company to the Crown. Every one of these enquiries led to important reforms, because it disclosed the defects which existed in the administration during the preceding twenty years. Since Her Majesty has assumed the government of this country, no such enquiry has been held. (*Shame.*) We have long been crying for it, crying as hard as we could and as earnestly as we could, but I am sorry to say we have not yet been given that full and comprehensive enquiry into the administration of this country by Her Majesty's Government, which is essential to remove defects which exist in that administration, and to make those reforms which are needed in the interests of the people as well as of the Government. The necessity for such an enquiry has long been recognised. In the very first year of the Congress, when we met at Bombay, the first resolution passed related to the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the administration of this country. In 1886 we had the satisfaction to note that a Royal Commission had been promised. I think Lord Randolph Churchill was then in office. There were words in the speech from the Throne which led us to hope that a Commission would be appointed. We expected it would be appointed. But years rolled away and no Commission was appointed.

Second Day.

Resolution II.  
The Expenditure  
Commission.

THE HON. MR.  
JAMBOOLINGAM  
MUDLIAR.

PANDIT  
MADAN MOHAN  
MALAVIYA.



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The Expenditure  
Commission.

PANDIT  
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MALAVIYA.

Our friends in Parliament tried on every opportunity they could get to impress the necessity of such a Commission on Parliament, but, unfortunately, they too did not succeed. And why did they not?—because it seems to me, gentlemen, to be a hard fact that the English people do not take that interest in our affairs which they take in their own: (*Cheers.*) It seems to be a fact that they are too much occupied with their own affairs to be able to devote any attention to the proper consideration of the affairs of this country. But are not our English brethren, therefore, to blame in this matter? We have asked them to allow us to exercise the right of considering our own affairs; we have asked them to give us Legislative Councils, empowered to consider all those questions of domestic administration which, it is necessary in the interests of good Government, should be considered by the representatives of the people, but they have refused to grant us those reforms. They have given us a nominal reform in the matter of these Councils, which, notwithstanding all that may be said about it, leaves the Councils as helpless as before so far as controlling the expenditure of the country is concerned. (*Cheers.*) Our Councils to-day are practically what they have been since their creation. They only serve to delude the minds of the people into believing that they really have some voice in the administration of their affairs, which they have not. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, it is well to have the strength of a giant, but as Shakespeare says, it is tyrannous to use it as a giant. England has it fully in her power not to grant us anything we may ask for, but she should not abuse her power. What we say to her is this. If our request is a reasonable one, grant it; if it is not, tell us why it is not reasonable. (*Applause.*) If you do not think us fit to govern ourselves, if you think we cannot understand our own finances, and say what we can and what we cannot spend, considering what our means are; if you think you are better judges of it, pray devote a little time and attention to the consideration of these matters. If you cannot find time to do so, permit us, pray, to do it. Why make us suffer by reason of your inability to attend to our concerns, and by preventing us from attending to them, from doing what we are most anxious to do, not only in our own interests but in the interests of the Government as well. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I speak, I must confess, rather strongly, it may be, even bitterly, but that is because I feel so keenly on the subject. We believe that the existing administration is too costly for our people, that they are growing poorer and poorer under it. We ask that the expenditure should be reduced. We pray that a Commission may be appointed to inquire into the matter. Our prayer is not heeded; however, when much pressure was brought to bear upon the Government, they appointed a Finance Committee, and instituted *secret* inquiries into the condition of the people, during the time of Lord Dufferin. But they have never yet given us that comprehensive above-board inquiry into the whole administration, which we want, and which we believe to be essential for the betterment of our condition. Now, at last, when they have appointed a Commission, they would mar its usefulness by circumscribing the limits of its inquiry too narrowly. Why are we not satisfied with this Commission? First, because we are told it will inquire only into the propriety or otherwise of the expenditure incurred on our behalf, without inquiring into the lines of policy which necessitate it, and our ability to bear it. Secondly, because it is not coming out to take evidence here. Just fancy. When a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the question of retaining or not retaining the Opium Revenue, the Commission came out to this country and took evidence. The Commissioners travelled from one part of India to the other, and that was only one item in the large account-sheet of the Government of India. But this Expenditure Commission, which is to deal with the entire administration of Indian revenues, is to hold its sittings in London only! This Commission is not coming out to record any evidence in India! If any one supposes that, under these circumstances, we can have a fair and satisfactory inquiry, I must say I differ from him. I cannot understand how any one could arrive at such a conclusion. Do you expect the people of India to travel in any large numbers to England to give evidence before the Commission, and would it be of much use if a few of us went there to do so? What would be the evidence of a few Indians, however

well-informed they might be, before the large body of evidence which will be given before the Commission by retired Anglo-Indian officials, now living in England, who will, with a few honorable exceptions, endeavour to justify the prevailing policy and practice of the Government of India. Gentlemen, unless the Commission comes out to India, I feel satisfied that the result of its labours will prove more injurious than otherwise to the true interests of India. (*Cheers.*)

I suppose, Gentlemen, you have heard of or read Mr. Fawcett's Parliamentary Committee which sat from 1871 to 1874 to consider the state of Indian Finances. That Committee recorded extremely valuable evidence. Two of our fellow-countrymen, one of them being no other than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (*Loud Cheers.*) and the other being Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee appeared before the Committee and gave evidence. Among the other witnesses examined were some very able and renowned administrators of India, one of them being the late Lord Lawrence. The evidence they gave covered a large area. The facts, figures, and arguments they put forward, showed conclusively that it was extremely desirable to curtail Indian Expenditure; that it was extremely desirable to keep ourselves within the natural confines of the borders of India; that it was extremely desirable not to enhance the taxation which even then was considered to be high, to meet the increasing expenditure, but to economise in all directions, to secure the contentment of the people. All that evidence stands recorded. And I doubt if this Commission can obtain better, if not, even equally good, evidence now in England on these subjects. It ought to come out to examine witnesses in every Province and city of India, and to enquire from persons who have a direct personal knowledge of the matter, what the actual state of things here is, and how the administration, as at present carried on, is influencing the lives and happiness of the great mass of the population. If this is not done, the evidence, which it will record in England, might serve, in a large measure, as a counterpoise to the evidence recorded by Mr. Fawcett's Committee, which is very favourable to the views of the party of reform here, and might be used to silence us, but it cannot afford materials for sound conclusions. If, however, they want to find out simply whether the expenditure incurred is in itself not excessive, without any reference to the ability of the people of India to bear it, I must say I fail to see the wisdom of those who appointed the Commission for such a purpose. Did you ever hear of anything more preposterous than this—that without inquiring into the ability of any particular individual or community to bear any given amount of expenditure, without any reference to his means, you will enquire and decide that such and such expenditure is either proper or improper in this case of that individual or community? You cannot do it. That the Commission may be of any earthly use, and may entitle its recommendations to any weight in the minds of reasonable men, it must inquire into the capacity of the Indian people to bear the existing public expenditure. It must inquire whether their *means* permit of their having the civil and military services maintained at the present high scale of salaries. It must enquire and find out whether these services cannot be obtained at a cheaper rate, whether a larger employment of the children of the soil will not secure a great and a much-needed relief to the tax-paying community in India. Unless all this is done, no one should expect the Commission to be productive of any substantial good to the country. (*Cheers.*) (The President here touched the gong.)

I am afraid I have occupied too much of your time. (*No, no!*) So I will close my remarks very briefly, (*Cries of 'Go on!'*) I will not disobey the chair, though I thank you for this kindly expression of your feeling. I will only say this now: I ask English gentlemen, I ask the people of England, to seriously consider the position in which India is placed. That position is simply this. Educated Indians, representing the cultured intelligence of the country, have been praying for an enquiry, a full and fair enquiry, into the administration of this country during the last forty years. We have impeached that administration on almost every conceivable ground. We charge the Government of England, with having saddled us with an unnecessarily costly expenditure on the Civil Service of India, we

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charge them with having forced upon us a crushingly heavy military expenditure. We charge them with indulging in a great waste of India's money beyond the borders of India; we charge them with want of fairness in their dealings with India in the matter of the Home-Charges; nay more, we charge them—the Government of India, the Government of England and the people of England with them,—with being responsible by reason of their neglect to adequately perform their duty towards India, for the loss of millions of lives which are lost in every decade from starvation, largely the result of over-taxation and inefficient administration. (*Cheers.*) We charge the people of England, because as some one has said,

“Hear him, ye senates, hear this truth sublime,  
He who allows oppression shares the crime.” (*Loud Cheers.*)

If the English Parliament, if the people of England, who have solemnly taken upon themselves the duty of governing India, by reason of their neglect to do that duty properly, allow any loss of life to occur in India which they could prevent, they are surely answerable before God and man for that loss of life. In the face of such an impeachment, does it become the great English people and the English Parliament to give us a lame Commission, to inquire imperfectly into one branch only of this administration? Would it not become then rather to stand up, like true Englishmen, and say: “We shall face all these various charges, and either prove them to be untrue, or admit that they are true and make amends for them.” The charges are not of a light nature nor are they lightly made, and if the English people do not care to inquire into them in the interests of their empire, if they care not to do so in the interests of suffering humanity, if they do it not, even as a matter of duty, let them do it at least for the sake of the honor of England, which, I hope and trust, is still dear to every Englishman (*Loud and prolonged Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, the second resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour of it should now hold up their hands. (*Cries of All, all.*) Those who are against it—(*Cries of None, none.*) Gentlemen, the resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. D. E. Wacha will move the next resolution.

Resolution III.  
Military and Civil  
Expenditure.

MR. D. E.  
WACHA.

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay) said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to move the third resolution which has been entrusted to me. It runs as follows:—

“That this Congress again records its firm conviction that, in view of the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country, the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army services and other Military Expenditure, Home Charges and the cost of Civil Administration, and it notices with satisfaction that expert opinion in England has now come over to the view of the Indian Parliamentary Committee that growth in Military Expenditure is a more potent cause of Indian financial embarrassment than the condition of Exchange.”

I may say, ladies and gentlemen, that in the matter of Military Expenditure I have been for a long time a sort of wandering minstrel on more than one platform, including the platform of this Congress. If Sir James Westland says that exchange and exchange alone is the burthen of his song, I must acknowledge that Military expenditure and that expenditure alone is the theme of my minstrelsy from year to year during the last ten years. (*Cheers.*) But you are now all perfectly aware, and it is therefore superfluous to remind you, that the songster who sang so lustily of Exchange is now quite hushed, if not entirely discredited, not only in India but in England. (*Hear, hear.*) As the Resolution just read out to you says, expert opi-

opinion in England is now entirely in accord with our own, that the growth of Military Expenditure is a more potent cause of the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country than the much abused and blameless Exchange. The parable, originally given currency to by the Bombay Presidency Association, though giped and jeered at in the Supreme Legislative Council, was soon taken up by the British Committee of the Congress, and vigorously supported twice within the last twelve months by the might of the redoubtable Sir Auckland Colvin, the very Ex-Finance Minister at whose feet Sir James Westland had sat and taken many a lesson in Indian finance. (*Hear, hear.*) It was later on echoed by Sir David Barbour, another able Finance Minister and the immediate successor of Sir Auckland. As if these two Indian expert authorities, who had been mainly responsible for the condition of our Exchequer during the decade which ended with 1893, were not enough, there arose Mr. A. J. Wilson, an expert too well-known in the English financial circles, to demonstrate with even greater force and freshness the utter fallacy of Sir James Westland's assertion. Most of you may not be aware that he was the same expert who had mercilessly criticised that memorable budget of Sir John Strachey during the Second Afghan War, which began with a bogus surplus and ended in a huge deficit of about 4 crores of rupees. His refreshing criticism on Indian finance may still be read with profit and instruction in the pages of Fraser's Magazine for August 1882. (*Hear, hear.*) At any rate it is much to be wished that Sir James Westland at any rate, if none else, may profit by a study of those pages. It would be thus seen that Mr. Wilson was no apprentice hand in his criticism on our latter day Indian finance. But the burden of the refrain did not end with him. It was soon taken up by two journals of the highest economic repute,—I mean the *Statist* and the *Economist*. Both these have, be it said to their credit, never been slow to explode the fallacies of the Indian Financial Department. Some of you must have a vivid recollection of the independence and vigour, of the correct and firm grasp of the true canons of currency, displayed by them, specially by the *Statist*, in their treatment of that mischievous currency measure which was passed on the heights of Simla in half an hour on the eventful 26th, June, 1893. The same journals followed in the wake of the British Committee, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir David Barbour, and Mr. Wilson, and proved to demonstration the soundness of the conclusion that Civil and Military expenditure, and not Exchange, was the principal disturbing factor of our annual budgets. (*Hear, hear.*) You cannot expect more expert evidence than this in support of our contention. And so far, ladies and gentlemen, you will no doubt admit that we are perfectly justified in observing, as we have done in the Resolution, that "expert opinion in England has come over to the view of the Indian Parliamentary Committee." The Congress owes a deep debt of gratitude to these gentlemen and the two financial journals for their independent support. (*Cheers.*) For, in reality, the Congress has now been fully vindicated by the several authorities just alluded to, in its assertion regarding the appalling growth of Military expenditure as the fountain-source of all our financial woes since 1885. Every word annually said from this platform on the subject, from the very date of the birth of the Congress at Bombay—and I was the very first person to refer to its mischievous and even disastrous character—has been verified. What was observed just ten years ago still stands true to-day. (*Cheers.*) It is a satisfaction to us all that eventually we are proved to be the correct prophets. The fact conclusively shows how careful are those who speak to facts from this platform. It must be evident even to the slow or unwilling official mind that we do not speak without full responsibility or without the book; and that in the long run we are able to stand firm by our original statements. But it is of no use slaying the slain. Experts have now safely buried the dead body of Exchange to which the Finance Minister so fondly clung. (*Laughter.*)

Coming now to the first part of the Resolution, it is impossible that within the orthodox time prescribed to me I could expatiate at length on the imperative necessity of curtailing this overgrown Military expenditure. I can hardly touch even the fringe of it—so comprehensive is the topic, and so multifarious are the details of the expenditure. As to the principal details,

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I think, I have been able to lay before you the salient ones at previous Congress sittings. These are embodied for reference in the annual reports which are open to you all for study. I think, therefore, not to burden your memory with many more particulars. But there are one or two statements made by Sir James Westland in one of his recent budget speeches to which I deem it necessary on this occasion to draw your attention. In his speech in 1893, he admitted that between 1885 and 1888 no doubt the Military expenditure predominated, and that it embarrassed the finances; but since 1888-89 exchange and exchange alone is the only cause of the disturbance of the finances of the country. Here are his own words:—"My argument was that that increase (namely increase in Military expenditure) had been met by the fiscal steps we had recourse to in 1888, and that the necessities that arose since 1888 were due to exchange and exchange alone. It did not arise, therefore, in immediate connexion with the discussion of our present position."

This statement, coupled with another, made by General Sir Henry Brackenbury, that during the last few years the real growth in the army services has been only 4½ lakhs, the remaining 57½ lakhs being entirely owing to exchange, has extremely surprised me. The honourable member observed:—

"Between 1885-86 and 1893-94 there has been a rise of 62 lakhs of rupees in Military budget estimates, but of this 62 lakhs, 57½ were due to fall in exchange—actual increase in all these years, apart from exchange, was 4,50,000 rupees."

I have failed to discover the slightest confirmation of these figures. The statements of both the officials, I am afraid, are inaccurate and seem to have been made without due analysis or investigation. From a short table which I have prepared of the details of Army expenditure from 1888-89—the figures being all taken from the annual blue, or rather yellow, books on the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India—I find that neither Sir James' nor Sir Henry's statements could be borne out. On the contrary, the table I have compiled, would seem to further corroborate our own contention as to the still increasing character of the charges on account of the army services. I may mention in passing for those of you who may be specially desirous to study the details, that these yellow books on the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Imperial Government are annual publications and could be had for a couple of rupees each at the Government Printing Press in Calcutta. I am sure they will repay all the pains and trouble you may take to digest their contents. A study of them would enable you all to better understand the tenor of the annual financial statement made in the Supreme Legislative Council.

Coming back to the details, I may inform you that the entire Army expenditure is divided into two principal heads called "Effective" and "Non-Effective." Again, each is subdivided into two further heads, namely expenditure in India and expenditure in England. The Effective services in India and England comprise in all fifteen sub-heads, and the "Non-Effective" four. I will enumerate these for your information:—

- Effective* :—( 1 ) Army and Garrison Staff.  
( 2 ) Administrative Staff.  
( 3 ) Regimental Pay and Allowances.  
( 4 ) Commissariat Establishments and Supplies.  
( 5 ) Stud and Remount Establishment.  
( 6 ) Clothing Establishment and Supplies.  
( 7 ) Barracks do. do.  
( 8 ) Administration of Martial Law.

- ( 9 ) Medical Services and Supplies.  
 ( 10 ) Ordnance.  
 ( 11 ) Ecclesiastical Services.  
 ( 12 ) Education.  
 ( 13 ) Sea Transport Charges.  
 ( 14 ) Miscellaneous Services.  
 ( 15 ) Volunteer Corps.  
*Non-Effective*—( 1 ) Rewards and Gratuities.  
 ( 2 ) European Pensions.  
 ( 3 ) Native Pensions.  
 ( 4 ) Widows' Allowances.

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Let me first read to you the figures under the different sub-heads as compiled from the annual Finance and Revenue Accounts.

## Details of net Army Charges—1887-88 compared with 1893-94.

( Finance and Revenue Accounts. )

HEADS.	IN INDIA.			IN ENGLAND.			EXCHANGE.		
	1887-8.	1893-4.	Increase or Decrease.	1887-8.	1893-4.	Increase or Decrease.	1887-8.	1893-94.	Increase or Decrease.
	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.	In Lakhs.
<b>EFFECTIVE SERVICES.</b>									
1. Army and Garrison Staff .....	51.41	52.72	1.31	...	...	...	...	...	.....
2. Administrative Garrison Staff...	19.10	20.08	0.98	...	...	...	...	...	.....
3. Regimental Pay, &c. ....	715.87	787.76	71.89	92.48	107.04	14.56	38.86	69.56	30.70
4. Commissariat, &c. ....	319.33	295.90	-23.43	3.73	3.08	-0.65	1.56	2.00	0.44
5. Remount, &c. ....	21.66	28.58	6.92	0.95	...	-0.95	0.39	...	-0.39
6. Clothing, „... ..	10.60	16.68	6.08	24.69	19.17	-5.52	10.37	12.46	2.09
7. Barracks, „... ..	22.88	22.75	-0.13	...	...	...	...	...	.....
8. Martial Law ... ..	2.38	4.08	1.70	...	...	...	...	...	.....
9. Medical .....	62.82	68.05	5.23	5.14	3.19	-1.95	2.16	2.07	-0.09
10. Ordnance .....	39.02	73.99	34.97	32.55	54.86	22.31	13.67	3.56	-10.11
11. Ecclesiastical ...	3.07	2.84	-0.23	...	...	...	...	...	.....
12. Education.....	3.60	4.66	1.06	...	...	...	...	...	.....
13. Sea Transport...	4.20	5.74	1.54	20.34	25.30	4.96	8.54	16.24	7.70
14. Miscellaneous ...	38.55	31.22	-7.33	0.72	0.43	-0.29	0.30	0.28	-0.02
15. Volunteers .....	10.72	17.74	7.02	...	...	...	...	...	.....
<b>Total Effective...</b>	<b>1325.21</b>	<b>1432.79</b>	<b>107.58</b>	<b>180.60</b>	<b>212.77</b>	<b>32.17</b>	<b>75.85</b>	<b>106.17</b>	<b>30.32</b>
<b>NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES</b>									
16. Rewards .....	0.79	1.06	0.27	...	...	...	...	...	.....
17. European Pensions.....	9.96	11.55	1.59	181.48	215.51	34.03	76.26	140.05	73.79
18. Native Pensions..	64.87	72.57	7.70	...	...	...	...	...	.....
19. Widows' „ ...	-2.05	-4.75	-2.70	7.82	8.49	0.67	3.28	5.51	2.23
<b>Total Non-Effective.</b>	<b>73.57</b>	<b>80.43</b>	<b>6.86</b>	<b>189.30</b>	<b>224.00</b>	<b>34.70</b>	<b>79.54</b>	<b>145.56</b>	<b>66.02</b>
<b>Grand Total...</b>	<b>1398.78</b>	<b>1513.22</b>	<b>114.44</b>	<b>369.90</b>	<b>436.77</b>	<b>66.87</b>	<b>155.39</b>	<b>251.73</b>	<b>96.34</b>

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Now, according to the two official authorities I have named, the expenditure proper on the Army Services would show no material growth, but exchange would exhibit a growth of  $57\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. As a matter of fact, the former is considerable and exceeds the latter to a large extent. I may mention that all my figures have reference to *net* charges, that is to say, gross expenditure *minus* the receipts under each head. The total Effective Services in 1887—88 in India cost 13.25 crores. In 1893—94 they rose to 14.33 crores or a net growth of 1.08 crores. The charges in England under the same head between 1887—88 and 1893—94 stood at 1.80 and 2.13 crores respectively, that is to say, they showed a net growth of 33 lakhs. The total net growth was, therefore, equal to 1.41 crores. Now, I may point out to you what was the burden of exchange on the effective services during the same period. In 1887—88, when the average rate for the year was 16.37d. per Rupee, and the expenditure in England amounted to 1.80 crores, it amounted to 75.85 lakhs. In 1893—94, when the rate stood at 14.54d. per Rupee, it came to 106.17 lakhs. The increase equalled 30.32 lakhs. In other words, the actual army effective charges were 1.71 crores more, *exclusive of exchange*, in 1893—94 compared with 1887—88. These figures altogether contradict both Sir James Westland's and Sir Henry Brackenbury's statements to which I referred a short while ago. But this is not the whole tale regarding the growth of Military expenditure. The non-effective service charges, which as you know almost wholly consist of pensions to Native and European armies, have to be considered also. In India these stood at 73.57 lakhs in 1887—88. In 1893—94 they amounted to 80.43 or a growth of 6.86 lakhs. In England they rose from 189.30 to 224 lakhs, equivalent to a growth of 34.70 lakhs. The total growth was 41.56 lakhs. Exchange in reference to these charges rose from 79.54 to 145.56 lakhs or an increase of 66.02 lakhs. The combined charges for effective and non-effective services and exchange may now be summarised as under :—

	Crores.	Total.
Effective Charges.....	Growth = 1.41	
Non-Effective Charges.....	do. = 0.42	
	—	1.83 Crores.
	Lakhs.	
Exchange Charges, Effective...	Growth = 30.32	
Do Non-Effective.....	do. = 66.02	
	—	96.34 "
	—	2.79 "

It will be, therefore, clear to you all that despite the difference of 1.88d. per Rupee, owing to the fall in the value of silver measured by gold, between 1887—88 and 1893—94, the *actual* Military expenditure was *nearly twice as much* as the charges of exchange on the same! How can it lie in the mouth of the two officials responsible for our finances and Military expenditure to assert what they did in the Supreme Legislative Council two years ago, I am at a loss to understand? (*Hear, hear.*) If the figures, I have just submitted to you, are accurate, Sir James Westland's statement regarding growth of the Army services as being immaterial remains altogether uncorroborated. Neither is General Brackenbury's assertion of the actual growth being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs only, and that of exchange being  $57\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs, in any degree supported by those official figures. It is much to be wished for the sake of accuracy itself, as well as for official veracity in high places, that the two members of the Council would either point out the fallacy of the figures I have just submitted to you, or substantiate their own statements by actual particulars. (*Cheers.*)

Let me, however, show you the growth of some of the principal items of expenditure. Take, for instance, item 3 of the table, namely, Regimental pay and allowances. In India, these rose from 7.16 crores in 1887-88 to 7.88 crores in 1893-94. The increase was equal to 72 lakhs. In England it rose during the same period from 92.48 lakhs to 1.07 crores or an increase of 14.52 lakhs. Say, in all, a growth of 86.52 lakhs, apart from 31 lakhs under this head for exchange. You will ask me the reason of it. My friend Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya referred in his speech to the laborious investigations into Indian finance by the Parliamentary Committee, known as the Fawcett Committee, which sat for four years from 1871 to 1874. Well, ladies and gentlemen, the evidence collected by that Committee, as far as Military Expenditure went, showed that India was being sadly burdened with larger expenditure owing to the exigencies of the organisation, equipment, pay, and so forth of the Indian Army with which the British Army has been amalgamated since 1859, in spite of the warnings and protests of those Military friends who knew how oppressive an impost that amalgamation would prove. In my speech at the first Congress I minutely went into the whole question and submitted the details of the various increases up to 1884. Every change in clothing, in arms, in ammunition and what not brings an additional burden on India, apart from the increase in the soldier's pay. In arms and ammunitions specially, since the days of the frontier fireworks which have already cost us 15 crores in 10 years, there have gone on incessant changes. No sooner is a gun or rifle of a particular patent or inventor supplied to the army than a new weapon is substituted in its place. The old expenditure incurred soon becomes so much of a dead loss which in the end, of course, comes out of the pocket of the Indian tax-payers. This is the precious result of the fatal scheme of Army amalgamation. I lay at its door all India's financial embarrassments regarding Military finance, next to the aggressive policy on the frontiers. (*Hear, hear.*) Poor India is made a joint partner with rich England with no voice in the regulation of her army expenditure. The War Office has only to order and the helpless Government of India has simply to obey it. There is no *if* or *but*,—such is the inequity and tyrannical character of this unfair partnership. Every change in the English army causes a corresponding change here, whether in the matter of the soldier's pay and allowances, his clothing, his arms, his food, and so on; or, in the matter of mobilisation. But to India the cost is well nigh double and treble that of England. The lower the exchange, the outlay, specially on ordnance, and the increased amounts of the soldier's pay and pensions, inflict an intolerable burden on the treasury. This is one of the most crying of financial injustices (*Hear, hear.*) against which both the Government and the public at large, and we the Congress specially, have hitherto inveighed but inveighed in vain. Let us all hope that the Royal Commission may see the injustice and recommend a relief which may be considered just by India (*Hear, hear.*), though I am not sanguine that any such relief may be expected from that official body.

But, ladies and gentlemen, so far I have only dealt with Military finance and Military exchange. Our Resolution refers to exchange in general. I observed at the outset that the Bombay Presidency Association was the first public body in this country to challenge Sir James Westland's statement regarding exchange. In its memorial submitted to the Supreme Government in March 1894, it demonstrated by a series of tables that Civil and Military expenditure was the more potent cause of the disturbance in Indian finances than exchange. This statement is now accepted to be quite correct by all independent experts. Exchange has been proved to be a bugbear. In the first place, its burden has not been so embarrassing as the Finance Minister has endeavoured to make out. And in the second place, it should never be forgotten that during the last few years the amount itself of sterling remittances has increased by a million. Both the points have been elucidated in a masterly way by the British Committee of the Congress under the able presidency of its indefatigable Chairman, Sir William Wedderburn. (*Applause.*) I will not further

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take up your time by descanting on this part of the subject. I have only to refer you to the two able "notes" issued by that Committee and the letter accompanying them to convince you that exchange is only a subordinate factor of the chronic embarrassment of the Indian finances. In the 17th and subsequent paras up to 23 of the second paper, this question of exchange has been most clearly elucidated. In brief, while Civil and Military expenditure has increased 6.25 crores of rupees in seven years, exchange has only increased 4.25 crores. To quote the language of the British Committee: "*In other words, for every rupee of additional burden entailed by the fall in exchange, the services add another rupee and a half on their own account.*" \* \* The Government of India have not been content with a moderate increase of expenditure, but have continued, *in reckless disregard of the capacities of Indian Revenue, to increase expenditure in the Civil and Military services ( however useful and desirable that expenditure may be ) at a rate which under all circumstances is absolutely unjustifiable.*" ( *Hear, hear.* ) It will be thus seen that we have completely proved our case. ( *Cheers.* )

It only remains for us to appeal to the Government again to curtail this overgrown expenditure in the Civil and Military services. As to the Military charges, Sir Auckland Colvin, in his second contribution to the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* for October last, observed that he did not look forward to any curtailment of them. He says :—" Of the three causes to which increase of net expenditure during the last ten years is mainly due, to one only, and to the only one to which it is beyond the power of man to control, can we look for any relief. So far as the two other causes of the increase of net expenditure be within the control of the authorities, whether in India or in England, *it is clear now that no reduction can be looked for either in the army charges, or in the net charges for State guaranteed or aided railways, nor will any diminution be conceded. We must look to exchange alone for assistance.*"

Then, there is every probability of the Military authorities bringing the European forces to the requisite strength in proportion to the existing Native army, inclusive of the imperial Service Corps and the irregular frontier levies. The probability is indeed of a portentous character. For, ladies and gentlemen, I leave it to you to realise the additional expenditure which the additional European troops may hereafter entail on the Exchequer. I should be within the mark when I say that an additional 10,000 European soldiers would cost about 2 crores of rupees. Imagine the burden! When we are all striving our best to prove conclusively how burdensome has been the existing army expenditure, besides being the principal cause of the financial embarrassments which during the last few years have led to the additional taxation of 7 crores ( *Hear, hear.* ) apart from the benevolences exacted from the Provincial Governments and the encroachments on the Famine Insurance Fund, here we are threatened with a large additional expenditure! But if there is to be no curtailment, at the best, in Military expenditure, how are they going to ease the Exchequer? Sir Auckland Colvin thinks we must look to exchange alone! I am, indeed, surprised that so shrewd and sagacious an official as Sir Auckland would have us depend on exchange when it is so precarious that you could not safely rely upon its stability for a few weeks together! Is it possible that with such a disturbing factor there could be any sensible permanent relief to the finances and therefore to the tax-payer? One of the soundest canons of public finance is that a State should rely only on permanent sources of revenue and regulate its expenditure on factors which may not be of a fluctuating or uncertain character. But here we are recommended to rely on a most uncertain factor like exchange, the rise or fall of a penny in which makes the difference of over a crore! Suppose that our expenditure is reduced by 2 crores to-morrow owing to the forecast of a rise of a penny in exchange for the coming year. Suppose that this forecast remains unrealised from a variety of causes, economical and political, over which India has no control. Where will the deficit come from? Were we assured

that exchange would be stable at a given rate, it might be one thing ; but so long as it fluctuates, sometimes most violently, it would be the height of financial folly to reduce expenditure on the merest chance of a rise in exchange. If there is to be a substantial reduction it would only be in the *permanent* establishments which have overgrown, and nowhere else. I have fully pointed out to you how far Civil and Military expenditure has increased during the last few years. It logically follows, therefore, that any hope of curtailment must be found there and there alone, and not in exchange.

Admitting then that the Military charges demand the first reduction, how are we to proceed ? When we cry out for curtailment, the Government of India throws in our teeth the challenge that we should show them the way, as if we were in possession of all those minute details with the aid of which it was possible to submit suggestions ! Our representatives in the Supreme Council were twitted on this matter last year. Our good friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, (*Loud Cheers.*) endeavoured to grope his way through the maze of the budget as best he could. I pointed out what these difficulties of details were in my Presidential Address at the Belgaum Provincial Conference in May last. What happens is this. That finance and revenue accounts published by the Government of India are of a very incomplete character. Though these ponderous tomes bristle with figures, when you dive deep into them and endeavour to go to the bottom of a given charge, you find yourself stumbling. You cannot make any progress because the very details which are requisite for purposes of analysis or comparison are either suppressed or given in a form which defy such analysis. Our efforts prove futile. I can take at random any head or sub-head of an account and make clear to you my allegation. But it is impossible I can do so at the present moment. As things are, it is not possible to make what are called "constructive" proposals, when we are not furnished with the materials to enable us to do so. We can only offer "destructive" criticism and we cannot be blamed for it. In this respect, I think, our own Local Government may be said to be more advanced than the Imperial authorities. The detailed statement of the annual budget is on the whole pretty satisfactory and full of those minor details which are so necessary for purposes not only of comparison and criticism but suggestions. Were the Supreme Government to make available for members of its Council, as well as the public at large, all those minute details, on the basis of which the annual financial statement is prepared, I for one am quite sure that we would be in an infinitely better position to assist the Government in our endeavours to curtail expenditure than we are. But so long as it prefers to conceal these and allows the public to grope in the dark, nothing practical is at present possible. Were the Government only to take a broad view of the public side of financial matters, and tolerate non-official criticism, a great advance might be made which may prove most conducive to its own interests and those of the people. I hope that when we meet next year we may be able to see some reform in this direction—some reasonable approach on the part of the Government to accede to the public opinion as expressed at this representative assemblage of enlightened Indians. (*Cheers.*) With these observations I cordially commend the Resolution for your adoption. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MUNSHI SHAIK HUSSAIN supported the motion in a speech delivered in the vernacular.

MR. S. K. NAIR ( Madras ) said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates and gentlemen; we have heard with considerable pleasure and patience the eloquent speech which Mr. Wacha delivered on the subject of Military expenditure. I am told that Mr. Wacha is called the fire-brand of Bombay ; I would rather like to be the fire-brand of Madras. Whoever speaks the pure truth in connection with questions of Indian administration is in these days called a fire-brand and various other names. Gentlemen, the question under consideration involves as far as I can see three subjects:—the reduction of Military expenditure, the reduction of Civil

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expenditure and the curtailment of many of the items forming the Home Charges. You will find that if we have in India a number of native troops and if the English people will be convinced of the loyalty of the subjects of Her Majesty, there will be no necessity for a European army at all. I am sure that the European army is simply an ornament, and in this connection it may not be out of place that we have an object lesson before us in the Native States of India. Look at the martial spirit in the Northern India States; and only lately we had an evidence of the loyalty of these native troops when the troops of the Maharajah of Cashmere were and fought side by side with the British soldiers, fought for the British glory and for the honored name of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. ( Cheers. ) When such things are before us I wish to know who is the wonderful logician who will impress us with the necessity of a army on such a grand scale as that we are now maintaining. But leaving that aside, now comes another item—the Home Charges. Most of the things for the purchase of which money comes from India to England could safely be manufactured in India. The money which goes to England for the purchase of various articles is absolutely useless. If only the English Government in India will be kind enough to promote the indigenous industries of India most of the things the army in India requires could be manufactured here. If you have any doubt with regard to this point, I will not ask you to travel far to convince you that I am right. Only come outside this *mandap* and look at this appeal on one of the Booths “ Help India Industries. ” Yesterday I found many a knife manufactured in the Presidency of Bombay and those knives and scissors could safely be placed on a par with the best of the same class of articles made in England and Germany. When such is the enterprising character of our Native friends in this country and such is the result of the encouragement that could be given by the people as well as by those who are interested in the industries of the country, does it not, ask you, stand to reason that if Government were to support the industries of India many of those articles which are requisite for the army could be safely manufactured in India. Now comes another item—the Civil Expenditure. I will not in the language of our distinguished citizen Mr. Mehta sing eternal Hallelujah to that divine service. But I will say this that it is an exorbitantly paid service. In the island of Ceylon, at Singapore and the British Colonies Civilians are maintained, but they are not paid on the same scale as the Civilians in India. The charges for these Civilian officers in India are entirely unnecessary, absurd and meaningless. But, I am sure that if only the people in England can be touched, if only an appeal goes from united India which is represented by this assembly and can touch the hearts of the British people, and if we can convince the people in England with regard to the absurdity of all this costly administration, I have not the slightest doubt that India's Salvation is near at hand. Lord Roberts said :—“ I don't believe in physical force; hereafter we have to rely on a small force. ” That is exactly what we have to impress on the people in England—I say the people in England most distinctly because Englishmen who come to India, to a great extent change their character immediately they pass *Aden*. I am sure if we want to effect healthy changes in all these directions we must appeal to the British people in England.

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DR. K. N. BAHADURJEE ( Bombay ) in the absence of Khan Sahib Pallonji Ruttonji supported the motion and in doing so said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, one phase of the question of Military expenditure *viz.* as regards the cost of Military Civil Medical Service of the Country, I have often placed before you. But there is another aspect of it which I have given some attention to, and I shall place before you some startling facts which will convince you more than any array of figures of what has been actually an annual waste of money by one branch of the great Military spending department. I ought to mention that my study and knowledge of what I shall just mention to you are derived first hand from one who has had personal knowledge of several expeditions and an experience of the spending department extending over 27 years. In former years there was no mobilisation allowance, as it is called, and it

may be said without exaggeration that field service had suffered no inconvenience thereby. But, for the last few years yearly grants are made of lakhs of rupees for so-called reserve stores and equipment, and with what result. To begin with, it has been the fashion to spend somehow or other the full amount of grant each year, and often it has been the case that balances and even large balances remaining on hand just before the close of the official year have been expended in ordering out articles which turn out 'not wanted,' at the close of the official year. As a rule, all articles stored up for reserve remain unutilized for months or years, and deteriorate with time. And if they are not hopelessly gone bad, they are sold off at great loss or put to strange uses. Just think over these few examples. A large quantity of ghee remaining unutilized for some time, went rancid and had to be issued as buttee oil and cart grease. A good supply of calico gowns in the clothing department remained on hand for a long time. Suggestions were invited to put them to some use: the most practical solution arrived at was to tear them up for use as dusters. Again, a large number of carts and tongas would be ordered to be made (as a reserve for field-service) in a special depot in northern India. But then a difficulty would arise of storing them, for that particular Manufacturing depot has no storage accommodation near at hand. They would then be distributed all over the country by sea and rail at a cost almost equal to that of their manufacture. But that is not all. When required for use, a major portion of them would be found to be unfit for field service, for many of them would be wanting new wheels and many others new bodies. This, of course, takes no count of the recurrent expenditure to keep these carts and other reserve articles in a constant state of repair. In the provision department salt or tinned meat is ordered out at a much higher cost than fresh meat procurable on the spot; and to prevent deterioration by time this reserve supply is issued to soldiers on certain days of the week in lieu of fresh meat. But it just happens that these are the very days when the poor soldiers don't make happy meals, for they prefer fresh meat to these reserve provisions. Cordigan jackets are ordered out in large quantities as a reserve stock. But since they cannot be used for the purpose for which they are purchased, and time will exercise its deteriorating influence on them, they are given away as presents not to soldiers going on field service and for whom they are supposed to be kept, but to time-expired men proceeding to England. These are but few instances which have their analogues in various other departments. The waste of money they illustrate can be easily stopped if only lavish mobilisation allowances which used not to exist before, were done away with. (*Cheers.*)

**THE PRESIDENT** :—Gentlemen, the third resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in its favour should hold up their hands. (*Voices All, all.*) Carried unanimously.

**THE PRESIDENT** :—I now call upon Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose to move the next resolution.

**MR. MANO MOHAN GHOSE** (Bengal) moved the following resolution :—

"That this Congress again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice."

He said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Subjects Committee of this Congress having decided that I should move the fourth Resolution regarding the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice, I feel bound to carry out that direction. At the same time, I must confess that I cannot congratulate them on the wisdom of their choice in selecting me for this purpose. I have written and

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said so much on the subject of late years that I feel that, from one point of view, I am disqualified from discharging the duty satisfactorily, as I cannot say anything new. I am glad, however, that the principle which underlies the resolution is one regarding which there is not, and never has been any serious difference of opinion. From the days of Lord Cornwallis down to the present time English administrators have repeatedly acknowledged the soundness of the principle for which we are contending. It is, now exactly 100 years since the government of Lord Cornwallis, in the preamble to a regulation of the Governor-General, publicly recorded that in the opinion of the Government of India it was exceedingly desirable that Revenue officers and others performing executive duties, should not be called upon to try cases in which they have themselves been mixed up. The reform, however, was not then carried out, but in 1861, a few years after the mutiny, when the Police Act was under discussion before the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, strenuous efforts were made by distinguished English officials to bring about this reform. It was on that occasion that no less eminent a member of the Civil Service than Sir Bartle Frere declared, that the reform was one which must be carried out sooner or later, and that the only difficulties in the way were "prejudices of long standing." At that time Mr. Sconce another distinguished member of the Civil Service and a judge of the Sudder Court, insisted upon the reform being then carried out, but he was put off with the assurance that in a very few years the measure which he advocated would be carried out. At that time the National Congress was not even heard of, and I mention this fact in order to show that this is a reform which has all along been advocated by English officials and administrators themselves and not by so-called revolutionaries like ourselves. Nothing however was done; and although since the establishment of this Congress we have repeatedly agitated for this small measure of reform, our cries have yet remained unheeded. As the President has told us, only the other day, both Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross stated from their places in Parliament that it was exceedingly desirable that this reform should be carried out without further loss of time; but the difficulty which then pressed Lord Kimberley was, as he put it, solely based upon financial considerations. I regret to say that it is impossible for me or any one who has studied the subject, to accept this as a satisfactory explanation of the delay which has taken place in carrying out this reform. I shall have occasion to dwell upon the real objection later on. You have probably read in the newspapers that on the 3rd of this month I had the honour of addressing the members of the East India Association in London on this very subject, and it is satisfactory to me to think that on that occasion I was able to secure the support of so influential a body of Anglo-Indian officials headed by so eminent an ex-civilian as Sir Lepel Griffin. On that occasion, I am glad to say, I also received the powerful support of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Bhownagree. I have advisedly said "powerful support," because I feel that by a strange accident Mr. Bhownagree has been placed in a position where, if he chooses, he can do more good to his country than our friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who has devoted his whole life to the cause of India. (*Cheers.*) I know nothing of the antecedents of Mr. Bhownagree, and though I do not sympathise with him in the somewhat sweeping and unjustifiable attacks in which he has recently indulged as regards the National Congress, I feel that we ought not to retaliate, especially when I have had his personal assurance that he will try to serve India to the best of his opportunities. (*Cheers.*) I think I may be permitted on your behalf to express a hope that in spite of the denunciations in which he has recently indulged, he will be thoroughly loyal and true to his own country, and if he is that, I am sure we shall all be prepared not only to forget his utterances but to accord to him our most hearty support. On that occasion Mr. Bhownagree very forcibly pointed out that even if financial difficulties existed the Government should be ready to remove those difficulties when the purity of the administration of justice was involved. He might have gone further and pointed out that, as regards the administration of justice, the Government is financially not a loser, but that there is a considerable surplus after paying all expenses, to the credit of the Government under the head of Public Justice. It seems unreason-

able that we should be put off on the ground of financial embarrassment, when there is a yearly surplus which ought undoubtedly to be devoted to improving the very administration which yields that surplus. (*Applause.*) But after all, that is not the real objection. It is time that the responsible heads of the government and the public at large should know and realise what the real objection of our opponents is. Not long ago, a distinguished Indian Civilian belonging to this Presidency, I think I ought to mention his name because he made no secret of it—Mr. James, Commissioner in Sind,—wrote an article in an English magazine, in which he described the present system which combines judicial and executive functions in one officer as “the mainstay of British power in India.” (*Shame.*) The real objection then is the apprehension on the part of the Executive officers that their prestige will suffer, if the reform we advocate is carried out. I cannot help thinking that the vice of our present administration is that justice is too often sacrificed at the altar of that bugbear known as prestige. (*Hear, hear.*) I have always understood that the real “mainstay of British power in India” was not in a system which tended to pervert justice, but in the belief that English courts dispensed even-handed justice. I am sure I express the opinion of every one present here when I say that that is the true “mainstay of British power in India,” and anything which tends to impair that confidence in the minds of the people strikes at the root of what is the true “mainstay of British Power.” (*Cheers.*) Not long ago I had occasion to point out to the present Secretary of State for India, who did me the honour of granting me an interview in London, that the general feeling among my countrymen was that justice was unattainable when the prestige of any public officer was involved. In saying so, I believe, I expressed the universal feeling of my countrymen on the subject. (*Cheers.*) I told him that the belief among the people of India was gaining ground that from the Police Constable drawing 7 Rupees a month upto Her Majesty’s Secretary of State, it was one continued ladder of prestige; that each officer was anxious to support the prestige of his own immediate subordinate even at the sacrifice of justice. Lord George Hamilton, who, I believe, is anxious to govern this country justly and with sympathy, no doubt, realised the gravity of the observation, but he remarked that to a certain extent in the case of a Service animated by an *esprit de corps* this state of things was almost unavoidable. When speaking in London on the subject I was cautious enough to speak of the feeling among my countrymen without expressing any opinion as to whether that feeling was well-founded or not; but, by a strange fatality, I now find that just about the time I was speaking to Her Majesty’s Secretary of State, Sir Charles Elliot was making a speech in Calcutta, admitting and justifying the truth of my observation. He said, on the occasion of a public dinner, that the Government in India was always anxious not “to wash their dirty linen in public and that it was absolutely necessary to maintain the prestige of a public servant publicly, even if he had misconducted himself (*Shame*). This convinced me that I had accurately represented to the Secretary of State not only the true state of feeling among my countrymen, but that, in reality, the feeling was well-founded. Well, it is that bugbear of prestige, which, as Sir Richard Garth has pointed out, is in our way in this matter, and financial considerations are merely put forward because our opponents have not the courage to avow what the real objection is. Not long ago, a high Bengal official, whose name I am not permitted to divulge, because his communication was confidential, wrote to the Government of India to say that in his opinion it was undesirable to divest the Magistrate of the District of his judicial powers, because he was “the connecting link” between the police and the judiciary of his district, or, in other words, because the Magistrate of the District finds it convenient and necessary to pull the wires of the judiciary from behind in the administration of criminal justice. This officer has very candidly let the cat out of the bag, and it is in this admission that we find the real secret of the opposition to this reform. It is time that our opponents should have the courage to declare publicly, as Mr. James declared, what the real objection is and not take shelter behind supposed financial difficulties. Fortunately for us, the reform which we advocate is not one which originated with the Congress, nor is it one which affects the interests of any particular class of our people. There is no race question

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THE HON. MR.  
CHIMANLAL SETALVAD.

involved, nor does the advocacy of this reform suggest any alarming issues or arguments based upon the stability of the Empire. The non-official European community are as much interested in this question as the people of the country, and even as regards the official classes I am glad to feel that the sympathies of nearly one half of the Indian Civil Servants themselves, namely, the members of the Judicial branch, are entirely on our side. (*Cheers*). That being so, I feel that if we persistently agitate for this reform, we shall, as the President observed, be within a measurable distance of attaining the object we have in view. With these remarks I beg to propose the following resolution :—“ That this Congress again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice.” (*Loud cheers.*)

THE HON. MR. CHIMANLAL SETALVAD (Bombay) said :—Mr. President and brother-delegates, in rising to second this resolution I feel my task a very easy one, preceded as I have been by so eminent and experienced a lawyer and so devoted a Congress leader as Mr. Ghose. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, this question of the separation of Executive from Judicial functions has now reached a stage when it is not necessary for any one to adduce facts and arguments to convince you as to the desirability of that reform. You have already been told that Lord Dufferin called it a counsel of perfection, and two successive Secretaries of State, belonging to the great political parties in England, have admitted from their places in the Houses of Parliament the extreme desirability of such separation. But we are met with the cry of want of funds. Want of funds indeed ! Gentlemen, we have no money to carry out this crying reform and therefore hundreds and thousands of ignorant people must be wrongfully sent to jail and harassed ! We are reduced to such a state of bankruptcy that notice must be sent to the University to give up the grant of Rs. 5000 made to it every year ! But despite that empty treasury we have money to squander away on border wars, and add to the already substantial salaries of the British officials in the form of exchange compensation allowance ! I think, however, this reform can be carried out without any additional cost at all, and I would indicate to you how this can be done. Take, for example, the District of Poona. When we come to examine the District of Poona, we find nine *Mamlatdars*, who, besides doing revenue work, also do magisterial work, and six Sub-Judges. Now Mr. Nugent has more than once admitted from his place in the Legislative Council that the *Mamlatdars* are occupied only one-eighth or less of their time in doing judicial business ; and if this is so, will it not be an easy thing to do away with one *Mamlatdar* and transfer the criminal work to the Sub-Judges, adding one to their number, and each of these doing civil as well as criminal work. This is one way in which the reform can be carried out without any additional cost at all. But to my mind the real difficulty in the way is not the question of cost, but the extreme unwillingness of the Executive officers to part with the power they now possess. Mr. Ghose has alluded to the articles of Mr. James, Commissioner of *Sind*, who, I understand, is to be shortly placed on the Council of this Presidency, and in those articles he called our High Court all sorts of names for having acquitted certain persons whom the police and the executive wanted to be convicted. And he came down very strongly on Mr. Metha for his effrontery in rising in the Legislative Council to propose the separation of the executive from the judicial functions. Then see the treatment Mr. Metha got in the Council when he rose up to suggest this reform. He only rose to ask for a Committee to consider the possibilities of his scheme, which is of the same sort as I have proposed, of transferring the criminal work to the Sub-Judges. The responsible members of the Government ridiculed the whole idea as beyond the pale of practical politics and burked the whole question. Imagine if they were really earnest as to the desirability of this proposal, would they have brushed aside thus unceremoniously this proposal, which Mr. Metha began by saying, involved no additional cost at all. It is not a question of cost at all, but the extreme unwillingness of the Executive officers to part with the power which they now possess and they think their dignity and usefulness will be affected. That is the real obstacle in the way. I think our only resource is to appeal to the British public and responsi-

ble officers of the Crown in England, and there alone I think we can get justice. We must tell them again and again that every moment they are delaying this desirable reform they are largely undermining the unbounded faith the people of this country have in British justice, and if that is once shaken it can never be restored by expeditions to Chitral or any Military undertakings of that kind. With these words I beg to second the resolution. (*Cheers*).

Mr. HARICHAND ROY (Karachi.) said :—Mr. President and gentlemen :—I was rather surprised and sorry to find that this subject had been excluded from the printed draft of resolutions formulated by the Poona Committee and published in the newspapers ; therefore I was pleased last night when the Subjects Committee proposed that this subject should be discussed at to-day's meeting. I imagined from its absence that the Congress had got disgusted with their repeated advocacy of the subject and were going to leave it out altogether. But if any gentleman has got this feeling, he is mistaken. There is hardly a scheme or project which you cannot carry through successfully in the long run by repeated advocacy, and I am sure the time is coming when this reform will come to pass. We are seeing signs everywhere that this reform will in the near future be conceded to us, provided we stand our ground firmly and show that we are going to continue our advocacy with might and main. Coming to the subject itself, I dare say most of you have read the very elaborate and able note written upon it in the shape of an interview in *India* with Mr. Manu Mohan Ghose. In that article a number of instances are quoted from Bengal of the actual mischief and oppression that arise from this unholy alliance between Judicial and Executive functions. But I may tell you that whereas Mr. Manu Mohan Ghose has confined these quotations to Bengal, I am quite sure, judging from experiences I have met with elsewhere, the same state of things and the same amount of mischief exist in every part of the country ; and for every case that comes to light and for the matter of that, every instance quoted by Mr. Ghose, you may find tens and scores which lie hidden, partly because some instances do not come to light, being known only to the parties concerned; and partly because those gentlemen who come to know of them for various reasons feel disinclined to disclose them. In my own province, very often this has happened. The Collector or District Magistrate is himself interested in a case and he pulls the wires from behind and tries to have the course of justice perverted. Only very recently a District Judge in his capacity as Collector was interested in a prosecution under the *Factories Act*. Well, he came and sat on the Bench with the Magistrate who was his subordinate and practically dictated how that Magistrate should act. It would be quite needless to multiply cases of this nature. Some time ago a friend of mine, an eminent member of the Bar and an Englishman, was talking with me and he said:—"Look here, you native gentlemen have been agitating for the employment of natives. That's rather a thing that Englishmen consider selfish. If you were agitating for some thing more substantial, something which would be likely to benefit the whole country, they will listen to you." I said, "We are advocating the separation of Judicial from Executive functions." He replied that if the English thought that from the point of view of principle, from the point of view of good, this was a reform with regard to which nothing could be urged on the score of selfishness or animosity on the part of those who agitated for it, there was no doubt that something would be done. I think that even those officers, who are perfectly conscientious, cannot possibly be trusted with these two-fold functions for the reason that their environments, circumstances and surroundings are such that they cannot help being influenced by various other considerations in the administration of the magisterial power. We in Sind recently gave an address of welcome to Lord Sandhurst during his late tour in the province, and in that address we inserted a paragraph regarding this subject. While speaking about addresses, I may tell you it was a happy feature, and the manner, in which Lord Sandhurst received that address which contained any number of controversial subjects, contrasted most agreeably with the excitable and irritable temper shown by Lord Elgin on the occasion of the presentation of the address at Madras.

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ROY.

Lord Sandhurst received it courteously and graciously, and treated every one of the questions with equal care and grace. Unfortunately, his reply which seems to have been entirely inspired by official opinion was not so favourable, but it seems to me that the official mind on this subject is neither consistent nor uniform. Some at one time say, "We oppose this reform because it is not expedient." Others say, "It is expedient but then it would involve extra cost." Coming to the matter of cost, I will not repeat what has been said by my learned predecessor, but this much I say—and I merely express my individual view, and I do not say you take this view. If matters come to a push, and if it becomes absolutely necessary to levy more taxes to carry out this reform, I would for one go in for those taxes rather than delay it being carried out. But with this reservation, that if these taxes were imposed, they should be devoted to the reform and not used for exchange compensation allowance! Therefore I say we have come to the time when we should agitate for the reform. As to the matter of cost, that it is no consideration has been conclusively shown by Mr. Ghose and Mr. Setalvad. On the point of expenditure, there is no agreement; the case of the officials is whether it is or is not expedient. Every one who comes to explain this expenditure question shrouds his words in some mysterious language. There is some alarm running through the official world to the effect that by allowing this separation we shall be losing that grip and hold we now have over the people. I cannot understand how that feeling has occurred and I do not think it has really occurred. If it is simply a matter of fearing the loss of the custom of *Salaming*, I can say that we are all agreed that our people do this with absolute impartiality to the Commissioner, to the Indigo planter, the Railway Contractor and so forth (*Laughter*). (Here the President touched the gong.) But the gong has called me to order, so I take my leave. (*Cheers.*)

MR. BIPIN  
BEHARI BOSE.

MR. BIPIN BEHARI BOSE (Lucknow) said:—Mr. President and brother-delegates,—I come from a province in which the results of the union of the Executive and Judicial functions form a snare of disagreeable experience almost every day, and I think, therefore, I have some claim to be heard by you. We are citizens of a province in which it is considered that the prestige of the Executive should be maintained at all costs; not only do the higher Executive officers think so, but, as observed by our illustrious countryman who has preceded me, even the lowest officers in the lowest grades consider that their prestige and honour should be maintained at all costs. I can relate to you many instances where such things happen as will make you really grieve and really sorry; but the time at my disposal being limited, I shall content myself with giving only one instance. But before doing so, I think it is necessary to advert for a few moments to the general considerations of the question. My friend, the seconder of this resolution, said one thing to which I do not propose to give my assent and it is this; he said that the lower magisterial duties could be transferred to Sub-Judges. I think it is not expedient to do this. I think magistrates alone should decide magisterial cases, and the lower functionaries should not perform Civil and Criminal functions. In this respect we should follow other civilised countries. But adverting to the cost of this reform, I may mention one consideration, and it is this: that, as we know, Executive officers have to perform multifarious duties; they have to give their attention to many diverse matters relative to District administration, and you know there are generally in every district four or five subordinate officers who are under the orders of the District Magistrate and Collector. So, if all these multifarious Executive duties be given to two or three persons, and purely Judicial duties be entrusted to two or three other persons, there will be no increase of cost in carrying out the reform. All this has been well illustrated and well set forth in the note of our countryman Mr. Dutta. But there is another thing which recommends this reform; I think the principle of division of labour has also to be attended to. For instance, if a Magistrate entirely devotes his time to deciding criminal cases, I think his discriminating powers generally increase and become more reliable. Such discharge of his duties

would be more satisfactory. Now, with regard to the instance to which I alluded, I would relate it to you that you may see how urgent are the circumstances which demand this reform. I shall relate to you only one instance out of the many now crowding into my memory. In the District of Gondh, there was a *Kulwar*, a Government *Tikadar* or Abkari farmer, who had in his place two carpenters. The *naib-Tahsildar* sent for the two carpenters, whereupon the *kulwar* protested, stating that they were employed on urgent work and he would not allow them to go. He afterwards said, however, "you better take one and leave the other to do my work." The *peons* who had gone to fetch the men reported the matter to the *Tahsildar* who was greatly annoyed at what he considered to be the contumacy of the *kulwar*. He then sent a large number of *peons*, and the *kulwar* was dragged from his house, beaten and otherwise assaulted and taken to the *naib-Tahsildar's* house, where after being beaten again, he was discharged. The *kulwar* made a report to the police both against the *naib-Tahsildar* and the *peons* who assaulted him, but the police would not take down his complaint. He then went to the Deputy-Magistrate who was obliged to take down his complaint and begin proceedings. As soon, however, as proceedings were begun, the matter was referred to the District Magistrate, who transferred the case to the file of the Assistant Commissioner. Now the latter, without issuing summonses, examined the complainant under section 202 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and asked him to produce his witnesses; but as the witnesses were required to give evidence against Government officials, they did not go; so the complainant asked for summonses to compel their attendance. These were not given him and he was asked to produce his witnesses without the help he asked. He produced certain witnesses who were not believed and the accused were discharged. In the meantime the *naib-Tahsildar* sent his *peons* to file a countercharge against the *kulwar*. The charge proceeded and there was a motion made by me in the Judicial Commissioner's Court that the case might be transferred from the file of the Assistant Commissioner. However, the Judicial Commissioner did not remove it from that file and the case went on. The complaint which was originally discharged under section 202 was again filed and was sent for revision to the District Judge's Court. The District Judge did not see his way to comply with the prayer and the application was dismissed. But still another misfortune overtook the *kulwar*. He was an old Government *tikadar*, and when the complaint was dismissed, the same Assistant Commissioner put the Deputy-Commissioner in motion with the result that his Government *tika* was taken away from him, but on what charge is not known. Then the Deputy Commissioner filed an affidavit in the Commissioner's Court which stated that the man had been a *tikadar* for a large number of years, but under his *tika* the revenue did not increase, and the Deputy Commissioner was obliged to give the *tika* to another man at a considerably lower rate. In such circumstances, gentlemen, you can see the irritation, chagrin and disgrace felt by the people. ( Cheers. )

DR. B. LAXMAN DAS (Rajputana) said :—I have to say something in support of Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose on the subject of separating Executive powers from Judicial ones. The matter is of great importance. Judicial powers, when exercised by the executive officers, prevent them from discharging those functions either to their own satisfaction or to that of the people for want of time. They have no time to give their full attention to the judicial work in the same manner as a purely judicial officer can do. Whenever an Executive officer has to go on tour, he is required to discharge important Executive duties, and the people feel a good many difficulties, such as the heavy expenses and the great trouble occasioned in following the officer from place to place, and in providing themselves with the help of good lawyers, as they cannot always conveniently follow the camp. Now it is quite clear that the officer who is entrusted with two such important duties cannot properly discharge either of them. They themselves are also conscience-bitten when they find themselves unable to give that full justice to the accused which is his due. ( Cheers. )

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DR. B. LAXMAN  
DAS.

Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I come from Ajmere in Rajputana. In Ajmere and Bewar we are met with failure of justice so often because the Assistant Commissioners there are entrusted with criminal, executive and civil powers. Similar is the condition of all other non-regulation provinces, and in regulation provinces even the criminal and executive powers are exercised by the same officers. Besides, the Collectors and Commissioners being the immediate superiors of the Police as local officers, the subordinate magistrates, who are also revenue officers, cannot act altogether free from extra-judicial influences, and hence there are so many cases of failure of justice. Therefore, an early separation of both powers from each other is essentially necessary, and I, accordingly, strongly support the resolution moved by our eminent leader Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose. ( Cheers. )

[ Translation of the Marathi speech made in support of this resolution by Mr. B. S. Sahasrabuddhe of Satara before the Congress at Poona. ]

MR. B. S.  
SAHASRABUDDHE.

MR. B. S. SAHASRABUDDHE ( Satara ) said:—Mr. President and gentlemen:—As the National Congress has been held in the capital of the Deccan and the language current here is Marathi, it is proper and necessary to explain this resolution in that language particularly as it concerns and affects the masses.

The desirability and necessity of this reform has been admitted by the Viceroy Lord Dufferin and by two Secretaries of State viz. Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley. The only difficulty that is put forward is that they say the separation would involve extra expenditure. But, gentlemen, I say that this plea is not proper; for if Government can find means to give money for exchange compensation it looks absurd to say that they have no money to carry out so essential a reform. It may be said that they have no desire to bring it in force, for where there is a will, there is a way—moreover for the Bombay Presidency the practicability of this reform being carried out is shown by the scheme which has been proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Pherozsha Mehta. The evil effects of the two powers being centred in one and the same individual officer can very well be illustrated by bringing to your mind the case against the thirteen respectable gentlemen of Wai. The injustice that was caused in the case was not remedied even by the High Court, the sentences having been given in the summary jurisdiction and the High Court being unable to revise the case on the facts in its extraordinary jurisdiction.

It is therefore necessary that we must all unite and repeat our request that the separation should be soon effected.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, the fourth resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour of it should now hold up their hands. (Cries of All, all.) Those who are against it—(Cries of None, none.) Gentlemen, the resolution is carried unanimously.

The Congress here adjourned for half an hour.

On the Congress reassembling: THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. W. C. Bonerji will move the next resolution.

Resolution V.  
The Jury Bill.

MR. W. C.  
BONERJI.

MR. W. C. BONERJI ( Bengal ) said:—Gentlemen, the resolution which has been entrusted to me is the fifth one on to-day's list. It is as follows:—

“That this Congress views with alarm the constant changes that are being made and threatened on the subject of Trial by Jury, and, regard being had to the fact that no demand for any

such change has been made from any portion of the population of British India, trusts that the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council will not be further proceeded with; and, this Congress reaffirming resolutions passed by former Congresses, also trusts that trials by Jury will be extended to the Districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that their verdict should be final."

It does not require many words to recommend this resolution for the acceptance of this Congress. From time to time, almost ever since the Congress movement began, we have been insisting that there should be trial by jury—throughout the provinces of British India; and when you come to consider for a moment how trials are now conducted even with the assistance of a jury, I think you will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this demand of the Congress is based upon the best and most just grounds. The officers, who preside at the trials of criminal cases, both in the Presidency towns and in the *mofussil*, are, as a rule, officers of the Indian Civil Service—English gentlemen or gentlemen from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—imperfectly acquainted with the languages of the Districts. (*Cheers.*) They pass examinations, no doubt, and pass them very satisfactorily; but it is one thing to pass an examination in a language and it is another to hear that language spoken before you, to translate it into English and to take down correctly replies given by the witnesses. (*Applause.*) I say I give great credit to these gentlemen for the knowledge of the vernaculars of the country which they possess (*Laughter*). But take our own instance. We learn English almost from our childhood. We try to speak English and write English, and what is the result?—We are told specially by our Anglo-Indian friends that we only write and talk Baboo-English—(*Laughter*)—and they make fun of us. Of course, we do not venture to make fun of the English-Marathi, the English-Hindoostani and the English-Gujarati that is spoken. (*Cheers and Laughter.*) Far be it from us to do that. What we say is that a man, who is to translate in his own mind into English the words coming from a witness, probably a rustic witness, words with which he is not familiar, words which do not bring an echo to his own mind, has his whole mind bent upon taking this down as correctly as possible; he cannot attend to the witnesses, he can only attend to the language and put that language on paper. Whether he takes it down correctly or incorrectly, goodness alone knows. (*Laughter.*) But the trials, when they are not held with the assistance of juries, take place upon the basis of what they take down; it is upon the basis of what they take down that the lives of persons charged with capital offences and liberties of persons charged with other offences are either sacrificed or put in jeopardy. The High Court, no doubt, is an institution for which almost every person in this country has great regard—I may say an affectionate regard; but they can only deal with cases that go before them upon the written evidence taken down under the circumstances to which I have alluded. If you had Indian gentlemen as jurymen sitting with those Judges, they would not have to translate into any language other than the language in which witnesses give their evidence. They would be able to watch the demeanour of witness, they would be able to know from hesitation in speaking and from various little things, what an untruthful one gives out. With the man who knows the way in which the witnesses live and talk, no witness can with success expect to be believed when he ought not to be believed. Therefore, in a country like this, where trials take place under these circumstances, trial by jury is the only trial at which truth can be arrived at. This system of trial by jury was introduced into this country after very mature deliberation on the part of the Indian Law Commission. Formerly, as you know, before the Criminal Procedure Code of 1861 was passed, trials used to be held by Judges with the assistance of Mahomedan Law Officers. Those trials were considered to be highly unsatisfactory, and then a new system was introduced in 1861, and that system provided that verdicts of juries should be final. We had that system for several years, and, so far as I know, the system worked admirably. We were hoping that this

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system would be extended to districts to which it had not been extended and to offences to which it did not apply. But so far from giving us that, we had in the person of Sir James Stephen a Law officer who wanted to reverse all that and who wanted to abolish trial by jury altogether, though, mind you, not a single complaint had proceeded from any portion of the populations of this country that trials by jury had been a failure. What secret reports the Government received from District Magistrates or from Sessions Judges I am not in a position to say; but I know this and can talk confidently of Bengal, that not a single complaint against trials by jury was sent up to Government by any portion of the population of Bengal, and nobody ever said that criminals who ought to have been convicted had not been convicted by jurors. Sir James Stephen found the feeling of the country so strong that even he could not abolish the trials by jury altogether, and made a most bungling enactment by which he left it to the Judge if he differed from the jurors to send the case to the High Court and let the ultimate result of the case depend upon the judgment of the High Court. That has been going on for some time, we got accustomed to the system, we tried to make the best of the system; and now, after a few years, we had the Jury Notification in Bengal in 1892 by which the limited system that we have got was attempted to be abolished. (*Shame.*) You may probably remember how this Jury Notification roused the indignation of the country from one end to the other, and I voiced that indignation when I had the honour of occupying the seat, which my distinguished friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji now occupies, in the Allahabad Congress in 1892. Luckily for us, at that time we had a Secretary of State who could be swayed by the voice of the people of this country, and he put his foot down and the Jury Notification was withdrawn. But in order to throw a sop to the Government of India, he appointed a Commission, and they said that upon the Report of that Commission, the Jury Notification was withdrawn. So long as it was withdrawn, it did not signify in the slightest degree whether it was at the bidding of the Commission or at the bidding of the Secretary of State in England; it was gone. Suddenly early this year Sir Alexander Miller introduced a Bill in the Supreme Council, one of the provisions of which is that juries should be called upon to give special verdicts. Juries should be called upon to give a general verdict, and if the Judge is not satisfied with it, he may ask questions and get answers to those questions in the shape of special verdicts. In other words, I cannot help feeling that it is intended to allow a Judge, if he differs from the verdict of juries, the power of cross-examining jurymen and putting them into a corner. (*Shame.*) Now we may well say whether a person is telling the truth; we may very well arrive at a conclusion whether a case made against a prisoner is a true case or a false one. Five men, perfectly indifferent to the prisoner and perfectly indifferent to the Crown, may be expected to arrive at a right verdict; but unless they are trained lawyers, unless they have the logical faculty of assigning reasons for their opinions in a taking shape, you cannot expect the jurymen to give such verdicts as would be acceptable to everybody; and if a jurymen gives reasons which are not acceptable and which appear on the face of them to be foolish, the Judge would go to the High Court and say, "Look at the verdict, look at the reasons which these men have given for the verdict; they are foolish and their verdict must be upset," though their verdict may be perfectly just under the circumstances. (*Cheers.*)

I was trying, with the help of a friend of mine, whom I am glad to see present here, to find from Cox's Criminal Reports whether in England there is such a thing as special verdicts in criminal cases. We find hundreds of special verdicts in civil cases, but we could not find from the beginning of the existence of the English nation down to the present time a single case of a special verdict in a criminal case. When you consider, gentlemen, that in this country we are almost free from serious crimes, and when you consider that the percentage of crime is as low as it is possible to imagine, and when you consider, on the other hand, that the percentage of crime in England is as great as can be imagined—while you have in England no such special verdicts in criminal cases, we are to have special verdicts in criminal cases in this

country! (*Loud Cheers.*) Therefore I say we all ought to unite in protesting against those changes in criminal law that are being made, and what is worse, are being threatened almost every day. We, from this Congress, ought to send up a strong protest against a thing of this description. For, after all, as my friend Mr. Ghose has so well put it, the real popularity of British rule and the real reason of the loyalty of the people are the belief on the part of the people that justice, criminal justice, is being administered in a fair and impartial way. If you interfere with these things so often, and interfere needlessly, and interfere with the view of putting more power into the hands of District Magistrates and District Judges, that confidence in the impartiality of British justice will be destroyed and we shall be brought to a position which I fear to contemplate. (*Loud and prolonged Cheers.*)

MR. VENKAT SUBBA IYER (Madras) said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen:—After the able and eloquent speech that has just been delivered by my worthy predecessor, there is very little for me to say. Gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me in holding, without a dissentient voice, that the present Jury Bill which is proposed to be thrust upon us by the Legal Member of the Supreme Legislative Council is one which is fraught with the greatest evil, which is disastrous in its results and pernicious in its effects. Year after year this august assembly of representatives from various parts of the country has passed resolutions and framed and reframed resolutions to the effect that the Jury system ought to be extended and that it ought to be given a more firm basis than had already been given to it; and it was only last year that we had a resolution to the effect that greater finality should be attached to the verdicts of Juries. It will also be fresh in your minds that a great hue and cry was raised when it was proposed by Sir Charles Elliot that the jury system ought to be withdrawn from certain provinces in Bengal, and it was after a strong protest that that Notification was withdrawn. Still, in the face of these facts and in the teeth of such public opinion as had been expressed by us for years together, we have this present Bill thrust upon us. Now, what is there after all to take away from the little we have, of the Jury system? There has been no attempt to extend and improve it, as suggested by the Jury Commission, but the idea is to take away what little we have, to make it a regular farce and nothing but a farce, to give us only the name of a jury system and nothing but the name. That will be the result if this Jury Bill is passed. What are the reasons that prompted the Legal Member of the Supreme Council to bring in such a Bill as this? I can conceive of nothing but two reasons. First of all, that the verdicts of the Indian juries are not good because they are perverse verdicts; in the second place, that members of Indian juries are unfitted to hold the position of jurymen at the trials held before a European or other Magistrate. I can conceive no third reason. As regards the first reason, I should ask, "can you tell us with facts and figures that the verdicts given by our Indian juries are in any way perverse?" It will not do to say that many of them are perverse: You must let us have facts and figures. But have we been presented with any? If we come to figures, I can tell you that it is only about four and a half or five per cent. of the verdicts passed by juries that are upset by the High Courts. Is that a thing that should cause alarm? Is that such an appalling state of things as to render it necessary for the Government to propose a Bill like this? If at all there are perverse verdicts,—and I should admit that there are in some cases, and notably in cases in which Europeans stand as criminals, in which Europeans commit grave crimes and are charged before a criminal court—if there are such perverse verdicts, it is in those cases in which Europeans are concerned, and it is in respect of those that we must have reform if we are to have any at all. That reform should not interfere with cases in which there are no perverse verdicts and in which the general opinion is that the verdicts have been given truly by these Indian juries. Now as to the second reason. Are there not competent men to serve on juries in the Presidency towns or in the mofussil? That would have been a pertinent question to put if the matter had been brought forward thirty years ago.

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But now that we in India have received and are receiving education, now that we have advanced and are advancing so rapidly on the lines of Western education, now that we have so many Colleges and Schools, Municipal and other free institutions in which we can govern ourselves, is it not an insult to say that there are not to be had competent men to serve as jurors? The restrictions that are intended to be imposed on these juries are really alarming; and what is intended to be done? When a jury passes a verdict, it is either one of "Guilty" or "Not guilty". The jurymen frame an opinion in his own mind upon the evidence before him as to whether a certain person is guilty or not, and if the judge considers that the verdict given is so completely perverse as to defeat the ends of justice, he is empowered by the Criminal Procedure Code to send the matter to the High Court; but it is only in cases of that sort that such power is given him. And in support of what I say I will read to you Section 263 of that Code, which is as follows:—"If the Court disagrees with the verdict of the jurors or of a majority of jurors on all or any of the charges in which the prisoner has been tried, and considers it necessary for the ends of justice to do so, it may submit the case to the High Court." (*Here the President touched the gong.*)

I find my time is up, so I will briefly conclude by saying let us all join together in entering an emphatic protest against this retrograde measure. Let us all join together, and in the name of humanity and in the name of justice, ask the English people and the Government of this country to withdraw the Bill they now intend to thrust upon us and put an end to the disgrace which is now proposed for us. (*Cheers.*)

MR. VENKATRAV  
GUTKAR.

MR. VENKATRAV GUTKAR (Belgaum) said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—the President very properly calls on every speaker to stand here, because a man like myself, coming here for the first time, may be a little nervous but he may feel bold when he knows that the President is behind him with such an array of distinguished speakers and politicians as are now assembled on the platform.

The system of trial by jury is not purely a western institution, as some English officers and newspapers would say. Before the introduction of British rule in India, the jury system did exist, and does exist to the present day in some form or other. I must admit, however, that there is a difference in the procedure, but I affirm that the principle involved in both is the same. We find it in every village and in every caste. There are jurors who are called "Punch", to whom generally the parties refer their disputes before going to court. The proverb in Marathi, "Pancha Mukhi Parameshwar" (पंचमुखी परमेश्वर) "The voice of the five is the voice of God," clearly indicates the antiquity of the system. If you read the speech of Babu Gurn Prasad Sen at the National Congress held in the year 1892 on page 76 of the Congress Report for the year '92, you will find several Hindu authorities quoted from the Shastras in support of the antiquity of the system. Statesmen, who can properly be styled the founders of the British Empire in India, have admitted that the system did exist in India prior to the introduction of British rule. So long ago as 1825, Sir Thomas Munro, as Governor of Madras, wrote a minute about trial by jury, in which he said, "As far as success in the proposed plan may depend upon the qualifications of the Natives, we have the strongest reason to expect it, for having been in former times and still being in the present accustomed to sit on Punchayets, they are in general sufficiently expert in examining and weighing evidence."

By the Code of Civil Procedure, this system was indirectly discouraged, but the Code of Criminal Procedure has recognised the antiquity of this system by enacting that the Head of a village in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, with the assistance of two or more persons of

the neighbourhood, should draw up an inquest report, which is known in Courts by the name PUNCHNAMA. On a small scale is this not an investigation by jury, the Head of the village presiding over the deliberations of the jurors and the jurors drawing up the report?

And what matters it whether it is an Eastern or Western institution; if it is beneficial to the subjects, and if the English subjects of the Queen-Empress enjoy it, should it be denied to the 30 crores of her Indian subjects?

In the words of that eminent Chancellor, Lord Erskine, "the jury have not merely the power to acquit.....but that they have a constitutional legal right to do it—a right fit to be exercised, and intended by the wise founders of the Government to be a protection to the lives and liberties of Englishmen against the encroachments and perversions of authority in the hands of fixed Magistrates." If such a right is necessary in England, is it not much more necessary in India, where the Judge is a foreigner, not very well acquainted with the language and customs and manners of the society or caste to which the accused belongs.

Up to 1892 the Jury question was included in the Omnibus Resolution; but the Notification of Sir Charles Elliot, dated 26th October 1892, withdrawing the right of trial by Jury from 6 or 7 districts in Bengal, without rhyme or reason, compelled the Congress at Allahabad to separate the Jury question from the Omnibus Resolution.

Ladies and gentlemen, you know that a mandate from the Earl of Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India, alone could induce Sir Charles Elliot to cancel the Notification. By facts and figures, which do not lie, it has been proved that, on the whole, the system did work well. I refer you to the speeches of the learned mover and the seconder at pp. 74 and 77 of the Congress Report for 1892. The occasions for difference are but few; and scarcely in 5 per cent. cases does this divergence manifest itself of opinion between juries and judges and the confirmation and revision powers of High Courts and the power of the Government to appeal in cases of acquittal afford all the protection that interests of public order demand. Our demand was that the jury system should be extended to Districts in which it did not exist and we are now asked to take a jury minus the right of the jurors by the proposed Jury Bill. It is a matter of profound regret that Government should bring measures vitally affecting the people on the legislative anvil, regardless of popular thoughts and sentiments, and with a tendency to increase the powers of the officials. Take for instance the Police Amendment Act and the Legal Practitioner's Bill. By the Jury Bill the powers of the Judge are to be increased and those of the jurors to be curtailed! Considerable excitement has been caused in India by the introduction of this Bill. Several Sessions Judges were consulted on this subject; but the Sessions Judges are in one sense parties to this dispute; and who will say no, if he is told that higher powers are to be given to him? But even certain Sessions Judges have themselves pointed out the absurdity of Section 3 of the Bill. They say that the method of obtaining special verdicts must necessarily degenerate into a cross-examination of the jurymen as to the reasons of their verdict. We cannot and must not expect from ordinary jurymen logical reasons for their verdict. Their duty is to give a verdict according to the general impression which the evidence leaves upon their mind. Is it not absurd that a judge of law should cross-examine a judge of facts; and an intelligent judge will naturally try to show from the questions and answers that the jurymen are so many fools in cases where he does not concur with them. Now, what are the opinions of eminent judges of High Courts? In the words of our late Chief Justice Sir Charles Sergeant and of the Jury Commission, such a procedure would be liable to create greater evils than it would remedy. What we are afraid of is that after 10 years some Lieutenant-Governor may come forward and say that the Jury system

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should be expunged from the Criminal Procedure Code. And the present attempt at tinkering is, I am afraid, a prelude to the abolition of the Jury system in India. Therefore we must strongly oppose the present Bill. (*Cheers.*)

But the characteristic of Englishmen is not to willingly retreat from a contest, as the answer given by an English drummer boy to Napoleon Bonaparte shows. It is a very admirable and necessary quality in a military man; but in the case of legislation it is not a good quality but an evil. Even under the present law, there is an anomaly. In the case of acquittals by jury, the Government can appeal against the acquittal, while the prisoner cannot, if he is convicted, except on a point of law. In connection with this, it may be pointed out that a man who is sentenced to death is in a better position, because his case is gone into both on matters of fact and law; and therefore, to get over the difficulty, the Government should adopt the suggestion which comes from an eminent lawyer like Mr. Manu Mohan Ghose of Calcutta. His suggestion is to do away altogether with the Section empowering references by the Sessions Judge, and simply enact that, in the event of the Judge recording his clear dissent from the verdict, the crown or the prisoner, as the case may be, should be allowed to appeal on the facts to the High Court. By this amendment the Government can withdraw the Bill without its prestige being injured. With these remarks, I request you to heartily support the Resolution. (*Cheers.*)

MR. K. R. DESAI.

MR. K. R. DESAI (Ahmedabad) said:—Mr. President and brother-delegates,—it is with peculiar pleasure that I appear before you to support this resolution, so ably moved by Mr. Bonerji. I come from a much maligned District, that is on the lips of every Civil Servant, simply because the greater portion of the population belongs to that religion which is so humane, which is always averse to the killing of any thing, even insects, I mean the Jain religion. (*Cheers.*) Now our district officers say, there being such a large population of Jains in the District, they will give wrong and intentionally perverse verdicts in murder trials. Basing their decision on this false reason they appeal to the High Court. They refer various cases to the High Court on the special ground that very often the juries are Jains. The High Court, however, in a number of such cases, have upheld the verdicts, the very perverse verdicts of these Jain juries. Where is the necessity of this Bill? Have those who wish to see it as law shown any necessity for it? Has the jury system failed? I say it has not failed. But, even granting the contention of the Anglo-Indian officials that it has failed, let us ask what is the reason of that failure? If it has failed, it may have done so simply because they began at the wrong end of the ladder. Instead of instructing us from the lower rung of the ladder, they sent us to the highest step: they began with the murder trials. But, on the other hand, we say we have not failed: we have succeeded. We say let all Sessions cases be tried with the aid of jurors and not assessors. In Great Britain, where the jurors are not educated more than the ordinary people here; they sit as jurors in almost all criminal trials. They sit in murder cases and all cases triable at the Sessions, and they give their verdict which is final; but, if our juries give a verdict with which the Judge does not agree, he has the power to refer the case to the High Court, and the High Court not being satisfied with the view taken by the Judge accepts the verdict of the jury. It has been very ably said by Mr. Bonerji that these Civilian Judges do not know the language of the Court and the people in the District know this language better than any foreigner can, and they are better able to judge of the demeanour of the witnesses in the witness-box and of the manner in which the accused makes his statement: all these things are more familiar to the jurors, because they come into closer contact with the people than do the Judges, and consequently they are better able to understand the facts of the case and to give a proper decision on these facts. However clever a lawyer, or a District Judge may be, he is not competent to ascertain the facts as well as they can; therefore, I say that in all criminal trials juries and juries only are the best judges to give the necessary decision. (*Cheers.*) Now,

a Judge may administer the law by basing his conclusion on the facts at which the jurors have arrived. This new Bill which is being tried to be thrust upon us, aims only at allowing the District Judge the power of cross-examining the jurors, and the jurors will be cornered; for who of them will be so far ahead in law as to weigh every particle of evidence as well as a Judge can, and who, weighing this, would be able to give a legal reason—not an ordinary common-sense reason—to support his verdict? As a matter of fact, lawyers are not allowed to be on a jury. If you expect laymen to give legal decisions on matters of fact and law, you do not want any Judges at all; let the jurors themselves do every thing. I have much pleasure in supporting this Resolution. ( Cheers. )

MR. JOSEPH BENJAMIN ( Ahmedabad ) said :—Mr. President and gentlemen,—I crave your indulgence to come before you to illustrate a case, a typical case, which will show the necessity of extending the Jury system in India. Gentlemen, in the district from which I come there occurred in the year 1893 that famous case in which a Bania was murdered by some persons unknown, and two innocent persons were committed to the Sessions on a charge of murder. That case was tried by a European Judge, and there was a native Jury, of which Mr. Darashah Setna M. A. was the foreman. The Jury unanimously agreed in their verdict that the persons were not guilty; but the Judge disagreed with that verdict and sent the case to the High Court. The two European Judges, presiding on the Appellate side of the Court, upheld the opinion of the Judge and differed from the jury with the result that these two innocent persons were sentenced to be hanged. ( *Cries of Shame.* ) But, fortunately for these two prisoners, an appeal was made on their behalf to Government, and for the time being Government reduced the sentence to one of transportation for life. One of the prisoners again appealed to the High Court, and after two years they have now been found innocent and acquitted, ( *Cheers.* ) and the conduct of that Government officer, who is a first class Magistrate, is to be the subject of enquiry. What does that fact show? Does it not, I ask you, show that the Jury system should be extended? All jurymen, I maintain, are far superior to European Judges in pronouncing on facts. There is a saying in Marathi, which, roughly translated, means, “where there are five persons, there is God.” In all the circumstances, I say, it is proved that the Jury system should be extended. With these few remarks, I beg to support the motion that has been proposed by our able and renowned countryman, Mr. Bonerji. ( *Cheers.* )

MR. S. B. BHATE ( Belgaon ) supported the Resolution in a speech delivered in Marathi,

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, the fifth resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour of it should now hold up their hands. ( *Cries of All, all.* ) Those who are against it—( *Cries of None, none.* ) Gentlemen, the resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—Mr. Seymour Keay will move the next resolution.

MR. SEYMOUR KEAY, in rising to propose the sixth resolution, said :—Mr. President and fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I think it is exceedingly fortunate that the resolution which stands in my name comes after its two predecessors. We have been engaged, and I think most profitably engaged today, in deliberating upon the last two resolutions which concern the judicial system in India and which deal with the question of trial by judge, by jury, and without jury by Magistrate and in various other ways. Now, we have got to consider in this resolution a very different question. We have got to consider the question of a large series of cases in which there is no trial at all. ( *Cries of Shame.* ) We have, as I shall presently

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show, punishments and punishments of the severest character meted out to subjects of this country, subjects of the British Empire, without trial by jury, without trial of any sort, without even evidence being called, without even a charge being framed, without even an accusation being laid. (*Cries of Shame.*) I will best illustrate my meaning, however, by asking you to allow me to read the resolution which stands in my name. It is as follows:—

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

I shall also further help the consideration of the question by reading to you this obnoxious Notification, dated the 25th June 1891, which is fully in force at this moment. It runs thus:—“ Whereas some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to the regulations in force in territories under the administration of the Governor-General in India, beyond the limits of British India, with reference to newspapers published within such territory, the Governor-General in India has been pleased to make the following order:— 1 “ No newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing news or comments on public news, shall, without the written permission for the time being in force of the Political Agent, be edited, printed or published after the first day of August 1891 in any local area administered by the Governor-General in Council but not forming part of British India; (2) If after the day aforesaid any person shall, without the permission aforesaid, edit, print or publish any such newspaper or work as aforesaid in any such area aforesaid, the Political Agent may, by an order in writing, require him to leave such local area within seven days of such order, and prohibit him from re-entering such local area without the written permission of the said Political Agent. For any breach, as mentioned in the last paragraph of the despatch, the offender shall be liable to forcible expulsion from such local area in pursuance of an order to be made in writing by such Political Agent.” I would beg to call your attention to the real meaning of this order. In the first place, how does it open? It opens, I think, in the very coolest possible manner. (*Laughter.*) It says, whereas some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to the regulation in force in territories under the administration of the Governor-General-in-Council, but outside British India. Misapprehension has existed it appears, but these regulations were held all along to have been in force. It is just the same as if you said, “ You don't know the extent of the slavery to which you have been all along subjected. We want to convince you how heavy your chains have been, you unfortunate British subjects, sitting under the Government of the Governor-General-in-Council but outside the limits of British India. We want to tell you, in order that there may be no mistake, what offences we have created and what dire punishments we shall mete out to you if you don't comply with these regulations.” The first remark that occurs to me with regard to that notification is that many of you will remember how it arose in consequence of a single instance which occurred whereby a native paper,—I think its name was the *Eastern-Herald* in Indore, had recorded certain proceedings of the Maharajah Holkar and also certain proceedings of no less a person than the then British Resident of his Court, namely, Sir Lepel Griffin. (*Hisses.*) That was the origin, as far as I know. That notification applies to a very great many districts inside the Native States which are placed under the administration of the Governor-General. It may be natural for many here to ask, is there any special excuse why this arbitrary regulation should be put forward in these places? And my answer to that question is that it is impossible to allege that there can be such an excuse, for the full force of the ordinary British law is available to this very political officer, as it is to every subject within his jurisdiction, and as it is over the length and breadth of British

India. But then there is this inconvenience which comes in in British India: you need a trial. (*Laughter.*) In these other places you need no trial, and it was for the purpose of abolishing trial by jury and trial without jury that this notification was proclaimed. (*Cries of Shame*) I have heard it said that the law of defamation was insufficient in these Native States to prevent outrageous libels upon the Resident, the Political Agent and Princes. But if you will revert again to the words of the resolution, you will see there is no allegation that this only aimed at defamation. There is no allegation that it is aimed at crime at all. It says, "no newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments on public news." It appears to me that the only thing that is prohibited is a legitimate newspaper. (*Laughter.*) According to the notification you can publish a false and malicious libel in this District and not be touched by the notification. The only interdicted things are newspapers containing public news or comments on public news. Therefore, it is ridiculous to allege that there is any special reason in these Districts for the special enactment. And let me ask you to consider for a moment what is the nature of the punishments and penalties which are meted out for the supposed offences which are foreshadowed in this notification. In the first place, you have the terrible penalty that a man is to be condemned unheard. You have also the penalty that he is to have no sort or form of trial, you have further the penalty that in consequence he has absolutely no opportunity of putting forward his defence; he has absolutely no opportunity of putting forward even an explanation of his conduct. No charge is framed against him; he is not even accused. (*Cheers.*) Look at the disabilities under which that man is placed. Compare that with the penalty of defamation. If a man is duly tried and convicted of defamation, what is the worst sentence that can be passed upon him?—Either fine or a moderate term of imprisonment, and then after he has served that term of imprisonment, he can go back to his family in the place from which he has come. But, what is the penalty here? It is, practically speaking, banishment for life and banishment for life with only seven days' notice. (*Cries of Shame.*) Within seven days he must go and cannot possibly return. If he is a printer, he must leave his plant, his house, his children, and never return unless this Political Agent gives him a written permission. (*Cries of Shame.*) What, is it but wholesale confiscation of that man's property, to banish him and confiscate his plant? Who would buy his printing press when he is departed in this way? It would not be worth buying. For an instance of this, I will refer you to the Native State of Hyderabad, with which I have been so long connected, in which printing presses have been actually ruined in this way. This notification is not a dead letter. Such is the force of it that at this moment there is not even a rag of an English newspaper published in the whole of the Hyderabad State. And that State is much bigger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. I need hardly say that this has been felt to be a very bitter wrong particularly in the Hyderabad State. And with reference to this there was a movement made recently—a very excellent movement,—by the People's Association of Secunderabad. I may mention that I am one of its members, and the seconder of this resolution is another, and we stand here as delegates from that Association. Well, as you know, the Viceroy visited Hyderabad last month and the People's Association voted him an address of welcome. They are a very prominent body—they don't consist of Extremists—and there are on the rolls of the Association many Europeans, and a good many Mahomedans and Hindus. Well, they voted His Excellency an address, and in due course a draft of it was sent to the British Resident so that he might peruse it with a view to seeing if there was anything objectionable in it, a handsome silver casket having been ordered to contain it. What happened? The People's Association were kept in the dark without any reply whatever until the eleventh hour when they got a bold reply to say that the Viceroy was too busy to receive them and their address. (*Cries of Shame.*) The simple reason for this was that the address contained a paragraph objecting to this gagging notification (*Cries of Shame.*) I agree with you, it is a shame that these Native States, administered, it must be remembered, directly under the authority of the Governor-General of India, should be the only pieces of ground in the enormous British Em-

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pire in which such a regulation exists and in which such penalties and such horrible things can be carried out; and therefore I have no hesitation to ask you all assembled here in Congress today to do your utmost to support us in our endeavours to remove this iniquitous notification from the records of the Government of India and thereby to emancipate a large and worthy section of your fellow-subjects who should certainly not be subjected to such an un-English and, I would almost say, such inhuman and brutal treatment. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. RAMCHANDRA PILLAI (Secunderabad) said:—Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—after the eloquent speech of my friend Mr. Keay, it is needless for me to make any lengthy remarks to commend this resolution to your favourable consideration. Gentlemen, as one coming from Secunderabad and an old resident of that place, I do feel keenly about this obnoxious resolution which has been issued by the Government of India without any justification. At present there is not a single newspaper in the whole of Hyderabad to ventilate the grievances of the people, to bring to the notice of the local Government or the Government of India what takes place in Hyderabad. What is the result? Although no paper is published in Hyderabad, a number of papers are published in Bombay and other parts and are being circulated freely in Hyderabad. But it is only local papers that can take an interest in local matters and take proper notice of what is going on; and, seeing that you have sympathised with the Indian settlers in South Africa, I have no doubt you will extend your sympathy in our behalf. The only sin we have committed is that we are outside British India; but, surely, you will not exclude us from the sympathy of the Congress on that account. I do sincerely ask you to let your sympathy go out to us and carry this resolution with acclamation. (*Applause.*)

MR. V. V.  
MODAK.

MR. V. V. MODAK (Bombay) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—“Conscience”, it is said, “doth make cowards of us all,” and I am sure it was conscience and nothing else that impelled the Government of India to issue this notification. A man publishing a newspaper, or even a rag of a newspaper, in territory belonging to the British Government but that is no part of British territory, is to be packed off part and parcel at a moment’s notice! There are legitimate means by which the Government can punish members of the reptile press, but they will not use them: they will not allow him to argue his case or defend himself, but drag him out on the spur of the moment and order him to pack off. This notification is simply horrible. If you think of it only for a moment, you know what the condition of the Native States is. Any man in a Native State—be it the State of the Gaikwar of Baroda, the State of the Nizam of Hyderabad, or the State of the Maharaja of Mysore—any man who edits or publishes a newspaper and is prepared to call a spade a spade, and has that fact launched against him, is cleared out bag and baggage at a moment’s notice! If this sort of thing is allowed to continue, where is your relief? In what place and in what way can you ventilate your grievances? It is, indeed, silencing a party with a vengeance. And such a state of things should not be allowed to exist. In this notification it is shown that the influence which the Political Agent wields over the people, who come directly within his sphere, is very great. A case occurred only lately in which a Political Agent was pelted by some religious enthusiasts—I refer to a recent case in Mysore—and a newspaper which commented on the matter was gagged by order of the Minister. I do not come to defend that newspaper—perhaps it was a member of the reptile press; but I come here to fight for those glorious principles on which the prestige of England rests, namely, the liberty of speech and the liberty of the press. The London Thunderer for years and years has proclaimed its opinions on all subjects, and surely where the fates of millions of dumb people are concerned, one paper for a population of fifty thousand ought to have a legitimate right to ventilate not only the grievances of those 50,000, but the grievances of those countless millions of dumb people of whom I speak. The notification is going to snatch this right from us! If England wishes to keep the

laurels she has won by fighting for freedom and liberty, let her extend to us the same rights and privileges which she has extended to the colonies and elsewhere. Let her treat us as she does them. That is all we ask, and surely it is not too much. But if the day comes when the voice of India will not be listened to by the powers that be in India, we have only to ask them "If you are not prepared to give us the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, will the people of England?"

"If ever the sons of England bind,  
The sons of Ind' in slavedom's chain,  
Alas! Then must we them remind,  
Did Pym and Hampden bleed in vain?" ( Cheers. )

MR. A. L. DESAI (Bombay) said :—Mr. President and brother delegates,—We have had a good many important things brought before us to-day, but none more important than this press gagging notification which we have discussed to-day. To the Native States the British Government has guaranteed a great many things ; they have guaranteed them good Government, by influencing Native Princes to put right what is wrong, but they are introducing wrong things where they do not exist. Some years ago I was reading a paper from Kathiawar, in which there are a good many native states,—in fact, they are almost countless in number and are very small in extent; and in that paper were some comments on the condition of things. Where there are a great many small states a paper is of great interest, because it enables one to form an opinion of what good Government is doing for those different States and how the Native States can adjust their relations with that good, protecting Government which deprives them of their papers. That paper does not exist now, because it made two or three comments on certain things which then existed in Kathiawar. Formerly in Kathiawar there was no such thing as a Police Act! In a province in which there are many small States, the boundaries are not very well defined, and in this particular province various depredations that were being committed over the boundary lines were a source of great annoyance, and this paper to which I refer tried to criticize these things. The result was that the paper itself was silenced. I believe the Government of India has committed a great many blunders, but none which shows a greater want of confidence in its own sense of the loyalty of the Indian nation than this. And it is a much greater disgrace, because it proves that what they cannot force upon British India they try to force upon dependent Native States which they say are independent. ( Hear, hear. )

MR. G. B. PHANSALKAR (Satara), speaking in Marathi, supported the resolution.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, the sixth resolution has been duly proposed and seconded. Those who are in favour of it should hold up their hands. ( All, all. ) Carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution will be moved by Mr. Kalicharan Banerjee:

MR. KALICHARAN BANERJEE (Bengal), in proposing the seventh resolution, said :—  
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:—The seventh resolution is in these words :—

"That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the Natives of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England."

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MR. KALICHARAN  
BANERJEE.

I would ask you, gentlemen, to let me correct the resolution in one or two particulars. I am afraid our Printer's Devil has been playing into the hands of the Government of India. (*Laughter.*) You have to supply the letter 's' to the word examination and make it "competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England," because you may have to face a difficulty, for although in the resolution of the House of Commons we have competitive examinations and "Indian Civil Services", the Government of India has managed to spirit away the 's' both after examinations and services, and made it examination thus restricting the scope of the resolution of the House of Commons. We say in the resolution that "the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the natives of this country." I need not go over the ground covered by this part of the resolution. You are all aware that the problem before the Public Service Commission was, whether and how effect could be given to the principle that recruitment of the official staff in England should be curtailed and advantage should be taken of the qualified agency obtainable in India; and as far as they suggested a solution of the problem, it simply consisted of the transfer of a certain proportion of recruits from what was known as the Statutory Service to the Provincial Service. Quantitatively the solution did not advance matters at all, and even this solution was sought to be made satisfactory to the Government by the suggestion that Government had an uncontrollable freedom, as they said, in the matter of giving effect to this recommendation, and they were sought to be conciliated by the further suggestion that the solution could not be carried completely into effect within one generation of official life! Indeed the Public Service Commission themselves felt in their heart of hearts that they had not done anything like complete justice to the second trust which had been commissioned to them. (*Cheers.*) They felt that their recommendations fell far short of the expectations of those who had sanguinely expected larger things at their hands. They confessed themselves that they were open to the charge of inconsistency in many of their recommendations, but they had pleaded that they were compelled to the conclusions at which they had arrived by the evidence adduced. They stopped short at that point. Note, they go on to say, "by the evidence, as interpreted by the experience of the members of the Commission." I should very much like to have a passage like this in a judgment of any court for our distinguished countryman, Mr. Manu Mohan Ghose, to play battle-dore and shuttlecock with. (*Laughter.*) That is how the matter stands. We know that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results, and the Public Service Commission realise it more or less themselves. Now we say that we are satisfied that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons. Well, it is said that if effect were given to it, there might be a serious apprehension that the efficiency of the administration would be affected and the safety of British rule jeopardised. Shall it be said that the House of Commons is indifferent to the safety of the British rule? I say here we are with the House of Commons, and if some people would go to the length of challenging the loyalty, so to speak, of the House of Commons, why, we may very well feel that we are in good company when such a charge is levelled against us. (*Cheers.*) Indeed, the exigencies of the case would drive people even to such lengths as this. Now, with regard to the apprehensions, we know that, as is admitted, at least three members of the Public Service Commission declared and thought it their duty to declare in express terms that they did not share in those apprehensions. The papers, in referring to the dissent under the head of apprehensions, speak of these three members as three partial dissentients, and thus parenthetically go on to say, "two of whom have since died." I do not know what was the object of that parenthetical clause. The country has had the misfortune of mourning over the departure from its midst of those two of her sons, but though these two are dead, yet they speak and they tell us now that there is no fear at all for apprehending any such thing as is apprehended, because the examinations being held here would introduce into the service more people of the country more readily and more easily than perhaps is possible now. We have

one living dissentient and that is no less a personage than Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra. Then they go on to say, the only advocate of this resolution is the Madras Government, and I believe, in referring to the advocacy of that Government, they thought they might well afford to let us leave such an advocate as that, because the advocate might be put down—and I beg pardon of Mr. Charlu for saying this—might be put down as a “ Benighted, ” advocate ! We in Congress assembled, however, are willing even now to knight the “ Benighted ” advocate ( *Cheers and Laughter.* ) But that is not all. You all remember that the inconvenience and injustice of the examination not being held in India were recognised in the Statute of 1870 : in fact, those who have apologised for the non-carrying out of this resolution of the House of Commons have themselves referred to the Statute as intended to remove such inconvenience and such injustice as experience might show the natives of this country suffered from the examination being held in London alone. Well, then the inconvenience and injustice of denying to us simultaneous examinations in England and India are thus recognised. Why then should not they be removed in the way in which the House of Commons has resolved to remove them ? The Statutory rules framed in 1870, under the Statute of 1870, have failed to remove that inconvenience and injustice; then are they to be removed ? Well, they say why not remove them by recruiting from the Provincial Service ? Within what limit of time ? It is all very well for them to say that by probation, by actual employment, these officers of the Provincial Service have proved their ability during their incumbency as officers of that service, whereas if the examinations were held in this country, we should have only the literary test and no evidence of ability on the part of those who pass this literary test with success—no evidence of their ability to fill with efficiency the higher ranks of the service. This is how they put it when you talk of the literary test. They say “ where is the proof of ability ? ” That is the cry that might be anticipated. When this agitation will subside, which I hope it will not, the cry will be “ ability is proved but where is the literary test ? ” So between the two, the literary test on the one hand and the proof of ability on the other, we shall neither have simultaneous examinations in this country nor recruitment actually effected from within the ranks of the Provincial Service. What are the reasons assigned for their not giving effect to the resolution of the House of Commons ? We take our stand upon the solemn pledges of her Majesty’s Government. The Government of India speaks of them as so-called pledges, and says : “ Read over those pledges and what have you ? You have there simply a means for the removal of a certain disqualification. It is only a negative and not a positive. The pledges remove a disqualification; they do not assert a qualification. What is the good of telling us you are legally not disqualified ? ” Now, gentlemen, I fail to see this difference between a positive and a negative. I fail to see where we should be between this negative being declared for us and the positive being denied to us. Then they take shelter behind these words which form a saving clause, “ so far as may be. ” Now, surely, there are lawyers here who would tell us that if here we have a gift offered us and if the gift is made practically revocable, and if the interpreter of this clause be the giver, whose shall we be ? Why, it is no gift at all. Then such reasons are assigned as the difficulty of holding *viva voce* examinations, the difficulties of securing secrecy for the examiners’ papers, and so forth ; but I may dismiss them without serious consideration. Then they fight the shadow of interpretation. We shall have to invent another phrase for spicing out, for the Secretary of State spirits in an interpretation in the House of Commons resolution. When in writing to the Government of India, he says “ try, if you can, to carry out this resolution, while insisting upon a certain minimum being reserved for recruits made in England, ” they fight this shadow. They think they have fought out the resolution of the House of Commons. But we know this is all a miserable subterfuge. Then they say that the ablest class of Indians themselves will not approve of simultaneous examinations. But then how is it that we have the co-operation of such gentlemen as Mr. Bonerjee, Mr. Mehta and Mr. Ghose to such a resolution as this ? They know their countrymen and have an opportunity of finding out what it is pos-

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Simultaneous  
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MR. KALICHDARAN  
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Mr. KALICCHARAN  
BANERJEE.

sible for us to secure for ourselves by going to England. Then it is said, "Recruit from the Provincial Service"; but then I am sure, the next question will be how will they have ability without going to England? And then, last of all, it is said that the Provincial Service will suffer. They are tender to the officers of the Provincial Service. But how will the officers of that Service welcome this tenderness to them at the expense of tenderness towards their children? I say, where is the father in the Provincial Service who will say, "In my interest I do not wish my son to have a chance of passing this examination on Indian soil." It is well to be tender to the father, but no tenderness towards the father can be genuine tenderness that does not mean tenderness to the children. Then one word more. They say, "If you have this examination, then the Sikhs and the Mahomedans and those other races in India who have shown ability to fill the higher ranks of this Service will not have the opportunity given them to obtain positions in these ranks." If that argument proves any thing, it proves too much. For what of those who do not belong to those races? Are they to be denied the opportunity of passing that examination even in England? But let me deny that there is any race in India that would not delight in the advancement of any other race in India. (*Cheers.*) Let us emphasise this one fact, and when this is done, we shall have silenced our opponents. Excuse me, I have cried myself hoarse; but pass this resolution so that those who have to hear us may hear us. I am just reminded of a little passage in nursery literature on which I will say a word before closing. Children are sometimes frightened with the idea of the approach of some bugbear who will chop off their ears. In Bengal we call it *khaun khutta*. Passing from nursery romance, I may say we have been trying to find this monster that will cut off our ears, and we have been treated to an explanation of that term which is perhaps grammatical but it does not correspond to the truth. It should mean "one who has his ears cut off," and we have to deal with such a *khaun khutta*. We have been crying ourselves hoarse, but we have not been heard. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Mr. SUNDERNATH  
KHOTE.

Mr. SUNDERNATH KHOTE (Bombay) said:—Mr. President, I rise to support this motion. After the eloquent manner in which it has been placed before you, my task of commending it for your unanimous approval is considerably lightened, and I shall, therefore, content myself with only a few remarks.

Gentlemen, we cannot but express our deep regret at the fact that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, which we flattered ourselves was the offspring of our own deliberations, have been nullified, nay, reduced to an absurdity by the way in which the Government of India has treated them. The Statutory Civil Service, which, although a mere apology and a ghost of a semblance to the real efficient Civil Service we pray for, has been abolished, and in its stead has been established a Service, which we might by courtesy call the Provincial Service, but which, in deed and in fact, is retrograde in character, repulsive in shape and repressive in effect. True, we have got under it a few crumbs of the loaves and the fishes which are regarded as the birth right and the special preserves of the twice-born Civil Service; but that is, after all, nothing but a sort of beggarly allowance conceded to a troublesome fellow in order to get rid of him, just as the good Dr. Primrose used to rid himself of a troublesome guest by the present of a cast off riding coat. (*Laughter.*) We, however, are not to be satisfied with this lame, halting and inefficient concession. We do not want this king stork. We would much rather have our king log back, because that, indeed, would be the better of the two evils. But, why, I ask, should the natives of India be treated otherwise than the other subject races of the British Raj? Is not India one of the brightest gems in the diadem of Great Britain? Under cover of giving the natives of India a wider share in the administration of the country, attempts are being made to lower the importance and significance of the Native Civil Service by making the standard of qualification too low, and introducing into it racial considerations which ought to have no place in a Service, if you want to make it effective and efficient. Merit and not the

accident of birth ought to be the sole qualifying test. Gentlemen, we can never hope to realise our expectations in this behalf until the memorable resolution of the House of Commons of June 1892 is given practical effect to. That resolution of Mr. Paul has been like gall and wormwood to our administrators out here, and they would not bring it into force on the ground of administrative expediency. Let us briefly examine what this means: Suppose we had Simultaneous Examinations; the consequence of that would be that, perhaps, more natives would pass than is now the case; but then we wish the same test to be applied; we mean that we do not wish to enter the Government Service by the back and dubious door of influence or interest, but as truly loyal subjects we wish to rely on our own merits. By them we stand or fall. It is impossible to conceive how the administrative machinery can go out of gear, if under this process only the best and most qualified natives are made to manage a portion of that machinery, especially as at present, under the system now in vogue, there is a possibility, nay, a certainty, having regard to the way in which that system is operating, of this machinery being placed in charge of incompetent hands and consequently of sooner going to the dogs than under the open system we solicit. Gentlemen, we, the natives of India, ought never to cease knocking at the door of Government for this just development of the many and numerous boons they have been pleased to confer upon us; and, if we wait and hope, I feel sure that a day will come when our wishes will fructify. Let us endeavour by constitutional measures to remove the film of unrelenting prejudice and crass ignorance which has blinded or partially affected the vision of some of our administrators, and not be discomfited or discouraged if we fail for some time. Our motto should be, "never say fail." Gentlemen, we have heard now-a-days too much of the mandate mania. Granting that there is some force in the theory propounded, are we not justified in requesting the Government to obey the mandate of the august House of Commons, which is admittedly a higher authority than the Secretary of State for India, expressed in terms most unequivocal in the resolution of June 1892? What greater or more powerful "mandamus" can they expect than this? But some of the ways of our Government are curious and quixotic. They consider the mandate of a coterie of Lancashire merchants more powerful than that of the House of Commons. This state of things will continue so long as India has no direct voice in England. Our trust in the righteousness and justice of Great Britain is great, and we may confidently hope that in the fulness of time our British Committee in England will be able to awaken in the mind of sturdy John Bull an interest in the affairs of India, and that then will come the day when the Government of India and the Secretary of State will be constrained to give effect to this resolution of June 1892; but whether that may be so or not, let us live in hope. (*Cheers.*)

MR. HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM ( Aligarh ) said :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution, proposed and seconded by my predecessors, has been so ably spoken to that I only want to touch on a single point, and that relates to the Mahomedans. The strongest argument, put forward by some of my co-religionists and apparently accepted by Government is that the Mahomedans and some of the Hindoo martial races will not have an equal chance with the other Hindoos if the resolution is carried into effect. I do not admit this theory to be correct; but supposing it is correct, gentlemen, does it stand to reason that if one member of a family be sick and the doctors order him to have a restricted diet, that the other members of the same family should be asked to be content with the same diet? (*Laughter and Applause.*) Certainly, not even sick people themselves will agree to this proposal, because the diet prescribed will weaken all and there will be no one to care for them. (*Cheers.*)

The speaker concluded his remarks in the Urdu language.

R. S. DEVRAO VINAYAK ( Berar ) also spoke in support of the resolution in Marathi.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, the seventh resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour should hold up their hands. (*All, all.*) Carried unanimously.

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Examinations in  
India and Eng-  
land.

MR. SUNDERNATH  
KHOTE.

MR. HAFIZ  
ABDUL RAHIM.

R. S. DEVRAO.  
VINAYAK.

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THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution will be moved by Mr. H. A. Wadia.

Resolution VIII.  
Forward Military  
Policy.

MR. H. A.  
WADIA.

MR. H. A. WADIA (Bombay) said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—the resolution which I have been asked to propose is in the following terms :—

“ In view of great extentions of the British power on the North-West and North-East of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by Parliament when it passed Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the Forward Military Policy will involve India in hopeless financial confusion. ”

We incur a serious responsibility in discussing this grave subject. We are fully conscious of the importance of the issues raised in the resolution. We are not peace-at-any-price men. We do recognise that though we may wish for peace, it requires two parties to preserve peace, and it is open to one party to break it. We must also recognise that though war is a great calamity, there is a calamity still greater, and that is an *unsuccessful* war when the enemy's foot is on our native soil. These are days when we are told that the Little Englanders have been dished—and we hear from all sides poems and panegyrics which proclaim the triumph of the Great Englanders. It is pointed out to us that Mr. Gladstone has given place to Lord Rosebury ; that John Bright's place is filled by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain ; and that in the place of the great Lord Lawrence, we have Lord Lansdowne. Sir, Mr. Gladstone and John Bright and Lord Lawrence may not be Great Englanders, but they are Great Englishmen the greatest Englishmen of their day. (*Cheers.*) It is too early yet to state what Mr. Gladstone's retirement from political life may cost ; but there are many, who, when they consider passing events, cannot help feeling a dismal foreboding that that retirement may prove to be the cause,—the direful cause—of woes unnumbered to the Empire at large. As regards John Bright, we may safely say that it is a loss not only to the English-speaking people alone, but to mankind at large that hushed is the voice of the great Tribune who always appealed to the noblest feelings of his race in the sacred cause of peace. As to Lord Lawrence, we in India know what disastrous consequences have ensued from the abandonment of his wise and sagacious and statesmanlike policy. Sir, you told us yesterday of the many years of deficits, of the many crores to which they amounted, and of the amount by which the public debt had increased. It would be an interesting question worthy of the labours of our indefatigable friend—Mr. Wacha—to find out how many of those years of deficits, how many of those crores of deficits and loans were due to the disastrous departure from Lord Lawrence's policy. Sir Aucland Colvin has given us some remarkable facts and figures for recent years. I cannot, at this late hour of the evening and with the limited time allowed to me, go into those facts and figures. But is it not a significant fact that if we have borrowed 184 crores in 60 years, we have on an average been spending more than our income at the rate of 3 crores every year for 60 years together ! It is still more remarkable that during the last ten years, our borrowings have been at the rate of 4 crores every year ! Sir Aucland Colvin has shown that during the ten years from 1883-4 to 1892-93 our yearly income had grown by 9 crores a year. We had an increase of 3 crores in the land revenue ( 22,67,19,440 Rs. in 1883-84 to 25,66,15,110 Rs. in 1892-93 ) and of 7½ crores in taxation generally ( 18,18,35,370 Rs. in 1883-84 to 25,58,77,550 Rs. in 1892-93 ). We had a decrease in the opium revenue of one crore and a half. Of these 9 crores, additional taxation on income, salt and petroleum yielded 3 crores. But, at the same time, we spent apart from exchange about 11½ crores annually at the end of the decade more than we did at its commencement. Of these 11½, more than 55 per cent. or more than 6 crores were due to Military Expenditure alone ! Of the total gross charges on account of Exchange dur-

ing those ten years, nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  were due to the growth of military and railway expenditure alone. Our army cost us 18 crores in 1883-84. It cost us 24 crores in 1892-93. These, Sir, are the results of substituting the forward policy for the policy of Lord Lawrence. (*Shame.*) When I read the speeches of the advocates of the Forward Policy of Lord Roberts—of Mr. Curzon—of the brothers Younghusbands—I am forcibly reminded of Pope's famous lines which I will quote with a slight alteration :—

Pleased with himself the towering Alps he tries,  
Clans peep o'er clans and tribes on tribes arise.

It was Gilgit and Chilas yesterday. It is Chitral and Mastuj to-day. To-morrow, Sir, it may be some unspeakable pass! A third day, and some unutterable height! The question is—*Where is the line to be drawn?* And that question must be answered not at Guildhall banquets and in post-prandial orations; not to gentlemen who are addressed but are not taxed; not to people who applaud but do not pay, and who, we may not uncharitably believe, would applaud a great deal less if they had to pay a little bit more. (*Cheers.*) No, Sir, that question must be answered here at Poona or Bombay, at Madras and Nagpore, at Allahabad and Lahore, perhaps at Simla, certainly at Calcutta. It must be answered in our Legislative Halls, to our Members in Council, to those whose duty it is and whose task it shall be,—I will not say to *represent*, for I wish to offend no prejudices—but I will say to *interpret* to our rulers the views and wants, the ways and wishes of the tax-payers of the land; and who, when the occasion comes, will remind our rulers of the poor thousands whose insufficient incomes are not exempted from taxation; of the poorer millions on whom the savage salt-tax inflicts a daily privation and almost inhuman wrong; of the tens of millions, poorest of all, who, in this land of plenty, where nature herself is so bounteous, live a life of semi-starvation and meet with mute resignation death which is premature and therefore unnatural. When I say all this I do not forget, and I do not ask you, my countrymen, to forget the limitations and restrictions imposed on our Legislatures. It is on that account that we need the interference and the control of Parliament. We have been told by Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour that practically there is no control in India over the Military Expenditure. We know that it is necessary according to the Act that Parliament's sanction must be obtained before Her Majesty's forces are employed in wars beyond our frontiers. But that provision has been disregarded and set at naught. There will be no control, no efficient control by Parliament, unless Parliament has behind it the voice of the British public, and that voice will be raised only when the British tax-payer's pocket is touched. We, therefore, ask that England must share with India the expenses incurred in the defence of India's frontiers. But this is not the only ground. India is no longer threatened by Asiatic neighbours on her frontiers. A great and rapid change has overtaken us. Asia virtually has been swept off the surface of the globe and into its vacant space. Europe has extended North and South and East. All that remains of the living Orient is confined to those vigorous little Isles, to which we Asiatics owe a deep debt of gratitude for this, that they have proved in the face of the world that men and nations are what their Governments and their institutions make them, and that there is no inherent incapacity in man because he happens to be born with a swarthy complexion or in particular latitudes. If India were to ask her Cæsar what he has done, not with her legions, but with her millions, what would be Cæsar's reply? He would point to the North and say—I have destroyed the frontiers Nature had provided for you; I have smoothed the mountain passes, I have bridged the highways, I have subjugated the tribes and I have made your frontiers conterminous with those of the great white Czar. He would point to the East and say—I have annexed Upper Burmah, I have made a buffer state impossible, and I have made your frontiers conterminous with those of France. In a speech delivered only recently—on the 4th

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WADIA.

December last,—Lord Roberts, when presiding at a lecture given in Dublin by Mr. Maquire, said that “what he specially enjoyed in the lecture was the manner in which reference was made to the fact that England in the East now occupied a *continental position*. He believed it was mainly owing to a great many people not realising that England in the East now occupied such a position that they differed with those who, like himself, urged that *because of that position her interests must be protected by continental means of defence.*” We contend therefore that if England is occupying, as here admitted, a continental position, and if England requires, as here urged, continental means of defence, it is only fair that England should contribute her proper share of the cost incurred for such defence. There is another ground for our claim. India is too poor to bear these heavy expenses alone. We have taxed ourselves to our utmost capacity. We have raised heavy benevolences from our Provincial Governments. We have starved education and sanitation and justice. We have starved our Schools and Colleges and Hospitals. We have throttled our nascent industries. We have resorted to strange devices and to artificial methods of doubtful policy. We have interfered with the currency. We have closed our Mints. We have introduced a gold standard without a gold currency. We have placed our trade at a disadvantage against silver-using countries. We have converted our loans and made some poor people poorer yet. We have perturbed Native States and raised apprehensions which I venture to submit it is imprudent to provoke and impolitic to disregard. We have done all this and yet we can scarcely make both ends meet. We are indeed in this position that unless England comes to our aid, India must drift into hopeless financial confusion and possibly into bankruptcy. Sir, this is a question which will not afford to wait. In the speech from which I have just quoted, Lord Roberts also said that we must expect events more startling and more unexpected than those which have marked this eventful year. And so it is. Wars, which seemed impossible yesterday, are not only possible but probable to-day. It is an unnatural war which confronts us. It is no new thing to see Europe bristling with bayonets in spite of her boasted Christianity. What would be new and what would be portentous is that the great British people should even for a time abandon the self-reverence, the self-knowledge, the self-control which as their late Lawreate sang, lead life alone to sovereign power. Let us trust and wish and pray that peace with her countless blessings may continue in spite of all. We do not know why Russia and France should not be peaceful neighbours. But if it should be otherwise, if the fates decreed that war must come and war could not be avoided—then, Sir, we the Congresswalas, we the suspected enemies of British Rule, we the critics—the uncompromising critics of the British Government—we shall rally round the British standard, calling to it thousands and hundreds of thousands of our countrymen—determined for it to live, with it to die—for we know that beneath that standard we will be fighting for our country’s freedom and our country’s happiness. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. D. G.  
PADHYE.

MR. D. G. PADHYE (Bombay) said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen;—In seconding the proposition that has been so ably moved by Mr. Wadia, I wish particularly to emphasise the fact that in asking England to share with India the expenses of any warfares or military operations that may be instituted, we are not laying down any proposition or principle that will not stand the test of sound economics or sound principles in politics. I know our opponents will say to us that if any Military operations be necessary for India’s good, it is right that India alone should bear the expenses, and they would tell us that nothing would have a more demoralising effect than any country desiring to have the aid of another, notwithstanding any ties between them, in defraying expenses that she herself should properly undertake. That, however, is not the proposition intended to be laid down by the resolution just moved. The fact is we want Parliamentary sanction and we want England to share in the expenses of any military operations in which India may be concerned, because we are sure and certain that those operations and those expenses will be as much in the interests of England as of India. The proposer has told you about the North-West frontier, the frontier that was once at one

place, and now we do not know where it will stop. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that every thing that was necessary for the defence of India in the North-West has been done and there is no danger to be feared on account of India. But we are sometimes told that Russia is moving downwards mainly with the intention of getting possession of India. I, for my part, don't believe Russia either at present or for a long time to come will make any such hazardous attempt as this. The fact is that whenever Russia moves on the North-West frontier, she moves more with the intention of creating a diversion and more with the intention of securing the support or non-interference of England in moving towards Constantinople which is her goal, and will continue to be her goal for a long time. The result is that though England and Russia come in contact now and again on the North-West side, and England and France come in contact on the other frontier which has been added to our country, they do not come in contact as competitors for India, but they do so because their interests outside India are concerned, and therefore they oftentimes have to approach very near the brink of war. If you will consider these facts, it is plain that if we move up towards the North-West or wage war by annexing a country on the Eastern side in order to avoid the danger of the country being annexed by another country, it is much more for the benefit of England than for the sake of India. Consequently if all these movements are made in the interest of England—and we know England profits much more by these extensions of territory in a commercial sense—it is right and proper she should share the expense of these operations from which she benefits so greatly. We would not like to ask England simply because she is rich to give us a contribution; it is not a dole of charity we ask, but it is fair and simple justice that we demand. (*Applause.*) We say that if England is to benefit by operations on the North-West frontier which are for the benefit of her manufactures and industries, she should bear her share of the expenses. It was for the benefit of those manufactures and industries that Burmah was annexed, and it will be much more for her benefit than for that of India if further military operations are undertaken on the North-West and Eastern frontiers. It is on those grounds that we ask England to share the expenses of future operations, and I hope you will carry the resolution with acclamation. (*Cheers.*)

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS (Bombay) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—I think of all the resolutions that have been placed before you to-day, there is not one that is more important than that which has been moved just now by my friend Mr. Wadia. In a word, the resolution means that if India is to be saved from bankruptcy, England must come to her aid. Now, that is not a mere platitude, that is not a mere common-place, for every man who knows anything of Indian finance admits that India in her present financial condition is not able to bear the burden put upon her. But you ask that India shall have it paid for her by England. Well, I do not know that England will pay your bills, because the English tax-payer, like every other class of people, keeps hold of his money pretty tight. There is, however, one gleam of satisfaction to be derived, and I get it from my reading of the English newspapers. It is that one of the most notoriously reactionary counties in England is hoist with her own petard: I allude to Lancashire. Lancashire, which beats the big drum as loudly as any other reactionary politicians in England, now understands what the beating of the big drum costs in India. (*Cheers.*) She has to pay the bill and she does not like it. It is understood she shall pay part of the Chitral expenses. In this respect I think we have got our Anglo-Indian friends with us. The other day a curious instance came across my path, and it illustrates how in this matter we shall find our Anglo-Indian friends are on our side. A friend of mine in the course of the Christmas holidays received a little present for his little child—such things are sent from England to us here—but before it got through the Customs House, he had to pay a very large duty on that small present which came for his little child. He was very much annoyed; we are all very much annoyed to pay rupees out of our pockets which, we think, are unjustly charged; and when I recalled to his memory that it was because he and others indulged in playing the big drum on

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PADHYA

MR. W. A.  
CHAMBERS.

Second Day.

Resolution VIII.  
Forward Military  
Policy.

MR. W. A.  
CHAMBERS.

the Chitral frontier, he became a wiser man. But for a moment to refer to England. If we can adopt the suggestion which has been thrown out by the Marquis of Lorne, a young politician, whose antecedents do not suggest that we may expect much wisdom from his lips, it will be well. He has suggested that in the matter of this Chitral expedition business, Lancashire shall bear her share; and I believe that if the question is properly brought before the Conservative members of the House of Commons, so anxious are they to get rid of the duties upon their yarns, it is possible they will see eye to eye with you in this respect. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Wadia in the course of his speech spoke of the peace-at-any-price party. I am not for it, and I think no man in this Congress is a peace-at-any-price party-man; but, on the other hand, we are not war-at-other-peoples-price party-men, and if there are to be these constant military operations in India's present straitened circumstances, it will be absolutely necessary—and this is no platitude—that England shall come to her aid. Therefore my suggestion to you and all of those who have influence with our people at home is to adopt the suggestion made by that young fellow the Marquis of Lorne and tell the Tory members of the House of Commons, who are feeling this matter very much, that they shall, in return for getting rid of the cotton duties, pay a share of the Chitral expenses. (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT said:—Before we proceed further—and it is now a quarter past five—I have to ask you to authorise me to send in your name a telegram of congratulations to Mr. Gladstone (*Here three cheers were given to Mr. Gladstone*) who is completing his 86th year and entering on his 87th year tomorrow. It has been the practice of this Congress, ever since it has been in existence, to send telegrams expressive of the felicitations of the Congress to the Grand Old Man of England, for the warm, genuine and sympathetic interest which he has always evinced on behalf of our hopes and aspirations, and for the future good Government of the country. I think I may take it that I have the full and hearty concurrence of this Congress in the suggestion to send the telegram in your name. (*Loud Cheering.*)

The Congress adjourned till 11 A. M. on Monday the 30th December.

# THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Monday—the 30th December, 1895.

The Congress assembled at 11 o'clock.

The President, at the commencement of the proceedings, said:—Gentlemen, before we begin, I have one or two announcements to make, I have received a telegram from the Maharajah of Dabhangra (*Cheers.*) in which he expresses the hope that serious steps will be taken to perpetuate the memory of our late Joint General Secretary, Pandit Ajudianath, (*Cheers.*) and he himself subscribes Rs. 2,000 (*Cheers.*) towards the fund. I hope the various Standing Congress Committees will take up this matter and do the needful in this direction. I hold in my hand another telegram from His Highness the Maharajah Holkar. I will read the contents of that telegram and when you have heard them read, you will find that the Native Princes are taking interest in our great national movement. "His Highness the Maharajah Holkar wants a photograph of the Eleventh National Congress held in Poona. Please arrange the Congress photograph and the cost will be duly paid." Then I have to make a business announcement. We have a very heavy programme before us and I have counted the speakers to be forty-four in number. We must finish this programme to-day and therefore with your concurrence and consent I propose to enforce inexorably, without distinction of persons, the rule regulating our time—ten minutes for a proposer and five minutes for a seconder and supporter—and I hope you will enable me to enforce that rule in order that we may finish the business to-day. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. GHOSAL again decorated the President with a garland presented by Bai Laxmibai, and handed to him a watch which had been sent for his acceptance by Messrs G. B. Naik and Co. of Poona.

The President, in acknowledging the compliments, said:—I need hardly say I am very grateful to the donors, especially to the fair donor who has more than once honoured me with a garland. I will now call on Mr. Pillai to move the ninth resolution.

MR. G. PARAMESWARAM PILLAI (Madras) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we discussed last Saturday many questions of Imperial importance affecting the interests of the people of India. We laid bare the hopeless condition of our finances and traced it to the abnormal growth of military expenditure. We exposed the reckless way in which frontier expeditions are constantly undertaken in this country and insisted on the cost of these expeditions being shared between England and India. We expressed our disappointment at the limited scope of the Expenditure Commission, which is supposed to have been appointed in our interests. We re-emphasised the necessity that exists for holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England. We expressed our opinion distinctly and fearlessly on several other subjects such as the separation of the judicial and executive functions, and the question of trial by jury. These, gentlemen, are all questions affecting the interests of the people of India in India. But deeply conservative and averse to travel as we are said to be, some of our brethren have ventured to emigrate to distant

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THE PRESIDENT.

Resolution IX.  
Indian Settlers in  
South Africa.

MR. G. PARAMESWARAM PILLAI.



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MR. G. PARAMESWARAM PILLAI.

lands in quest of fresh fields and pastures new, and I hope you will bear with me if I entreat your attention for a moment to the condition of our brethren in those distant lands. I wish to invite your attention, gentlemen, particularly to the condition of our brethren in South Africa, for it is they of all others that stand in sore need of your sympathy. Ladies and gentlemen, it is rather hard that as if our own growing grievances in this country were not sufficiently numerous, we should have to add to our burden by ventilating the grievances of those who have settled in other parts of the globe; but it is impossible for us to be devoid of that fellow-feeling which makes us wondrous kind and to forbear extending our hand of fellowship to our suffering countrymen in South Africa. I have therefore very great pleasure in moving the proposition entrusted to me :—

“ That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of those settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake.”

I presume you have formed some idea of the ill-treatment of Indians by the European settlers in South Africa from the Indian and English newspapers particularly during the last few months. But to arrive at a clear understanding of the exact nature of the disabilities, to which our countrymen are subjected in South Africa, it is necessary for us to go back to the history of the question. After all, gentlemen, we have not to go far back. As I understand that others, who will follow me, will deal with the condition of our brethren in Natal and other British Colonies, I shall confine my attention to the condition of our countrymen in the South African Republic. Curious as it may seem, the history of this question dates from that very year which saw the birth of the Indian National Congress. It is but eleven years old. While a few of the more patriotic and more prominent of our countrymen were putting their heads together for the first time in Bombay for organising the means whereby they could bring into public prominence the political grievances of their countrymen, the European settlers in South Africa were engaged in forging a fresh link to the chain of their sufferings. According to article 14 of the London Convention of 1884, all persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (a) will have full liberty with their families, to enter, travel or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (c) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (d) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property or in respect of their commerce or industry to any taxes whether general or local other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic. According to this Convention, gentlemen, Indian settlers were entitled to the same privileges as Europeans, as the former were not natives of the place, and only natives of Africa were subjected to restrictions with regard to habitation and trade. But it soon dawned upon the white population of South Africa that it was unsafe to extend the same privileges to Asiatics and particularly natives of India. Evidently, gentlemen, when the London Convention came into existence they thought the yellow races of India were beneath contempt—too insignificant to be noticed, but they soon found that the Indian settlers, by their growing numbers, their thrifty habits and their genius for trade, were making life a little bit unpleasant to them, and the white settlers set up at once an agitation for excluding Indians from the privileges they enjoyed. The London Convention, as I have already observed, excluded only Natives of Africa, but the authorities of the South African Republic proposed to amend the Convention by confining it to all persons “ other than African natives or Indian or Chinese coolie immigrants.” This suggestion was submitted to Lord Derby, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, for approval by Sir Hercules Robin-

son, the High Commissioner, and Lord Derby, in a weak moment, permitted the Volksraad to legislate on the lines suggested. The result was that the Volksraad immediately imposed several disabilities on the Indians. The Indians were prevented from acquiring citizenship in the Republic; they were prohibited from owning landed property; those who settled in the Republic were required to register themselves by paying £25 within eight days of their arrival in the Colony and the Government reserved the rights of assigning to Indians special streets, wards and locations for habitation. These were indeed hard conditions and Lord Derby soon discovered his mistake, and after an elaborate correspondence on the subject, the Volksraad amended the law by permitting Indians to buy property in wards or streets by reducing the fine of £25 to £3 and by stipulating that in confining Indians to locations the Government was guided solely by sanitary considerations. This amendment was not satisfactory and it was admitted even by Sir Hercules Robinson to be a contravention of the 14th article of the London Convention, but he undertook to advise Her Majesty's Government not to offer further opposition to it on the ground that such legislation was necessary in the interests of public health. The result was that an immediate attempt was made by the South African Republic to confine Indians to locations not only for the purposes of *habitation*, but also for purposes of trade. This was indeed ruinous to the Indians and their constant complaints led to the submission of the question to an arbitrator, Mr. Melins de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Orange Free State, by the British and the South African Governments. In this matter, the Indians were not consulted by the British Government and Mr. Villiers happened to be a man with strong prejudice against the Indians. And his decision curiously enough, instead of settling the points in dispute, finally reserved them for decision to the judicial tribunals of the South African Republic or in other words left the Indians to the tender mercies of the Judges of the South African Republic, who were even stronger in their prejudices against the Indians—and this, mind you, ladies and gentlemen, when Mr. Villiers was cognisant of the fact that one of the States of the Republic at least had already given a decision against the Indians. Finally, Mr. Chamberlain, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, was appealed to. In September last, Mr. Chamberlain, while expressing his sympathy with Indians and hoping that their undoubted industry and intelligence and their indomitable perseverance would suffice to overcome any obstacles in their way, declared that the legal and international questions in dispute were closed: but he added that he reserved to himself the liberty to make friendly representations to the South African Republic and to ask the authorities whether it would not be wise to review the situation from a new point of view and treat the Indians more generously. We ought to be thankful to the English Government even for small mercies and we are certainly much obliged to Mr. Chamberlain for his sympathy. But with due deference to him, I do not think the matter is closed even from a legal and international point of view. I maintain that Indians in the Republic are not bound to accept the decision of Mr. Villiers for three reasons, first because they were not consulted in the matter of the choice of an arbitrator; secondly because the prejudice of Mr. Justice Villiers against the Indians was well-known and his appointment was protested against by the Indians at the time; and thirdly because Mr. Villiers has omitted to decide the points referred to him. It is interesting in this connection, gentlemen, to ascertain the ground on which a crusade of the nature I have described is being led by the South African Republic. Well, the ostensible ground on which Indians are thus treated is that from a sanitary point of view it is not desirable that they should live with the white population. With regard to this charge against them, gentlemen, several eminent doctors have certified that the Indians and their surroundings are as cleanly as the white population and their surroundings. The real reason of all this agitation is strong competition in trade. Indians, owing to their simple habits and economic living, are able to carry on a very successful trade much to the prejudice of the white population. It is indeed a matter for regret that Indians should be made to suffer on account of their perseverance and industry and if the English should take the same interest in Indians that they take in the treatment

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accorded to Englishmen in other parts of the globe, I am sure there will be no room for complaint. The Indians owe all their sufferings to the fact that Lord Derby and others failed to treat Englishmen and Indians on a footing of equality. Whatever may be said of the past, it is fervently hoped that the Government of India and the British Government would keep a keen watch over the treatment of Indians and resent any attempt on the part of the South African authorities to deal with Indians in a way unsuited to their status and condition in life, and their position as subjects of Her Britannic Majesty. I have great pleasure in proposing the resolution standing in my name. (*Cheers.*)

MR. ALI MAHOMED  
MED BHIMJI.

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI (Bombay) said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this ninth resolution has been placed before you by my friend Mr. Pillai and you have heard it read; it relates to our countrymen who have gone from India into South Africa to settle there. Do you know what they are called there? They are called coolies; whether they be farmers, merchants, shop-keepers, no matter what trade or occupation they follow, they are called coolies. (*Shame*). I am very glad to hear you denounce that as a shame and it is a great and crying shame against the name of the British. Why should they call us coolies? They say our brethren are not to trade there; that they were brought there as coolies. They say “we paid them passages. They have laboured for us and now they must go back.” I ask them “What did you do with the negroes? You bought them; they were your slaves. Why did you emancipate them? Did you not spend millions of money to emancipate the negroes?” They are traders, they are engaged in all the occupations of citizens and are enjoying the franchise there and still you call the Indians “coolies” who have never been bought by you, or sold by you, but who went and offered their services to you? And you not only prevent them from enjoying the franchise but you don’t allow them to carry on trade. Is this fair play? Is it Englishmen-like? I call upon Englishmen to answer this question. You know our friend, the *Pioneer*, gave full three columns in its issue of the 20th December to this subject and I shall call your attention to one or two passages therein. It says “However heartily we may endorse the principle of uniform treatment for all subjects of the Queen all over the British Empire it would be childish to overlook the problem by which the white population as against the black is faced or to underrate the difficulty by which they are confronted.” They do endorse the principle that all subjects of Her Majesty of whatever creed or colour must be uniformly treated. But when the black population is to compete with the white population, then a line is to be drawn. Has it been laid down in Her Majesty’s proclamation? Has it been laid down in the first Act of Parliament passed in 1833 that a distinction between white colour and black colour or dark colour is to be made? (*Cheers.*) If not, then why should it be made now at the end of this nineteenth century? What is the reason? The reason is this. You do not know the sin lies at our doors, as it did in the case of Ireland. When Home Rule was refused to Ireland, Lord Salisbury said:—“If we grant Home Rule to Ireland, India would ask for it the next day. If we granted Home Rule to India, what would become of us? England would become a second, third or fourth rate power.” That is the substance of the statements made by his Lordship. Now, my dear friends, poor Ireland is not to get Home Rule. Forsooth, why? Because if Ireland is given Home Rule, India will ask for it the next day. In the same way these poor Indians in South Africa are not to get the franchise. They are told to go away, because, if the franchise is given them, the Indians here will require it. That is the difficulty. I call upon all you Indians assembled here at this eleventh session of the Indian National Congress in this ancient town of the Maharattas to say with one voice whether you will tolerate this sort of thing. If you say you will never tolerate it, then pass this resolution with acclamation. (*Cheers.*) I, your humble servant, come to second it and now pass it and say with one voice “we will never tolerate it.” I say, hammer at the head of the British Lion: If he won’t be roused, still be at it repeatedly and when you have woke him up, shake his main and tell him that a wrong is being done in his name and press him to redress it. Do that and

will succeed. I see my friend Mr. President is ready with his guillotine, so I must retire. ( *Laughter and Applause.* )

MR. J. M. SAMANT ( Sholapur ) said :—Mr. President and brother-delegates, one may philosophically have the best reasons for putting up with an insult offered to him in his individual capacity, but one cannot forbear resenting as far as possible an insult offered to Indians, especially when that insult comes from a nation that poses before the world as the liberator of mankind,—from a nation that is proud of having inspired in other nations, just ideas of nationality ; from a nation whose boast is that Providence has sent it to teach other nations, providentially under its sway, how to govern themselves, and how to extricate themselves from slavery ; from a nation that professes the highest regard for its subjects in whatever part of the world they may be. But, gentlemen, without indulging in abstractions, I must come to the point for want of time. The Disability Bill is no longer a Bill, for it has been passed into law—a law not founded upon any reason or justice or upon any humane or divine law. That Bill, by which our countrymen in South Africa are governed, is an insult to our whole nation, for it is a manifesto declaring that we are slaves, that the whole of the Indians are slaves. When an insult is offered to a whole nation in that way, will you not protest ? If you do not protest, be sure you will be subjected to further insults. That is not good for you if national life has been revived in you by English education. Many of our brethren, being equally competent with the white settlers in point of wealth and ability to exercise the right to vote, are disenfranchised and are to be subjected to further disabilities,—for no other reason than that some of the Indians there have to work as coolies. We know full well that we shall not meet with any justice at the hands of the colonists, in fact, we have but little hope of justice at the hands of our own Government. If we appeal to our own Government, we are sure to be met with the reply that the British Indian Government has done its best to secure the interests of the subjects in South Africa, and it being a question of State policy, it can do no more. So our only hope of success depends entirely upon a national appeal reaching the ears of Englishmen at home, whose sense of justice is not perverted and not contaminated by the slavery-producing atmosphere of Africa or the tyranny-producing atmosphere of India. ( *Cheers.* ) Let us appeal in the name of our ancient and holy nation to Englishmen at home. Let not posterity record its verdict that India was exposed to the contempt of the world ; that it was a nation of “ hewers of wood and drawers of water ” and that by sanctioning certain measures either directly or indirectly, either consciously or unconsciously, Indians showed to the world that they were a nation of slaves. ( *Cheers.* )

MR. VITHAL LAXMAN ( Gulburga ) supported the motion in a speech in Hindusthani, of which the following is a translation :—

MR. VITHAL LAXMAN said :—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and gentlemen,—Certain subjects of that Government, that fully understands principles of justice and human rights, the sword of whose enlightened principles is ablaze all over the world and which is fondly devoted to the Goddess of Liberty, complain that they are persecuted and oppressed, that their liberty is interfered with, and that justice is denied to them. This may appear strange to you at first, but when the facts are closely looked into, the strangeness thereof will at once disappear. We quite admit that the British Government has reached its zenith of political advancement and that its politicians are experts in the art of keeping peace, in territories subject to them ; but unfortunately their idea of justice becomes changed and one-sided, when their Indian subjects are concerned ; wherever these subjects may be, in India or elsewhere, their misfortunes follow them like their very shadow. ( *Applause.* ) It is a fact known to you that, like Europeans, some Indians also have settled in South Africa. The same British Government guards the liberty of both these communities—a Government that has solemnly declared

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to all its Indian subjects that their rights, customs &c. will not be interfered with. Even this promise has not been kept, let alone that of 1858. (*Applause.*) Why may we not then say that the assurances given by the British Government are merely nominal, intended more to adorn the paper on which they are written than for serving any practical purpose? By the one-sided (mis) representation of the European settlers, our Indian brethren of South Africa are being oppressed. Not only is their trade interfered with, but even their independence is invaded. Gentlemen, to say that because colour differs, laws also should differ is very strange. Who will deny the fact that that Government which denies its people the liberty of settling in waste tracts considers them worse than those animals that freely roam in the forests? For a Government, which has spent lacs of rupees and lost hundreds of lives in the emancipation of slaves, to treat free born subjects as slaves is a really shameful thing. Again, there is no denying the fact that the British Government is just; but there is no denying also the fact that where the question of race comes, justice is set aside, or is at least one-sided. (*Cheers.*) I beg, gentlemen, to conclude by respectfully begging of the British Government to consider impartially the memorial of our fellow countrymen of South Africa.

THE PRESIDENT :—The resolution has been properly moved, seconded, and supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. (*Voices All, All.*) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Mr. R. N. Mudholkar to move the next resolution.

Resolution X.  
Agricultural  
indebtedness.

Mr. R. N.  
MUDHOLKAR.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Berar), who proposed the tenth resolution, said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution, which I have the honour to lay before you, deals with a subject which has come before the Congress for the first time. It runs thus :—

“ That in the opinion of this Congress, any proposal to restrict the right of private alienation of lands by legislation as a remedy for the relief of agricultural indebtedness, will be a most retrograde measure, and will in its distant consequences not only check improvement, but reduce the agricultural population to a condition of still greater helplessness. The indebtedness of the agricultural classes arises partly from their ignorance and partly from the application of a too rigid system of fixed revenue assessments which takes little account of the fluctuating conditions of agriculture in many parts of India; and the true remedy must be sought in the spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the present system of the revenue collections in those parts of the country, where the permanent settlement does not obtain. ”

The question, with which this proposition deals, is an intricate and difficult one, and the literature on the subject is voluminous and it is not possible within the short space of time at my command to do more than merely touch the fringe of the subject and indicate briefly the reasons which warrant the proposal I submit for your consideration. Gentlemen, the agricultural problem is the question of questions with us. India is an agricultural country. The mass of its population is dependent upon land. The poverty and indebtedness of this class have been for many years past growing, are growing now, and will, unless proper measures are taken, continue to increase till they bring about a condition of things fraught with the most serious consequences to Government and the governed alike. On account of this growing poverty and indebtedness, the peasant class is gradually losing its hold over land and it is passing from the agricultural to the non-agricultural classes. Gentlemen, I am one of those who hold with the poet that

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
“ Where wealth accumulates and men decay.”

“ Princes and Lords may flourish or may fade,  
 “ A breath can make them as a breath has made.  
 “ But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,  
 “ When once destroyed, can never be supplied. ” ( Cheers. )

The peasant class forms the backbone of the country, and I am quite sure that every one in this assembly, whether he belongs to the capitalist class or the land-owning class, feels sympathy for them. During the last twenty-five years, in the Panjaub as much as 10 per cent. of proprietary land was transferred by private sales alone. Mortgages and sales in execution of decrees and sales for arrears of revenue have also a large percentage to their credit. During the last few years it is calculated that nearly a million and a half acres were transferred annually in that province by sale, mortgage, exchange, gift &c. In the N. W. P. and Oudh, nearly a million acres are transferred by permanent transfers. In the Central Provinces, over eight hundred thousand acres are so transferred; in Berar over a hundred thousand; and in Madras nearly half a million. Some of these transfers are from agriculturists to agriculturists. The exact extent to which non-agriculturists are ousting agriculturists has to be verified for the country generally. But there is sufficient evidence that in parts of the Panjaub and other provinces also, the cultivating class is being considerably displaced by the capitalist class. This reduction of the proprietary or semi-proprietary cultivators from their position of owners or partial owners to mere tenants at will is undoubtedly an undesirable thing, and it has attracted the attention of Government. So far as efforts have to be made to remedy this evil we are entirely at one with Government. Amongst the remedies proposed, however, is one, which far from ameliorating the condition of the landed classes, will aggravate their difficulties, and will prove disastrous in its effects both on them and on the country generally. It is suggested that the right of private alienation of land should be taken away and that land should be declared inalienable. Let us examine what this proposal means, and then we can realise its serious nature and the danger it involves.

Now in the first place, it involves a breach of faith and a confiscation of property so universal that the British Government, strong though it is, ought not to court the grave and wide discontent which it is sure to arouse. Whether land was alienable in the pre-British period is not a question of much practical importance. In the British period from 1793 downwards, by legislative measures and by proclamations have the Government expressly and in the clearest language given or recognised a heritable and transferable right to land-holders. Section 9 of Regulation I of 1793 states: “ That no doubt may be entertained whether proprietors of land are entitled, under the existing regulations, to dispose of their estates without the previous sanction of Government, the Governor-General in Council notifies to the Zamindars, independent talukdars, and other actual proprietors of land that they are privileged to transfer, to whomsoever they think proper, by sale, gift, or otherwise, their property rights in the whole or any portion of their respective estates without applying to Government for its sanction to the transfer and that all such transfers shall be held valid. ” Subordinate permanent tenures have in 1819 and 1885 been declared to be transferable. In the North-Western Provinces in the Benares division, which has a permanent settlement, a regulation of 1795 declared the transferability of land in words exactly similar to those just quoted. In the other parts of that Presidency, from the settlement of 1822 the right of transfer has been acknowledged. To the Oudh Talukdars the Government expressly granted in 1859 a permanent, hereditary, and transferable proprietary right. In Bombay, for the express purpose of getting rid of impoverished cultivators and substituting in their places men of money, intelligence and energy, unrestricted power of transfer was conferred on all occupants of land. Section XXXVI of Act I of 1865 declares the right of occupancy “ to be a transferable and heritable property. ” In Berar, the Settlement Rules give the same right. In Madras, in the permanently settled estates, so far back as 1802

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MUNSHI.

the proprietors were recognised to have "free liberty to transfer" their land to whomsoever they pleased and in the ryotwari areas the right has been recognised from 1807. In the Panjab, the right to transfer has been recognised from the time that the Province was taken over. In the Central Provinces, a proclamation of 1854 conferred the right of free transfer on malguzars.

It is this right, deliberately recognised or conferred so long ago, on the faith of which millions of people during the period of two or three generations have made settlements of property or spent vast sums of money, that is now proposed to be taken away or restricted. Such an interference would be not only a violation of expectations raised and a breach of faith, but confiscation pure and simple, which no civilised and just Government would be justified in resorting to for a moment. We must ask Government to pause and consider the consequences of such a measure. Responsible Officers of Government hold that in the mutiny of 1857 the disturbances in the North-Western Provinces were in no small measure due to the transfer of land. Sir George Campbell said: "If the land in the Panjab had been transferred as that of the North-Western Provinces had been, it is quite certain we should not be here." Mr. James, Commissioner of Sind, whose antipathy to the educated classes is well-known, writes of the Deccan peasantry:—"Our overwhelming power makes them feel the hopelessness of rebellion, and their lot of late years, I make no doubt, has materially improved owing to the general progress of the country. But I can easily conceive that a time may come when the Deccan is denuded of troops and the British arms have sustained a reverse, and then we may see the long smouldering discontent fanned into a flame." (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, if these are the consequences of partial loss of land, what may we not dread from a confiscatory measure extending over the whole country? We therefore ask Government to reject a proposal fraught with so great a danger. We appeal to Government because we are loyal. Let our opponents say what they will, there is no man in this assembly, no man of education and sense in the country, who is not loyal to the British Government and the British people. Our loyalty is based on the sure foundations of an enlightened and wise self-interest. It is because we feel that our very existence is bound up with the maintenance and permanence of British Rule that we are loyal. As members of society who have a vital stake in the maintenance of order, we appeal to Government not to lend its countenance to a measure which will provoke the greatest discontent, and we fervently trust that our appeal shall not go in vain. (*Cheers.*)

Besides this grave political and administrative danger which it involves, there are economical disadvantages which are sure to result from the abolition of the right of transfer. It is not possible to do any thing more than merely briefly indicate them. The attendant economic evils would be:—1st, that it will deprive agriculturists of all credit; 2nd, that it will deprive them of stimulus to work—very little incentive would be left to them for making improvements; 3rdly, that it will lead to minute subdivision. There are some people, who contemplate with equanimity the loss of the ryot's credit, thinking that it is his credit which is at the root of his indebtedness. It has to be pointed out that in the first place the measure would affect not only the small holders, who, according to the assumption of these gentlemen, abuse the facilities for raising money which they have from the possession of land and for whom it is mainly that protective measures are required; but that it would affect the Zamindars, Malguzars, and other large land-owners also. Because some men among them abuse their credit, why should the credit of all be curtailed? Then again numerous instances can be quoted where land-holders were enabled to tide over financial crises by the help of the credit they had from their possession of and control over land. Then with regard to peasant proprietors also, it ought to be borne in mind that it is this credit which enables these men to pay Government revenue. Take away this credit and Government revenue will be difficult to be realised.

With regard to the second objection mentioned above, I would quote two authorities. In a note prepared under the directions of Sir William Muir in 1873, it is said : " the only security being movable property, houses, standing crops and so on, a man would be compelled to pledge these and we should see what has been illustrated in Jhansi. The debtor would become the slave of his creditor ; the annual profit of his land would be swept by the money-lender in payment not of the principal, but of the annual accumulation of interest. " You would retain your proprietors on the land, no doubt, but you would take from them all that makes land worth having.

The Famine Commission, in describing the state of things under Native rule, concluded that, " though the cultivator ( in the absence of any power of obtaining loans on the security of his holding ) was never deeply involved, he was seldom free from debt, and lived the life of a contented serf, exempt from the risks and responsibilities which accompany the possession of independent rights, but also without any stimulus to raise himself or to improve his position. " Over and above all these objections, there is the conclusive objection that this procedure has the singular merit of not removing the evil but of aggravating it, and of not solving the real difficulty. When a man is poor, is heavily steeped in debt, is it the proper method to deprive him of what valuable things he has got ? Is the new gospel to be that he that hath little, let him be deprived of that little ?

Then again what is the cause of these transfers ? ' Indebtedness ' is the answer. And what is this indebtedness due to ? Speaking dispassionately it is due not to one cause. It is partly due to ignorance and improvidence of the men themselves, to the unsuitability of the existing law and legal machinery and last but not least to the pressure of the Government land revenue demand and the rigidity of the revenue system. Remove the causes, and the evils which result therefrom will of themselves disappear. The Indians have such a love for land that no sane man will say that they sell or mortgage them in sheer wantonness. It is the causes which bring about indebtedness which must be attacked. There is a fashion of making too much of the extravagant expenditure in marriages and funerals. So far as the peasant class is concerned, the very minute and exhaustive enquiries made by the Deccan Ryots Commission show " that undue prominence has been given to the expenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryot's indebtedness. " Improvidence no doubt exists ; but, as the Commission points out, " it consists more in the short-sighted imprudence of an ignorant class ready to relieve present necessity by discounting future income on any terms, and unable to realize the consequences of obligations foolishly contracted, than in an extravagant expenditure or misapplication of income. "

There is also no doubt that advantage is taken of the improvidence, ignorance, simplicity, and necessities of the ryot by the lower order of money-lenders, and that the summary methods of the Small Causes Court and other unsuitable provisions of the Civil Law about interest, evidence and contract greatly help to intensify this indebtedness. The first and the most efficacious remedy and the one which is absolutely necessary, if any real permanent good is to be achieved, is education,—a rational, practical education—which will remove the ignorance which is the mother of so much evil. In the meantime changes will have to be made in the substantive and adjective Law in the light of the experience afforded by the working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. Changes in the Law, are, as is well pointed out, only palliatives, not remedies. The one thing, which along with education is most urgently needed, is a less pressing and rigid revenue system. When the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was introduced in the Legislative Council more than 16 years ago, Sir Theodore Hope admitted that " to our revenue system must in candour be ascribed some share in the indebtedness of the ryot. " Lord Lytton made a similar admission. And though 16 years have passed, what have the Govern-

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Resolution X.  
Agricultural  
indebtedness.

Mr. R. N.  
MUDHOLKAR.



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ment done in these Districts to diminish the burthens of the revenue land assessment or to mitigate the rigour of the present system? In good season, in bad season, before the appointed day the Government revenue must be paid. Even during the dire years of the famine, when millions died, was the land revenue realised by a free use of compulsory processes. The Deccan Ryots Commissions, the Commission of 1891-92 appointed to enquire into the working of the Agriculturists' Relief Act, the Famine Commission and several officers of Government have brought to light the grave defects of the land revenue system; and yet very little has been done by Government to carry out the executive reforms, which their own officers have pointed out as absolutely necessary. Instead of carrying them out in a spirit of generosity and removing the great difficulties which their own action put in the way of the ryot, what now Government are proposing to do is to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Gentlemen, it is our duty to point out to Government the unwisdom of this course and the disastrous results which are sure to follow from it. And I fervently hope and trust that wiser counsels will prevail, and that an act, involving injustice, breach of faith and confiscations, will not be perpetrated. ( Cheers. )

Mr. R. P.  
KARANDIKAR.

MR. R. P. KARANDIKER ( Satara ) said :—Mr. President and gentlemen, I am not going to make any attempt to stir you up, but I ask you to listen thoughtfully to what few words I have to address to you. I am simply going to place before you the importance of the resolution which affects eighty-two per cent. of the agricultural population. The first point, which I will address myself to, is the right of private alienation. Those who have studied the history of the Maharastra, particularly as described by Mount Stuart Elphinstone, in whose steps our respected Governor has promised to walk—( Cheers. )—will find that he described in the year 1821, in language which is very forcible, that the tenure of land in India was considered most generally to be a permanent one; that means the idea of alienation. They had a saleable interest in the property. I need not allude to any other circumstances which have given rise to this conception which his utterances had in the mind of the agriculturists, namely, that they have a hereditary right in the tenure of the land they possess. Having disposed of this first point, I will come to the other which relates to the rigidity of the realizations of the revenue. On this point I need not dilate at any length, because it has been solved by the most ardent efforts on the part of the Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. They have come to the conclusion, along with Mr. Nulkar, that it is to that rigidity that the indebtedness of the agriculturists is largely traceable. The further thing I have to place before you is one or two quotations from the report of the Relief Commission. In that they have referred to the opinion of Sir Theodore Hope, who was the member in charge of the Deccan Relief Bill, when it was introduced in the Council, and he admitted there "that to our revenue system must in candour be ascribed some share in the indebtedness of the ryot." You will further see that the Commission say in their Report, part III, "there is no doubt that the rigidity is one of the main causes which lead the Ryots into their debts." The point is, if we have these circumstances in our favour, we need not go and search for better evidence. Having established the fact that the rigidity in the matter of the realization of land revenue has much to do with the indebtedness of the agricultural class, I think we have got strong grounds for proposing such a resolution as that now put forward and which in the absence of Mr. Khare I have the greatest pleasure in seconding. Our prayer is that the true remedy must be sought in the spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the present system of revenue collection in those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not obtain. My friend, who proposed it, has told you how education would play an important part in the matter of enlightening the agriculturists generally with reference to their economy. We have to think of three things; first the sale of land; secondly with reference to the instalments and thirdly the vacating of land. With respect to the first point, the Commissioners say that though a creditor could not be allowed to sell a property, they would allow the Land Revenue Code to retain a section to the

effect. When the thing comes to finding out the fault of others, one is very assiduous in doing it, but here when the matter is one between the agriculturist and the creditor they say "do not sell this man's land because he is an agriculturist." With reference to the revenue collection, it gives the Collector power to sell the land and ask a man to vacate it. The second point is with regard to judgment-debts. The Commission say that when people say that they have got no fixed income, it is absurd to expect them to be ready to pay fixed instalments. As to judgment-debts I ask why should not the same principle be extended to the debts due for assessment. The third point is in respect to the vacating of land when there are disputes between landlord and tenant. The Commission say this is a final cause that must be provided against. If this is so, why should not the same Land Revenue Code contain a section with reference to this matter? On all these three points I think we have very fair grounds for proposing this resolution which I have the greatest pleasure in seconding and I hope you will carry it with acclamation.

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Resolution X.  
Agricultural indebtedness.

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR.

THE PRESIDENT :—Let those who are in favour of this resolution hold up their hands. ( *Voices, All. All.* ) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Mr. V. R. NATU to move the XI Resolution.

MR. V. R. NATU ( Belgaon ), in moving the eleventh resolution, said :—Mr. President and brother-delegates, the resolution I have to move is as follows :—

Resolution XI.  
The right of Interpellation.

MR. V. R. NATU.

"That this Congress notes with satisfaction that the right of interpellation, vested in non-official members of the Legislative Councils, has, on the whole, been exercised in a spirit of moderation, which has secured the approval of the authorities here and in England; and the Congress, being of opinion that the practical utility of interpellations would be greatly enhanced, if the members putting them were allowed to preface their questions by a short explanation of the reasons for them, urges that the right to make such explanations ought to be granted."

The proposition now placed before you is no doubt of a formal character. Still I wish it had been placed in abler hands than mine. But I obey the President and stand before you to propose it. You are aware that under the Indian Councils' Act 1892, a new right was conferred on members of the Legislative Council and that right was that the Governor-General might frame rules to allow members to ask questions on the administrative policy of the Government and upon other points touching the public interest. Now the language of the Act itself is very important and I must tell you that this language allows great latitude to the Governor-General to grant our further demand. The language is this: "The Governor-General of India may from time to time make rules, authorising at any meeting of the Governor-General's Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations, the discussion of the annual financial statement of the Governor-General-in-Council and the asking of questions, but under such conditions and restrictions as shall be in the said rules prescribed and declared." The rules are to be framed by the Governor-General, and Parliament have not laid down any hard and fast rule to bind the hands of his Excellency the Viceroy; therefore our demand is that the rules now framed do not serve the purpose for which they were framed and this can be easily proved by various instances that have occurred. But before I come to these instances, I must tell you this proposition is one of the Congress triumphs and the Congress must feel gratified in passing it because it is the second logical sequence of the great liberty for which they fought for years. The first resolution was to grant the right of interpellation and the second is a logical sequence to the first. You will find that since the right and privilege was granted to the members of the Legislative Council—in fact you must have seen that since it was granted that not only in Bombay but in

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almost all the local Legislative Councils in other Provinces and even in the Supreme Legislative Council itself, members have exercised that right in a moderate spirit, and though our critics have stated that the rules were a weapon in the hands of the political agitators in India, they are silenced by the way in which the questions put to Government from time to time are answered. As was only to be expected, it was inconvenient for Government to give satisfactory replies. On some occasions, it was not proper to give direct replies, and in reference to others, the questions being late, it was not possible to give direct replies. It was only natural to expect such replies as his Excellency was trying to get information, or that he referred a member to such and such an answer given to another question. Such laconic replies as are received are not the direct result of immoderation on the part of members but they are due to members not giving sufficient information to Government which it is not possible under the rules for Hon. Members to place in the hands of Government. The rules in Bombay are the same as elsewhere and one of them is as follows :—" Questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information and must not be in an argumentative or hypothetical form." Consequently our representatives in the Legislative Councils have found it very difficult to so frame their questions and to convey at the same time their meaning, and the reasons for which the questions are put, the result being that Government find it difficult to give direct replies and sometimes those replies are not at all to the point. Another rule is that " the President may disallow any question without giving any reason other than that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest." This is a very great power to place in the hands of the Governor-in-Council, but if Government were aware of the object of the questioner, then such an answer would not have to be given. Unfortunately, however, the questions have to be framed in a manner which is not argumentative; therefore a member cannot express his meaning properly and that is the experience of several members. In this connection I may refer to what happened at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council. One of the questions put by the Hon Mr. Mehta with regard to the music rules was answered in a way which showed clearly that the general object of the question was not properly understood. The same could be said with regard to a question asked by Mr. Khare. I could give several more instances, but it is not necessary. You will find that the present rules framed by the Viceroy are only temporary rules and the experience of two years shows that there is a necessity for further modifying, but not modifying them in the sense that it was rumoured they were to be modified. At one time the rumour was very strong that Government wanted to curtail the privilege, but no such fear need exist and everywhere we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have won the applause of those who look with sympathy on our movement and keenly follow the work in the Legislative Councils carried on by the leaders of our public opinion. Not only has the worthy President quoted to you the opinion of Sir William Hunter and Sir Charles Elliot but I will give another instance—the opinion of our great enemy, the archangel of our enemies—I mean the *Pioneer* of Allahabad—who also had a word of praise to say for us and admitted, when a question was put in the Madras Legislative Council with respect to the conduct of a member of Government, that the answer given was unsatisfactory and that the right which was conferred on the member was highly needed. Such being the case, there is no question now that the right was properly given; it was properly exercised, and everywhere it is shown that the right has not been abused in any way. Our next demand, therefore is that members should be allowed to preface their questions by short explanations of the reasons for them. In this connection, I must tell you that the very idea of putting questions in the Councils is borrowed from the procedure of the House of Commons. There a member puts a question and if the answer is not satisfactory, he is allowed to put other questions by way of explanation, so as to make his meaning more clear. In the House of Lords the practice is a member putting a question is to make a speech after he has put his question to explain his meaning and thereby the object he had in view in putting the question is made clear. The demand we make from this platform is not to be allowed to put question after question, for it is very difficult for Hon. members to go on

questioning Government on the same point and it is difficult for them to give ready and right answers. What we want is that Hon. members should be allowed to send in short prefatory notes to the questions when they submit them before the meeting is held. If that be done, Government would understand the object of the questioner and would be in a position to give proper replies to his questions. And this demand, which was before Government when they framed the act which has conferred this great privilege upon us, is a limited and reasonable one and the granting of it will not only be in the interest of the public but will serve the cause of Government also; for it will stop the unpleasant discussions that take place and it will stop unpleasant remarks being passed on Government as to their not giving satisfactory replies to questions asked. Therefore I urge upon you to pass this resolution which is of a formal character and to simply give your support to the similar resolution which was passed by the Bombay Provincial Conference and ask Government to grant this further right which will be very useful to both the parties concerned. ( Cheers. )

MR. N. V. GOKHALE (Bombay) said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my predecessor has made my work much easier, and I should be quite unwilling, after the warning given by the President, to enter into the details of the question. Further more I feel that owing to indisposition, I am unable to do justice to the subject; therefore, my observations will be few. The late Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, perhaps the greatest statesman modern India has known, observed that the Congress movement was one of the greatest triumphs of the British administration. You will also agree with me in saying that the reform of the Legislative Councils is the soundest triumph of the Congress movement. The most promising and beneficent feature of that reform is the right of interpellation which has been conferred upon the people of India by Parliament. I call it most promising, because I feel that the exercise of that right is fraught with very far-reaching consequences. I also say it is most beneficent, because in a country governed by a secret and irresponsible bureaucracy, no greater, no more powerful instrument can be placed in the hands of the people than the right of interpellation. In our own Presidency, since the Council was re-organised, more than two hundred questions have been asked, and you will find throughout the Presidency that the interpellations have exercised a very desirable effect and that is a circumstance on which we may fairly congratulate ourselves. It is also still more gratifying that an autocratic ruler like Sir Charles Elliot has expressed his satisfaction that the members of Council have exercised the right in a spirit of discrimination and moderation. This is high praise indeed; but it is well deserved and I have no doubt the Congress now here assembled will also express their approbation in an unmistakable manner of the conduct of our representatives in the Legislative Council. The right that has been given us is no doubt powerful for good; but at the same time you find a tendency and a distinct tendency on the part of a bureaucratic Government to cut away that right by methods which I cannot help calling insidious subterfuges and therefore it is proposed in this resolution that Government should be asked to remove the restrictions which surround the exercise of the right and that members should be given an opportunity of explaining the true meaning and scope of the questions which are put by them to Government. The concession we are asking for is in the right direction and Government need not be afraid of any dangers proceeding from a concession of the prayer which is embodied in the resolution. If the prayer were granted, I have not the least doubt that the comfort and happiness of many of our countrymen would be more fully ensured, and that the granting of the prayer would place on a solid and stable foundation the freedom and liberty of many of her Majesty's subjects. ( Cheers. )

Mr. P. S. SIVASWAMY AYYAR (Madras), in supporting the proposition, said :—Mr. President and gentlemen, the arguments in favor of the proposition which I rise to support have been so well put forth by the gentlemen who have preceded me that it is unnecessary for me to do more

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than refer to an incident in the Madras Legislative Council which shows the necessity for this reform. You may remember that at the time when the system of interpellation was about to be introduced, doubts were expressed whether, having regard to the fact that our Legislative Councils can only meet for the transaction of legislative business, sufficient opportunities would be given for the exercise of the privilege. Mr. George Rusell, the then Under-Secretary of State for India, said from his place in Parliament that there would be no difficulty in providing for such opportunities and that arrangements would be made for the necessary facilities. My friend, the Hon. Mr. N. Subba Rao, put a question in the Madras Legislative Council on this subject which he prefaced with a few explanatory remarks. He referred to the promise of the Under-Secretary of State and asked whether, having regard to that promise, the Madras Government would make any, and if so, what arrangements for providing opportunities for interpellation and whether the Government would return from the Hills in August instead of October so as to allow more meetings to be held. The Government of Madras quietly cut out the whole of the explanation and introduction and answered the question in the negative; completely ignoring the promise of the Under-Secretary of State. The question, as it appeared in public, was criticised in the Anglo-Indian Press and my friend was blamed for having put a very absurd question. If the introductory remarks had been allowed to appear with the question, it would not have been possible to criticise it. This incident shows you how necessary it is that this concession which we now ask for should be granted. It may be said that the concession, if granted, would be liable to be abused and that Honorable members would take advantage of it to inflict long speeches on the Council. But the possibility of abuse is no argument against the concession and it is quite easy to devise checks and safeguards by some limitation of time or other means. I have therefore no hesitation in commending the proposition to your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, the eleventh resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour should hold up their hands. (*All, all.*) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution will be moved by Dr. Bahadurji.

Resolution XII.  
The Medical  
Service of the  
Country.

DR. K. N.  
BAHADURJEE.

DR. K. N. BAHADURJEE (Bombay), in submitting the twelfth resolution, said:—Mr. President and brother-delegates, the resolution which has been entrusted to my care runs thus:—

“(a) That this Congress notices with satisfaction that its views in regard to the urgency and lines of reform in regard to the condition of the Civil and Military Medical services of the country are being endorsed in influential Medical and Military circles, and that in the interests of the public, Medical Science and the Profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, this Congress once again affirms (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and another for native troops, worked on identical lines; (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with a due leaning to the utilization of indigenous talent, other things being equal.

(b) This Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require thorough and open inquiry with a view to the redressing of long-standing anomalies and consequent grievances; and the Congress notices with regret that in their recent scheme of reorganisation of the Chemical Analyser's department, the oft-admitted claims of Assistant Chemical Analysers have been apparently overlooked by Government.”

This time, two years ago, I had the privilege to address my educated brethren from all India on this subject at their yearly Convention at Lahore. And it is a matter for sincere congratulation that within this short period the subject, by reason of its importance and urgency, has not only occupied a fair share of public thought, but secured to itself that measure

of interest and sympathy in influential circles, which bids us hope for a speedy adoption of the great reform. It would be idle and foolish to suggest that all that we have said and done to promote the cause we have at heart has been in a spirit of pure opposition or unreasoning hostility to our Government. On the contrary, it has been in a spirit of friendliness and out of regard for the good government of the country that we have pointed out and prayed for the removal of those serious blots in the medical administration of the country, which, besides being prejudicial to the interest of the public and the cause of medical science, do such gross injustice to the real intentions and policy of our Government. For we cannot for a moment imagine that a Government, based on the principle of humanity and righteousness, as the British Government undoubtedly is, would deliberately set to work to rear up its hospitals and medical colleges, and its scientific institutions solely or primarily for the purpose of quartering there supernumerary medical soldiers, or "military medical reserve," as it is fondly called by some. And yet that is exactly the state of things that has worked itself out in regard to the medical administration of the country. And I am not so sure that we ourselves are not to blame to some extent, at any rate, for not having drawn due attention to the root of the whole evil, namely, the anomalous constitution of the military and civil medical services, at its birth, or at least before it grew to such large proportions. May be, there was no Congress then, or that evils at their early beginnings remain unnoticed, because of their small dimensions. I need not once again enter into the details of our subject, which, as you already know, has an important bearing on that mixed and vexing item of military expenditure, and on the cause of medical education and science, the progress of which forms at once the pride and glory of every civilized administration. As you are all aware, the military element played an important part in almost every State department in the early history of our Government. But as time wore on, the various departments shook off their military connection, and began to lead independent lives. Only, unfortunately, the civil medical department of the State has yet to do it, and conform itself to the requirements of the times. Military medical men in the country—and they were then the only available medical men versed in Western medical science—had to be requisitioned in the beginning for the organization of the medical department of the State and the country owes a heavy debt of gratitude to illustrious members of the military Indian Medical Service who helped Government to build up the early beginnings of the various departments of medical relief and science, with devotion to the cause of their science and loyalty to the interests of suffering humanity. The system of obtaining military medical loans for the work of the civil medical department was, no doubt, a necessity in the early times; but whatever its necessity then, with the rapid expansion and development of the various and special branches of the civil medical department, the military loan system ought to have stopped. Why, the military medical department wants for its own work only about half of the number of men that it lends to the civil branch! This very growth of the civil department, let alone its growing needs, pleads for its independent life and recruitment suited to its wants. And here again be it acknowledged to the lasting credit of those great and good members, of the military medical service itself, who, rising superior to all considerations of mere selfish service gains, plainly and boldly said "No," when the question was directly put to them by their leader, who seemed to have more regard for the interest of his service than his science and his profession—whether they would like all medical and scientific appointments to be reserved for members of their service. Unfortunately, however, their voice was not heeded and the anomalous system took birth and grew. And what has this system come to mean in these days? I will not speak to you here in my own words about it, but will speak to you in the words of Mr. Ernest Hart, an eminent authority, who, as you are all aware, has spoken them after he saw things with his own eyes, and made a personal study of the question last year in our country. "The military medical men," says Mr. Hart, "had learnt their work as army surgeons at Netley, but what preparations had they made for the diverse duties which came within the range of the Government medical

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service in India? The Indian medical service man seems to be expected by Government to be fit for any post that may be vacant—he is assumed to be equally fit to be in charge of a lunatic asylum, and, in the capacity of Sanitary Commissioner, to supervise the sanitation of a province, though the chances are that he has had no special training for either post. It is a bizârre and stereotyped system under which men who are trained for work of one kind are put to work of quite another kind, and work their way up by mere seniority, with the result that not only are the responsible sanitary reports no more than mere clerks' work, telling that there was an epidemic at such and such a place, and so many people died of it, but measures of vital importance (I am still quoting Mr. Hart) to the health of the community were either neglected or imperfectly carried out." No wonder, then that he condemns the system as radically wrong, and this is no soft impeachment. Thus then our cry that our present system of civil medical administration, embracing the departments of medical science, and education and sanitation, is not only anomalous but indefensible in principle and mischievous in practice has now come to be recognised as reasonable and well founded. (*Cheers.*) Like all monopolies, the Indian medical service monopoly, whereby every outsider, whatever his ability and qualification, is denied admission to the fields of scientific work and teaching in the hospitals, colleges and laboratories by the mere fact of his not being a surgeon-captain, major, or colonel but only a doctor of medicine, gives absolutely no chance whatever for the growth of an indigenous scientific medical profession in the country. For all our medical students, after the required period of study, and the obtaining of their university degrees, have this most unnatural curse delivered on them as they take leave of their masters. "No room for you, Sirs, here again except perhaps as tutors for a year or so. Don't you ever expect to rise to the positions of your masters, for these positions are all reserved for military men. If, however, you desire to serve your country and your Government, we may take you up as assistant surgeons on a hundred a month rising to two hundred, with a magnificent pension of one hundred after some twenty-five years' service"! (*Laughter.*) And this is the scale of pay and reward to our medical graduates, who are in no way inferior in their qualifications to most of the members of the military service for whom the scale of pay in the civil department is five hundred rising to twenty-five hundred. This injustice and most unaccountable unfairness are not confined to the higher grades only of the medical service, but pervade every stratum thereof. Why, our poor non-Christian civil hospital assistant, who has to pass severer tests both in preliminary and professional studies than are required of his Christian counterpart in the military service, has to rest content with the miserable pittance of Rs. 16 rising to Rs. 80, the Christian apothecary, now decorated with military titles of lieutenant, captain, etc., being the happy and favoured recipient of salaries rising from fifty to seven hundred and fifty. (*Shame.*) Can it be conceived that a Government like ours, so well known for its religious tolerance, could ever deliberately work out such a policy and yet is not this mere difference of colour and creed the whole and the sole ground for such unjust disparity in the treatment of these two classes of public servants? But the unfairness and the want of true appreciation of these two classes of public servants becomes unbearably glaring when one looks at the actual work required of and performed by them. The military apothecary, or the military assistant surgeon, as he is now called, has to do work under his superior officers, while the native hospital assistant is in independent charge of dispensaries, performs surgical and midwifery operations, and post-mortem examinations, and on his evidence rest the medico-legal bearings of cases affecting the life and reputation of his fellow-citizens in the districts. Nay, more, he is really the agent of Government for the awakening of popular appreciation of, and faith in, the blessings of advanced Western medical science. It will be, no doubt, gratifying to you, as it is to me, to learn that Government are beginning to interest themselves in this matter, and it is to be hoped it will not be long before the anomalies are removed and the wrongs redressed. The love for extension of scientific frontiers is not apparently confined

to the combatant military officers. The Government specially created the Uncovenanted medical service as a distinct provision for the encouragement and advancement of non-military medical men of high professional attainments. But the spirit of extension of scientific frontiers soon overtook the Surgeon-General's Department, made it absorb the posts specially indicated for this newly-created service and the service became practically a dead-letter. To say that no fit graduates could be had for appointment to this service would mean no small reflection on the work of the Government medical schools. The ground has been shifted therefore, and it is now advanced that every available place must be given to the Indian medical service men to widen the base of the military reserve and what a farce and shame this military reserve is, was well shown, as remarked by a well-informed military paper, by the Chitral Expedition! Whilst there is free scope for the Uncovenanted service in other departments, whilst graduates in arts, laws and engineering may rise to the highest positions in the service of the State, the Indian medical service monopoly denies similar opportunities to members of the medical faculty, even in the Presidency towns, and positions for special work. What would one say to our law courts, our arts and engineering colleges, if public appointments in these faculties were scheduled as a reserve for military officers? But the present system has given dissatisfaction not only to the public and members of the profession outside the military service, but also to the military members of the service itself. And it is strongly urged in well-informed and influential military circles that the present system encourages the placing of civilians in administrative military posts for which they are ill-fitted, in the same way that their military brethren are misplaced in civil appointments. The "*Army and Navy Gazette*" most emphatically declares that the present organisation of the Indian medical service is utterly indefensible from a military standpoint. And it is but our duty to acknowledge that the influential "*Army and Navy Gazette*" deserves well of our country and our Government for the attention it has been giving for the past many months to the subject of medical reform in India, and for its praiseworthy effort in helping the British public authorities to a correct study and decision of the subject. The emphatic pronouncement of the "*Gazette*," I have just quoted to you, is to be found in its review of a projected movement on our part to which I shall allude presently. Let me now briefly state the remedy that we suggest for the admitted evils of the existing system—(a) Separate the civil medical service, and give it a distinct organisation independent of the military service, recruiting it from the open profession of medicine on the principle of special merit and training and giving every fair opportunity for the utilisation and development of indigenous talent; (b) let there be one military medical service with two branches, one for the European and the other for Indian troops with the station hospital system applied to both, effecting thereby the same measure of efficiency and economy in the administration of the Native army that has been experienced in the European branch; and (c) enquire into the condition of the subordinate service by a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials, with a view to reorganise it in keeping with sister services in other departments. That such a reform means great efficiency is evident enough. That it will lead to large economies is also easy to understand. Why, the mere substitution of the station hospitals for the regimental system, whereby the extra unnecessary hospital and dispensary establishment and requisites will be done away with, will effect the large saving of several lakhs that it did in the administration of the European army branch. It is quite an error to suppose that the present arrangement of military loans for civil works means cheapness. It is by no means the case, as is supposed, that the military man does duty in both the military and civil departments; both the departments have exclusive staffs of their own. The civil department is not only saddled with recurrent military charges on account of its military loans, but has to pay in actual salary more than is paid to civilians for similar work: for instance, the medical college professors cost about a-third more than those of sister institutions—not only so, the salary is the salary not of the professor but of the military officer according to his rank; it may be seven hundred to

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sixteen hundred according as an officer is a captain or major or lieutenant-colonel. Taking a general average of the scale of sister services, one finds that the civil medical department, if manned by civilians, will cost some eight or ten lakhs less than it does at present. This saving, added to that effected by the introduction of the station hospital system in the Native army, would be a saving not to be despised. No doubt, vested interests will make a hard fight, but all the same the cause of reform must win. At first the cry for reform was drowned with the chorus of "whatever is, is right." But it was not long before it caused uneasiness in the enemy's camp and forced them to an admission of the justice of our demands, which, they think, could not be granted because of that phantom of the military reserve. They held a Congress and invited Mr. Hart to witness their achievements. Mr. Hart came and said some nice things at the Congress; but that only so long as he was their guest and drank their wine and ate their dinner, so goes the shriek of the disappointed hosts. For lo! as soon as he left their hospitable roof, *i. e.*, so soon as he began to move about and see things and think for himself, he gave utterances to those serious words that I have already cited, and here goes another shriek at poor Mr. Hart for his great crime of venturing to say the truth about his hosts, and this shriek was heard at the last St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta. (*Shame.*) "Who is there amongst us (*Cries the voice of a surgeon-lieutenant-colonel*), who does not feel the blood of covenanters tingling in his veins? For all shams, whether they be the pseudo-philanthropy of Manchester and Dundee, or the blatant conceit, the ill-informed and unjust, and slanderous aspersions of Mr. Ernest Hart, we have the stool of Jenny Geddes; and by St. Andrew we will use it." (*Laughter.*) But such shrieks will not avail much. Our prayer has now the sympathy and active support of many independent and influential members of the military service, who are above mere service considerations, of such influential and powerful military organs as the "*Army and Navy Gazette*" and the "*Broad Arrow*," of almost the entire press of this country, of many professional journals, of independent and influential members of the profession in Great Britain like Mr. Hart, and it now remains with us to redouble our efforts and make a united representation from the people and the profession in India to the powers that be both in England and India. It is proposed to give evidence before Lord Welby's Commission, and it may be mentioned that the subject of our reform which falls within the scope of their inquiry may be taken up somewhere about next May, as I learn from well-informed sources. Soon public meetings are to be held all over the country to make a united prayer for the reform. Active steps are now being taken to further the object, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the movement will be cordially and substantially supported by our people and sympathetically met by the Government both in England and India, for remember that it is the very essence of the reform not only to relieve the people of India of a financial burden, and the Government of financial embarrassment, but to give the people of this country the fullest blessings of Western medical science, to rear medical science for its own sake, and raise a learned profession in the country, and thereby advance India in the scale of civilization and further glorify British rule in the East. (*Loud Cheers.*)

The HON'BLE MR.  
B. G. TILAK.

The HON. MR. B. G. TILAK (Poona) seconded the resolution in Marathi.

MR. VENKAT  
RANGAYA CHETTY

MR. VENKAT RANGAYA CHETTY (Madras) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I feel that in being preceded by Dr. Bahadurji, I have been placed in a position of great disadvantage. Dr. Bahadurji, as we all knew, is an expert and an authority on questions such as those to which the present resolution relates, and in the most eloquent language possible he has placed facts and figures before you to which it is impossible for any one to add. But on the other hand I also feel that it is his eloquence and his knowledge of these matters that come to my assistance. I feel that like myself most of you must have been carried away from facts by his eloquence and it seems to me that I can place these before you in a

simple yet at the same time telling manner in order to indicate the great urgency of the questions which are deserving of consideration at the hands of the authorities. It is a matter of congratulation that we are to-day able to note with satisfaction that the views, expressed on this platform in previous years by men like Dr. Bahadurjee with regard to the urgency of reform in the Indian Medical Service, have been of use. By way of illustration, no better instance can be placed before you than the opinion expressed by Mr. Ernest Hart, a man greater than whom, on Indian Medical questions, does not exist; and then let me proceed to place these facts before you in what may be termed a tabular form. I may state that the Indian Medical Service may be divided into two grades or classes, namely the higher and the lower, the higher duties being sub-divisible into two classes, the first being recruited in England and the other in India. You will observe that the men chosen for the service from England draw salaries rising from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2500 and enjoy pensions proportionate to that scale. Whereas those who are enlisted in India begin with Rs. 100 and do not rise beyond a few hundreds. That by itself is enough to indicate how differently those enlisted in England for service are treated from those who are enlisted in India. Then with respect to the qualifications of these men, we find a similar difference and that is that whereas the men beginning with Rs. 500 and rising to Rs. 2500 need not pass any examination at all, if only they can go to England and qualify themselves. Those in India must at least be matriculates. Then with regard to the lower service, a similar distinction exists, a distinction which I regret to find appears to have been based upon a difference of religion. It would seem that to the first grade of that service persons professing the Christian Religion can rise from Rs. 50 to Rs. 450 and they are called Assistant Surgeons, whereas the hospital assistants, to which men of other creeds and religions belong, can only rise from a paltry Rs. 16 to a paltry Rs. 80, although it is considered that in the matter of service rendered by either class there is absolutely no difference except perhaps that the balance is in favour of the hospital assistants who are placed in charge of hospitals and dispensaries on a very large scale. As my time is up, I conclude by seconding this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

DR. NILRATTAN SARKAR (Bengal) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution before you embodies two important principles and one of them has been emphatically recognised by Government in their dispatches but only to be more honoured in the breach than the observance. Although the claims of the children of the soil or what has been properly described in the resolution as “indigenous talent” have been recognised repeatedly by Government, yet up to this time they have not in any way been realised. In no branch of the Public Service have Government, in their attempt to exclude the indigenous element, compromised inefficiency of the service so greatly as in the Covenanted Medical Service here. They have recruited from England men of the most indifferent character so far as their qualifications go and yet they are entrusted with the highest duties in the land both in the Civil and in the Military departments. But though our claims have been overlooked, though the children of the soil have been wronged by this system, still their wrongs have reflected to a great extent upon those who have perpetrated them, for in the Medical Service itself you certainly do not find a large number of persons noted for their special talents. The Government have created a service whose strong fortifications are impregnable alike to indigenous talent and worth abroad. They have forgotten that in this way they could not very well further the cause of Medical study and Medical knowledge. In these days for varied knowledge, varied and deep and sound study is required and I should say that the single branch of medicine in these days requires a study so wide and so deep that even one’s lifetime is all too short for it. In this service, gentlemen, every one is supposed to be fit for any and every post and I may here perhaps be allowed to mention an instance that occurred two years ago in Calcutta. The Chair of Medicine in the Calcutta Medical College fell vacant, and the

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present incumbent, whose service had been in the physiological laboratory, was put in as Professor of Medicine, but his distinctions in the hospital as a physician yet remain to be known to the world. I suppose next time when the Chair of Physiology becomes vacant, they will propose to put in a physician to make up for the loss caused to physiology by the appointment of the eminent doctor to whom I have referred, to the chair of Medicine. But may I ask why do these gentlemen of the Military service enjoy this monopoly? What, may I ask, is there in common between Military medicine and Civil medicine so that the training in one would necessarily lead to fitness in the other? The military doctor has to look to hygiene in the Cantonments and attend to a certain number of medical and surgical cases, mostly in which the male subjects are concerned; but the duties of the civil doctor are of a more varied character and cover a wider field altogether. I may here observe that the scientific side of medicine can only grow in a prolonged and pure culture, in a calm and serene atmosphere, far away from the dust and din of war and other disturbing influences. So no wonder that by this time we have not found a single bacteriologist in the ranks of the Military Medical Service of this country. I do not like to enter into details but I may just say that the Military Surgeon, simply an account of the fact that he is an accomplished doctor in his own particular line of the profession, cannot make the very best or even a good Civil Doctor. Why then unite the two services together? To do so is to inflict a gross injustice upon the civil portion of the population of this country. Suppose, gentlemen, you are placed under Cantonment officers as your judges and magistrates, would you like the position? I think not. Yet, gentlemen, remember that in Bengal, out of forty-five appointments not more than half a dozen are held by men of the Civil Medical Service, all the remainder being held by men of the Military Medical Service. (*Cheers.*)

DR. B. K.  
BHATAVADEKAR.

DR. BHALCHANDRA K. BHATAVADEKAR (Bombay) said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition which has been so eloquently placed before you by my esteemed friends Dr. Bahadurjee and the Hon'ble Mr. Tilak and supported very ably from Madras and Calcutta leaves me very little indeed to say and lightens my task to a very considerable extent, especially as you know the sword of Damocles—the President's gong—is hanging over my head (*Laughter.*) I will therefore not take up much of your time. The question lies in a nut-shell and it has been very properly explained to you from all points of view, while it has been on the Congress platform during the last two years at Lahore and Madras and also on the Provincial Conference platform. Therefore it having been to a great extent popularised I will not at this late hour take up the time of the Congress by going into details. I entirely endorse what has been said regarding the disparity between the Military Service and the lower Medical Service, the disparity of pay of appointments between Brigade Surgeons and poor Assistant Surgeons and the disparity observed between the heaven-born service and the poor service of India. The learned President in his address very rightly alluded to one fact, that is that it is not necessary that we should say a word against the Military Service. I personally do not want to say a word against it, for that service has done a good deal of good in India. In the past the exigencies of the service required that these men should have been drafted from the military to the civil branches; but the times are changed. It is now fifty years since Medical education has been going on here and just as we have been crying ourselves hoarse for Simultaneous Examinations, so must we try our best with regard to the medical service which stands on the same footing as the other branches of the service. There were men in the service like Sir Charles Moore, Sir William Hunter and Dr. Carter (*Cheers.*) whose paternal love, whose noble love and sympathy will never be forgotten, but they are no longer here. Now it is all jealousy and persecution—(*Cries of shame.*)—and who do you think has been the victim of this jealousy and persecution? No less a person than my distinguished friend Dr. Bahadurjee. And what was his fault? Simply because a liberal and generous-minded Governor appointed him to a Chair in the Grant Medical College, and simply because he had the audacity to enter into the privileged circle, he

has had to suffer this persecution. Is it right that we should allow such a thing to happen ! There is one point more which has not been alluded to by the previous speakers and that is with regard to the Chemical Analyser's Branch. We have in this Medical department military men who are able at one moment to go from one chair to another like birds from one twig to another. (*Cheers.*) One moment they are professors of physiology, the next professors of medical jurisprudence and at another they are able to conduct a most responsible chemical analysis. The result is that when the Chemical Analyser goes on leave, one of these gentlemen is called in to act for him, and the Assistant Analyser, who could do the work to the entire satisfaction of Government, is left in the cold, because he is a mere Assistant Surgeon (*Shame*). All of you know that my distinguished friend, Dr. Deshmookh, M. D. of the Bombay University, was so dealt with by Government. When Dr. Barry was going on leave, he applied for the acting post but the Surgeon-General wrote to say he was ineligible because he was not a scheduled officer, although there had been exceptions made and acting appointments given to non-scheduled people. Representations were made to the Government of India and three or four months ago the latter issued a resolution stating that men in the Army Medical Service should be trained at a laboratory—the Calcutta laboratory—I think for six months and after that training they would be eligible for appointment as Chemical Analysers in any part of India. But still a man like Dr. Deshmookh, who had performed the duties of Analyser for thirteen years to the satisfaction of Government, was not considered eligible, because he lacked this six months training, other men who had received that training being considered eligible because they belonged to the Army Medical Service. (*Shame.*) I say it is high time that we should move in this matter. There is already in Bombay a movement called "The Medical Reform Movement," and it is thought necessary by the supporters of that movement that a delegate should be sent to England to educate public opinion there on these matters. The battle must be fought there just as in the case of other questions. And with the assistance of the British Congress Committee, it is intended to send a delegate to England and in all human probability the choice will fall on my distinguished friend, Dr. Bahadurjee. (*Cheers.*) Now I appeal to my brother-delegates from Bengal, from Madras, from the Punjab and from all the other parts of India and last but not least from this Presidency of Bombay, in the name of humanity and justice, to rouse up public opinion, to put their shoulders to the wheel and assist us in this cause of Medical reform. I am sure all the gentlemen here will carry this message from their Congress to their fellow-countrymen and rouse their enthusiasm in this cause and with this united effort we shall be able to entirely win the battle. I will not further trespass on your time ; so with these few observations, I shall commend this resolution to your acceptance and I trust you will carry it with acclamation. (*Loud Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—The twelfth resolution has been duly proposed, seconded, and supported. Let all those who are in favour hold up their hands (*Voices, All. All.*) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution will be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Subha Row.

THE HON. MR. SUBHA ROW ( Madras ) next proposed the thirteenth resolution in the following terms :—

" That this Congress, while fully sympathising with any genuine effort which the Government may make for the suppression of law-touts, views with grave alarm those provisions of the Bill to amend the Legal Practitioner's Act, now pending the consideration of the Supreme Legislative Council, which propose to invest District Judges and Revenue Commissioners with the power of dismissing legal

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practitioners, and in cases coming under the Act to throw the entire burden of proving their innocence upon the latter, and this Congress, being of opinion that the provisions of the Bill are calculated to prejudicially affect the independence of the Bar and to lower the position of legal practitioners in the eyes of the public without in any way helping to suppress law-touts or to further the ends of justice, urges that it should be dropped."

MR. SUBHA ROW said :—The serious changes indicated in the resolution are contained in a short Bill containing four sections, I may say practically two. I wish I could say it were as sweet and acceptable as it is short. But, unfortunately, gentlemen, it is a bitter and an obnoxious measure striking at the root of the independence and prestige of the bar and seriously affecting the lives and liberties, and the rights of property of the public. According to the Statement of Objects and Reasons, the Bill is introduced in the name of the best interests of the public, and, according to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Bill is necessary to protect "the great mass of helpless and ignorant people." If so, provisions such as are contained in the Bill must and will surely be made for all branches of the profession not covered by this Bill in their own interests and in the interests of the public. Let us, therefore, carefully consider how far the Bill protects and promotes the best interests of the public and the profession. The professed object of the Bill is to put down law-touting. It proposes to attain this object by two simple remedies. One is subversive of ordinary rules of evidence and procedure. It is that evidence of general repute should be admissible to prove that a person is an habitual *dalal* or law-tout, and "to make the law the more efficacious," in the words of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill, it is provided that the burden should lie on the practitioner to show that he was not aware that the person from whom he took the engagement is not a *dalal* or tout. In other words, he is called on to prove a negative as to his state of mind when he accepts an engagement. Is it not, gentlemen, an irony of fate for a practitioner, whose duty it is to protest against the reception of hearsay evidence, that in his own case evidence of rumour should be held admissible? (*Cheers.*) Is it not an irony of fate that he, who demands that a person should be held to be innocent until his guilt is clearly and unmistakably established by evidence, should in his own case be presumed to be guilty without any evidence whatsoever that he knew that he was dealing with a *dalal*? Is it not an irony of fate that he who pleads on behalf of others that they ought to be given the benefit of doubt should in his own case be denied that ordinary canon of justice and should be told that there is no doubt whatever in his case unless his innocence is conclusively proved? As regards this strange way of trying to put down law-touting, comments are needless. I can only say that if this provision becomes law, practitioners will be at the mercy of unscrupulous persons. The other proposal is, in my opinion, much more serious and disastrous in its consequences. It is to take away the immediate jurisdiction of the High Court over practitioners and invest District Judges and Commissioners of Divisions with powers of dismissing them. What is the reason, gentlemen, assigned for placing practitioners directly under District Judges and Commissioners of Divisions and making the High Court an Appellate authority? Sir Alexander Miller, in moving for leave to introduce the Bill, said—(Here are his own words.) "The Government of India have come to the conclusion that it is worth while to try whether the practice (of touting) cannot be restrained, if it cannot be altogether abolished, by increasing the powers of the High Court and by giving power to District and Sessions Judges and Commissioners of Divisions to suspend or dismiss pleaders or revenue agents who are guilty of giving commissions to or taking business through the agency of these touts subject to an appeal to the High Court." What are the increased powers given by this Bill to the High Court? I have read the Bill carefully. I have not been able to find out the increased powers given to the High Court. I do not know, gentlemen, if it can be considered that giving the High Court an appellate jurisdiction is "increasing the powers of the High Court." I do not know, gentlemen, if it can be considered that the greater

number of cases, that might be taken up under the proposed law to the High Court, can be taken as increasing the powers of the High Court. Whatever that may be, it is clear that according to the Law, the practice of touting can be better restrained by District Judges and Commissioners of Divisions rather than by the High Court. I cannot understand how the High Court is enabled, to repress the practice when cases are reported by District Judges. Why should District Judges be preferred to the Judges of the High Court, which is the authority that admits members to the bar, and which ought to be the authority that should dismiss them? I am afraid District Judges will not thank Government for this preference in a matter of judicial fairness and judicial discrimination. I am afraid it will not be appreciated as a high compliment. Last year, at Madras, the Congress adopted a resolution that the present recruitment to the office of District Judges is not satisfactory, and it ought to be placed on a better footing. Assuming that District Judges are excellent officers in every way, surely they ought not to be the arbiters of the fate of persons, who daily come in contact with them, and who have to maintain an attitude of absolute independence towards them. Gentlemen, in this place I cannot go into the different aspects of the question. But I must say that if this Bill becomes law, the bar would be placed practically at the mercy of the Bench. This Bill strikes at the root of the independence of the bar, lowers its prestige, impairs its usefulness, and tends to destroy the security of the public in the protection of their property, their liberty, and their lives. The bar will be thrown back to the position it occupied several years back. During these several years, it has steadily grown, and has come to take its place as a real aid to judicial administration. Members of the bar have taken their place as leaders, to some extent, of public opinion, as centres, to some extent, of public spirit, and as interpreters, to some extent, between the rulers and the ruled. (*Cheers.*) I am afraid that the far reaching consequences of this proposed legislation have not been duly considered. The bar and the bench are indissolubly connected together. If you strike at the independence of the bar, you strike at the independence of the bench. The bench in its lower ranks is largely recruited from the bar, and this recruitment has been admitted to have raised the tone and the integrity of the bench. If you strike at the bar, gentlemen, you practically strike at the security of the public in their property and in their lives. In the name of the mass of ignorant and helpless people invoked by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, I say this Bill has fallen like a thunderbolt upon the country; and we say that this Bill is entirely retrograde in its character, and pray that it may be dropped. (*Cheers.*)

RAY JYOTINDRA NATH CHOUDHRY (Bengal) said:—Mr. President, Indies and gentlemen, the resolution which was so ably moved by my predecessor needs scarcely any words from me to commend it to your acceptance. As the natives of India are more concerned with this Bill, they should feel some interest in it, for it is a learned profession which is directly affected by it. I say this for two reasons, because in our courts the pleaders are the mouth-piece of the people; therefore if their independence is curtailed, they will not have the liberty they now enjoy to press our cases with that freedom which is essentially necessary; and at the same time I think the independence of the Bar is indissolubly connected with the best interests of this country. This resolution divides itself into three parts and I shall say a few words on each of these three heads. First, this Bill vests the power to disbar a legal practitioner in the District and Sessions Judges and Revenue Commissioners. Those who know the history of the Legal Practitioners' Act in this country will know that in 1852 Act VIII or XX was passed by which the lower Courts were invested with the power to disbar legal practitioners. We further know that it was attended with disastrous consequences, and I do not see why we should return to that state of things by passing this mischievous Bill. Therefore we should all most strongly protest against it. And I should go even further: this Bill is going to deprive the legal practitioners of their vested interest, because in 1793 by regulation 7 of that order it was enacted that

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the *Sadar ud Dowlat* alone should deal with the legal practitioners, and upto now—with the exception of the years 1852-1865—they have enjoyed this right and I do not see why they should be deprived of it now without any reason being assigned. As regards the burden of proof being thrown on the accused legal practitioners, I think it is a very monstrous doctrine of jurisprudence. But it will be insulting your intelligence if I go on to prove that this Bill is utterly bad and mischievous. The Lower Court Judges and Magistrates are not the men who can deal with the legal practitioners with that fairness which can be expected from the High Court. I shall give you two or three instances of this. One is that of a Judge hailing from the District of Barisal, who disbarred five or six Indian practitioners simply for the reason that they differed from him in certain Municipal matters. And perhaps some of you have read that one Mr. Anstey in the District of Purnhia thought fit to call on all the members of that Bar to show cause why they should not be disbarred simply because he did not wish legal practitioners to cross-examine witnesses on the side of the prosecution, and he did not even allow seats to be provided for the legal practitioners. For this reason and especially for the reason that the pleaders could not be of any service to their clients because they did not appear to cross-examine witnesses on behalf of the prosecution,—for this reason—this ornament of a Magistrate thought fit to call upon all the legal practitioners to show cause why they should not be disbarred for “uniting against him.” What that means I do not know; but I am sure of one thing and that is that we should protest most strongly against this most iniquitous Bill. Before I conclude I would also request the delegates from other parts of the country to remember that as we in Bengal have our provincial meetings of all the members of the Bar of all Districts, they should all unanimously, when they go home—if they have not already done so—they should call a meeting of all the members of the Bar in their district and send their united protest to the Legislature. With these words I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution. (*Cheers.*)

MR. M. V. JOSHI.

MR. M. V. JOSHI (Berar) said:—Mr. President and brother-delegates, I need not remind you that this may be called a “lawyers’ proposition” and it is only proper that lawyers should deal with it on the Congress platform. I think I should be removing a certain misapprehension, if I were to tell you that, under the new law, the powers of the High Court have been made more specific in two instances. It is not quite accurate to say that the powers of the High Court have not been increased; the powers have been made specific in two instances. But you will find the measures here entirely inadequate to meet the professed object of this piece of legislation, and I will shortly tell you how. The object of this Bill is to suppress the touts, but do you find a single word in this Bill that has any reference to the suppression of touts? The result of this Bill will be the suppression of the pleaders and not touts against whom the Bill is intended. (*Applause.*) In what manner does it suppress the pleaders and not the touts? You will see in the provisions of the Bill that whereas a pleader is liable to a penalty for tendering and giving commission, there is not a word said against a tout. I think you will admit that that is rather a curious state of things. The second point of the Bill relates to pleaders and it affects seriously the independence of the whole class of pleaders. I do not think there will be two opinions as to this. I would here ask you to remember that the lawyers form a very important part of this assembly, and it is as much to their interest as yours to secure their independence and, along with it, your own. The second part of the Bill affects their independence in this way, that whereas the High Court and the High Court alone has the power at present to deal with or disbar a pleader, acting, if they like, on the recommendation of a District Judge, this Bill empowers District Judges to dismiss or cancel our sanads at their pleasure, leaving us simply the right to appeal! This reminds me of a curious story relating to an unsuccessful litigant, who was told by the presiding Judge, when he asked for the result of his case, that it had been decided in such a manner as to give him the right to appeal. (*Laughter.*) We

have got the right to appeal, but there is a great distinction between a secret recommendation that is made to the High Court and a final verdict come to by a Judge, the presumption being necessarily in favour of the latter. This will indeed be a halter round our necks and will not leave us our present independence. Do you want your independence to be kept intact as it is or do you wish the authorities to take away the very foundation of your independence, and indirectly that of the Congress itself? I will not take up your time any further but will ask you to carry unanimously this proposition for the reasons that have been suggested and explained by me. ( Cheers. )

MR. MUNSHI MAHADEV LAL ( Benares ) said :—Mr. President and brother-delegates, I have been asked to support this resolution for some particular reason, as I understand, and I cannot but confess that the decision of the President is right. I am a big suitor and I have been in this law profession for many years. I have been presiding over courts too, and therefore, I think, I have some claim to be heard on this point. As a suitor I should say that any curtailment of the independence or any encroachment on the independence of the legal profession is an encroachment on the public liberty, for if you curtail the liberty of the pleader you curtail the liberty of the client. As a legal practitioner—for I have been six years at the Bar—I should say I have never been injured by this touting, which it is now sought to suppress. Of course in the legal as well as all other professions, there are some members who do not do credit to their profession, but that is no reason why you should take steps to destroy the independence of the whole of the members of that profession. As a presiding judge I do not think there is any reason to think that this touting has ever interfered in the matter of bringing out the truth in a case. And these are the things to which you must look with respect to this legislation. It was in 1792 that a regulation was passed to give a status to the legal profession, and in the preamble, as far as I remember, it was stated that the object of the measure was to give a legal status to the practitioners, because they practised their profession with liberty and they should not be dismissed except by the highest authority in the land. In those days it was the *Sudder Court* which had that power and then afterwards it was transferred to the High Court, where the power still remains. Now what is proposed? That important function which was entrusted to the highest tribunal in the land is to be entrusted to a single man—a Judge or Commissioner. Even though that power rested with the High Court, it could not be exercised by the Court as represented by a single Judge. When a case was sent up to the High Court at Allahabad, generally three Judges used to sit to take it up, any way never less than two. I cannot possibly see why a pleader's fate should be in the hands of a single Judge or Commissioner, for according to constitutional principles, the right of dismissal is connected with the right of appointment. Pleaders are appointed by the High Court and no one but the High Court should have the power to dismiss them. It is before the Commissioners and Judges that these legal practitioners practise in the original courts, and they should have their interests well guarded. They have the original business before them; there the foundation of the case is laid, there the witnesses are examined, and it is there their liberty should be guarded. They have often to contend with a Judge simply to put their case on a proper footing, but if you put them at the mercy of these Judges and Commissioners, they will have a fear and will not be able to discharge their duties with that independence which is so necessary for the interest of their profession. ( Cheers. )

BABU CHATTERJEE ( Bengal ) said :—Mr. President and brother-delegates, you have heard what has been said by the speakers who have preceded me, and doubtless many of you have read the discussion regarding the provisions of this Bill which was held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, where the subject was discussed threadbare, so it is only necessary for me to say a

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Resolution XIII,  
Suppression of  
Law-touts.

MR. M. V. JOSHI.

MR. MUNSHI  
MAHADEV LAL.

BABU  
CHATTERJEE.



Third Day.

Resolution XIII.  
Suppression of  
Law-touts.

BABU  
CHATTERJEE.

told you that even in England, the Judges of the superior courts do not possess this power of disbarring barristers practising before them. Hitherto the High Court of Calcutta possessed it, but now that power is to be taken away from them and District Judges and Revenue Commissioners are to be invested with it. Now I ask you whether that is a thing that should be done in this country. The Bar is one of the professions in which we generally want independence of action and if that is to be curtailed it will prejudicially affect the interests of a respectable class of persons to whom the public of the country look to get most of their grievances redressed. Therefore I say this Bill is fraught with immense mischief to this country. There is one word more I have to say and that is with regard to the question of onus. The onus is to be thrown upon the legal practitioner who is to be required to prove his own innocence. He is required to prove not only that a certain person is not a tout, but he also has to prove his own want of knowledge. He has to prove that he did not know a certain person from whom he got a case, to be a tout. This is asking him to prove an impossibility, for he cannot adduce any evidence except his own statement to that effect. If his statement is to be believed, then the Bill will be quite a nullity. With these words I leave the resolution in your hands and ask you to pass it. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, the thirteenth Resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour of it should now hold up their hands. (*Cries of All-All.*) Those who are against it—(*Cries of None, None.*) Gentlemen, the resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—Mr. N. M. Samarth will move the next resolution.

Resolution XIV.  
Fixity on Tenure  
of Land.

MR. N. M.  
SAMARTH.

MR. N. M. SAMARTH (Bombay) then proposed the fourteenth Resolution which was as follows :—

“ That this Congress expresses its firm conviction that in the interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that there should be greater fixity in the tenure on which land is held in the temporarily settled districts than exists at present, and that Government should impose on its own action restrictions against enhancement of assessment similar to those which it has deemed necessary in the interests of tenants to impose upon the rights of private landlords in permanently settled estates.”

He said :—Gentlemen, it has been the fashion in certain quarters to signalise the advent of a new year by blaspheming us as a set of discontented place-hunters and by denouncing this National Congress as a movement started by us not in the interests of the people but for satisfying our own narrow-minded and selfish ends. (*Shame.*) Yes, it is doubtless shameful to villify in that way a movement which focusses the thought and intelligence of this vast peninsula and which is animated by the most laudable desire of minimizing the evils of a foreign sway by harmonising it with the legitimate aspirations of the enlightened public and by so shaping it as to make it a source of genuine contentment and happiness to the people at large. (*Cheers.*) But let us take pity on our demented critics. I only alluded to their new year's greetings to show that this Resolution which I have placed before you for your acceptance and which relates to the well-being of our agriculturist countrymen, who form the back-bone of the empire,—that this Resolution gives a direct lie to that malicious charge. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, this land question is assuming a disheartening aspect from day to day. Except in Bengal, where our countrymen are more fortunately circumstanced on account of the wise land policy adopted there, the cry all over is, exhaustion of the soil and exhaustion of the tillers of the soil. Cast your glance where you may, outside the limits of town, of course, and you see spread over a vast agricultural area the sable shroud of poverty, indebtedness, destitution and despair. Peace by

itself is a blessing, no doubt. But peace with increasing poverty is, I should think, a curse and a danger. (*Cheers.*) The more one dives beneath the surface and compares and contrasts the present condition of the peasantry with what it was under previous regimes, the more is one convinced that a thoughtful and an unprejudiced critic has reason to use rose-colour in his description of the blessings of British rule rather sparingly. This view, gentlemen, is questioned in high and influential quarters, and judging from the viceregal utterance in this city a few weeks ago, it appears that it will soon be authoritatively contested. We are asked, gentlemen, to look forward one of these days to a telling feat of intellectual gymnastics. It seems that the exactions of previous rulers from the land-holding classes are to be placed side by side and shown how fat they were, and it is further to be shown that the present assessment is so well-balanced and of so light a make that it surpasses these with a somersault. (*Laughter.*) Now, gentlemen, don't be deluded by such a performance. For, whether you take the money-valuation of land-revenue taken by each Government as your basis of comparison, or whether you proceed upon the share of the produce taken by each as our basis, the test by itself is essentially incomplete and inconclusive. And for this reason, that if the pressure of the present assessment upon the land-holding classes is to be rightly judged, the bearing, among other things, of the salt tax, of the forest restrictions, and of some of the local cesses upon the supply of manure, cattle, food and fuel, that is to say, upon the necessaries of life and the requirements of agriculture, has to be carefully analysed. As I pointed out at the Bombay Provincial Conference a few months ago, the cost of cultivation, the fertility of the soil, the cost of living, the incidence and repercussion of the different taxes as far as they affected the land-holding classes, as also the system of fluctuating assessment which prevailed under previous rulers but which has now been supplanted by an unvarying one,—all these and various other factors have to be taken into account to enable one to come to an approximately correct conclusion on the comparative condition of the peasantry under the present and the past regimes. And so far as the Deccan, at any rate, is concerned, you have further to bear in mind, gentlemen, that the peasants of this part of the country were also the soldiers of the Maratha army, who supplemented the income they derived from their land by the gains of their military excursions far and wide, so that to them the assessment to which they were subjected was a mere flea-bite. (*Cheers.*) When thus viewed, and that is the right way to analyse the situation, the case against the Government's contention that the peasantry is happier to-day than it was under former rulers will appear plain enough. This prosperity of the peasantry, gentlemen, we always read of in the reports of settlement officers, but is seldom corroborated by the direct testimony of our eye-sight. And the reason is not far to seek. I pointed out in detail at the last Provincial Conference of our Presidency that the tests they apply to ascertain the material advance of the cultivating classes are altogether empirical, and that is why we often-times see the advocates of the Bombay Land Revenue System land themselves into a quandary. I will give you an instance. Some of you, gentlemen, may be knowing, at any rate, my Bengali countrymen may be remembering that during the debate on the Bengal Tenancy Bill in the Supreme Council, the late Mr. Kristodas Pal (*Cheers.*) commented strongly on the oppressive character of the Bombay Revenue System which he said accounted for the appalling severity of the famine of 1877. Well, that was a crushing piece of criticism and it sent the advocate of the Bombay system in the Supreme Council into paroxysms of indignation, as is natural on such occasions, and as happened recently on a larger scale, when the dragon of officialdom stretched his folded tail and shook it with fury at the advent of the new spirit, so foreign to his nature and so fatal to his imperious sway. (*Cheers.*) Well, the speech of the Hon. Kristodas Pal provoked a counterblast from a Bombay civilian in the Council, I believe, the Hon'ble Mr. Hope. And he said in defence that taking even the districts to which the Deccan Agriculturist's Relief Act applied, it would be easy for him to show that these very districts had largely increased in population,

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cattle, cultivated land and such other substantial signs of wealth. Mark, gentlemen, the humour of the argument, or rather of the assertion. Why? It comes to this, that he would prove that the holder of the field over there, half-clad, half-fed and bent double beneath the weight of a hopelessly heavy debt, so hopeless indeed that the authorities thought it incumbent upon them to give him relief against it by special legislation—well, he would prove to the hilt that that man there was in point of fact getting richer from day to day. (*Laughter.*) This puts me, gentlemen, in mind of a civilian of whom I read the other day in a quaint little book. My Punjabi brother-delegates, it might interest you to know that he hails from your province. Well, this estimable civilian has such a horror of natives going near him and had such a keen sense of smelling that he declared in all seriousness that he could detect the cofferish smell of the colouring matter in their skins the moment they entered his room. Unfortunately, gentlemen, it is not given to you or me to detect the smell of the substance with which our Anglo-Indian administrators are electroplated. (*Laughter.*) But my point is that as this civilian had a superhumanly sensitive pair of nostrils, some of our settlement officers and the advocates of the Bombay system have a penetrating vision denied to us ordinary mortals. The agricultural prosperity they speak of in their Reports is, in a large number of cases, all moonshine. We have it on the authority of the Famine Commissioners that about one-third of the land-holding classes are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are indebted, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves. Further, we have it on the authority of the Report of the Ryots Commission of 1875 that agricultural indebtedness in the Bombay Presidency is traceable, among other causes, to the Bombay Land-Revenue System itself. (*The President sounds the gong.*) As I have scarcely time at my disposal, gentlemen, to elaborate my argument, I shall content myself with placing before you certain facts, some of which are so broad that he who runs may read them. If they are kept in view, the statistical witchery of those, who advocate increase of assessment on the ground that the agriculturists are prospering, vanishes into thin air. The facts are:—(1) the unchecked growth of population; (2) the disinclination on the part of cultivators to migrate to other districts, however congested their own districts may be; (3) their chronic condition of indebtedness; (4) the increasing exhaustion of the soil; (5) the want of capital in the hands of the land-holding classes to replenish their depleted fields; (6) the lack of enterprise and of initiative power in the peasantry, as also their ignorance, as also their improvidence, which, by the way, they have in common with their rulers; (*Laughter.*) (7) the inflexibility of the revenue demand; (8) the figures of crime, which show a large increase in all seasons of scarcity, showing thereby how small really is the margin of surplus profit left in the hands of the cultivator even in favourable seasons; (9) the sad tale revealed by the statistics of the Registration Department, namely, the large number of transfers every year of considerable areas from the cultivator to the money-lender; (10) the artificial and arbitrary character of the system of assessment in so far as it proceeds upon the assumption that the holder of the land will realize for certain the expectations of intensive cultivation upon which the Government demand is proportioned, and in so far again as it admittedly takes no note whatever of the class to which he belongs and the pecuniary resources at his command; (11) and finally the insecurity engendered by a periodic increase of assessment and the deterrent effect it has upon agricultural improvement in general. This last matter, gentlemen, is of a very serious character, and I may say that the policy underlying it is in direct contravention of some of the Despatches of the Secretary of State from 1862 onwards. In Lord Canning's time, the subject of permanently settling the assessment on land in India was completely threshed out, and the Secretary of State wrote a Despatch in which he distinctly laid down that a settlement in perpetuity was a measure dictated by sound policy. Lord Canning was in favour of the policy enunciated in that despatch. Unfortunately he soon died. And what happened do you think, afterwards? Well, the despatch was quietly burked by the

authorities here and the wise policy laid down therein was scotched and killed. We, therefore, ask Government in this Resolution to undo the mischief they have done to the agriculture of the country on account of their not having followed that and similar Despatches. We further ask them to fetter themselves with limitations similar to those with which they have restricted the Bengal Zemindar's power of rack-renting his tenants. I think, gentlemen, I am justified in saying that the present system of assessment is a most ingenious, elaborate and scientific rule of thumb, devised upon the principle that the Government is entitled to take whatever portion it chooses of the surplus profit left after defraying the expenses of cultivation. The financial embarrassment of the Government and their consciousness that the ordinary creditors of the agriculturist will take away from him what they leave into his hands have made settlement officers divert to the State coffers as large a proportion of the surplus profit as well they could. There is thus, gentlemen, a regular game of grab going on between the State Shylock and the village money-lender. This is unquestionably a short-sighted and a ruinous policy and has rightly been condemned by men like Sir Louis Malet and Sir James Caird as economically unsound and politically mischievous. Unfortunately their forecast that the Bombay system would inevitably lead to a progressive pauperisation of the cultivating classes has been fulfilled to the letter. (*The President sounds the gong again.*) Yes, I must wind up. Well, I ask Government, if it is politically wise, if it is politically safe to very nearly rack-rent and grind down an indebted peasantry. I say to them, for heaven's sake, be fair, be less greedy and take more kindly to the poor holder of the land. He is all hungered; give him food to eat. He stands there with a languished head and in stark darkness; free him of his heavy burden; make him look up and be of good cheer; give him help, give him hope, give him light and guide him on to a happy state of existence. That is your mission. Fulfil it. (*Cheers.*) Fulfil it, and you will have broad-based the foundations of the Empire by resting them upon the attachment of a contented and grateful peasantry. (*Loud Applause.*)

MR. GANJAM VENKATARATNUM (Cocanada) in seconding the resolution spoke as follows:—

India being essentially an agricultural country, the question, relating to the principles, the methods and the working results of the land revenue administration, is one of the most important questions in the whole range of Indian economics. Nothing has tended more in the past, and nothing leads more in the present, to the depression of agricultural industry in this country than the vacillating policy of the Government in fixing and revising the assessments and the numerous cesses on land and the unsettling and demoralising action of the Settlement Department whose motto is "enhancement at any cost." Thirty years ago, we were promised Permanent Settlement, but that promise remains unfulfilled to this day. So far back as 1869, the Government of Madras made a move in the direction of redeeming the said promise, but the Secretary of State vetoed the recommendation of the Government. The Madras ryot is denied even a legislative guarantee as to the full fruit of his improvements. There is no limit laid down to the enhancement that may be made at any one time. The Government may double, treble or even quadruple the assessments at one leap. The irrigation works are administered more as a source of revenue than as an aid to agricultural industry. A water rate, which virtually absorbs from 15 to 50 per cent. of the gross produce, calls for sudden enhancement by 25 per cent. A water rate which yields a return of 12 to 14 per cent. on the outlay, as in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas, is considered to be too low by our paternal Government. Why, water is sold in certain localities at famine prices. Reporting on the condition of the people in Godavery two decades after the re-construction of the magnificent ancient-works in that District, one of the District officers says that "in no country in the world was the taxation so high" as in that District and "that little or no advance was observable in the condition of the masses."

Third Day.

Resolution XI  
Fixity on Tenure  
of Land.

MR. N. M.  
SAMARTHE.

MR. GANJAM  
VENKATARATNUM

Third Day.

Resolution XIV.  
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MR. GANJAM  
VENKATARAM

You are aware that in 1882 Lord Ripon's Government worked out a scheme of modified Permanent Settlement with the concurrence of the Secretary of State. The Madras Government assented to this scheme. In the Settlement manual, published under the authority of Government, and in the standing orders of the Board of Revenue, approved by Government, it was distinctly declared that in the case of Districts once settled there would be no reclassification of soils or recalculation of grain outturns and that future revisions of settlement would be made solely with reference to prices. Again, in 1888, in passing orders on the report of the Agricultural Committee, and again in 1893 when passing orders on suggestions embodied in the memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years, the Government declared over and over again that this would be its policy in revisions of settlement, that there was no foundation for any feeling of mistrust in the matter, and that there was consequently no need for legislation.

In spite of these pledges, assurances, and declarations, we have been witnessing the reclassification of certain soils in the Trichinopoly and Godavary Districts in 1895. When the Government is asked to state the reasons for this change of policy, the Government says in a light-hearted manner that it has entered on this process of confiscation—it is nothing short of confiscation in many cases—under orders of the Secretary of State, conveyed in a despatch dated 8th January 1885. Curiously enough, this despatch is said to have been communicated to the Madras Government only in November 1893 by the Government of India and has not been laid on the table up to this day. On the strength of the despatch, the Government amended also its standing orders to the following effect in July 1895 :—

“On the expiry of the period of settlement or re-settlement of a District, 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 reclassification of soils and recalculation of grain outturns.” Gentlemen, for principles of settlement has been substituted the arbitrary discretion of Government. (*Shame.*) The worst of it is that the Madras Government desires to give *retrospective* effect to these doctrines of personal Government and disturb vested private rights. I would only point out that this action of the Government shakes the confidence of the people in the justice and fair play of the Government and that the moral and material consequences of breaking such pledges are far-reaching in their character. I would remind the Government of the advice of the Duke of Argyll, that promises once given by the Government, however long ago, must be absolutely kept. It is a delusion to think that under this policy of drift, this policy of broken pledges, there is any thing like fixity of tenure in the case of lands held on Ryotwari tenure in this country. (*Cheers.*)

THE HON. MR.  
B. G. TILAK.

THE HON. MR. B. G. TILAK (Poona) said :—Mr. President, delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition just moved by Mr. Samarth requires no support from me. All the facts that go to show that the assessment on land now is heavy, have been placed before Government by responsible political associations and I am not going into those facts here. It has been conclusively shown that in a number of cases the assessment has been increased from two hundred to four hundred and in some cases to even seven hundred per cent, such cases having occurred in Colaba, Pen, Alibag and other *Talukas* in the Bombay Presidency. And it has been brought to the notice of Government that the enhancements are higher than the limit in the limitations set down in the Resolution of the Secretary of State. What is the answer of Government? The facts are as clear as daylight and there is no gainsaying them. They show beyond dispute that the assessments have been enormously enhanced and the answer is that the land can bear this enhancement! And what are the grounds for this? You have

heard that when Lord Harris left us, in that elaborated defence of his administration which he gave at the Byculla club, he told us that the land is capable of bearing this enhancement of the assessments, and his argument was that out of the three F's which are quite necessary for the welfare of the agricultural population, we have got two. They are, as he said, free sale and free rent and having got these two we should be two-thirds happy. But he said nothing about the lands. "They go on increasing and you can bear the burden. You have got freedom of sale and free tenancy and therefore you should be content with what you have got." The other reply given to us by the Viceroy was in reply to an address presented by the Sarvajanic Sabha. He said that he had facts and figures though he had none with him at the time or he could have conclusively shown to us that at no time in the history of India was the assessment so moderate as at present. All I can say in reply to that sweeping assertion is that such sweeping assertions are as undesirable and unsafe, not to use a stronger word, in the Governor of a Province as in a political association. (*Applause.*) There are no facts given in support of this statement. If you require that I should adduce some facts, I may refer you to the Resolution of the Madras Government on Booth Tucker's scheme. They admit that the agricultural population requires help and relief and they say one relief would be the fixity of rent and of course to fix a limit on the revenue enhancement. That can be granted by Government. There may be other methods of relieving the poverty of the agricultural classes throughout the country but that is one of them. Then what is our solution? I am going to address to you a few words on the latter portion of the resolution. Happily for us we have certain facts which we can place before Government in the clearest possible light. We can compare Government with Government. Government fills a double capacity. It is landlord in some cases and Judge between landlord and tenant in others. We compare the position of Government as landlord with that of Judge between landlord and tenant. And what, we ask Government, is the conclusion we come to if we compare the two positions and find out that the two positions are mutually inconsistent? The only conclusion is that Government is misusing its position as Judge in order to further its self-interest in its capacity as landlord. As an instance I may tell you that Government as the Judge between landlords and tenants, between *Zamindars* and tenants, will not allow an *Inam* to be increased between 50 and 100 per cent., but they would not impose this rule upon themselves. But there is a harder case—the case of the *Khotes* and that is a particularly hard case which has been brought to the notice of Government for redress. In Konkan the *Khotes* are farmers of revenue. They realise revenue from tenants and Government ask them to pay Rs. 10 which they would not allow them to realise. The *Khote* receives Rs. 5 and they order him to pay Rs. 10 to Government. The grievance has been shelved and has remained unredressed. And I do not know how long it will remain so. We therefore compare the position of Government as that of landlord with their position of Judge between landlord and tenant and we ask Government to follow the same policy in one case as in the other and that is the purport of the resolution which I now ask you to pass. (*Cheers.*)

MR. MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRABUTY (Bengal) supported the motion.

MR. PANDURANG BAPOOJI (Berar) spoke in the vernacular to the following effect:—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am an agriculturist of Berar. I have passed many years among cultivators. I am, therefore, I believe, in a position to judge of their real condition. Poverty-stricken as they are, the Berar cultivators are largely involved in debts. The Berar Government enhanced the revenue assessment rate without considering the pitiable state of the cultivators. This enhanced assessment has added to the misery and sorrow of the people at large.

Third Day.

Resolution XIV.  
Fixity on Tenure  
of Land.

THE HON. MR.  
B. G. TILAK.

MR. CHAKRABUTY

MR. PANDURANG  
BAPOOJI.

Third Day.

Resolution XIV.  
Fixity of Tenure  
of Land.

MR. PANDURANG  
BAPOOJI.

It is most commonly believed that the Berar soil is fertile and that the Berari people are wealthy and happy. This belief underlies the popular proverb viz. 'Berar is a mine of Gold.' This belief is however utterly unfounded. A chest of musk though emptied of its contents, retains for long the musk perfume. In ancient days the Berar soil might have been very rich; but in these days it has lost substance. Without rain-water nothing is used to make the soil productive. Rain-water too is not to be had in constant proportions. Variations in the quantity of rain-water tend largely to affect the crops. After the interval of two or three years, a year may be seized upon which may be reckoned upon as being not miserable. This observation may be borne out by the Revenue Reports and other official papers published annually by the Berar Government.

Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji has after elaborate statistical comparisons most conclusively proved that the average annual income of each individual living in India, comes to about Rs. 22. I was a little astonished to read the figure. But when I compared this conclusion with my own experience which showed me how miserable was the life of the cultivators as a class, I was all the more disheartened by the fact that the Berari cultivators could not manage to derive even half the above proportion. It may perhaps be, that Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji having a larger area than I, to base his calculations upon, his conclusion might be more correct than mine. Still it is an undeniable truth that the average annual income of a cultivator is miserably low.

I give the following information from the Berar Revenue Report for the year 1894-95. Out of the entire Berar soil nearly 77 lacks of acres are brought under cultivation. Population of Berar is about 28 lacks and a half. Two acres and a half, therefore, of the land under cultivation, are used up by each individual. Javaree and cotton are the common crops. These two crops find place in sixty-eight out of a hundred acres of land under cultivation. During the year under report, one acre yielded 107 seers of javaree. The same area produced 44 seers of cotton. In the market javaree was selling at  $21\frac{1}{2}$  seers per rupee, while cotton was selling at 9 seers a rupee. It is thus clear that the entire produce of the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land which could be appropriated by a single individual was worth about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  rupees. Now the total amount of land-revenue in Berar is a little above 72 lacks of rupees. Each individual has thus to pay to the Government about Rs. 2-8-0. Deducting this amount from the value of the produce at his command, he finds only 10 rupees out of which he has still to defray the expenses incident to cultivation. This mode of looking at things gives us an idea of how the cultivator lives. Upon the trash of some 7 or 8 silver pieces he is doomed to live one long year shifting as best he can, through varied seasons and battling with risks and dangers that human life is liable to meet with. It is better to imagine than realize the keen pain and anguish which is the lot of the cultivating classes. This situation is not a whit altered. It is the same all the years of their life. 80 per cent. of the Berar population live upon the soil. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, whether you really think, with these facts before you, that the Berar people are happy and wealthy ! !

Are they not steeped, over head and ears, in deep misery and woe? The Government expends annually between 40 and 50 rupees on account of the maintenance of a single convict. The lawless and most dangerous foes of human peace and safety are circumstanced five times better than the peace-loving and law-abiding subjects. It is strange how such a state of things can be tolerated by the benign and most impartial British Government. Now, these observations apply to the state of things as it once existed, while the old assessment rates were in force. I leave it, ladies and gentlemen, to you to conceive how cheerfully the contemplation of enhancement on the part of the Government, would be welcome to the impoverished rivot ! !

Without regard to this deplorable condition of the poor ryot, the Survey officer presented to the Berar Government a rose-coloured view of the case by reporting that the Berar people were very happy. Taking this opinion as a guide, the Berar Government precipitously enhanced the assessment in the three Talukas of Khamgaon, Jalgaon and Malkapur. I hear that in some places the new rate is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as high as the old one! This news filled the Berar people with consternation. It may, however, be mentioned here that some District officers represented to the Berar Government anti-enhancement views, openly saying that evil consequences would follow from the enhancement of land revenue. This certainly reflects great credit on the officers in question. They displayed their generous heart and plain dealing. The report runs thus: "The Deputy Commissioner of Akola has written at considerable length on the present condition of the agricultural classes. He considers it far from good and quotes his Tehsildar's authority in support of the opinion of the general indebtedness and improvement of the Ryots—a fact which he rightly considers has an unfortunate bearing on the coming Revision Survey." These views could not, however, be approved by the Berar Government. The Resident is pleased to express himself on the question in these terms. "As long as the cultivating classes can afford to largely employ hired labour, there is little ground for thinking that their position has been recently seriously affected for the worse." It would have indeed been far better had the Resident taken into consideration the actual condition of the ryots as described above. Unfortunately he has not done so.

This evil can only be remedied if the Government seriously set about introducing a system of permanent settlement. If the Government show extreme solicitude in requiring the Jamindars to receive from their tenants a fixed rent which they cannot alter, why should they not for the same reasons levy once for all, a fixed rate of assessment? I conclude my speech with a fervent prayer that the Government take the condition of the poor ryot into serious consideration and introduce a system of permanent settlement all over India, which will conduce to the welfare of the people at large.

With these few observations I beg to support resolution No. 14 which, I hope, will receive unanimous approval of my countrymen.

Mr. BHAGIRATH PRASAD ( Nagpoor ) said :—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank the President for having allowed me even 3 minutes to place before you certain facts in connection with the settlement operations that are going on at present in the Central Provinces and that are such as can never allow of any fixity in land tenure so long as they exist. The first is the way in which the land produce is ascertained. This consists of two tests. The first is the classification of land and the second is finding out the produce. The rules regulating the first are such that they cannot be understood by even many of the Settlement officers. They many a time differ on this point. A number of tenants and malgujars are collected and asked whether the field belongs to this class or that class and often against their will and professional knowledge they are obliged to give their assent to classify the field in a higher class. This must necessarily increase the assets. Then for the second one, the Settlement officer or an Extra Assistant Commissioner selects a field when it is ripe for cutting, and finds out either by weight or measure the exact quantity of the produce of the field. This is compared with the quantity sown. But the important factor is that now the grain is wet whereas at the time of sowing the seed was quite dry. It is true that some allowance is made for this. But this is so small in comparison to the real wetness that the figure put down is really higher than what it ought to be. These two circumstances are against the agriculturist and he is required to pay as Government revenue more than what he is really liable to. So long as this grievance exists, it is impossible that

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Resolution XIV.  
Fixity on Tenure  
of Land.

MR. PANDURANG  
BAPOOJI.

MR. BHAGIRATH  
PRASAD.



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there should be any fixity of tenure. Why not take the figure that other tenants give and that the agriculturist himself gives? They are certainly not all of them a set of liars. The second point is the inclusion of *Sivaya jama* in ascertaining the assets. What is meant by *Sivaya jama*? It means the supposed income from tamariud, guavas, mangoes, jamul trees on the fields. Is, gentlemen, the income from these quite a variable one? And is it not a notorious fact that the Malguzar gets nothing of this. The excuse, that the Government has got, for thus including the *Sivaya jama* is that since the Malguzar gets the whole income for himself without spending anything for it, why should not then the Government get a portion of it? I submit that instead of doing this, the Government can declare that the produce of such trees belongs to the public and not to the Malguzars. The third point is the high rate at which the Sir-land is being assessed? In consideration of the many pecuniary responsibilities and liabilities thrown upon the Malguzars, the Sir-land should be assessed at the old rates. The fourth point is that since the Central Provinces have got a vast sum of Patwari fund in surplus, it is but just that the rate of *Patwari* cess must be diminished. The points that I have referred to above really make the Government share of land revenue much more above 60 p. c., though theoretically it is less than 60 p. c. Even the theoretical maximum of 60 p. c. for land revenue as share of Government is too oppressive. It must be the same as it is in other parts of India *viz.* a little more than 50 p. c. Now the period of settlement in C. P. varies from 10 years to 20 years. In the face of this how is it possible to even imagine that the C. P. have got any thing like fixity of land tenure? Gentlemen, as the time is nearly up, I must conclude by saying that the great discontent that is prevailing in the C. P. by reason of the present settlement operations will not disappear until (a) the methods of ascertaining land-produce are improved, (b) the *Sivaya jama* is not included in ascertaining the assets, (c) the Sir-land is assessed according to the old system, (d) rate of *Patwari* cess is diminished, (e) the additional extra tax of 2 p. c. imposed since 1878 is removed, since the Government says that there is no Famine Insurance Fund, (f) the share of the Government is put down at not greater than 50 p. c. of the net assets, and (g) the period of settlement is fixed at not less than 60 years.

THE PRESIDENT :—The fourteenth resolution has been properly moved, seconded, and supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. (*Voices All, All.*) The resolution is carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned for half an hour.

ON REASSEMBLING, MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay) said :—Gentlemen, I have an announcement to make and it is this. A very handsome portrait of the President (*Cheers.*) is to be presented to him. It has been painted by Mr. Pimpalkhare of the Poona Native Institution, who is a local artist of considerable talents and of whose ability you might judge from this fact that the picture which you now see on the platform before you was drawn in four days.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Mr. Bhagirath Prasad to move the next Resolution.

MR. BHAGIRATH PRASAD (Nagpore) moved the fifteenth resolution in the following terms :—

“This Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy that the Government of India have this time followed in nominating a gentleman for the *Central Provinces* to the *Supreme Legislative Council* without asking Local Bodies to make recommendations for such nomination and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the *Central Provinces* the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the N. W. P.

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He said :—The grievance complained of is a very serious one as it relates to the infringement of the right which our Indian National Congress got after a fight of 8 years. It is well known to you that ever since our grand National movement came into existence, we have been fighting for the extension of our Legislative Councils on elective principle. When the Bill to extend these Councils by amending the old Act was under consideration by both the Houses of Parliament, it was agreed upon by both the parties that the words under clause I of the Bill, *viz.* "The Governor-General-in-Council may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of State-in-Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations or any shall be made by the Governor-General, Governors and Lieutenant-Governors respectively and prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect" embodied 'elective principle' according to the famous interpretation put by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the then leader of the opposition. This interpretation was accepted by the Hon. Mr. Curzon, the then Under-Secretary of State for India, who was in charge of the Bill and who said "Undoubtedly these words and this clause were designedly introduced by the Government and were introduced with a perfectly clear apprehension of their meaning. I do not think there is any want of clearness in the terms in which I expressed the possible application of this clause at an earlier period of the evening. I endeavoured to give Hon. members to understand that this clause was designed to give perfect latitude to the Viceroy in this matter, and that it would admit of the introduction of the principle of representation in India, whether the system was "election or selection or delegation or whatever the precise method might be that recommended itself to the judgment of the Viceroy." Now as regards the attitude of the Government of India during the regime of His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, His Excellency explained from his seat in the Supreme Legislative Council on 16th March 1893 that what the Act had given had been recommended by his Government. Having explained the regulations that should govern the nominations to and from the different councils, His Excellency said the following with reference to those Provinces which had then got no right to send members to the Viceregal Council. These are his words: "We shall, however, endeavour as far as possible in the event of a member being required for this Council from any of the four provinces not having local Councils, to give that member, by resorting as far as possible to the system of recommendation, a more representative character than would attach to him if he were arbitrarily selected by the head of the Government." Gentlemen, I think, I have said enough to show that both the parties in England as well as the Government of India under the regime of His Excellency Lord Lansdowne well agreed to give a real living representative character to a member when one was required. Now at this time the C. P. had no right to send a member to the Imperial Council. But then almost every district of the C. P. sent up memorials signed by thousands and hundreds of thousands of the people to the Secretary of State complaining against their exclusion from the right, their complaint becoming a serious one in view of the fact that almost every enactment passed by the Supreme Council was applicable to the Central Provinces. The fact that C. P. had to contribute a vast sum to the Imperial Government and the fact that C. P. possessed such communities as were so far accustomed to collective action in the promotion of their common interests very well proved that they were qualified to unite in submitting a recommendation for any seat that might be placed at their disposal. So, gentlemen, the result of these memorials was that the privilege asked for was conferred upon C. P. The Hon'ble Mr. J. Woodburn, the then Chief Commissioner of the C. P., announced this in open Darbar, held on 16th August 1893. He spoke in Urdu and the portion of his speech that had reference to this is thus reported in the *Nagpoor and Berar Times* of 19th August 1893. "The Supreme Government had been pleased to grant the prayer of the inhabitants of the Central Provinces, and to permit of their sending a member elected by themselves to

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represent them in the Council of the Empire at the seat of Government. Not only this; but the first gentleman nominated to the Council was selected from amongst such gentlemen as had been recommended by District Council and Municipal delegates." Even then our National Congress complained during the last two years against such a representation as it was a mere farce of representation. But now even that farce of representation has been taken away. The C. P. public is not to blame for this. So early as July last, they submitted proposals both moderate and practical to the Government with a request to alter the regulations, so that they may have a real living representation. And the C. P. Government, in acknowledging receipt of these proposals, said that they would be considered on receipt of instructions from the Government of India in respect to a vacancy for the C. P. in the Council. This naturally gave rise to a hope for the better. They waited till the middle of October when finding that nothing had been done and seeing that the time when the seat must be filled up was drawing nearer and it would take about two months for all the work, a representation was sent to the Chief Commissioner in the third week of October, reminding him that the vacancy would occur at about the middle of December and that it would take about two months for election and hence requesting him to move the Government of India for issuing instructions concerning this. Well, gentlemen, what was the answer received? The reply said: "The Chief Commissioner has no reason to suppose that the Government of India has overlooked the matter and he will await their instructions in the matter. I am to remind you at the same time that the procedure by which the nomination of a member to the Viceregal Council is made is not an election, as is assumed in your letter." Is it not, gentlemen, surprising that the same Chief Commissioner who announced on 16th August 1893 that the C. P. people had been permitted to send a member elected by themselves to represent them in the Council should say that the procedure by which the nomination of a member to the Viceregal Council is made is not election? The fact is, gentlemen, that even last time the nomination took place out of elections. First there is election and then nomination. And gentlemen, will you not be surprised to learn that this time nomination has been made *arbitrarily* without consulting any local body? Can such a gentleman be said to have any representative character? The only answer that you can give is "no." Well, gentlemen, I am afraid that during the present regime, a retrograde policy is being followed to a very large extent. The Jury Bill, the Legal Practitioners Bill, the Police Bill and the policy of not receiving addresses until certain portions are removed from them, afford evidence in this respect. Today the C. P. has been touched. To-morrow other parts may be deprived of the right. It is not that the C. P. does not contain public spirit, intelligence and communities so far accustomed to collective action in the promotion of their common interests, that they are not qualified to unite in submitting a recommendation with respect to filling up a seat in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. It was in fact after shewing all this that the C. P. people got the right. The success of the Local Self-Government, the right that the Municipal Corporations and District Councils enjoy of electing their own Presidents and Secretaries, the fact that many Municipal Corporations and District Councils are presided over by non-official gentlemen, the existence of several mills and gin factories and the very great extent to which the spread of education as well as many works of public utility, such as Water Works, depends upon private efforts and generosity, are some of the points in evidence of this. Under these circumstances, then, will you, gentlemen, call the gentleman so arbitrarily nominated to the Council as a representative of the people? Is it not then true that he represents only himself and perhaps some officials of the Government and none else? Is not then the principle for which we have been fighting so long, in danger and has it not been already infringed? Is not this a retrograde policy? (*Cries of yes! yes!*) Thank you, gentlemen, I therefore recommend the proposition for your kind approval. And I appeal at the same time to the C. P. delegates to shew that they can maintain the right they have once obtained and they must do this by sending hundreds of memorials on the subject. (*Cheers.*)

MR. SHANKAR LAXMAN GOKHALE, M. A., ( Central Provinces ) in seconding, spoke as follows :—

Mr. President and brother-delegates, in seconding this proposition I am reminded of a nursery tale and I cannot but narrate it here. A certain physician had under his treatment a patient, for whom he considered it most prudent to prescribe a long continued fast. Emaciated more by hunger than by his disease, he was at last after a number of piteous appeals successful enough to get from his physician permission to eat *poories*, as hollow Indian cakes are called. But this was granted subject to the condition, that he should throw away both the crusts, and satisfy himself with what remained, and it is to be noticed in connection with this that an Indian *poori* consists of only two crusts enclosing a hollow space within.

Our poor suffering country has long been "like a sick man to his bed reclined, and trusting every cure." It is suffering under the weight of official tyranny, crushing taxation, endless starvation and what not. We had long been crying hoarse, appealing to the British public and the time had come, when we began to think that we had cried not in vain. Through the efforts of our sympathisers in England was prepared for us a *poori* which they named the "Legislative Council Reform." Proudly it swelled and with it swelled our hearts. We could scarcely contain ourselves. We imagined the hollow cake to contain all that we could wish for ; we boasted that with this reform, we were in a position to sweep away at one wave of the hand every evil under which we had been labouring ! But Lo ! suddenly it bursts as it reaches the Indian shores. The solid crusts have vanished and we are left to regale ourselves with the invisible, unknowable, imponderable hollow within. This is what we now enjoy of the Legislative Council Reform.

Gentlemen of Maharashtra, you have not forgotten your struggles about your ambiguous privileges to return a member for the Central Division of your Presidency. We of the C. P. have fared even worse. The right of election, we never had any worth the name. My friend Prof. Bhagirath Prasad has called it a farce. I cannot understand why he gives it so much credit, I call it a fraud.

Our Province is divided into four divisions and each division has its districts. Every district has ( or rather *had* if you allow me so much accuracy ) to elect its delegates ; these Delegates had to propose a member for the Division, each division having its independent election. Out of the four members thus proposed the Government nominated one in 1893, irrespective of the number of votes that he got as compared to those given to the rest. Gentlemen, would you bend so low as to call this an election ? You all here in Congress assembled, have elected a Demosthenis for your president allowing yourselves to be guided by his superior genius. Imagine for a moment that here the Government interferes and calls upon each electoral Division to elect its own president, and keeping to itself the right of final nomination to crown one of you with laurels. Would you tolerate such a constitution ? Would you put up with such a president although he be no less a personage than the presiding genius of to-day ? To have a nominated president for our Congress ! Rather we will have a congress without a president. Such was the right of election awarded to us ! While labouring under these difficulties we had been trying to get something better, for when the then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces announced in open Darbar on 16-8-93 that the prayers of the people of the Central Provinces for their representative to have a seat in the Viceregal Legislative Council had been granted, he made that announcement by declaring that to that Council would go a gentleman elected by themselves. We were lulled by the promise. The next election approached without any indication of the promised reform, when all of a sudden we were roused from our slumber only to learn that we had no more to bother our-

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selves with the election and that the Government had already been kind enough to nominate Mr. Bhuskute as a member to save us from the trouble of going through even the farce of an election. We do not question the choice of the Government. At the last election Mr. Bhuskute was unanimously voted for in his Division. We bear him no grudge. "We can bear the loss of an old grandmother, but it is painful to see the old enemy ever ready, knocking at the gate." Today the Government has nominated Mr. Bhuskute, to-morrow some bloodhound may supply his place. And to add insult to injury the Government will be ready in case of some mishap to lay the blame on our shoulder and condemn us for the wrong choice although we never made it.

It is not a question of individuals. It is a question of principle. This nomination of Mr. Bhuskute is quite different from his nomination after he is recommended by the people for such nomination. But it is the people who ought to recommend and not a subordinate Government to the superior Government. They may, if it so please them, recommend an Hon. dummy, but it is they who must recommend. It is their business. It is their privilege; it has been granted to them. They will have it and none else.

In seconding this resolution, I urge upon you most earnestly and I appeal to your goodness, to have it carried unanimously. This encroachment on our rights will not end with the Central Provinces alone. It has ever been the policy of this Government to begin at the thinnest end of the wedge. Was not the first experiment to do away with the Jury System made in one province alone, where unfortunately for the Government it found too hard a soil to break. The first experiment on this question is now being made in the Central Provinces. Remember that it will not be the last. The martyrdom of the Central Provinces will not end the question and some other Province will have to take its turn. Beware, my friends, I repeat that you can bear the loss of an old grandmother but it is fearful to see old death return to knock at your gate. For yourselves, gentlemen, if not for us, I beseech you to have the resolution passed.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, Resolution XV has been properly moved and seconded. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. (*Voices, All, All.*) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Mr. Ambika Charan Mujumdar, Bengal, to move the next resolution.

Resolution XVI.  
Exchange Com-  
pensation.

MR. AMBIKA  
CHARAN  
MUJUMDAR.

MR. AMBIKA CHARAN MUJUMDAR (Bengal), in submitting the sixteenth resolution, said: Mr. President and brother-delegates, the proposition with which I have been entrusted refers to what has been described as "the crime of the 26th June"—the Exchange Compensation allowance granted by the Government of Lord Lansdowne to non-domiciled European and Eurasian officials in this country. The proposition runs as follows:—

"That this Congress repeats its protest of the last two years against the grant of Exchange-Compensation allowance to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving now an annual expenditure of over a crore and a half of rupees."

Gentlemen—It has been remarked by no less an authority than John Bright that "the Civil Services of India receive a rate of payment which would be incredible if we did not know it to be true, and which, knowing it to be true, we must admit to be monstrous." And it was to the members of these services, belonging to his own nationality, that a retiring viceroy granted the so-called compensation allowance, varying from 17 to 25 p. c. of their high salaries, leaving an appalling deficit of £1,546,998, or about 3½ crores of rupees in the Indian Treasury! It will be remembered that this was done in a year of grave financial crisis, when the Budget

already presented a deficit of over £833,000, after swallowing up the half-a-crore of surplus of the preceding year to meet the ever-increasing requirements of the cursed frontier policy. Nor will it be ever forgotten that this huge jobbery was perpetrated at a time when the charge on the Indian taxpayer on his gold payments in London, according to the estimate for the very next year, amounted to more than £15,600,000 ; and that to provide this sum at the rate of 13d. to the rupee, India had, what also it still has, to raise Rs. 289,054,000, which means an additional burden of nearly Rs. 127,500,000 in excess of what it would have raised seventeen years before, with the exchange at 23½d. in the rupee. Gentlemen, it was a most cruel crime that was here perpetrated. Ere this for want of funds the reform of the *judicial administration* had to be given up ; the *provincial grants* had to be reduced ; the *famine fund* had to be first sugared with the soft and sweet designation of *famine grant* and then swallowed up in the current revenues, and lastly the Road Cess had to be appropriated or rather misappropriated for the recoupment of the Provincial Governments. Then since the granting of this compensation allowance, the Local Governments have been set at liberty to cut down petty establishments, to reduce here and there the salaries of native appointments, and to improve their resources as best as they can by raising local taxations. Thanks to the genius of the English language, this is called the developing of the resources of the country. Gentlemen, our masters have been of late engaged in two pious acts of supreme benevolence to mankind. They have been civilizing the barbarous people of Africa by extirpating them, and developing the resources of India by reducing her poor population to only one meal a day. (*Shame.*) Gentlemen, amidst all the sophistry by which the iniquitous burden of exchange compensation was first sought to be justified in the eyes of the civilized world, the Supreme Government in the United Kingdom appeared to have ultimately surrendered to a couple of silly arguments which seem to bear some resemblance to the wolf's logic in devouring the lamb. These arguments were, ( I think I am quoting them almost in the words in which they were advanced at the time ),

1st, That the Government could get better work out of a contented and prosperous servant than from one who had his energies distracted and the heart taken out of him by pecuniary embarrassments ; and

2nd, That the servants of the Indian Government were under peculiar temptations to relieve their financial necessities at the expense of the native community.

Gentlemen, as to the first of these arguments, which is based upon the contentment and prosperity of public servants, I do not know whether in the face of such dreadful riots and such enormous increase of crime as is reported every year, you can persuade yourself to believe that since the granting of this compensation allowance the people have been actually getting " better work, " both judicial as well as administrative, than in the preceding years, for I am myself not conscious of any such secret improvement. But even if you can, I should be still inclined to think, as my brother-delegates have always thought, that in the contentment and prosperity of the people, there probably is a better and more appropriate remedy for all the heart and brain diseases of public servants than in their increased emoluments. If, however, the latter be the only specific as yet discovered for such maladies, it would yet be but just and reasonable that for once and for all a limitation should be prescribed to the free indulgence in such invigoratives at the expense of poor people.

Besides, what contentment do these officers want ? Prestige, position and power are all theirs : more than one-third of the entire revenue of the State is swallowed by them. Science and art, by annihilating distance of time and space, have converted self-imposed exiles into delightful and at the same time most profitable excursions with an ultimate bonus of a thousand pounds a year on retirement ; their high living is gone, and with continual touring, they are

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able, not only to draw upon the forced benevolence of the people, but also to save handsomely from their travelling allowances. If these have failed to give them contentment, they must naturally be a very discontented and restless people whom nothing ever will satisfy.

Then as regards the other proposition which has reference to the peculiar temptations of the servants of the Indian Government, it would first of all be interesting to know whether the advocates of this disgraceful measure were speaking from the bitterness of personal experience, or from informations secretly supplied by those whose mental energies were until now distracted by dangers and difficulties which are said to be so peculiar to Anglo-Indian official life. Apart from the impudence of the confession involved in this argument, I doubt, gentlemen, if you could pick out a single domiciled European official in this country who would not stoutly resent such vicious advocacy of his claims to any kind of remuneration for his services. Then what is the *peculiarity* about these temptations? The only peculiarity that is observable is that they are supposed to be confined to the higher offices in the country. The idea of keeping men away from temptations by placing all the available gold in the country at their feet may be sublime; but such a procedure does not appear to have been ever sanctioned by any code of ethics, either ancient or modern. Doubtless it is true that "Exchange is no robbery," but, gentlemen, it seems that its compensation sometimes is and as the robbing of Peter to pay Paul is condemned also by the Christian Scriptures, I must confess that I am unable to swallow the logic of this argument. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, referring to this grossly selfish measure, that staunch and fearless advocate of popular rights, Mr. Labouchere, indignantly observed,—“Government has no business to relieve its servants at the cost of the rate-payers of a loss for which neither the Government nor the rate-payers are responsible.”

Then upon whom has this heavy burden been placed? It has fallen upon an overtaxed and over-growing population, one-sixth of whom, even according to the official statistics, are perpetually living on the verge of starvation. Gentlemen, here I can do no better than quote the words of an eminent British statesman of the time. Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer,) speaking from his place as Finance Minister to the Government of India, in course of the debate on the Salt Duty in 1882, said: “It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year, and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of the sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is impossible, and, if it were possible, would be unjustifiable.” Alas! it is this population who were unfit to bear the additional tax of a few pice on salt that has been saddled with the burden of 1½ crores of rupees for the gratification of some of the extravagantly paid officials of an impecunious Government. (*Shame.*)

Gentlemen, I have said “extravagantly paid officials.” Many would be startled to hear that most of them get about 80 p. c. in excess of their substantive pay by way of various allowances. You are aware that now most Judges, Magistrates and even Secretaries to Government and administrations are really Joint-Magistrates. Take the case of a 1st Grade Joint-Magistrate, acting as Magistrate-Collector of a district. His substantive pay is Rs. 900 a month, with an acting allowance of Rs. 400 (45 p. c.) and travelling allowance of about Rs. 150 (16 p. c.) and compensation allowance of about Rs. 230 (25 p. c.) *i. e.* the three allowances make up Rs. 790, while his substantive pay Rs. 900. Then how is it he gets the exchange compensation even on the acting allowance? It is no part of his pay that has suffered by the loss in exchange. He gets it as an extra remuneration. Probably we shall hear some

day that his travelling allowance is also added up for the purpose of calculating the compensation. Again the compensation being granted to reconp the loss suffered in English money for obvious reasons it ought to be limited to his actual remittances to England for the interest of his family. Then supposing that the heavy fall in the rupee has unexpectedly caused serious loss to the officers who had already entered the service; what justification can there be for extending the indulgence even to those who have and shall have hereafter covenanted themselves with full knowledge of the present value of silver? If the depreciation of the rupee has affected the remuneration of the non-domiciled Europeans, the Tariff has also diminished the purchasing power of silver in respect of imports and thereby largely affected the salaries of other officers as well. If these are not entitled to any compensation, why should any gratuitous compassion be felt for the new recruits to this service, though it be the proudest in the world? Sir, there ought to be a reason in all things—even in the administration of India.

It being admitted on all hands that the officers have no legal claim to any compensation, it practically comes to the same thing whether it be offered for securing their contentment or for relieving them from temptations. It has in its operation virtually become an increment of pay in direct contravention of the terms of their covenant. And if from Pay to Pension and from Pension to Compensation is to be the established order of financial progress of the Government, all that we Indians can say is, call it by any name you please, our legal phraseology has but one expression for it, it is illegal gratification. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, with these observations I commend my proposition to your kind acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAIDU, in seconding the resolution said :

Mr. President, ladies and brother-delegates,—During the past years of the Congress sessions, I have had the honour of being a supporter of one proposition or another. This year I am promoted to a seconder's class and though this is rejoicing to me, I am sorry I have the misfortune now of being with a bad throat and if I fail to be sufficiently audible to you, gentlemen, I hope I shall be pardoned. I have another disadvantage of not being a supporter, for in that case the President, with his rigorous rule, would have clipped my name owing to pressure of time. Gentlemen, the proposer of the proposition has sufficiently placed before you, in an able and masterly speech, the disadvantages and hardships, arising from this wretched exchange compensation allowance. I think, it is needless for me to dilate upon that phase of the question. I shall now, with your permission, proceed to consider the elasticity of the Indian Exchequer. Whenever we raise our voice and entreat Government to support higher education with liberal grants, to allot funds for better drainage or water-works, or for the separation of judicial and revenue functions, the ever unerring answer in their exalted wisdom is "no funds"; but that "no" so magically disappears for Exchange Compensation Allowances. Nor is this all! Money comes freely for Sir Mortimer Durand's mission. What for? To increase the allowances of the unceremonious Amir by another half a lakh, making it up to one and half a lakh. Money comes freely for the repeated invitation to the Amir, who however ingeniously skulks away. Money comes to depute a Mr. Pyne (now Sir) to furnish the Amir's palace. Money comes for the exodous flights to the hills, though the Judges of the High Courts, who are equally good Europeans, content themselves with spending part of the summer without resorting to the hills, in the capital. Money comes for royal reception to a "diplomatic substitute" as some papers not long ago announced it. Money comes for a visitation-bent Viceroy-indulging in Keddah operations—to discourteously reject the addresses of a Sarvajanic Sabha and a Mahajana Sabha. Over and above all, money comes for the ever-increasing military expenditure. I would

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Resolution XVI.  
Exchange Com-  
pensation.

MR. AMBIKA  
CHARAN  
MUJUMDAR.

MR. A. C.  
PARTHASARATHI.



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Resolution XVI.  
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pensation.

MR. A. C. PAR-  
THASARATHI.

differ from the unanimous vote of this august body passed only the other day on this subject. I feel, for reasons I propose to give immediately, that we need not grudge that item of expenditure. We are indeed loyal, nay, historically, traditionally, and religiously loyal to our Sovereign. But, we, I mean the people of India, are becoming weaker in physique, the result of oppressive taxation, which has left us almost no means of livelihood. We, who were once second to none in our spiritedness to avert an untoward contingency, are now becoming colonels, captains, in wordy warfare, and, for the matter of that, we are not sufficiently strong to resist with courage any intruder's advance. For these simple reasons, I think, gentlemen, we need not grudge for argument's sake the increasing military expenditure. But it is not so with the exchange compensation allowance. To whom is this given? It is given to non-domiciled Europeans, who receive princely pays. Some twenty-five years ago, if this compensation had been granted, it would have had something of reason about it. The difficulties of voyage and other inconveniences in those days were quite different from the present. With all the facilities of a much improved mechanism, one can now reach England in about thirteen days. I may say perhaps with less cost. I therefore do not see the wisdom of granting compensation now. If there be surplus, the result of having met every other item, calculated to do good to our country, then, it may be given to the non-domiciled Europeans. But it is absurd to give it to such as those that have no other recommendation than that they are the sons of their fathers. Granting for one moment that it may be given, to whom should it be given? is the next question. To those who have their families in England; but now it is given to every one alike without distinction, and whether they spend, save, Heaven knows. After all, gentlemen, those European officials, who, with their princely salaries and allowances, enjoy princely luxuries here, are, we are told, miserable in their own country, even, in the matter of servants. And hence, gentlemen, poor India seems in their eyes a milch-cow. Let me now, brother-delegates, draw your attention to those that are enslaved in the subordinate service. I will not, gentlemen, trouble you with a long array of instances. Just fancy for yourselves the plight of a poor Gumasta in the Taluk Kachery. He is paid the paltry sum of 15 rupees a month, for which the poor man is obliged to work from morning till late in the night. In these days, when everything is highly priced, how could one with a large family hope to live with any show of comfort? Nearly, a quarter of a century ago, when every commodity was as cheap as one could wish, that noble, magnanimous and generous Governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan ruled that the last pay of a Government office clerk should be 30 rupees per mensem. When I say a noble Governor, pray do not take him for a counterpart of the latter day retiring Lieutenant-Governor or Governor, for whom there are Maharajas, who, in their delirium of loyalty, are ever ready to loosen their purse strings and subscribe by thousands for a memorial; or who have, I am reminded, the support of a flexible Press, to entitle them for a double equestrian Statue. No, he was not that sort of a Governor, who eschewed the encouraging words he had once committed himself to. That noble Governor was a people's Governor; he was one who resented the imposition of the Income Tax and one who had volunteered to give away one-half of his salary to avoid the cruel imposition of that income tax, which is now one of the hardships we are labouring under. Pardon me, gentlemen, for the slight digression. And now, ladies and gentlemen, this exchange compensation is a dead loss to our country. The money, thus given in the shape of compensation, goes out of our country. If, on the other hand, the best indigenous talent, which is, experience has shown, not a bit inferior to that of the youths educated in English schools, be largely availed of, there would not be this unjust necessity of paying compensation allowance to those young men who come out from England, binding themselves to receive a salary, settled according to the prevailing exchange rates, at the time of covenanting. When I speak of native talent, I am forcibly reminded of one singular instance. When that versatile genius, the late lamented Prof. Runganatham of the Madras Presidency College (three in one and one in three, as Dr. Hunter

called him ), departed this world, a senior and exceptionally clever Wrangler of the Madras University was appointed in his place, and notwithstanding the acknowledged fact that he did his duty to the entire satisfaction of the B. A. and F. A. students, who had thereto Professors "to polish gold but not to make gold," that eminent senior Wrangler, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, was coolly deprived of his post, and an European coming out with, as it were, a birth-right for compensation allowance, was brought in. How unjust is this, need I say, gentlemen? Why does not the benign Government, in entire agreement with its solemn pledges, encourage the exceptionally superior indigenous talent? As this compensation allowance means the very modest figure of upwards of a crore, it is indeed our bounden duty to protest against it tooth and nail. Gentlemen, I consider this more important than all the resolutions which we have passed. It is only of a recent growth and I feel quite sure that, if we go on continuing to protest against it with might and main, at no distant date, this bug-bear item of compensation allowance will be chucked out of the annual budgets. With these observations, gentlemen, I commend this resolution for your unanimous acceptance. ( Cheers. )

MR. PURESHA CHUNDER ROY ( Bhagalpore ) said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—after the learned speeches of my two predecessors, Mr. A. C. Mazumdar and Mr. P. Naidu, there is very little left to me except to throw some sidelight on the subject. It has been said again and again that the Englishmen have to make large sacrifices in coming out to India for service. Let us see, gentlemen, what these so-called large sacrifices are and what they mean. As soon as a civilian, fresh from the College, sets his foot on Indian soil, he begins to draw a salary of Rs. 4800 i. e. about £240 a year. A year afterwards his salary is increased to £300 and in about 5 years his income rises to £600 and before he retires from the service he can fairly calculate on an income of £2000 a year; and if he be spared to be a Lieutenant-Governor, he is to draw the princely salary of £5000 a year. Now instead of coming out to India, if an Englishman enters the home service, he shall have to begin his life with an income of £200 a year. Sometimes with an income of £100 a year, he gets an annual increment of £12·10 to his pay, till after 25 years of hard service he has to retire with an income of £500 a year. If the Englishman enters the educational department of England, he has to commence with a salary of about £150 and to retire with a salary of £300 a year. If he accepts the service of the inspector of the educational department, he has to begin service with an income of £200 a year and has to retire with an income of £500 a year. If he enters life in England as a medical man, he must rot and starve unless he possesses special qualifications. So from a comparison of these two sets of figures one can come to no other conclusion but that the Indian Civil Service is the most highly paid of all services. Add to these the prestige of the same service. Hence, gentlemen, even taking for granted that by the fall in exchange the pay of a civilian comes down from £2000 to even £1000. I hold that even this latter amount is a sufficient remuneration for the services rendered by the English gentleman. But what do you think, gentlemen, has been really done by the Indian Government to make up for the deficiencies in the pay of English officers caused by the depreciation in its value of silver? The Government of India have broken their most solemn pledges and applied a large portion of the Famine Relief Fund to make up for the pay of the European officials. But is there any justification for this measure of the Indian Government? The crumbs, nay, even the starving rations have been snatched from the mouths of millions of India's children to supply delicious viands for the table of a handful of comfortable English gentlemen. ( Shame. ) I arraign the staunchest advocate of this measure before the bar of the Indian public and ask him to justify this most unjust and improper measure. He will, I am sure, never be able to give any thing like a fair explanation. ( The President here sounded the gong. ) Gentlemen,—The tolling of the gong warns me to close my observations.

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Resolution XVI.  
Exchange Com-  
pensation.

MR. A. C. PAR-  
THASABATHI.

MR. PURESHA  
CHUNDER ROY.

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Mr. R. H. Gokhale ( Baroda ), addressing the assembly in Marathi, supported the resolution.

Resolution XVI.

Exchange Com-  
pensation.

THE PRESIDENT :—The resolution XVI has been properly moved, seconded, and supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. ( *Voices All, All.* ) The resolution is carried unanimously.

Mr. R. H. Gokhale.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Mr. M. R. Bodas ( Bombay ) to move the next resolution.

Resolution XVII.

Third Class Rail-  
way Passengers.

Mr. M. R. BODAS.

Mr. M. R. BODAS ( Bombay ), proposed the seventeenth resolution and in doing so, said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates and gentlemen, it was with great diffidence that I accepted the responsibility of moving this resolution which is placed before the Congress for the first time and which relates to all classes of people in this country. But my task is considerably lightened, because the resolution is a simple one and because the subject with which it deals is within the cognisance of all of us. The proposition runs thus:—

“ That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for recognising the grievances of third class Railway Passengers, from whom the portion of railway revenue is derived, in their recent resolutions on the subject, desires to express its hope that Government will take effective steps to bring about an early redress of those grievances.

Very few words are required from me in evidence of the grievances with which it deals, for they are known to all of us—to every one whether he be rich or poor, whether he be educated or uneducated. Each of us at some time or other comes to suffer the consequences of the insolence or neglect of duty on the part of Railway officials. Therefore it does not need many words to convince you of the importance of the subject, and I will pass on at once to point to the two classes of people on whom these grievances press very hard. They are first of all and especially those people who are most incapable of representing their grievances or bringing their complaints to the ears of the proper authorities !—I mean the *ryots*, who are mostly third class passengers, and then the other class is the women who are equal or greater sufferers from the neglect of duty on the part of the officials. In the case of these latter, that neglect of duty is sometimes attended with most disastrous consequences, and if such things happened in any other country, they would arouse the loudest indignation against the delinquents. As an instance in support of this, I may refer you to the recent Assensole case, in which a native woman was outraged by several guards. Four of them were caught ; three escaped punishment and one only was convicted of the crime. Such cases often occur, but if they happened in any other country, they would call forth the strongest indignation of the public and the grievance would have to be removed. You may perhaps remember the Endicott case in England, in which a police officer who only laid his hand on the shoulder of a lady was dismissed, and the matter was carried into Parliament. But here in India, though respectable ladies suffer outrages and insolence at the hands of railway servants, such matters do not attract much notice and the offences continue as before. The chief reason of this is owing to a want of proper supervision. Government has issued orders to protect native passengers and especially females against such outrages, but these orders are not carried out because there is no agency to look to their proper enforcement. This matter has been agitated for a long time and many complaints have been made in the public press. But it was only brought to a head by a question in the Supreme Legislative Council asked in February last, in reply to which Sir Charles Pritchard promised to consider the matter and issue orders. After that, the subject was formulated into a public grievance at the last Bombay Provincial Conference held at Belgaum, and

we have been fortunate in its being officially recognised by Government in a formal resolution issued last September. It is our duty therefore to thank Government for such prompt attention to our grievance and ask them to promise that it will be redressed as early as possible. That resolution is a short one and although it is very vague, still it is very promising, despite the remark of the *Calcutta Statesman* at the time that it recalled the old story of the mountain that was in labour and brought forth a mouse. I think the Government deserve our thanks for having recognised our grievance so promptly and for having given us the assurance that it will soon be redressed. It must too be borne in mind that in this matter the Government of India are likely to be on our side, because to a certain extent, their own interests are involved in it. The matter might come to the ears of the shareholders, some of whom might rise up in Parliament and call attention to it and the Government of India would not like that. Therefore it is doubly necessary on our part to express our thanks publicly to the Government and express the hope that our grievances will be speedily redressed. With these few words, I beg to place this resolution before you for your acceptance and I hope and trust you will accept it. ( *Cheers.* )

MR. F. RANGACHARIAR ( Madras ), in seconding the resolution, said ;—Mr. President and brother-delegates, I have often wondered why Madras is called benighted ; it certainly can be for no fault of ours. But in one respect Madras is certainly benighted and that is in her Railway administration. It is there, one would expect Railway administration to be good, for is it not the land of temples and ever-recurring festivals, with Rameswaram in the south, Srirangam in the centre and Tirupati in the north ? And it is there that the Railway administration is as bad as can be. Was it not there, gentlemen, that recently it was made possible for a mail train to be dacoited ? Was it not there that a native lady and her old maid were outraged ?—the old maid being thrown out of the carriage ? Was it not there that the engine-driver refused to stop the train, although he was informed by the Police that a lady was being robbed ? And last not least, was it not there that a female passenger was handed over to the Police for having unwittingly travelled beyond her station ? ( *Shame.* ) In times of feasts and festivals, passengers are thrust by Railway officials into overcrowded compartments and the wholesome rule as to the number of passengers in each compartment is more often respected in its breach than in its observance ; and when cars are insufficient, passengers are made to travel in horse-brakes and goods waggons like so many heads of cattle. There is no retiring accommodation in third class carriages and no arrangements for refreshments for natives. Indeed our grievances are too numerous to be mentioned here. In fact, you can imagine the feelings of the people down south, when you find them nick-naming the South Indian Railway in various ways. Unlike in England, there is no competition between rival Companies, and with a guarantee rate of interest, the Companies in India will not add to the comforts of passengers unless they are compelled to do so by Government. It is to Government and Government alone, that we can look for the redress of our grievances and it is therefore that we are ever so thankful to Government for their recent resolutions on the subject and we hope and trust that the Government will issue orders to their subordinates to see that the rules are strictly carried out ; and it is only just and proper that our grievances should be attended to and the comforts we pay for, should be secured to us. With these few words I beg to second the resolution. ( *Cheers.* )

The PRESIDENT said :—Before the supporter goes on with his speech, I should like to correct something stated by the last speaker. He spoke of a lady who was outraged. As a matter of fact I am told that she was not outraged but robbed. There is a vast difference between the two things and I think we in *Congress* should be absolutely accurate as to the facts we have to state : hence my remarks.

Third Day.

Resolution XVII.  
Third Class Rail-  
way Passengers.

MR. M. R. BODAS.

MR. F. RANGA-  
CHARIAR.

Third Day.

Mr. D. B. CHAKRADEVA (Sholapur) spoke in Marathi in support of the motion to the following effect :—

Resolution XVII.  
Third Class Rail-  
way Passengers.

Mr. D. B.  
CHAKRADEVA.

Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I rise to second the proposition so ably moved by Mr. M. R. Bodas and in doing so I shall confine myself to only the most pressing grievances of the Third Class Passengers. First and foremost among these is the very scanty provision made for the accommodation of passengers waiting for their trains. It is only in large stations that some pretence is made of providing decent waiting room, but even this pretence is absent in the minor stations and passengers have thus to be at the mercy of the wind and the rain. Next there is the frightful overcrowding notably in the Southern Mahratta Railway Company. From the way in which the guard and the station staff thrust in additional passengers upon those who are already suffocating in the train, one is led to envy the happy lot of sheep and other cattle which fare better at the hands of the Railway companies. Thirdly, I shall refer to the want of urinals and lavatories in each van. Long-distance passengers suffer from this want very terribly. The provision made for these purposes at the various stations is far from convenient in as much as the lavatories are far away from the platform and are in many instances most filthily kept. A passenger has thus to run the risk of missing his train or go without easing himself. Lastly I shall refer to another very crying want. Whereas proper arrangements are made for providing Refreshment Rooms for Europeans, no such arrangements are anywhere found for Natives. The only provisions obtainable are from Native hawkers who sell frightfully bad articles at very exorbitant prices. I am informed that the Companies charge very highly ( in some cases Rs. 500 per year ) for allowing the hawkers to get at the platforms; the result is obvious. The hawker having no fear of competition can charge his own prices for his worthless articles. The Companies should surely be expected to examine the quality of the articles they allow to be sold on their premises. Then in places like Poona, Kaliyan, Dhond, Wadi and Raichar, I do not see why the Companies should not provide Native Refreshment Rooms as the Madras Railway has lately provided at Guntakal. As the bulk of their income is derived from the Third Class Passengers it behoves them to look more carefully after their comfort but this is exactly what is left undone. With these few words I again beg to second the proposition.

THE PRESIDENT :—The seventeenth resolution has been properly moved, seconded and supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. ( *Voices All, All.* ) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Mr. Venkat Ramaya Chetty to move the next resolution.

Resolution XVIII  
Forest Grievances

Mr. VENKAT  
RAMAYA CHETTY.

Mr. Venkat Ramaya Chetty (Madras), in proposing the eighteenth resolution, said :—  
Mr. President and brother-delegates,—The resolution I have to propose for your acceptance runs as follows :—

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

Now, gentlemen, you are aware that when the Forest Bill was introduced, it was distinctly stated by the gentleman in charge of the Bill that the object of the Forest laws was more to conserve the fodder for cattle and to secure periodical rains in due time by the conservation of the Forests and it was equally distinctly announced that the Forest laws were not being enacted to provide an additional source of revenue. After those laws were passed and in the administration of those laws hardships were felt by *ryots* and were in time brought to the notice of the authorities concerned, with the result that the Government of India passed a circular resolution, bringing to the notice of the various Provincial authorities concerned the objects of the Forest laws, and intimating that rules should be so framed as to secure these objects by allowing to the *ryot* population what by the Forest laws was intended to be allowed to them by the administration of the Forest laws, with as little revenue as possible. After this, while the Government in the different Provinces willingly submitted to this circular resolution and administered the Forest laws in accordance with the spirit of the Legislature under that circular resolution, I regret to find that in my Presidency,—which has been brought to your notice by Mr. Rangachariar as the “Benighted Presidency”—the Government was not anxious to meet the wishes of the Indian Government and the result is that more and more forest is being reserved to the great hardship of the *ryot* population. In the framing of the rules for the administration of the Forest laws, great hardship was also inflicted. For instance, the publication of the notification, announcing the tracks of country to be reserved as forest lands, did not take place in a manner to give notice to the *ryots* in time to allow them to place their views of the matter before Government as to how such notification might affect them. The anxiety of the Government to trespass on what may be called the birth-right of the *ryot* has been so great that lands, which were the property of Mirasdars, are also being conserved as forest lands. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that with a view to lessen the pressure of the forest laws upon the *ryot* population, we should once more go to the *Supreme* authority with a request that they should enforce their view in these matters upon the Provincial Governments. Last year, we, upon the Congress platform, were able to express our gratitude to the Government of India for the circular resolution of which I have spoken and I have no doubt that the resolution which is now presented for your acceptance here to-day, will, when brought to the notice of Government, meet with such success that next year we shall be able to pass another resolution again thanking Government. ( *Cheers.* )

Mr. NAJMUDIN (Satara) seconded the motion in a speech delivered in Hindustani and Mr. MAHADEO GANGADHAR (Bombay) and Mr. DEVA spoke in Marathi in support of the motion.

THE PRESIDENT :—The eighteenth resolution has been properly moved, seconded, and supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. ( *Voices All, All.* ) The resolution is carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Prof. G. K. Gokhale, to move the next resolution.

PROFESSOR G. K. GOKHALE (Poona), in moving the nineteenth resolution, said :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution, which I have to move for your acceptance, is one which, fortunately for you, fortunately for me, and especially, fortunately for the President ( *Laughter* ), does not require much to be said in its support. That resolution runs as follows :—

“ That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Secretary of State for India for his promise of September last to take an early opportunity to reduce the Salt Duty, and, concurring with previous Congresses, once more places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of salt taxation imposes upon the poorest classes of the country—a hardship which renders it incumbent on Government to take the first opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.”

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Resolution XVIII  
Forest Grievances

—  
MR. VENKAT  
RAMAYA CHETTI.

Resolution XIX.  
Salt Duty.

—  
PROFESSOR G. K.  
GOKHALE.

Third Day.

Resolution XIX.  
Salt Duty.

PROFESSOR G. K.  
GOKHALE.

Gentlemen, some of you may remember that in September last, on the occasion of the so-called debate on the Indian budget in the House of Commons, the present Secretary of State for India was pleased to make a frank admission that the salt tax pressed very heavily on the poorer classes of India and he assured the House that he was anxious to take the earliest opportunity afforded by the finances of the country to reduce that pressure, so as to restore the tax to its old level of Rs. 2 a maund. Well, gentlemen, we propose that for this sympathetic utterance, the best thanks of the Congress should be tendered to Lord George Hamilton. (*Cheers.*) At the same time, gentlemen, I regret to say that our feeling of thankfulness is not as unalloyed as one would wish it to be. For within the last few days, the sky has been overcast again. And a recent telegram of Reuter's has brought to us the ominous tidings that the Secretary of State has given a similar, indeed, if anything, a more emphatic, assurance to a deputation of Manchester merchants in the matter of the removal or reduction of the Import duties. (*Shame, Shame.*) Now this is very serious news indeed. For anyone who knows anything of English politics knows full well that if the Indian ryot has to compete with the Manchester merchant for securing first financial relief, the poor ryot has no shadow of a chance in the matter. The competition is so fearfully unequal that he is bound to go to the wall. For, gentlemen, how are the two parties to this competition circumstanced? On the one hand, you have the Manchester merchant who is a past master of the art of kicking furiously when the slightest attempt is made to touch his pocket, owning large money-bags and with a powerful voice in the making and unmaking of Cabinets. On the other hand, you have the starving, shrunken, shrivelled up Indian ryot, toiling and moiling from dawn to dark to earn his scanty meal, patient, resigned, forbearing beyond measure, entirely voiceless in the Parliament of his rulers, and meekly prepared to bear whatever burdens God and man might be pleased to impose upon his back. (*Loud Cheers.*) Gentlemen, under these circumstances, there is only too much reason to fear that when the time for action arrives, the Secretary of State will first try to conciliate the merchants of Manchester before fulfilling his promise to the Indian people of September last. But whatever he does, I think even the most bigotted advocate of Manchester selfishness dare not deny that so far as moral claims to first relief are concerned, those of the poor Indian ryot are irresistibly superior. (*Cheers.*) A few facts will make my meaning clear. In 1882, *i. e.*, before the Salt duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2 crores 90 lacs of maunds. In that year the duty was reduced all round to Rs. 2, and consumption at once began expanding. And this consumption stood at 3 crores 37 lacs in 1887 when Lord Dufferin again raised the duty to Rs. 2-8 a maund. What was the result? The expansion of consumption which had gone on so steadily during Lord Ripon's time at once ceased. And since that year up till now—*i. e.* during a period of 8 years, consumption has remained absolutely stationary, the figure for the last year being 3 crores and 41 lacs of maunds, *i. e.* only 4 lacs of maunds more than in 1887. Gentlemen, we thus find that while under Lord Ripon's reduced duties, the consumption increased in 5 years by about 50 lacs of maunds, under Lord Dufferin's enhanced duties, it increased by only 4 lacs in a period of 8 years. But this is not all. Population, during all these years, has been steadily increasing—roughly speaking at the rate of 1 per cent. every year. And when you take that factor into account, you will at once see that consumption has actually gone back during these 8 years. (*Shame.*) Gentlemen, I will present these same figures to you in another form. Eminent physicians have laid down that for healthful existence the annual consumption of salt must be at least 12 lbs. per head. Now, during the administration of Lord Lawrence, elaborate inquiries were made in the matter and it was ascertained that the consumption per head at that time was about 12 lbs. per head. After that, it began to decline, till at the end of Lord Lytton's *regime*, the average figure per head stood at about 9 lbs. Then came the beneficent administration of Lord Ripon. (*Loud Cheers.*) And the duty on Salt was lowered, as I have already mentioned, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 a maund. Consumption consequently went up by leaps and bounds and in 1887 the average per head stood at 10½ lbs. (*Cheers.*) The

enhanced duties, however, have once more put back the figure, and last year it stood at only 9½ lbs per head. (*Shame, Shame.*) Well, gentlemen, all these figures show that the enhancement of the duty in 1888 has caused a fearful amount of hardship to the poorer classes of India and this cannot in any way be said of the Import duties. All must admit therefore that the case of the poor consumers of salt in India is very much harder than that of the Manchester merchants. If, therefore, there is such a thing as justice in the world, if there is such a thing as humanity in the world, if there is such a thing as a moral obligation in the world, the Secretary of State must give the first benefit of an improvement in the finances of the country to the Indian ryots. If, however, he were to act otherwise, and allow the selfish cry of Manchester to override the best interests of the Indian people, I make bold to say that he would be guilty of grave administrative iniquity, —I had almost said, of a grave political crime. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. A. D. UPADHYE (Kolhapoor) seconded the motion, addressing the audience in Marathi. The following is the translation of his speech.

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—You all well know that we have assembled here in this Congress, to represent our political grievances to our rulers by all constitutional means. Perhaps the greatest of these grievances—from the ryots' point of view, I mean,—is the very exorbitant tax on that article of every-day necessity, salt. And I need not, therefore, say that this question of the Salt Tax is of the highest importance, and it behoves us to study the same very carefully.

You all know, gentlemen, that we can do, if so circumstanced, without any kind of cloth to decently cover the body, or without any the merest cottage to shelter ourselves, but that we cannot do without salt in our daily food for any length of time. Salt again is necessary not only to man but is equally necessary to cattle, and for manure as well. Viewed medically, salt is necessary for the proper preservation of health and strength. You perhaps know, gentlemen, that when we find it difficult to find a suitable husband for our grown-up girls, many persons are found to gravely advise us, to let her go without salt for some months, as a means to arrest her rather unwelcome growth. I hear, a similar regimen is enforced in the case of an unruly European soldier to break him in a little.

Such being, gentlemen, the necessity of salt for all classes of people, is it not very painful to notice that the exorbitant taxation has well-nigh taken salt away from the daily food of the masses. You will easily come to know how exorbitant the tax is, when I tell you that at Goa, a basketful of salt could be had for one pice, but the same quantity costs nearly 5 annas under the benign rule of the Mighty British Government! The eye of the Government is again so jealous of keeping to the strict letter of the Salt Act that when a woman in Karwar boiled salt mixed with rain-water for her own use, she was lately held to have "Manufactured" salt and fined heavily for it!!

Gentlemen, what enormous crime have we all committed that we should be put to this unbearable punishment of going without enough salt from year's end to year's end. None of our former conquerors and rulers ever levied such a high-tax, and nowhere in the world, I am sure, is salt so heavily taxed as here. Formerly we read of kings and emperors, giving handfuls of salt to a person as a mark of favour. But the present Government not only never give us a single handful gratis, but actually throw into the sea thousands of maunds of salt, if the supply prove greater than the demand.

For these reasons, gentlemen, I heartily support the resolution so ably placed before you by Prof. Gokhale.

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Resolution XIX.  
Salt Duty.

PROFESSOR G. K.  
GOKHALE.

MR. A. D. UPADHYE.



**Third Day.**

**THE PRESIDENT** :—The nineteenth resolution has been properly moved, seconded, supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. (*Voices All, All.*) The resolution is carried unanimously.

The President here rose and said :—Before passing on to the next resolution I have an announcement to make. A delegate has sent me seven rupees saying that he used to travel in second class but this year he has travelled third and so saved the seven rupees which he forwards as a contribution towards the Congress. The amount is insignificant, but the nobleness of the feeling which prompts this contribution is worthy of all respect and imitation. (*Loud Cheers and cries of " name. "*)

**THE PRESIDENT** :—The sender does not give his name and I think the anonimity adds to the value of the gift. (*Cheers.*)

**THE PRESIDENT** :—The next Resolution will be moved by Mr. Herambo Chandra Maitra.

**Resolution XX.**  
**Public Education.**

**MR. HERAMBO**  
**CHANDRA MAITRA**

**MR. HERAMBO CHANDRA MAITRA** (Bengal), moved the twentieth resolution and in doing so said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to place the following resolution before you for your consideration :—

“ That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country, that Government Grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn and concurring with previous Congresses affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges. ”

I beg to draw your attention to certain words that are not at present in the resolution but which with your permission I should like to introduce into it. The words I refer to are as follows : “ or that fees in the educational institutions wholly or partly supported by the State should be increased. ” That amendment or addition is one to which no one will object, because in spirit it is entirely in harmony with the rest of the resolution and I have had the honor to identify myself year after year with this little resolution on Education and if the work of the Congress were limited to the passing of one resolution only and I had my choice in selecting it, I should at once fix upon the resolution on Education as being the one with which it is our duty to deal before proceeding to other business. (*Applause.*) A few hours ago an esteemed friend of mine said that while the subject was no doubt of the greatest importance, there was one consideration, which, from a certain point of view, lessened its importance, namely there was nothing new to be said on it. But if we were to go on that principle, I fear we should have to cut out the greater part of our programme. So far as I understand, and I appeal to our distinguished President on this point, the principle of political agitation may be summed up in one word and that word is “ persistence. ” We must not care whether we have anything new to say or not. All we have to consider is whether the grievance we complain of continues or is as great as it was several years ago when we began agitating for the spread of education and if it continues and increases, it is our duty to do everything in our power to make our cry of protest ring across this continent until the unrighteousness of the policy of the Government of India is overcome by the force of our cry. You should be well aware of the fact that education in this country, though it is considered to have made great progress in recent years, is still at a very low level; but I am afraid that many of my educated countrymen are not aware of the magnitude of the evil or the gravity of the situation. Now let us consider a few facts and figures. I shall not inflict on you any intricate figures but only a few of the simplest description. First as to the proportion of the illiterate to

the total population in the centres of the civilised world. In Germany the proportion of illiterates to the total population is 38 per cent., or less than half a man in every 100. In Switzerland it is 8 per cent., in Scotland 4 per cent., in France 7 per cent., in the United States of America 10 per cent., and in India where you imagine that education is going on by leaps and bounds, the proportion of those who are not able to read or write is 94 in the 100 ! ( *Shame.* ) Therefore in spite of all our vaunted progress in education, I think, after placing these facts before you, I am justified in demanding not only that you will accept this resolution but will set your hearts upon it and that everyone, as far as in him lies, will promote the agitation against the iniquitous policy of the Government of India. Now let us look at the revenue statistics and see what is spent on education. In England, they spend 10 per cent. of their revenue on the promotion of education. In India what is the proportion of public revenue spent on education ?—One per cent ! ( *Shame.* ) And have they been going onwards or have they been going backwards ? I am able to say for Bengal that during the blessed administration of Sir Charles Elliot the expenditure on education has gone down by two lakhs of rupees. But has it gone down all round ?—No. In Primary Education—Government has great sympathy with the masses—the expenditure has gone forward by Rs. 84,000 ; but on what kind of education ? On the education of those for whom Government professes to feel great sympathy,—on the education of the children of the exchange-compensated Europeans ! While the expenditure in general goes down, the expenditure on the education of these children goes up. That is the way we are dealt with. In the North-West Provinces, they have increased the fees of Colleges—another way by reducing the Government grant ; in the Central Provinces they have increased the fees of the College ; in Bombay they have been attempting to take away from the University the small grant given to it. In their own country they feel bound to devote 10 per cent. of the revenue to education, but in our poor country they cut us short. We are told that higher education is eleemosynary and that it should be paid for. But I deny that Higher Education is eleemosynary or thrown away. I contend that the expenditure on it is more than adequately reproductive. If you increase the number of doctors, the number of lawyers, the number of engineers, the number of schoolmasters, you make it easier for the public to engage their services and you thus benefit the masses. If you increase the number of authors, you make the literature of a country grow, and, gentlemen, what must not a Government be prepared to give in order to make that literature grow ? Higher Education is not unproductive ; it is productive. The expenditure on Higher Education must not be measured by the number of those who attend schools and colleges, it must be measured by the growth in schools and institutions conducted by our countrymen who have received their education in institutions maintained by the *State*. I should have thought that the plea of Higher Education being eleemosynary was put forward in all sincerity, if any saving was devoted to primary education ; but I have given you some examples of this in Bengal which is considered the most advanced Province in the whole country. Then there is another consideration that I venture to touch on, namely that our foreign rulers have imposed upon the country a complicated system of administration, of the benefits of which the people cannot fully avail themselves unless they are brought up to the level of their leaders. What is the use of your Post office, your Savings Banks, so long as the poor people do not know what they are or whether, if they place their money there, they can get it back again or whether they can trust to the Postman's honesty ? What do they know of your intricate laws for receiving and delivering letters ? Then, what about your emigration scheme ? It must fail so long as the poor coolie does not understand it and only believes that a trap is being laid for him by the recruiter and planter. These noble schemes of policy are crippled and are converted into grievances owing to want of the spread of education in the country. These are very serious considerations. Sometimes we are told that Government does not think it right to increase education that does not repay itself or does not tend to develop the country. If that is so, scientific education should receive

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 Resolution XX.  
 Public Education.
 

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 MR. HERAMBO  
 CHANDRA MAITRA
 

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CHANDRA MAITRA

more attention from Government. Your medical friends have told you what encouragement the best Indian doctors receive from Government. In Bengal, stringent regulations were imposed recently on the students of the Medical College and Government, have declared that they will reduce the number of students in the College. Is that the way to promote scientific or technical education? If you have no space in one College for these young men, why don't you start another? Has the time come to put a stop to the growth of medical education in the country? In Bengal we are twitted with being a literary class. Suppose a few of us do know something of science but what do you do for us? We have two M. A.'s in Geology, and our two M. A.'s are going a begging for appointments, while men are brought out from England every year. A distinguished graduate from England only got into the Department after repeated pressure had been brought to bear on the authorities by his Professor, who said that for years he had not found a better student. And that is the way education is encouraged here! Unless you teach us, who will make the literature of the country? Who will establish institutions? Who will be the professors and schoolmasters? These are facts which, when taken together with the dismal facts I have placed before you, prove that the educational policy of the Government of India is not a thing to be boasted of and the progress education has made in our country is something on which neither we nor the Government have any reason to plume ourselves. Let us realise these things and point to a better state of affairs. Persistent agitation is the only policy we have, to overcome the Government by the moral force of our cry. I cannot imagine a task worthier of the man, of the statesman, than that of breathing life into the needy masses who exist in this vast universe, nor on the other hand a graver reproach against the rulers,—the Government—that they neglect their duty by neglecting to educate and fertilise the minds of the people by bringing them into connection with the diverse literature, and thoughts and ideas of the world. Let us live not only in our bodies but in our souls, and next to religion itself, it is culture that elevates the soul and even the richest of us is poor if he cannot get that culture and give free play to his ideas. In conclusion I call upon you to set your hearts upon this sacred subject before you disperse. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. CHOWDHRY.

MR. CHOWDHRY (Bengal) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this resolution was to have been seconded by a gentleman from America, but unfortunately he is not present and I have been asked to take his place.

( It was here stated that the American gentleman in question, the Revd. Mr. Sunderland, was present, but it was decided that in the circumstances Mr. Chowdhry should be asked to proceed and Mr. Sunderland requested to support the motion. )

MR. CHOWDHRY then proceeded as follows:—I come to second this resolution but there is a preliminary difficulty as regards discussing this resolution on its comparative merit with the other resolutions that have preceded it and that is this: that in the course of 5 minutes, the battle of hostilities might have been won but the cause of education of 250,000,000 of people could not be advanced to any appreciable extent, and suffering under that difficulty I shall try to place before you a few general facts not out of books but from my own personal experience. The first part of the resolution gives rise to the question whether higher education is to be supported or not. With regard to those people and authorities in our country, who want to take away the Government grant from the revenue towards this purpose, they say the reason why they do it is that in England higher education is not paid for by the Government but from private sources; but the apparent failure of this argument will be best illustrated if I tell you briefly the historical reasons that have given rise to the private support of high education in England which in England alone is supported from private sources, and they are these: England was civilised by the Roman clergy and the entire education of England was in former times in the hands of the clergy and the colleges which were clerical corporations were en-

dowed from private sources from religious motives by Anglo-Saxons or British subjects. Later on, with the advance of time, with the advance of religious ideas, these clerical corporations were converted into temporal corporations and consequently the money formerly applied for the purpose of maintaining these clerical corporations came to be applied to the useful purpose of giving the nation higher education and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were endowed and financed in this way. But look to other countries. Look at France and you will find there, two branches of education are free. The lower primary education is free and before a student passes the matriculation from the preliminary examination all the expenses of this education are paid by the State. Then after that if he enters the Lycée and wants to indulge in higher education—and it is higher education which contributes to the welfare of all nations by bringing forward in to the world men like M. Pasteur,—what do you find? Why, that higher education, that scientific education is perfectly open to all people who have passed a certain standard of education. After passing the *baccalaureat*, if you want to advance in the path of education, you find every facility. You find all the lectures, not only in the branches of science, but in the fine arts and other departments of culture, including the lectures of the Professor of Roman law, quite open to the public. So long as you continue receiving the higher education, you have not a *sou* to pay. Then after that go to Switzerland. What do you find there? You find one-fifth of the gross revenue goes to the education of the people. And what is the size of Switzerland? It is about the same size as the Poona District. After that look at Germany. The system of education there, is so elaborate that I have not time to discuss it or give you any idea of it. All I wish now to tell you is that if there is any hope or any means of regenerating India, it is by this European Education, by the higher branches of it, and not by ordinary education, not by those sops that are thrown in our way with which we, being ignorant, are satisfied. (Applause.)

THE REV. MR. SUNDERLAND (Punjab) said :—Mr. President and members of the National Congress of India, I should be dull and insensible indeed, were I not to appreciate the honour conferred on me by the fact that the people of Lucknow have chosen me as one of the delegates of this distinguished body, and by the fact that I have been asked to occupy a few minutes of your very precious time. I have long been interested in India and long interested in this great Congress. I have followed its history from the other side of the seas; I have read its reports and I came here with high expectations and in my tour in India there was nothing I looked forward to with greater interest than these meetings in Poona. These meetings of this Congress which I am privileged to attend are meetings of which India should be proud and also those other meetings of the Social Conference of which also, I think, India should be equally proud. I thought I knew pretty well what this Congress would be but I am glad to be able to say that it has far surpassed my expectations. I was not prepared to find it a body of so great magnitude, of so great strength, of so representative a character and with such splendid unity of purpose and of aim. (Applause.) This body is one India may be proud of; it is one the whole British Empire should be proud of and as it comes to know better your aims and methods I tell you it will be proud of the Congress and increasingly so. (Cheers.) The British Empire should say, as it will come to say, that it is one of the greatest aids it can have any where in the just and proper administration of its affairs in this great land. Now as to the subject, gentlemen, I am called upon to say a word on this question of Education because I recognise that this subject is second in importance to none that is before you, to none that could by any possibility come before you, because education goes down deeper than anything else. All your other reforms are based largely upon this. If you have not got education and intelligence in India, all your reforms will go for nothing. If the history of the Western world teaches us anything, it shows that great free Governments cannot be based upon anything else than the intelligence of the people. Autocratic, Imperial and Bureaucratic Governments can grow, even if

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founded upon the ignorance, the want of intelligence of the people, but if the Government is to be such as you want and we in America wish you to have, a Government worthy of you, then you must have an intelligent people such as you can only get by furthering in every way the cause of universal education. (*Cheers.*) Why is it then, with such importance attaching to the subject of education, we are confronted with this spectacle of the Government of India cutting down, rather than increasing, its allotments to the cause of education? That we find certain Colleges, High Schools and Colleges, are limited in their work because of these reductions and the consequence of all this is that the condition of education in India is as represented to you by one of the gentlemen who preceded me: India's illiteracy is 94 per cent. Don't you stand aghast at that? It was officially reported within the last two months that in one great Province, less than five per cent. of the boys and girls who should be in school are in schools of any kind! Only one per cent. of the revenues of India is appropriated to education! Think what that means! Think of the barbarism of administration that that means! (*Cheers.*) I say it, with all respects to the British Government, in the land where I live, the Government allotments to Education are larger than to anything else. We should not endure for a moment that anything should receive a larger proportion of the revenues than Education. But here you only get one per cent. In the past Government has done something and is doing something but why not go on and deepen, and increase it? I dare say the time has come when the burden of Education and especially Higher Education should be placed more distinctly upon the people but not that the burden should lie heavily upon the hearts of the people. Your rich men, who are able to give, cannot be accused of a lack of interest in Education. But is it the way to deepen interest in Education to cause men, who are able, to found Colleges and Chairs and to let the Government cut down its allotments? Is it the way to cause such men to come forward and render assistance? No, quite the opposite. The History of Education has been that under those governments which have themselves dealt most liberally with Education, other persons have been influenced by the action of Government and spurred on to come forward and make their magnificent donations. One of the arguments used is that there is no money, the finances will not allow of more being given to Education. What a plea is that? Are there no directions in which expenditure can be reduced and the money saved appropriated to Education with greater advantage and benefit to the people? If I find in my family that my expenses are too heavy, where do I start to cut them down? Do I cut down the bread of my children? (*Laughter.*)—No. Is not education the bread—the very bread of life of the children of this country. (*Cheers.*) No, we must not take the bread from our children's mouths. Let me give you two or three figures which will show where, it seems to men looking on from outside, reductions might be effected and money furnished that could go to help forward the cause of education. I find in studying the condition of things in India that there are about 70,000 Europeans here beside the rank and file of the army. I find of those 70,000, 28,000 are holding Government appointments with pay in excess of Rs. 1,000. I find also in India there is a native population of 287,000,000 and I find of that number 17,000 only are holding offices under Government with salaries exceeding Rs. 1,000. Is there not a chance here? I further find that of these 28,000 men who are not born here and are holding high positions, one-third do not even live in India. I find that six crores of rupees are paid every year to men for pensions who are living in foreign lands. Is there not, in the name of justice, a chance here to find some money that might be devoted to the education of the people of India? And there is another direction where even more might be obtained for this purpose. The cost of your Afghan war was eleven and a-half crores of rupees; that of the wars in connection with the annexation of Burmah four crores. Now what are these wars? Perhaps we should say in this nineteenth century that wars of defence are justifiable. But can any man, who cares for the moral life of the world, who is in touch with the best civilisation of the age, say that wars of conquest are justifiable in this nineteenth century? (*Cheers.*) What are these if they are not wars of conquest? It is said that these wars must be carried on to gain surrounding territory as a matter of defence against Russia. But let me ask you, if I am living in a house and am afraid that my neighbour across the street will come and

attack me and burn up my home, how shall I defend myself? Shall it be by building between myself and my neighbour a wall of the most combustible materials so that when once it is touched with a match it will burst into a blaze and burn me? (*Laughter.*) Now, what are all these border wars round about India? They are wars not resulting in sympathy with India or Great Britain. Are they not simply combustible material which will flare up and destroy instead of helping in the case of danger? It seems to me that these wars are not justified because they are wars of conquest. But I say with all regard to England that in all justice here is money that can be saved and devoted to the good of the people of India. There is money sufficient to build up here one of the most magnificent Educational systems the world has ever seen and of building it up in a way which will benefit India as it will do honour to the British nation. There is one way that Great Britain can protect herself against Russia and that way has been again and again pointed out. If Great Britain will so carry on her administration of justice here as to create deep love and real loyalty in the hearts of the Indian people, as she will do if she carries the Government for their benefit, if she will bind India to her by this bond of love and loyalty that cannot be broken, then she will have made herself safe against all attacks. But in no other way can she by any possibility be safe (*Loud Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, the XX resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour should hold up their hands (*All, all.*) The resolution is carried unanimously

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution will be moved by Mr. D. E. Wacha.

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay), said: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—I beg to propose as follows :—

“This Congress is of opinion that the objection by Lancashire manufacturers to the exemption of Indian yarns below 20's is not well founded, and trusts that the Government of India will stand firm in its policy of levying import duties for revenue purposes, as such levy does not conflict in any way with principles of Free Trade.”

Ladies and gentlemen,—While the sun is fast sinking below the horizon, I see that our pavillion is being lighted by the electric light. These are broad reminders that our present Session is about soon to close. I am indeed sorry that so important and burning a topic of the day should have been relegated to the fag end. Under the circumstances it is hardly possible to say all that is uppermost in one's mind within a few minutes. To speak at some reasonable length at this late hour would be simply a waste of time, specially when I know that many delegates have already left the camp and many more are anxious to pack off their bag and baggage for the evening train. (*Laughter.*) Though in a way the Congress would thus be doing not a little injustice to the important topic which at the present moment is the loud talk of the whole empire, it would be wrong on my part to detain you a minute longer than is necessary, bearing in mind that other formalities have yet to be gone through which would at least take ten times five minutes. However I may say this much that the subject has been so well threshed out that there remains very little to be said. Moreover, our local manufacturers will be soon in a position to make out a very strong, I may say impregnable, case against Lancashire in the reply they have been requested to make by the Supreme Government. (*Hear, hear.*) They would speak with far greater authority than I, a single individual connected with the cotton industry of Bombay, could do, however well up I may be in my own facts and arguments

Thus, as no lengthened observations are necessary at this very late stage, I am sure you would find no difficulty in adopting the Resolution after you have briefly heard me. First

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WACHEA.

then, I may observe that all India is unanimously of opinion that the plea of protection raised by Lancashire, though justifiable in the abstract, can hardly be found to inflict in practice any material injustice whatever on the Manchester manufacturers. When every one of the objections raised by them come to be closely examined, it would be found that they fall to the ground, for, they have either no basis in fact or are purposely misleading or both. (*Hear, hear.*) The Government, in this case, is supported by the united strength of all India, Native and European alike. (*Cheers.*) It is doing its level best to respond to the challenge thrown out by the influential agitators and we all trust it will stand firm to the last, for we cannot shut our eyes to the overpowering influence of Lancashire on the Ministry, specially a Conservative Ministry. (*Hear, hear.*)

Last year, we protested, though in vain, against the excise duty on Indian yarns being fixed for all counts above 20's, when on this very platform I made it clear to you that 24's was a safer and juster limit. However, in order, I believe, to give no handle to the agitators, the Government fixed it at the lower limit. This was a concession. It seems, however, that such a concession instead of silencing has only given them greater courage to demand with a louder cry a total repeal of the duty under the plea of protection. This is an old cry. But let us see how far it is well founded. The gravamen of the present grievance consists in this. Firstly, that imported yarns under 20's are made dutiable when local yarns up to that count are exempt from the excise. Secondly, that imported cloths containing yarns above 20's pay a duty on what is really the manufactured article when Indian yarns above 20's are excised without further ado. The difference between the yarn and the manufactured article is also taxed. So far it acts as a protection. As to the first, I think I am right in saying that Indian millowners would be willing to see English yarns up to 20's exempted altogether, for virtually next to nothing of such yarn has been imported for several years past. (*Hear, hear.*) As to the second, it should be remembered that at the best, very little of the total production of all kinds of yarn spun by Indian millowners enters into the composition of their cloths. It was recently estimated that the higher counts spun here are about 2% of the total production. If so, you may imagine what an insignificant trade local millowners have in the finer class of grey cloths. Virtually they do not enter into any serious competition at all with the bulk of the finer class of imported grey goods, the average value of which may be taken at 12 crores; for there is no competition as to bleached and printed goods. Thus Lancashire does not compete with India in the coarser yarns and never will owing to natural disadvantages, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer grey goods and will not be in a position to do so until there is grown at her door the cotton of the required staple. (*Hear, hear.*) Thus the controversy lies in a nut-shell. We have only to raise our strong voice and inform the Government that *practically* no protection exists and that Lancashire has flourished this huge bugbear of Protection with the ultimate object of getting the total repeal of the duty or, barring it, of further handicapping our weaving industry by an excise on cloths under 20's, of which we are now hearing some rumours. It would be an evil day in my opinion when the latter proposal is carried out. There are a number of objections which, being of a technical character, I refrain from referring to in this place. All that we have to recommend to Government is this, that Lancashire has no case, and, therefore, there is no necessity whatever to alter the existing condition of affairs. It would be grievous indeed to forego any part of the duty which is raised for revenue purposes only, and about which nobody in the country complains. It would be rank injustice to make a present of it to Lancashire in the present state of our finances. (*Hear, hear.*) Even if our finances should improve by reason of better exchange, we all should stand united for the repeal of the salt duty first before anything else. We all know how it presses on the masses and how consumption per head has been reduced, as our good friend, Professor Gokhale, rightly observed in the speech he made a short while ago. Moreover it should not be forgotten, as I informed you all in my speech on the Military Expenditure

question, what a precarious item of budget was exchange. So long as it was unstable it would be rank folly on the part of the Government to do away with any taxation whatever. Because the moment exchange again went low, there might be a deficit, unless counterbalanced by a large growth of ordinary receipts which is more than doubtful. Of course, India prefers free trade. We are all free traders. There is not a shadow of doubt that Indian trades and industries have prospered during the last thirteen years that custom duties, save in half a dozen articles of imports and exports, were non-existent. But there is a time for every thing. And it would be highly unjust to India that while its finances had hardly emerged from their depressed and embarrassed condition and while the masses clamoured for the cheapening of their salt, the import duty on cotton goods should go. (*Hear, hear*) At the best the Government might, as observed in the speech of the President, give relief to Lancashire to the extent that the so-called protection is involved. They say it comes to 1½ per cent., but I believe, when accurate calculations are gone into it, it would be found to be a great deal less. But it would be an economical blunder, and a grave political danger to sacrifice Indian industrial interests to those of Lancashire. Ladies and gentlemen, I have now concluded my brief observations. Let us hope that our united voice may support our Government in manfully and courageously resisting Lancashire in its latest attempts to cripple our cotton industry, and in the bargain aggravate the present feeling of discontent among the masses wrought by the policy of external aggression and internal retrogression and repression apart from the iniquitous exchange compensation allowance which has made our Exchequer poorer by 1½ crore, the entire amount of the import duty on Cotton goods. (*Applause.*)

THE HON. MR. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras) in seconding the resolution said :—Mr. President and gentlemen,—I am not going to make a speech and shall only take up one minute of the time allotted me and place the remainder to your credit. That minute I shall employ by telling you that I second this resolution most heartily and I endorse everything that has been said by my predecessor. I also will add that I heartily wish Lancashire may fail because it is only then that the influential Lancashire will recognise the extravagance of the Government of India and might join us in denouncing the extravagant way in which the Government of this country is carried on. (*Cheers.*) If this should prove to be so then this agitation of Lancashire will prove a boon to us all. (*Cheers.*)

MR. TULSI RAM (Madras) said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as a humble representative of the hand-weavers of Madura, I support this resolution, and there is a fitness in my doing so for the proposition concerns not only mill-owners, but almost every one in the country. I have been studying the question of the cotton duties from the time the Lancashire merchants began to agitate. Of late those merchants have been agitating by sending deputations, by publishing pamphlets and sending memorials throughout England to have this small duty repealed and they have sent a large contingent of Conservative members to Parliament pledged to get these cotton duties repealed. You must clearly see that the mill industry in India is in its infancy and as we are paying heavily on tools, on coals, and on every sort of thing we receive from England, the Lancashire merchants should see that they are not justified in agitating for the small duty they are asked to pay. If duties were to be levied on the coarse counts, then Germany and Japan would manufacture these goods at a cheaper rate even to the exclusion of our Manchester friends. The Indian spinning, weaving and dying industries have received a severe shock and will almost die if duties are to be levied on these things. It is to save these, gentlemen, that I ask you to pass this resolution unanimously. (*Cheers.*)

Third Day.

Resolution XXI.  
Cotton Duty.

Mr. D. E.  
WACHA.

THE HON. MR.  
ANANDA CHARLU.

MR. TULSI RAM.



Third Day.

Resolution XXI.  
Cotton Duty.

MR. VISHNU NA-  
RAYAN APTE.

MR. VISHNU NARAYAN APTE (Poona), said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution so ably put before you by previous speakers. We affirm in the first place that the exemption of Indian yarns below 20's is not attended with any of the evils of protection and that the cry raised by the Philistines of Manchester is purely a sham. Where is the protection? Virtually Lancashire does not compete with India in the kind of goods this country produces and India does not compete with Lancashire in the kind of goods that country produces. We have to appeal to the Government to stand firm in the policy they adopted in the *regime* of Lord Kimberley at the India Office. Sir Henry Fowler—that oracle of liberalism in England—thought it necessary, for reasons known to us all, to depart from that policy in the interest of one or two counties in his country. While Sir Henry said with dignity and eloquence from his seat in Parliament that he was Member for India, he did not consider it derogatory on his part as an Indian member to sacrifice the interests of the country he boasted he represented, to those of Manchester and Lancashire. The Excise Duty was levied, he said, to counteract the Import Duty! But why was counteraction necessary when there was no protection as he himself admitted? It was admitted by him and by the Finance or rather Famine Member of the Government of India that the revenue derived from this duty was not the chief or the only reason of the imposition. It was not imposed to counteract the element of protection in the import duty as there was none. What for was it then imposed, but to please the agitators of Lancashire and Manchester? But does this sop please them? While Sir Henry failed to please two constituencies, he succeeded in fettering and retarding the progress of our cotton trade in Africa, Arabia, Japan, and other Asiatic countries. The future material progress of this country will depend on the advance it may make in its manufactures of all kinds of raw products, and it is of the utmost importance to us that the great cotton industry of this country should not be unfairly put down by our rivals better circumstanced than ourselves. Gentlemen, with these few remarks I beg to support this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, the twenty-second resolution has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Those who are in its favour should hold up their hands. (*Voices All, all.*) Carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. Alli Mahamad Bhimji will move the next resolution.

Resolution XXII.  
Omnibus  
Resolution.

MR. ALLI MAHA-  
MAD BHIJJI.

MR. ALLI MAHAMAD BHIJJI (Bombay) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have got to drive the omnibus. I was to have been the conductor but I have been promoted to the rank of the driver. The honorable mover whose name appears on the agenda paper has, I am sorry to say, become ill and perhaps you will be disappointed that the reins have been entrusted to unsteady hands to pass the Omnibus through this session. Time is very scarce, the lights have been lighted and my sight is failing. I am fifty eight years of age, so you see no rebuke can be brought against me that I am a young man, who, being disappointed in Government service, is agitating to get some Government service as has been said somewhere else. The Omnibus is No. 22 and my passengers are nine with two youngsters (*Laughter*). I shall mention my passengers' names and their virtues and shall go on to commend them to your favour and kindness and I hope with your co-operation and assistance and the honourable President's forbearance I shall be able to drive my Omnibus through. The Omnibus last year contained the reduction of the Salt duty but that passenger has taken to riding in his own separate carriage, so I have lost his custom. (*Laughter.*) The second passenger is still with me, for he is too poor to ride in his own separate carriage, so still sticks to the bus— I mean the income-tax. Well what is that passenger? It is "the raising of the income-tax

axable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000." Now you know that in every Congress we have been speaking about this matter ; dilating upon it and hammering at the heads of the authorities not with the intention of breaking them, but to make them understand the thing. (Laughter). The income-tax is lying very heavily on the poor : raise the minimum to Rs. 1000 ; and do not tax those who have an income of only Rs. 500 per annum. I want to ask those who are speaking in the name of Mahomedans, is this raising of the minimum good for Hindoos only ? Is it not good for Mahomedans also ? I will now pass on to my number two passenger, which was the number three passenger of last year. Through this passenger we advocate

" Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105 of the Despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890 and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages. "

I have simply one word to say on this, and Mahomedans will understand me when I say that drink has been denounced as the mother of all evils. What does this Congress want ? The Congress wants that you all shall have the option to say that "this public house will not be open to Mahomedans." Will this do any good to Hindoos alone and not to Mahomedans, or Mahomedans to drink ? I hope they don't, for in the *Koran* drink has been prohibited eighteen hundred and thirty years ago. The other four passenger advocates "The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by a magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions." Now, my friends, is this demand of Mahomedans, is this a selfish demand ? Is it not a demand suited to the present times ? Is your liberty curtailed by it being provided that if you do not wish to be tried by a magistrate you may demand that you shall be tried by a Sessions Judge ? Is it not to be granted ? There is no selfishness about it ; it is equally good for Hindoos and Mahomedans. The Sessions Judge can try you better.

MR. BHIMJI in reading the rest of the resolution said :—Gentlemen, the remaining passengers advocate one by one

"(d) The taking of immediate steps to improve the lot of the poorer classes in India, fully fifty millions of the population—a number yearly increasing—dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and several millions actually perishing in every decade, by starvation;

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

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

and the organization throughout the more warlike races of the Empire of a system of military

the Press

is cited. T

to who are organizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in the people of India ;

Third Day.

Resolution XXII.

Omnibus Resolution.

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI.

Third Day.

Resolution XXII.  
Omnibus  
Resolution.

MR. ALI MAHA-  
MAD BHIMJI.

(i) The regulation of the imposition of the Water-cess by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money in land ;

(j) The giving effect to the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to Prostitution and contagious disease, and the endorsing of their conclusions;

(i) That the system and incidental practices described in that Report, and the statutory rules so far as they authorized or permitted the same did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888 ; and

(ii) That the only effective method of preventing those systematic malpractices is by express legislation."

Mr. BHIMJI continuing his remarks said :—Mr. President says I have taken more than fifteen minutes, so I will simply say two words to you by way of concluding and they are these. These people must not go away with the idea that Mahomedans are not with the Congress. I declare from the top of my voice and from the top of this platform that it is entirely false. If they have kept themselves away from the Congress, it is because the aims and objects of our Congress have not, in many instances, been properly explained to them, while in other instances they have been misrepresented to them. They have been told that the Hindoos have imposed the Raj from the British Government and surely no one would join an institution whose aim and object is that for its aim and object. There have been some local disturbances too here, and retarding matter has been rankling in their mind. But further I am sorry to say that our countrymen have failed to add one or two gentlemen to the list of the Reception Committee in its names had been added, you would have had the support of more Mahomedans than you have now, and things would have been explained and settled. I now bid you good-bye ; there is no more work to be done. "Happy to meet, sorry to part, happy to meet again." ( Cheers. )

MR. N. M.  
SAMARTH.

Mr. N. M. SAMARTH ( Bombay ) said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, and gentlemen,—Within the short time at my command, it is scarcely possible for me to dwell even cursorily on the various subjects thrown together into this resolution. I will, therefore, address you for a while on those which relate to the military policy of our Government and that too in a general way. Gentlemen, we have been crying ourselves hoarse on this subject of our military disabilities since the birth of this Congress. But unfortunately our cry has been a *vox clamantis in deserto*. The responsible authorities would have none of it, as it violates one of the fundamental articles of their political faith, namely, distrust of the natives of the soil. They are afraid that if military colleges were opened here for the natives of the soil and volunteering privileges granted, they would revolt against them and drive them out of the country. Now, gentlemen, when we remember that it was with the aid of native armies that the English conquered India and that even in these days our Musalman countrymen in the army fight as loyally and zealously as the British soldiers by their side against their own co-religionists on and beyond the frontier,—when we remember this, we are naturally astounded at, let me say, the ungrateful inference of our rulers. Gentlemen, we have given them no reason to thus cast a slur upon our loyalty. But even granting for the sake of argument that natives will not remain true to their salt, I put it to thoughtful English politicians which is better for our governing us by making slaves of us ; or, their emancipating us and so strengthening our arms and letting the risk of their losing their hold over the country, as to enable us to stand before the foreign foe that might have the audacity to approach our front? I put it to them, which will redound more to the credit of our Government. Their demartializing us and making us helpless, hopeless, powerless, for he is making it possible for Russia's battalions to sweep over the plains of India like the mire in the street ; or, their treating us as fellow-workers in the

task of evolving a consolidated empire, which will inspire the world with awe and strike terror in the heart of Britain's foes? (*Cheers.*) When I picture to myself India on the verge of a powerful foreign invasion, the prospect appears dim, grim, dusky, gloomy. Gentlemen, it is because we are loyal to the core, it is because we heartily wish for the permanence and stability of British Rule and for the evolution of a glorious Greater Britain, that we exhort our rulers to mend the error of their ways and make a wise and cautious departure from the policy which finds favour with them at present. (*Cheers.*) The sooner they do it, the better. Otherwise—who knows, who knows, the inexorable forces which have thrown back into chaos and darkness several nations renowned in story for the glory of their arms and their wide domain—sovereign wisdom which brings into being and reduces to dust principalities and might teach them a lesson which they would bemoan when it is too late in their insular loneliness. God willing, such a calamity will be averted. God will spare us such a mournful event in the history of our national progress. I have faith in the wisdom of the great British Nation. I have faith in the conscience and the sense of the British people. Let me trust, the time is not far distant when their sense of duty will be aroused and they will become keenly alive to their grave responsibility. When once the heart of the British public is stirred on this question, they will see for themselves that it is wiser to draw the sting from the mind of the hands. (*Cheers.*) I have no doubt they will force upon our Anglo-Indian Ruler the wiser and the nobler policy of mutual confidence and zealous co-operation which will make a Russian invasion of India a positively dangerous undertaking in the name of herself, (*Cheers.*)—a policy which will strengthen and embellish this Empire to a home of liberty, love and loyalty, (*Cheers.*)—a policy which shall silence all brother-debauchery, speech of sedition, paralyse the evil hand of revolt, and spread a lustrous and the Imperial Crown. (*Loud Cheers.*)

the hospitality which we have shown to the earnest endeavour of (Bengal) in supporting the motion said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, these words of mine are a pleasure in supporting the resolution. I am a Hindu devotee and have come here all the way from Calcutta to Poona to express my utmost sympathy with the Congress movement. The *Pioneer* newspaper, quoting the *Bangabasi*, says that the orthodox Hindus do not sympathise with the Congress movement. I do not care to discuss the question as to whether the *Bangabasi* is the organ of the Orthodox Hindus of Bengal or not. But I desire to say this, as a genuine representative from Bengal of Orthodox Hinduism, that myself and most orthodox Hindus are in perfect sympathy with the aims and objects of the Congress. I am a *Sanyasi*; I have no interest in the concerns of this world. My soul is devoted to the worship of my God. And the promotion of the interests of the Congress, I regard as a part of the worship that I offer to my Maker. What nobler worship could I offer at the altar of the Divine Author of this universe, than a meek and suppliant heart devoted to the interests of my country and to the salvation of my race? I have retired from this world, but I am wedded to the Congress and I boldly challenge the statement of the *Bangabasi* and the *Pioneer* that the orthodox Hindus do not sympathise with the Congress movement. (*Cheers.*)

MR. MUNSHI SHAIK HUSEIN V. SHAIK CHANA and several others having supported speeches delivered in the vernaculars, it was put to the vote.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, the XXII Resolution has been duly proposed, seconded. Those who are in favour of it should now hold up their hands. (*Cries of All, Yes.*) Those who are against it—(*Cries of None, None.*) Gentlemen, the resolution is carried.

Third Day.

Resolution XXII.  
Omnibus  
Resolution.

Mr. N. M.  
SAMARTH.

RAI SANGIVANI.

MR. MUNSHI  
SHAIK HUSEIN  
V. SHAIK CHANA

Third Day.

Resolution  
XXIII.

British Committee  
Grant.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT said :—The next resolution stands in my name. In accordance with precedents there are certain resolutions which must be put from the chair and this is one of them. It is No. 23 on the agenda and is as follows :—

“That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, “India” and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1896.”

I have only one word of explanation and it is that the sum of Rs. 60,000 is the same sum that is provided every year in aid of India and of the expenses of the British Committee of the National Congress. This does not represent any departure from the usual course and I hope that the resolution, which does not need a seconder, will be carried by acclamation. ( Cheers. )

Resolution  
XXIV.

Vote of thanks to  
the British  
Committee.

BABU KALA-  
PRASAD.

THE PRESIDENT, in asking Baboo Kala Prasad to move the next resolution, says :—I suggest that we all do rise while this resolution is being moved. ( Cheers. )

“That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them during the present year” ( Cheers. )

BABU KALAPRASAD said :—I believe there is no one present who does not recognize the great obligations we owe to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee. ( Cheers. ) To these good men and true, we owe deep, immense and hearty thanks, and I know you will carry this resolution by acclamation. It is only a formality, for what everyone here feels and it needs no words of mine to commend the resolution to your hearty acceptance. ( Loud Cheers. )

MR. GANGA  
PRASAD VARMA.

MR. GANGA PRASAD VARMA (Lucknow), in seconding the proposition, says :—The resolution requires a speech from me to commend this resolution to you, as every one of us knows, is not only valued by the British Committee, and what work that great services rendered by the British Committee, and what work that the Presidency of Sir William Wedderburn is doing at a great sacrifice of time and money. The British Committee, as every one of us knows, is not only valued by the British Committee, but I may say on my side of the country it is looked upon by the smallest magistrate to the highest official as something which is always on the watch for any official misdeed. ( Cheers. )

MR. G. B.  
MHASKE.

MR. G. B. MHASKE ( Poona ), who supported the resolution, said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—all I have to say is simply this that Sir William Wedderburn is as well known to us here as are his colleagues, Mr. Hume, ( Cheers. ) Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ( Cheers. ) and Mr. Caine ( Cheers. ) and all those gentlemen are rendering valuable and distinguished services in the cause of India. I, therefore, have great pleasure in supporting this proposition. ( Cheers. )

The resolution was then carried amidst the greatest enthusiasm, three ringing cheers being given for Sir William Wedderburn and the British Committee.

Resolution  
XXV.

Appointments of  
General and  
Joint-General  
Secretaries.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT said :—The next resolution will also be put from the Chair and I am sure that it will elicit as warm a degree of enthusiasm as the one which has preceded it. This resolution has reference to the re-appointment of Mr. A. O. Hume ( Cheers. ) as General Secretary of the Congress for the year 1896 and the appointment of my friend Mr. D. Wacha ( Cheers. )—as joint-General Secretary of the Congress for the year 1896. It is perhaps needed with respect to the last portion of the resolution. We have practical experience that our work has suffered by there not being a joint-General Secretary in India and it was thought that no better selection could have been made than that of Mr. Wacha—( Cheers. )—to fill the post of joint-General Secretary, not for Bomba

Bengal, not for Madras, not for the Central Provinces, but for the whole of India. I hope and trust that you will carry this resolution by acclamation. ( Cheers. ) I ask you to give three cheers for Mr. Hume. ( Loud Cheers. )

Third Day.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and three hearty cheers were given for Mr. Hume, while a similar compliment was paid to Mr. Wacha at the instance of Mr. Ali Mahamad Bhimji.

BABOO JYOTIRINDRA NATH TAGORE (Calcutta) said :—It is my pleasing duty, gentlemen, to propose in the name of my brethren in Bengal that the 12th Session of the Indian National Congress be held next year in Calcutta—( Cheers. ) I invite you all most cordially from the bottom of my heart to come there and participate in that grand national “ feast of reason and flow of soul ” we expect to have on that occasion. I can assure you that no pains will be spared to study your comfort and convenience and the reception you will receive there will be as hearty as we have received from you, in this place. Before the Congress is dissolved, I desire to express my heartfelt thanks to you people of Bombay and especially Poona, for the kindness you have shown to us and the hospitality you have extended to us. I bid you good-bye and hope to see you all in Calcutta next year. ( Cheers. )

Resolution  
XXVI.  
Meeting place of  
the 12th  
Congress.

BALU JYOTIRIN-  
DRANATH TAGORE

RAI JYOTINDRA NATH CHOWDRY (Bengal) said :—We have received, ladies and gentlemen, commissioned as I am by the Bengal delegates in special mission, I, in the name of the Bengal delegates, and through them, the representatives of Bengal, invite you all brother-delegates to be present at the 12th Session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta, and I hope you will kindly attend there as largely as you have done this year. When I invite you I assure you, brother-delegates, that though we may be wanting in the liberality of the hospitality which we have been enjoying since our advent here, Bengal will not be wanting in an earnest endeavour to look to your comfort and convenience so far as lies in Bengal's power. With these words I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution. ( Cheers. )

RAI JYOTINDRA  
NATH CHOWDRY.

THE PRESIDENT, in accepting the invitation, said :—I wish to join my feeble and broken voice on behalf of my friends and invite you to Bengal to participate in the little hospitality we may be able to show you. ( Cheers. )

The motion having been adopted, Mr. Bhimji called for “ three cheers for Bengal ” which were most heartily given.

Mr. AMARCHAND and Mr. PARUKH having recited some verses expressly composed for the occasion,

RAO BAHADUR S. B. JATAR ( Poona ) said :—The pleasing duty has devolved on me of tendering on behalf of the 11th Indian National Congress our most hearty thanks to our illustrious President for the conspicuous ability with which he has conducted the business of the 11th Session. As one connected with public instruction I have always admired the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee for his labours in the cause of educating his fellow-countrymen. Whatever he has done as a renowned educationist has, in my judgment, been eclipsed by his conduct of the proceedings here during the last three days. I would not take up more time by making any further remarks and one reason is that it is impossible for me to do so in which to describe the effects of his powerful eloquence and of his unrivalled ability.

Vote of thanks to  
the Chair.

RAO BAHADUR  
S. B. JATAR.

Third Day

Vote of thanks  
to the Chair.

It is not necessary to describe the man whom you see before you and whom you have been seeing during the last three days. All I can say further is that it is due to him that this year's Congress has been at least as successful as any that preceded it. With these few words I call upon you gentlemen and brother-delegates to carry this vote of thanks with acclamation. (*Loud and prolonged Cheering.*)

MR. H. A.  
WADIA.

MR. H. A. WADIA (Bombay), in seconding the proposition, said:—Brother-delegates, I feel it a proud privilege to be allowed to second this proposal which I know all of you are agreed to carry with acclamation, for the success of this Congress is due in the greatest measure to the illustrious President of this year. (*Cheers.*) Those of us who listened to the exhaustive address with which he held us spell-bound for nearly three hours must remember the great labour of preparation that such an address in itself must have cost and that also from the day on which we elected him as our President, his means, his time, his heart have all been devoted to the service which he was to render to his country. This year we have all been witnesses to the manner in which he has discharged his onerous duty and those who were members of the Subject Committee will tell you that on the President of the Congress devolves a larger share of the labour than devolves on any other individual. He has done for us all he could and how he has never spared himself in the work he had to perform. If any one was willing that the labours of this Congress should be continued for a further period, it was he, for he told us he was quite willing that the Congress should extend over another day if the delegates so wished. I would remind those gentlemen who suffered from the ringing of the gong that they were not in his own behalf but solely for the convenience of the delegates themselves. I will not prolong my speech, it does not require any prolonging, but I know I speak your voice when I say that we all wish that God may give our illustrious friend health and strength and long life, for I know and we all know that as long as health and strength are spared to him, his services will always be at our country's call. (*Loud and continued Cheering.*)

Mr. Wacha then put the resolution to the meeting and it was carried amidst most enthusiastic cheering.

President's  
Reply.

The PRESIDENT, who on rising to reply was given a most hearty reception, said:—Gentlemen,—The one regret which is deepest in my mind on this occasion is that my voice has been lost in your service at a moment when I needed its aid to the fullest extent to voice forth those deep sentiments of gratitude which at the present moment are surging in my mind. I feel myself overpowered by those emotions which the situation evokes. I ransack in vain the inexhaustible vocabulary of the English language to find words which would give expression to the deep-seated sense of thankfulness and gratitude which is overpowering me at this moment. If I could have lived for this moment and this moment alone, and then have breathed my last, I should have considered myself the happiest amongst men. I know you wish me long life (*Cries of "yes, yes."*). You have given eloquent expression to that sentiment. Whether it shall be long life or whether it shall be short life, whatever it may be, I call upon the Almighty God to witness this proclamation, this announcement, this solemn vow which I take before the eyes of assembled India, that it shall be dedicated to your service. (*Loud Cheers.*) Yea, it shall be dedicated to the fulfilment of those aspirations, those hopes, those ideas, which have been voiced forth by the united dignity and majesty of my nation; the last prayer which I shall address to the footsteps of the Almighty shall be a prayer for her political deliverance, for her enfranchisement, for her admission to the great confederacy of free States which are English in their origin and in their character, allied inseparably by union with England. Gentlemen, I know how to thank you for the splendid hospitality of which I and my

delegates have been the recipients. It is a hospitality unsurpassed in the brilliant record of Congress hospitalities. I could not have felt myself more comfortable in my home surrounded by those dear ones whom I love above all things in the world. I felt myself completely at my ease surrounded by those smiling faces devotedly serving me at all hours of the day and at all hours of the night. Young men, how shall I describe the loyalty, the attachment, the fond devotion which you have shown in that self-imposed work which is ours? (*Loud Cheers.*) Sprung some of you from the first families in Poona, with recollections which carry the mind back to the great days of Mahratta independence (*Hear, hear and applause.*) you have served us like menial servants. And what was the inspiring motive? What was the dominating principle? Not love of applause, (*no ! no !*) not love of show, not even the sentiment of hospitality, not even deference to superiors and elders, but the all-pervading conviction that the work in which you are engaged is your work (*Cheers.*); that the work in which you are engaged is work in which you are likely the most to benefit. Some of us have grown grey in the service of the Congress. I was a young man when I became a Congressman. Now I am going down the vale of years, the shadows of the evening are deepening upon my life. Our mantles will fall upon you, and that work, which we have commenced, and which we have imperfectly carried out, will be entrusted to your care and to your keeping. (*Cheers.*) That heritage of precious rights which we have received from the past shall be committed to you as a trust to be safe-guarded by you, to be amplified by you for your benefit and your children's children's benefit, even unto remote generations. (*Cheers.*) I think we ought to tender our acknowledgments to the Poona Reception Committee and the Working Committee for their arduous labours. (*Cheers.*) We know under what difficult and adverse circumstances they worked, but there was the soul of love and there was enthusiasm which animated them and which filled them with love and sympathy, and they were all triumphant. (*Cheers.*) Our acknowledgments are due to them and also to others who worked for us, at any rate who helped us if not in an active way at least by abstaining from assuming an attitude of positive hostility. Amongst these workers and amongst these sympathising friends I may mention the name of the Collector of the District, (*Cheers.*) and the name of the District Superintendent of Police. The citizens of Poona, too, vied with each other in extending to us the honour of hospitality. There was my friend, Shri Baba Maharaj, who gave us a brilliant entertainment last evening. Shri Baba Maharaj, I understand, is the foremost Sardar of the Deccan, and if it shows anything, the entertainment proves this that the aristocracy of the Deccan is in full sympathy with the Congress movement. May this be a lesson, a good guidance and source of inspiration to aristocratic families and their connections in other parts of the Empire. Students, too, have done their best to make our stay as comfortable as possible. They, too, improvised a very good theatrical performance last night, and the audience did credit to their intellectual powers as well as to their hearts. Gentlemen, I need not stay with you much longer. Ere we close our business I am reminded I have not thanked the Committee of Engineers, but I can tell you that it was not from want of courtesy or respect, but it was due to the failure of memory. I am glad to be able to tender our acknowledgments to the Committee of Engineers. Last but not least, Mr. Damodhar Ratansey has come in for our

Third Day

President's  
Reply.



Third Day.

President's reply

recognition for the unstinted liberality which he has shown in entertaining the Congress delegates. I was his guest about a couple of hours ago, and if I had not made this acknowledgment it would have been a matter of very great self-reproach to me. Gentlemen, we close the labours of the Eleventh Session of the National Congress, those labours which to many of us are a source of comfort and delight, which to some of us will be a consolation in death. I hope and trust that when we meet next in Calcutta, it will be our proud privilege to be in a position to report further progress in regard to the attainment of those objects for which the Congress has been founded, for which the Congress has been working, for which our Congress has exhausted its energies and its funds through good report and evil report, and which work will only be consummated when our moderate programme has been accomplished. (*Cheers.*) With these words, I declare the Eleventh Session of our National Congress to be at an end. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Cheers were then given for the Queen-Empress, the President, and Mr. Hume, after which the Congress of 1895 dissolved.

# APPENDIX.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

WHO ATTENDED THE

**Eleventh Indian National Congress,**

**HELD AT POONA, DECEMBER 1895**

Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and where elected.
Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Ráo Bahádur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide ...	Bráhman.	Government Pensioner.	By a meeting of the Congress Workers' Association held on 23rd December 1895.
"	"	"	Ráo Bahádur Shrirám Bhikáji Jatár B. A. C. I. E. ...	"	"	Do., also by Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
"	"	"	Professor Gopál Krishna Gokhale B. A. ...	"	Professor, Fergusson College.	By a meeting of the Congress Workers' Association held on 23rd December 1895.
"	"	"	Mr. Káshináth Parshurám Gádgil ...	"	Barrister-at-Law.	"
"	"	"	Mr. Atmáram Vináyak Pátker ...	"	Government Pensioner.	"
"	"	"	Ráo Bahádur Náráyan Bhái Dándekar ...	Kasar.	"	"
"	"	"	Ráo Bahádur Vishnu Bálkrishna Sohoni ...	Bráhman.	"	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Dáji Nagarkar ...	"	Pleader.	"
"	"	"	" Káshináth Balvant Ránade ...	"	Contractor.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	"	Mr. Khandaráo Náráyan Vaidya ...	"	Native Doctor and Druggist.	"
"	"	"	" Gopál Krishna Sáthe ...	"	Landlord.	Do., also by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvnik Sabha on 24th December 1895.

Congre. Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
Deccan.	Poona.	Shrimanta Vasudev Rao alias Babá Máharáj...	Bráhman	Priest to H. H. the Máharája of Kolhapur and First Class Sardar.	By a public meeting held at the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	Shrimanta Hari Rámchandra ... Dhamdhare.	"	First Class Sardar.	Do., also by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajani Sabha held on 24th December 1895.
"	"	" Ganpatráo Vithobá.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Do., the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	" Pandurang Rámchandra ... Bahiráppásheth Uravne ...	Maráthá.	"	"
"	"	Dr. Nárayan Vinayak Chhatre, B. A. L. M. & S.	Lingáyat.	Medical Practitioner.	"
"	"	Mr. Lakshmanráo Yashvantráo Gunjál ...	Maráthá.	Merchant.	"
"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Rámchandra Vaidya ...	Bráhmin.	Pleader.	Do., also by Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895 & Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajani Sabha held 24th December 1895.
"	"	" Vishnu Vyankatesh Behere ...	"	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895; also by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajani Sabha held on 24th December 1895.
"	"	" Vishnu Nárayan Apte ...	"	"	By the Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895; by the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895; by a public meeting held at the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	" Vináyak Nárayan Apte ...	"	"	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	" Purushottam Sitáram Takle ...	Hindu.	"	"
"	"	" Nilkanth Krishna Bápát ...	Bráhmin.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	" Krishnáji Rámchandra Apte ...	"	Money-lender.	"
"	"	Ráo Sáheb Gangádhár Vináyak Mehendale	"	Government P.	"

Number.	Presidency. or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Dele- gates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Reli- gious deno- mination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Home
28	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Rangnath Bapuji Melag ...	Bráhma- n.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Cantonment December 1895.
29	"	"	"	Mr. M. Dhanji Ami- chand ...	Gujarathi Hindu.	"	"
30	"	"	"	" Mohanlal Tribhu- vandás ...	"	"	"
31	"	"	"	" Vithal V. Vaidya ...	Bráhma- n.	"	"
32	"	"	"	" Baburav Murlidhar Hirve ...	Hindu.	Contractor.	"
33	"	"	"	" Udhhav Yamaji Kale ...	"	Merchant.	"
34	"	"	"	" Chimansheth Bapuji Patange ...	"	"	"
35	"	"	"	" Baburav Narayan Subandha ...	"	School-master.	"
36	"	"	"	" Narayan Bapuji Sa- rulkar ...	"	Merchant.	"
37	"	"	"	" Vishvanath Nam- dev Gite ...	"	"	"
38	"	"	"	" Narayan Swami Pille ...	"	"	"
39	"	"	"	" Moti Lilachand ...	Gujarathi Hindu.	"	"
40	"	"	"	" Bhagvandas Sobha- ram ...	"	"	"
41	"	"	"	" Bapurav Hari Kale ...	Hindu.	Inámdar.	Do., by a meeting held at Reay Market Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
42	"	"	"	" Madhavrav Krishna Deshmuk ...	Bráhma- n.	Proprietor and Editor, Newspaper. Merchant.	By a public meeting held by Sholapur People's Association on 17th November 1895.
43	"	"	"	" Nasarvanji Sorabji Anklesaria ...	Parsi.	Contractor.	By a public meeting held at the Poona Cantonment on 24th December 1895.
44	"	"	"	" Purnshotam G. Gharpure ...	Bráhma- n.	Music-teacher.	By a meeting of the Congress Worker's Association held on 23rd December 1895.
45	"	"	"	" Vishnu Vaman Vartak ...	"	Landlord.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
46	"	"	"	" Tatyá Krishnaji Sinnarkar ...	"	"	"
47	"	"	"	" Vinayak Waman Rayarikar ...	"	Jahágidár.	"
48	"	"	"	" Shridhar V. Dáte ...	"	Merchant.	"
49	"	"	"	" Vaman Vishvanath Bapat ...	"	Landlord.	"
50	"	"	"	" Vinayak Ramchan- dra Patwardhan B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	Do., also by the Man- aging Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sa- bha held on 24th Dec. 1895; by the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.

Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
Deccan.	Poona.	Shrimant Balvant Rámchandra alias Bálásáheb Nátu ...	Bráhmañ.	Jahágir dář.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895; by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajánik Sabha held on the 24th December 1895; by the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
"	"	Mr. Yeshvant Nágesh Ránade, B. A. LL. B. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	" Shivrám Náráyan Gokhale ...	"	Pandit.	"
"	"	" Bábáji Shet Támbekar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	" Pándurangráo Páránjpe ...	Bráhmañ.	Raste's Kárbháři.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	" Náráyan Ganesh Páránjpe ...	"	Merchant.	"
"	"	" Bhagvándás Dvárkádás ...	Hindu.	"	Do., held at the Poona Cantonment on 24th December 1895.
"	"	" Ramchandra ...	Agarvále.	"	"
"	"	" Shankar Tukárám Sháligráam ...	Bráhmañ.	"	Do., held at the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
60	"	" Vithal Bálkrishna Bháte B. A. ...	"	Professor Fergusson College.	"
61	"	" Náráyan Hari Athavle ...	"	Banker.	"
62	"	Dr. G. K. Garde, L. M. and S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	Do., also by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajánik Sabha held on 24th December 1895.
63	"	Mr. Vithal Balvant Fulkar ...	Maráthá.	Landlord.	Do., held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
64	"	" Bápúráv Krishna Jog ...	Brahman.	Merchant.	Do., By the Mercantile Association held on 21st December 1895.
65	"	Shrimant Moreshvar Vishvanáth alias Abásáheb Nátu ...	"	Landlord.	By a meeting of the Congress Workers' Association held on 23rd December 1895.
66	"	Mr. Káshináth Govind Nátu. ...	"	Pleader and Secretary Poona Standing Congress Committee.	Do., also by the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895. By the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th Dec. 1895. By the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajánik Sabha December

Number.	Presidency. or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
67	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Ganesh Rámchandra Fulambrikar...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
68	"	"	"	Shrimant Bálkrishnaráo Potnis ...	Parbhu.	Jahágirdár.	Do. held on the Market ground 22nd December
69	"	"	"	Mr. Bháskarráo Anant-ráo Khisti ...	Bráhman.	Agriculturist.	"
70	"	"	"	" Sitárám Ganesh Devdhar B. A. ...	"	Teacher, New English School, Poona, and Editor, Sudharak Newspaper.	By a meeting of Congress Working Association held 23rd December 1895
71	"	"	"	" Mádhavráo Rámchandra Kavde ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
72	"	"	"	" Govind Balvant Vaidya ...	Bráhman.	S. M. R. Employee.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
73	"	"	"	" Sayáji Náguji ...	Telagu.	Building Contractor.	By a public meeting held in the Poona Cantonment on 24th December 1895.
74	"	"	"	" Ganesha Náráyan Ghotavdekar ...	Bráhman.	Proprietor and Editor, Mantri Newspaper.	Do. held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
75	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Bálkrishna Maráthe ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
76	"	"	"	Dr. S. Mody ...	Pársi.	Medical Practitioner.	"
77	"	"	"	Mr. Jagannáth Máhadé Dáte ...	Bráhman.	Clerk.	"
78	"	"	"	" Manohar Sitárám Pádalkar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895; also by the public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
79	"	"	"	" Vinayakráo Chintáman Fadke ...	Bráhman.	"	By the Mercantile Association held on 21st December 1895.
80	"	"	"	" Saidu Nágoji Surveyor ...	Hindu.	"	"
81	"	"	"	" Vithal Atmárám Bachal ...	"	"	By a public meeting held in the Poona Cantonment on 24th December 1895.
"	"	"	"	" Ganesh Chintáman Lohogónkar ...	"	"	Do. on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.

Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Professor Dinkar Trim- bak Ohándorkar B. A. ...	Bráhma.n.	Professor, Fergusson College.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Mar- ket grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	"	Mr. Apparáo Aurangá- bádkar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	"	" Govindlál Bhái- chand Desái ...	"	"	By the Congress Work- ers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
6	"	"	Dr. Sandarlál ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Mar- ket grounds on 22nd December 1895.
87	"	"	Mr. Dullabhdás Val- labhdás ...	Bania.	Merchant.	"
88	"	"	" Kisandás Govar- dhandás ...	Bráhma.n.	"	"
89	"	"	" Dámodar Pandhari- náth Jákhade ...	"	"	"
90	"	"	" Vásudevráo Raghu- náth Dongre ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
91	"	"	" Vishvanáth Rám- krishna Bápat ...	"	Landlord.	"
92	"	"	" Váman Gangádhár Bápat ...	"	Pleader.	"
93	"	"	" Váman Vásudev Pimputkar ...	"	Landlord.	"
94	"	"	Shrimant Káshináthráo Nilkanth Khá-gi- vále ...	"	Sárdár Second Class.	"
95	"	"	Mr. Balvant Ganesh Dábholkar ...	"	Publisher.	"
96	"	"	" Keshav Bháu Sábde.	"	Merchant.	"
97	"	"	" Náráyandas Rávji...	Hindu.	"	By the Mercantile Asso- ciation on 21st De- cember 1895.
98	"	"	Professor Dhondo Ke- shav Karve B. A. ...	Bráhma.n.	Professor, Fergusson College.	By the Congress Work- ers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
99	"	"	Mr. Shridhar Ganesh Jinsivále M. A. ...	"	...	Do., held on the Reay Market ground on 22nd December.
100	"	"	" Vishnu Balvant Bo- pardikar ...	"	Student.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circles.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, in any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
101	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Jagannáth Vishnu Dámle ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on December 1895.
102	"	"	"	" Keshav Pándurang Godbole ...	"	Superintendent, City School, Poona.	Do., on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
103	"	"	"	Dr. Hari Pándurang Godbole ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
104	"	"	"	Mr. Bálkrishna Váman Pendse ...	"	Cashier, S. M. Ry.	"
105	"	"	"	" Mártand Náráyan Tápre ...	Hindu.	Jeweller.	"
106	"	"	"	" Anant Sadáshiv Karmarkar ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
107	"	"	"	" Anant Dámodar Tembe B. A. ...	"	Teacher.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
108	"	"	"	" Bháskar Krishna Kolhatkar ...	"	Merchant.	"
109	"	"	"	Dr. Vishnu Váman Bhágwat ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
110	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnáji Raghunáth Dhavale ...	"	Banker.	"
111	"	"	"	" Antáji Ganesh Joshi ...	"	Pleader.	"
112	"	"	"	" Dámodarráo More-shwar Gole ...	"	Inámdár.	Do., the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
113	"	"	"	Dr. Shankar Amrit Chobe L. M. & S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
114	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondopant Brahmé ...	"	Banker.	"
115	"	"	"	Shrimant Pandharináth Dinánáth Daithankar ...	"	Inámdár.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
116	"	"	"	Mr. Náráyan Harbáji Deshpánde ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
117	"	"	"	" Shankar Anant Deshpánde ...	"	"	"
118	"	"	"	" Govind Harbáji Deshpánde ...	"	"	"
119	"	"	"	" Ganesh Manohar Kharsikar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"



Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, in any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Shrimant Gangádharráo Abásahab Mujumdár	Bráhmañ.	Jáhághirdár.	By the Merchantile Association on 21st December 1895.
121	"	"	"	Mr. Tukáráñ Ghásiráñ Náik	Maráthá.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
122	"	"	"	" Bhukandás Náráyandás	Hindu.	"	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
123	"	"	"	" Ganesh Náráyán Sáthe	Bráhmañ.	Govt. Pensioner.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
124	"	"	"	" Ganpat Dalsáráñ	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
125	"	"	"	" Náro Bháskar Devdhar	Bráhmañ.	Govt. Pensioner.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th. December 1895.
126	"	"	"	" Narso Káshináth Sáthe	"	Merchant.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895; also by the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
127	"	"	"	" Lallubháñ Nathurám.	Hindu.	"	By the Mercantile Association held on 21st December 1895.
128	"	"	"	" Báshástri Lágvanakar	Bráhmañ.	Native Medical Practitioner.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
129	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Bákrishna Vaidya	"	Merchant.	"
130	"	"	"	" Appá Bhujangráo Teli	Hindu.	"	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
131	"	"	"	" Rámráo Pátíl Jhámbre	Maráthá	Inámdár.	Do. held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
132	"	"	"	" Gagál Hatichand...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
133	"	"	"	" Raghunáth Bájíráo Potnis	Parbhu.	Inámdár.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc..	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
134	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poon a.	Mr. Bhikaji Ganesh Marathe ...	Bráhman.	Government Pensioner.	By a public meeting held on the Market grounds 22nd December 1895.
135	"	"	"	Professor Shivrám Mahádev Paránjpe.	"	Professor, Native Institution College.	"
136	"	"	"	Mr. Magandás Bhagvándás ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
137	"	"	"	" Tribhuvandás Mádhavji ...	"	"	"
138	"	"	"	" Lalchand Vakhatráam ...	"	"	"
139	"	"	"	" Vishnu Bhagavant Mándé ...	Bráhman.	"	"
140	"	"	"	" Devchand Ganesh..	Hindu.	"	"
141	"	"	"	" Lakshman Yashvant Gokhale ...	Bráhman.	Money-lender.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
142	"	"	"	" Gangádhár Vináyak Godbole ...	Bráhman.	Teacher.	By the Congress Workers' Association 23rd December 1895.
143	"	"	"	" Náráyanráo Mavál..	Bráhman.	Money-lender.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds 22nd December 1895.
144	"	"	"	" Nurdáppá Shankar-áppá Sírkoti ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
145	"	"	"	" Nijálingáppá Baslingáppá Dhang ...	"	"	"
146	"	"	"	" Shivalingáppá Gurupádáppá Mahálank ...	"	"	"
147	"	"	"	" Nágáppá Shankar-áppá Mahálank ...	"	"	"
148	"	"	"	" Krishnaráo Chimanráo Dhole ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
149	"	"	"	Mr. Dámódar Vináyak Kirtane ...	"	Bar.-at-Law.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895; also by a public meeting held at Mundhwa Poona District 20th December 1895.

Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona,	Mr. Pándurang Náráyan Velápurkar ...	Bráhmaṇ	Vakil to Bábá Maháráj.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
"	"	"	" Vishnu Balvant Gokhale M. A. ...	"	Teacher, Poona Native Institution.	"
"	"	"	" Krishnaráo Bápuji Mánde ...	"	Asst. Secretary, Poona Sárvaṇik Sabhá; Proprietor, Shiváji Press.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895. By the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvaṇik Sabha on 24th December 1895.
"	"	"	" Máruṭi Sheth Málvadar ...	Hindu	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	"	" Govinddás Vishnúdás ...	"	"	"
"	"	"	" G. A. Ambdekar...	"	"	"
"	"	"	" Moti Bulákhi ...	"	"	By a public meeting held in the Poona Cantonment on 24th December 1895.
"	"	"	" Náráyan Bápuji Kánitkar ...	Bráhmaṇ	Pleader.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
"	"	"	" Charandás Chaturbhuj ...	Bhátíá.	Merchant.	Do. Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	"	" Harisdás Nánábhái.	Hindu	"	"
"	"	"	" Shankarráo Náráyan Nátu ...	Bráhmaṇ	"	"
"	"	"	" Mahádev Náráyan Vádekar ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
"	"	"	" Keshav Janárdan Gokhale ...	"	"	"
"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Purushottam Bhat B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	"
"	"	"	" Gokuldás Náráyan-dás ...	Hindu	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
"	"	"	" Chunifál Nyáhalchand ...	"	"	"

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166	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Rámehandra Gan- gádhár Karve ...	Bráhmañ.	Inámdár.	By the Poona Arbitra- tion Court on 17th December 1895.
167	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Vásudev Joshi ...	"	Pleáder.	"
168	"	"	"	" Dáji Shripat Nág- purkar ...	"	Government Pensioner.	"
169	"	"	"	" Balvant Bápúji Fadke ...	"	"	"
170	"	"	"	" Eknáth Avdáji Pore ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile As- sociation on 21st De- cember 1895.
171	"	"	"	" Náráyandás Lál- chand ...	"	"	"
172	"	"	"	" Ohunilál Baldev ...	"	"	"
173	"	"	"	" Kisandás Tikamdás.	"	"	"
174	"	"	"	" Jayachand Mán- chand ...	"	"	"
	"	"	"	" Vishnurám Gopi- náth ...	"	"	"
	"	"	"	" Mádhavráo Vyanka- tesh Vidhaansa ...	Bráhmañ.	Government Pensioner.	By the Poona Arbitra- tion Court on 17th December 1895.
	"	"	"	" Nánchand Mul- chand ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile As- sociation on 21st De- cember 1895.
178	"	"	"	" Pestanji Limji ...	Pársi.	"	"
179	"	"	"	" Lakshmandás Ra- ghunáthdás Guja- ráti ...	Hindu.	"	By the Poona Arbitra- tion Court on 17th December 1895.
180	"	"	"	" Báláji Náráyan Gokhale ...	Bráhmañ.	Government Pensioner.	"
181	"	"	"	" Shankardás Gopál- dás ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile As- sociation on 21st De- cember 1895.
182	"	"	"	" Vyankatesh Shri- nivás Mudholkar..	Bráhmañ.	"	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
183	"	"	"	" Báburráo Bhál- chandra Omkár ...	"	Inámdár.	By the Poona Arbitra- tion Court on 17th December 1895.

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184	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Vishnu Balvant Lagháte ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895; also by a public meeting held at Mundhva, Poona District, on 20th December 1895.
185	"	"	"	" Narhar Vináyak Kirtane ...	"	"	"
186	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Bhikáji Joshi ...	"	Teacher, New English School.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
187	"	"	"	" Rághunáthji Sománi ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
188	"	"	"	" Alimulla Arjimulla ...	Mahomedan	"	"
189	"	"	"	" Lakshmichand Moshchand ...	Hindu.	"	"
190	"	"	"	" Vishnudás Parbhudás ...	"	"	"
191	"	"	"	" Antáji Keshav Sáthe ...	Bráhman.	"	"
192	"	"	"	" Haridás Mádhavdás ...	Hindu.	"	"
193	"	"	"	" Dámodar Vijayarang ...	Mudliar.	"	"
194	"	"	"	Ráo Bahádur Kupuswámi ...	"	"	"
195	"	"	"	Mr. Mániklál Maganlál Saráf ...	Nágar Váni	"	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
196	"	"	"	" Dayáram Tárachand ...	Hindu.	"	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
197	"	"	"	" Vishnu Váman Modak ...	Bráhman.	Journalist.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
198	"	"	"	" Rámakisangir Ganpatgir Gosávi ...	Gosávi.	Money-lender.	"
199	"	"	"	" Kisandás Vishnudás ...	Baniá.	Merchant.	"

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200	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Vakhatrám . Fulchand ...	Hindu	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
201	"	"	"	" Lakshman Abáji Jákhade ...	Bráhman.	"	"
202	"	"	"	" Anantasheth Ganpatsheth ...	Hindu.	"	"
203	"	"	"	" Bháu Gabáji ...	"	"	"
204	"	"	"	Rao Bahádúr Náráyan Bhikáji Joglekar...	Bráhman	Govt. Pensioner and Kárbhári Aundh State.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
205	"	"	"	Mr. Gokuldás Vishnúdás ...	Hindu	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
206	"	"	"	" Náráyan Vishvánáth Bhat ...	Bráhman	Govt. Pensioner.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
207	"	"	"	" Pándobá Yádavsheth Sonár ...	Sonár	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
			"	" K. S. Joshi ...	Bráhman	Vakil Kurundwad State	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
209	"	"	"	" Gangádhár Shítárám Makásar ...	"	Merchant.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
210	"	"	"	" Vásudev Ganesh Joshi ...	"	Manager, Chitrashákh Press.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
211	"	"	"	" Náná Náráyan Bhor ...	Maráthá	Pleader.	"
212	"	"	"	" Gopál Vináyak Joshi ...	Bráhman.	"	"
213	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Bál Gadgádhár Tilak B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council and Editor of Kesari and Maharashtra Newspapers.	"
214	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Davlatráam Vakil ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
215	"	"	"	" Chintáman Ganesh Bhide ...	Bráhman	Pleader.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.

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216	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Vishnu Moreshwar Patvardhan ...	Bráhmán.	Landlord.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
217	"	"	"	" Govind Dhonddev Dandavate ...	"	Merchant.	"
218	"	"	"	" Náráyan Ganesh Ambdekar ...	"	Plender.	"
219	"	"	"	Dr. Náráyan Mahádev Paránjpe L. M. & S.	"	Medical Practitioner	"
220	"	"	"	Mr. Vináyak Ganesh Apte B. A. ...	"	Superintendent, Nutan Maráthi Vidyálaya.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
221	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Náráyan Bodhini ...	"	Jeweller.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
222	"	"	"	" Jayarámsheth Námdev Dongare ...	Kásár	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 22nd December 1895.
223	"	"	"	" Lakshman Mahádev Dargude ...	Maráthá	"	"
224	"	"	"	" Rámhán Rámji Hánde ...	Hindu.	"	"
225	"	"	"	" Banáji Krishna Párasnis ...	Bráhmán.	Inámdár.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
226	"	"	"	" Váman Prabhákar Bháve ...	"	Principal, Native Institution.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
227	"	"	"	" Bhágji Mulji ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
228	"	"	"	" Harichand Jethábhái ...	"	"	"
229	"	"	"	" Lakshman Narhar Indápurkar ...	Bráhmán.	Professor, Native Institution.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd Dec. 1895.
230	"	"	"	" Mukundás Náráyandás ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
231	"	"	"	" Govind Hari Thorát ...	Bráhmán.	Teacher, Native Institution.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd Dec. 1895.

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232	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Achuta Ráoji Mungikar ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
233	"	"	"	" Nuthmalsheth Márwádi ...	Hindu.	"	"
234	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Dámodar Jog ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
235	"	"	"	Sardár Khanderáo Bhivaráo Kunjar. ...	Maráthá.	Third Class Deccan Sardár.	"
236	"	"	"	Mr. Dámodar Yashvant Jog ...	Bráhman.	Banker.	"
237	"	"	"	" Raghunáth Rámchandra Agasti... ..	"	Govt. Pensioner.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895; also by a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
238	"	"	"	" Vyankulál Vijapurkar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
				" K. R. Agasti ...	Bráhman.	Contractor.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
240	"	"	"	" Virchand Kisauji... ..	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
241	"	"	"	" Rámkisan Lakshman Vaidya ...	"	"	"
242	"	"	"	" Náráyan Balvant Chaudhari ...	"	"	"
243	"	"	"	" Ganpatráv Punáji Fadále ...	"	"	"
244	"	"	"	" Hukumchand Ishvardás ...	"	"	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
245	"	"	"	" Gopál Moreshvar Patvardhan ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
246	"	"	"	" Vishnudás Harkisandás Javheri ...	Lád Váni.	Merchant.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
247	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Vásudev Athavle ...	Bráhman.	"	"



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248	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Sadashivráo Raghunáth Medhatkar ...	Bráhman.	Inámdár.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
249	"	"	"	" Bájiráo Bálkrishna Bháte ...	"	Landlord.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
250	"	"	"	" Ganpatráo Krishna Bávdekar B. A. ...	"	Inámdár.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
251	"	"	"	" G. G. Gondhalekar.	"	Manager, Jagadhitechhu Press.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
252	"	"	"	" Vináyakráv Konher Patvárdhan ...	"	Inámdár.	By the Poona Arbitration Court on 17th December 1895.
253	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Shridhar Karandikar ...	"	Teacher.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
254	"	"	"	" Shankardás Shivilá-dás ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
255	"	"	"	" P. B. Deval ...	Bráhman.	Clerk, Jagadhitechhu Press.	"
256	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Rámchandra Velankar ...	"	Editor "	"
257	"	"	"	" Datto Khanderáo Kulkarni ...	"	Municipal Clerk.	"
258	"	"	"	" Ganesh Móreshvar Sohoni ...	"	Money-lender.	"
259	"	"	"	" Vásudev Govind Apte B. A. ...	"	Teacher, Nutan Maráthi Vidyalaya.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
260	"	"	"	" Shankar Ganesh Laváte ...	"	Teacher.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
261	"	"	"	" Ganesh Rámchandra Fadke ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
262	"	"	"	Shrimant Ohintámanráo Vishvanáth Nátu ...	"	Inámdár.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
263	"	"	"	Mr. Mahádev Yashvant Borkar ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	By a public meeting held on the Reay Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.

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264	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Raghunáth Dinkar Paránjpe ...	Bráhmañ.	Money-lender.	By a public meeting held on the Rea Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
265	"	"	"	" Káshináthpant Deva ...	"	Landlord.	"
266	"	"	"	" Bháusing Anantsing Pardeshi ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
267	"	"	"	" Váśudev Balvant Patvardhan B. A. ...	Bráhmañ.	Teacher, New English School; Editor Sudhárak News-paper.	By the Congress Workers' Association on 23rd December 1895.
268	"	"	"	" Ganesh Ráoji Gándhi ...	"	Student.	"
269	"	"	"	" Dnyánobá Eknáth. ...	Maráthá.	Merchant.	By the Poona Mercantile Association on 21st December 1895.
270	"	"	"	" Atmáram Hari Kher ...	Bráhmañ.	Landlord.	By a public meeting held on the Rea Market grounds on 22nd December 1895.
271	"	"	"	" Mervánji Fránji ...	Pársi.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at the Poona Cantonment on 24th December 1895.
272	"	"	"	" Náráyan Khande-ráo Chitnis ...	Parbhu.	Ínám-dár.	By a public meeting held at Junnar, Poona District, on 26th October 1895.
273	"	"	"	" Mahádev Káshináth Joglekar ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
274	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Amrit Bágátkar ...	"	"	"
275	"	"	"	" Yashvant Sadáshiv Dyápádi B. A. ...	"	Money-lender.	"
276	"	"	"	" Vishnu Mahádev Bodas ...	"	"	"
277	"	"	"	" Tátyáji Ramchandra Khadke ...	Maráthá.	Money-lender.	"
278	"	"	"	" Purushottam Sadáshiv Ambdekar ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
279	"	"	"	" Balvant Yashvant Vaidya ...	"	Money-lender.	"
280	"	"	"	" Anáji Dhondoji Butte ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	"

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281	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Tárachand Hari-chand Maniyár ...	Jain.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Junnar, Poona District, on 26th October 1895.
282	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Parshurám Joshi ...	Bráhmau.	Teacher, P. R. H. School.	"
283	"	"	"	" Lakshman Rám-chandra Joshi ...	"	Merchant.	"
284	"	"	"	" Vishvanáth Govind Mahájan ...	"	"	"
285	"	"	"	" Virchand Lalchand Kaduskar ...	Jain.	"	"
286	"	"	"	" Jagannáth Jairám Chaitanya ...	Bráhmau.	"	"
287	"	"	"	" Mahádev Ganesh Bágútkar ...	"	Pleader.	"
288	"	"	"	" Ramakánt Hari Purvant ...	Lingayat.	Merchant.	"
289	"	"	"	" Bálu Mánchand Gujar ...	Jain.	"	"
290	"	"	"	" Trimbak Pradosh Joshi ...	Bráhmau.	Merchant.	"
291	"	"	"	Munshi Shekh Husen Shekh Chánd ...	Mahomedan	Preacher.	"
292	"	"	"	Mr. Mahádev Vináyak Vaidya ...	Bráhmau.	Merchant.	"
293	"	"	"	" Vishnu Gangádhár Gokhale ...	"	Pleader.	Do. held at Saswad, Poona District, on 30th November 1895.
294	"	"	"	" Shivchand Mánik-chand Gujar ...	Jain.	Merchant.	"
295	"	"	"	" Shivrám Lakshman Dáni ...	Bráhmau.	Clerk.	"
296	"	"	"	" Maruti Antobá Nirgude ...	Shimpi.	Merchant.	"
297	"	"	"	" Dinkarráo Báburáo Dhumál ...	Maráthá.	Money-lender.	"
298	"	"	"	" Govind Bákrishna Botre ...	Shimpi.	Merchant.	"
299	"	"	"	" Rakhmáji Mahásheth Bhándári ...	Hindu.	"	"
300	"	"	"	" Shekh Amir Valad Shekh Shábuddin Káji ...	Mahomedan	Káji.	Do. 18th Dec. 1895.

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301	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Khande Govind Gholap ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Saswad, Poona District, on 22nd December 1895.
302	"	"	"	" Yashvant Nárayan Sheshádri M. B. A. C. I. C. S.	Christian.	Landlord.	By a public meeting held at Indapur, Poona District, on 9th November 1895.
303	"	"	"	" Balvantráo Gopál Jávdekar ...	Bráhman.	Inámdár.	" "
304	"	"	"	" Vithal Ganesh Bábras ...	"	Landlord.	"
305	"	"	"	" Bálkrishnadás Rámdás ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	" "
306	"	"	"	" Ganesh Dáji Deshpánde ...	Bráhman.	Clerk.	"
307	"	"	"	" Nágnáth Bhánrao Mahájan ...	"	Agriculturist.	"
308	"	"	"	" Gautam Jayachand.	Jain.	Merchant.	"
309	"	"	"	" Rávjí Harichand Gujar ...	"	"	"
310	"	"	"	" Hari Bálkrishna Dunákhe ...	Bráhman.	"	"
311	"	"	"	" Tukárám Haibati Girme ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	Do, at Mundhva, Poona District, on 20th December 1895.
312	"	"	"	Dr. Hari Váman Bhat L. M. & S. ...	Bráhman.	Medical Practitioner.	"
313	"	"	"	Mr. Sakháram Pándú Kodre ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	"
314	"	"	"	" Rangnáth Rávjí Pátharkar ...	Bráhman.	Landlord.	"
315	"	"	"	" Tukárám Balvant Kodre ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	"
316	"	"	"	" Tukárám Ganoji Vádekar ...	"	"	"
317	"	"	"	" Abá Tátyá Kodre...	"	"	"
318	"	"	"	" Márnti Dhondi Gáokwád ...	"	"	"
319	"	"	"	" Bálá Tátyá Gáokwád ...	"	"	"

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320	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Shankar Govind Dhairkar ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	By a public meeting held at Mundhva, Poona District, on 20th December 1895.
321	"	"	"	" Bapu Rámji Kar dale ...	"	"	"
322	"	"	"	" Rango Bápuji Gáek-wád ...	"	"	"
323	"	"	"	" Bábáji Harji Bhujbal ...	"	"	"
324	"	"	"	" Váman Vináyak Kharádkar ...	Bráhman.	"	"
325	"	"	"	" Bhikáji Anandráo Deshpánde ...	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Bárahati, Poona District, on 3rd November 1895.
326	"	"	"	" Málakchand Tára-chand Gujar ...	Jain	Merchant.	"
327	"	"	"	Sardár Govindráv Krishna Kále B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhman	Inámdár.	"
328	"	"	"	Mr. Gajánan Shridhar Mávlanakar ...	"	Pleader.	"
329	"	"	"	" Lakshmanráo Anandráv Deshpánde.	"	Inámdár.	Do. Supa, Poona District, on 12th December 1895.
330	"	"	"	" Bálusá Shámchand Sheth ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Talegaon Dhamdhare, Poona District, on 18th December 1895.
331	"	"	"	" Atmáram Harakchand ...	"	"	"
332	"	"	"	" Nánochand Shivchand Sheth ...	"	"	"
333	"	"	"	" Kankuchand Chaturchand Sheth ...	"	"	"
334	"	"	"	" Bhagvándás Moti...	"	"	By a public meeting held at Lonávlá Poona District, on 20th December 1895
335	"	"	"	" Lakshman Raghnáth Gokhale ...	Bráhman	Pleader.	"
336	"	"	"	" Náráyan Trimbak Vaishampáyan ...	"	Signaller, G. I. P. Railway.	"
337	"	"	"	" Mahádev Chintáman Vádekar ...	"	Banker	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
338	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Anant Nārāyan Karmarkar ...	Brāhman.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Paud, Poona District, on 19th December 1895.
339	"	"	"	" Anant Purushottam Dikshit ...	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Khed, Poona Dist. on 7th Dec. 1895.
340	"	"	"	" Nāgo Mahādev Apte ...	"	"	"
341	"	"	"	" Ganesh Krishna Gole ...	"	"	"
342	"	"	"	" Vināyak Balvant Dikshit ...	"	"	"
343	"	"	"	" Krishnāji Vināyak Sāthe ...	"	Banker.	"
344	"	"	Nasik.	" Trimbak Shripat Jhyāte ...	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Nāsik on 1st December 1895.
345	"	"	"	" Krishnarāo Govind Kāle ...	"	"	"
346	"	"	"	" Dāmodar Dādāji Mondkar ...	"	"	"
347	"	"	"	" Ambādās Rām chandra Pimpladkar ...	"	Jahāgirdār.	"
348	"	"	"	Shrimant Dāmodar Krishna Hingne...	"	"	"
349	"	"	"	Mr. Vaijanāth Jijāji Ratnapārkhi ...	"	Contractor.	"
350	"	"	"	" Vāsudev Ganesh Sāthe ...	"	Merchant.	"
351	"	"	"	" Rāmchandra Ganesh Barve ...	"	Sardeshmukh.	"
352	"	"	"	" Shankar Ganesh Khedkar ...	"	Jahāgirdār.	"
353	"	"	"	" Mādhavráo Vināyak Khedkar ...	"	"	"
354	"	"	"	" Ganesh Rāvji Kshirasāgar ...	"	Pleader.	"
355	"	"	"	" Vāman Keshav Khole ...	"	"	"
356	"	"	"	" Purushottam Dāmodar Barve ...	"	Sardeshmukh.	"
357	"	"	"	" Trimbak Ganesh Rānade ...	"	Jahāgirdār.	"

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358	Bombay.	Deccan.	Nasik.	Mr. Jayarám Abáji Joshi ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meet held at Nasik on December 1895.
359	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Vishvanáth Naik Pofle ...	"	Banker.	"
360	"	"	"	" Gopál Anant Fattapurkar ...	"	Pleader.	"
361	"	"	"	" Hari Káshináth Kelkar ...	"	"	"
362	"	"	"	" Rágho Narottam ...	Hindu.	"	"
363	"	"	"	" Gopál Krishna Sheth ...	"	Merchant.	"
364	"	"	"	" Shripatráv Ganpatráv Deshmukh ...	Maráthá.	Deshmukh.	"
365	"	"	"	" Anant Rávji Kánále ...	Bráhman.	Mukhtyár.	"
366	"	"	"	" Purushottam Sadáshiv Matange ...	"	Pleader.	"
367	"	"	"	" Náráyar Vináyak Gole ...	"	"	"
368	"	"	"	" Vithal Bhikáji Bhide ...	"	"	"
369	"	"	"	" Trimbak Ganesh Takle ...	"	Merchant.	"
370	"	"	"	" Vináyak Shripat Gosávi ...	"	Pleader.	"
371	"	"	"	" Shridhar Dámodar Gosávi ...	"	Jaháگردár.	"
372	"	"	"	" Rájáram Yashvant Ráje ...	"	Pleader.	"
373	"	"	"	" Narhar Sakháram Páthak ...	"	Religious Mendicant.	"
374	"	"	"	" Dáji Bhilá Pátíl ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	"
375	"	"	"	" Narsingráv Anandráv Powár ...	Khatri.	Merchant.	"
376	"	"	"	" Purushottam Balvant Bhágavat B A LL. B. ....	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
377	"	"	"	" Kacheshvar-Sakháram Deshpánde ...	"	Mukhtyár.	"

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378	Bombay	Deccan.	Nasik.	Mr. Keshav Váman Bhat ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Nasik on 1st December 1895.
379	"	"	"	" Váman Bápji ...	Parbhū.	"	"
380	"	"	"	Shrimant Lakshmanráo Rámráv Sukenkar.	Bráhmaṇ.	Jahágirdár.	"
381	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Trim-bak Maráthe ...	"	Pleader.	"
382	"	"	"	" Shítarám Dámodar Bhonde ...	"	Merchant.	"
383	"	"	"	" Gangádhār Narsinh Ketkar ...	"	Pleader.	"
384	"	"	"	" Balvant Khanduji Párah ...	Maráthá.	Mukhtýár.	"
385	"	"	"	" Shívlál Ratanchand Márvádi ...	Jain.	Banker.	"
386	"	"	"	" Lakshman Hari Kále ...	Bráhmaṇ.	"	"
387	"	"	"	" Shridhar Gopál Pattekar ...	"	Mukhtýár.	"
388	"	"	"	" Ramákánt Balvant Thatte ...	"	Pleader.	"
389	"	"	"	" Vishnu Rávji Rá-hálkar ...	"	Astrologer.	"
390	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Vithal Kulkarni ...	"	Kulkarni.	"
391	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Balvant Khardikar ...	"	Pleader.	"
392	"	"	"	" Budhmáll Keval-chand Sheth ...	Jain.	Banker.	"
393	"	"	"	" Trimbak Ganesh Barve ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Sardeshmukh.	"
394	"	"	"	" Keshav Báláji Dube ...	"	Pleader.	"
395	"	"	"	" Ganpat Rámji Su-gandhí ...	Maráthá.	Merchant.	"
396	"	"	"	" Vásudev Bápji Akut ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Pleader.	"
397	"	"	"	Shrimant Vásudevráo Vishvásráo Chánd-wadkar ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"



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398	Bombay.	Deccan.	Nasik.	Mr. Abáji Gopál Kulkarni	Bráhmañ	Kulkarni.	By a public meeting held at Nasik on 1st December 1895.
399	"	"	"	" Natho Sakháram Kulkarni	"	"	"
400	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Mahádev Paránjpe	"	Pleader.	"
401	"	"	"	" Krishnaráo Jairám Gupte	Parbhu	"	"
402	"	"	"	" Tukárám valad Hanumant Pátíl	Maráthá	Merchant.	"
403	"	"	"	" Váman Sakháram Khare B. A. LL. B.	Bráhmañ	Pleader.	"
404	"	"	"	" Bhukan Bhágchand.	Jain	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Yeola, Nasik District, on 1st December 1895.
405	"	"	"	" Dámodar Bápúsá Patáni	"	"	"
406	"	"	"	" Námdev Tukárám Shimpí	Shimpí	"	"
407	"	"	"	" Bhagirath Múruti...	Sonár	Goldsmith.	"
408	"	"	"	" Eknáth Shámlál Kadve	Hindu	Merchant	"
409	"	"	"	" Jagjivan Khemchand	"	"	"
410	"	"	"	" Bhágchand Chaturchand Sheth	Jain	"	"
411	"	"	"	" Magandás Lálchand	"	"	"
412	"	"	"	" Rupchand Velchand	"	"	"
413	"	"	"	" Bálchand Indarsá Sheth	"	"	"
414	"	"	"	" Gopál Bháu Gujráti	Hindu	"	"
415	"	"	"	" Náráyan Shámlál Gujráti	"	"	"
416	"	"	"	" Dámodar Náráyan-dás Sheth	"	"	"

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417	Bombay.	Deccan.	Nasik.	Mr. Dayánáth Náráyan. ...	Shimpi.	Agent.	By a public meeting held at Yeola, Nasik District, on 1st December 1895.
418	"	"	"	" Bhagyant Báláji Mandáyadkar ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	Do. held at Nándgaon, Nasik District, in November 1895.
419	"	"	"	" Dinkar Sakhárám Dántre ...	"	Licensed Stamp-Vendor.	Do. held at Satáná, Nasik District, on 13th December 1895.
420	"	"	Khandesh.	" Parshurám Shivráam Sheth ...	Dhangar.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Lámbakni, Khandesh District, on 15th Dec. 1895.
421	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Náráyan Bhangé ...	Bráhman.	Contributor to a newspaper.	Do. held at Dhulia on 8th December 1895.
422	"	"	"	" Vishnu Váman Páthak ...	"	Merchant.	By the Dhulia Standing Congress Committee on 18th December 1895.
423	"	"	"	" Gopál Balvant Garud B. A. LL. B.	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Dhulia on 8th December 1895.
424	"	"	"	" Dámodar Lakshman D.shpánde B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
425	"	"	"	" Moreshtar Pándurang Nátekar ...	"	Landholder.	"
426	"	"	"	" Yádav Bálkrishna Upásani ...	"	Editor, Khandesh Vaibhav.	"
427	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Rámchandra Kotvál ...	Parbhu.	Pleader.	"
428	"	"	"	" Shankar Sbríkrishna Deva B. A. ...	Bráhman.	...	"
429	"	"	"	" Mahádev Krishna Apte B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	"
430	"	"	"	" Váman Bhikáji Joshi Vakíl ...	"	"	By a public meeting held at Chopda, Khandesh District, on 19th December 1895.
431	"	"	"	" Vámadev Vináyak Karandikar ...	"	"	"
432	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Chin-táman Khare ...	"	"	"

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433	Bombay.	Deccan.	Khandesh.	Mr. Purushottam Váśudev Agharkar ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Student Law Class.	By a public meeting held at Chopda, Khandesh District, on 19th December 1895.
434	"	"	"	" Dámodar Bálkrishna Bowá ...	"	Pujári, Báláji Temple.	"
435	"	"	"	" Govind Náráyan Takle ...	"	Student.	"
436	"	"	"	" Gangáram Champálal Márvádi ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
437	"	"	"	" Bhágchand Chhagandás Gujaráti...	"	"	By a public meeting held at Amalner, Khandesh District, on 17th Dec. 1895.
438	"	"	"	" Váśudev Dáji Muthe ...	Bráhmaṇ.	"	"
439	"	"	"	" Vináyak Govind Bhide ...	"	Pleader.	"
440	"	"	"	" Eknáth Khandarav Muthe ...	"	Merchant.	"
441	"	"	"	" Mádhav Trimbak Deshmukh Deshpánde ...	"	Agriculturist.	By a public meeting held at Betawad, Khandesh District, on 12th December 1895.
442	"	"	"	Shrimant Sardársing Dalpatsing Rául...	Rajput.	Inámdár.	Do. at Sindkhed, Khandesh District, on 3rd December 1895.
443	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Appáji Upásani ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Diwan of Rául State.	"
444	"	"	"	" Shekh Haidarali Shekh Samsudín Mullá Bohori ...	Mahomedan	Merchant.	"
445	"	"	"	" Yádav Govind Páreke ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Pleader.	Do. at Nandurbár, Khandesh District, on 8th November 1895.
446	"	"	"	" Gangádhár Harcharandás Desái...	Porvád Váni.	Kárbhári.	"
447	"	"	"	" Náro Dhákdev Chaugule ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Pleader.	Do. at Jalgaon, Khandesh District, on 24th November 1895.
448	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Vináyak Chaugule ...	"	"	"
449	"	"	"	" Govind Káshináth Chándorkar B. A....	"	"	"

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450	Bombay.	Deccan.	Khandesh	Mr Abáji Rágho Mahálas ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Jalgaon, Khandesh District, on 24th November 1895.
451	"	"	"	" Mádhavráv Lakshman Khámbete. ...	"	"	"
452	"	"	"	" Vináyak Vásudev Sahasrabuddhe ...	"	"	"
453	"	"	"	" Saráf ali Mahamad ali Bohori ...	Mahomedan	Proprietor of a Ginning Factory, Erandol	Do. Erandol, Khandesh District, on 15th December 1895.
454	"	"	"	" Ganesh Krishna Dabir ...	Bráhman.	Money-lender.	"
455	"	"	"	" Vishnu Chimnáji Vád ...	"	Pleader.	"
456	"	"	"	" Bhikáji Dhonddev Nigudkar. ...	"	"	"
457	"	"	"	" Bápúji Gopál Tapasvi ...	"	"	Do. Bhadgaon, Khandesh District, on 8th December 1895.
458	"	"	"	" Govindráv Náráyan Tembulkar ...	"	Inámdár.	"
459	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Náráyan Karandikar ...	"	Pleader.	"
460	"	"	"	" Vásudev Dhonddev Kelkar ...	"	"	"
461	"	"	"	" Vishvásráv Jayarám Deshmukh ...	Maráthá.	Merchant.	By the subscribers to the Victoria Native General Library at Amalner, Khandesh District, on 17th December 1895.
462	"	"	"	" Yashvant Rávji Bangáli ...	Bráhman.	"	"
463	"	"	Hyderabad State.	" Vishnu Sadáshiv ...	"	Editor, Gulburgá Samá-chár.	By a public meeting held at Gulburga, Nizam's State on 2nd December 1895.
464	"	"	"	" Vítbalráv Lakshmanráv ...	"	Pleader.	"
465	"	"	"	" Gopálráv Vítbalráv ...	"	"	"
466	"	"	"	" Govindráv Appáráv ...	"	"	"

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467	Bombay.	Deccan.	Hyderabad State.	Mr. Keshav Santuk-ráv. ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Gulburgá, Nizam's State, on 2nd December 1895.
468	"	"	"	" Giriráv Sheshgir-ráv ...	"	"	"
469	"	"	"	" Giriráv Mahádev-ráv ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"
470	"	"	"	" Pandharináthráv ...	"	Pleader.	"
471	"	"	"	" Rangráv Anant Ayáchit ...	"	"	"
472	"	"	"	" C. A. Battenburgh.	Christian.	"	Do. at Secanderabad, Nizam's State, on 16th December 1895.
473	"	"	"	" Seymore Keay ...	"	Mill Agent Hyderabad.	"
474	"	"	"	" P. Rámchandra Pillay. ...	Hindu.	Pleader.	"
475	"	"	"	" A. Hanumantráv Mudliár ...	"	Banker.	"
476	"	"	"	" Sheshádri Rámchandra ...	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	"
477	"	"	"	" Govind Rámchandra ...	"	"	"
478	"	"	"	" P. Krishna Ayan-gár. ...	Hindu.	Pleader.	"
479	"	Ahmed-nagar.	Ahmed-nagar.	" Sitárám Mártand Deshmukh ...	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Ahmednagar on 24th November 1895.
480	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Rámchandra Salunke...	Rangári.	"	"
481	"	"	"	" Bhagvantráv bin Ganpatráv ...	Maráthá	Jahágirdár.	"
482	"	"	"	" Pandharináth Bápuji Bháleráv ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
483	"	"	"	" Anant Krishna Pa-ránje ...	"	Teacher.	"
484	"	"	"	" Shankar Khevráj Márvádi ...	Vaishya.	Merchant.	"

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485	Bombay	Ahmednagar.	Ahmednagar.	Mr. Gopáldás Fattchand ...	Vaishya	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Ahmednagar on 24th November 1895.
486	"	"	"	" Vishnu Ganesh Soman ...	Bráhmaṇ.	"	"
487	"	"	"	" Rupchand Jivandás.	Vaishya	"	"
488	"	"	"	" Rámabakas Jethirám Márvádi ...	Hindu.	"	"
489	"	"	"	" Shekh Hayát Saheb Shekh Munim Khatim ...	Mahomedan	Inámdár.	"
490	"	"	"	" Talakhchand Kapurchand ...	Vaishya	Merchant.	"
491	"	"	"	" Magan Nathurám Sheth ...	"	"	"
492	"	"	"	" Mádhavráv Gangádhár ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Pleader.	"
493	"	"	"	" Náráyan Abáji Deshpánde ...	"	Clerk.	"
494	"	"	"	" Pandharináth Dádáji ...	"	Merchant.	"
495	"	"	"	" Báikrishna Trimbak Hosing ...	"	Kulkarni.	"
496	"	"	"	" Anná Shambhu Dongre ...	Lingáyat	Merchant.	"
497	"	"	"	" Vámanráv Jiváji Deshmukh ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Landlord.	"
498	"	"	"	" Bhagvándás Javanmal Márvádi ...	Hindu.	Trader.	"
499	"	"	"	" Náráyan Malhár.	Bráhmaṇ.	Pleader.	"
500	"	"	"	" Gopálrao Lakshman Mirikar ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"
501	"	"	"	" Vináyak Balvant Chankar ...	"	Pleader.	"
502	"	"	"	" Keshav Vishvánáth Patvardhan B. A. ...	"	"	By a special meeting of the Liberal Club at Ahmednagar on 16th December 1895.

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503	Bombay.	Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar.	Mr. Shankar Gangádhara Ránade ...	Bráhma.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Ahmednagar or 24th Nov. 1895.
504	"	"	"	" Kondo Ránoji Gháte ...	Shimpi.	Landlord.	"
505	"	"	"	" Káshináth Vináyak Bháve ...	Bráhma.	Pleader.	"
506	"	"	"	" Ráje Vyankatráv bin Jayavantráv Deshmukh ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	"
507	"	"	"	" Shivrám Náráyan Nisál B. A. ...	Bráhma.	Merchant.	"
508	"	"	"	" Raghunáthráv alias Rájásáheb Jinsivále ...	"	"	"
509	"	"	"	" Trimbakji bin Gahináji ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	"
510	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Shankar Gatne ...	Bráhma.	Pleader.	"
511	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Govind ...	"	"	"
512	"	"	"	" Mohanlál Hirálál ...	Káyastha.	"	"
513	"	"	"	" Mir Pyáresáheb valad Bachhyá Miyá Kazi ...	Mahomedan	Inámdár.	"
514	"	"	"	" Lakshman Rávji Borhode ...	Máli.	Agriculturist.	"
515	"	"	"	" Yashvant Trimbak Khisti ...	Bráhma.	Clerk.	"
516	"	"	"	" Vishvanáth Balvant Sohoni ...	"	Merchant.	"
517	"	"	"	" Ganesh Krishna Dábholkar ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"
518	"	"	"	Ráv Sáheb Moro Krishna Dábholkar	"	"	"
519	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbak Krishna Joshi ...	"	Pleader.	"
520	"	"	"	" Narhar Bálkrishna Deshmukh ...	"	"	"
521	"	"	"	Rev. H. M. Lawson ...	Christian.	American Missionary and Preacher at Ahmednagar.	"
522	"	"	"	Mr. Ohhaganmal Harbirmal Márvádi ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"

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523	Bombay.	Ahmednagar.	Ahmednagar.	Mr. Vallabhdás Dosábhái Gujaráti ...	Hindu	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Ahmednagar on 24th November 1895.
524	"	"	"	" Hajárimál Kálurám Márvádi ...	"	"	"
525	"	"	"	" Haridás Dámodardás Gujaráti ...	"	"	"
526	"	"	"	" Punamchand Navalmal Márvádi ...	"	"	"
527	"	"	"	Revd. R. A. Hume M. A. D. D. ...	Christian.	Missionary, American Mission, Ahmednagar.	"
528	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnáji Vináyak Váble ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	"
529	"	"	"	" Vithalráv Balvant-ráv Deshpánde ...	"	Govt. Pensioner	"
530	"	"	"	" Shankarráv Raghunáth Deshpánde ...	"	Deshpánde.	"
531	"	"	"	" Pandharináth Dádá Mungi ...	"	Landlord.	"
532	"	"	"	" Balvant Bábáji Deshpánde B. A. ...	"	Land-owner.	"
533	"	"	"	" Sahadev Rávji Bágade ...	Sáli.	Landlord.	"
534	"	"	"	" Pralhád Náráyan Deshpánde ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
535	"	"	"	" Mohaniráj Ganesh. ...	"	"	"
536	"	"	"	" Mádhavráv Náráyan Deshpánde ...	"	Merchant.	"
537	"	"	"	" Lakshman Bápúji Auti ...	"	Agriculturist.	"
538	"	"	"	" Moro Vátman Gune. ...	"	"	"
539	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Vyankatesh Jog ...	"	Pleader.	"
540	"	"	"	" Yashvantráv Ambekar ...	Maráthá	Patil Sangamner.	Do. at Sangamner, Ahmednagar District, on 24th November 1895.
541	"	"	"	" Shankar Vithal Deshpánde ...	Bráhman	Clerk.	"



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542	Bombay.	Ahmed- nagar.	Ahmed- nagar.	Mr. Keshav Bápuji ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Ahmednagar Dis- trict, on 24th Novem- ber, 1895; also Do. Ahmednagar on 24th November 1895.
543	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Anand- ráv ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"
544	"	"	"	" Nhane Miyá ...	Mahomedan	Agriculturist.	"
545	"	"	"	" Náráyan Vishnu Garbhe ...	Bráhmañ.	Clerk.	"
546	"	"	"	" Mávji Málji Pátíl Pokharkar ...	Maráthá.	Agriculturist.	Do., also by a public meeting held at Ahmednagar on 24th November 1895.
547	"	"	"	" Bháu Sávyarám Kothastháne ...	Bráhmañ.	Banker.	Do., at Vámbori, Ahmednagar District, on 12th December 1895.
548	"	"	"	" Náráyan Gajánan Nisál ...	"	"	By the Liberal Club at Ahmednagar on 16th December 1895.
549	"	Satara.	Satara.	" Váman Ganesh Ghánekar ...	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Satara on 18th De- cember 1895.
550	"	"	"	" Vámanráo Ganesh Fadnis ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
551	"	"	"	" Ganpati Haribá Bagáde ...	Shimpi.	Tailor.	"
552	"	"	"	" Bandobá Bajábá Kále ...	Maráthá.	Landholder.	"
553	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Rám- chandra Dánekar ...	Bráhmañ.	Govt. Pensioner.	"
554	"	"	"	" Sakháram Nilkanth Kánhere ...	"	Inámdár.	"
555	"	"	"	" Mádhavráv Gopál Kuber ...	"	Pleader.	"
556	"	"	"	" Dámodar Gangá- dhar Divekar ...	"	"	"
557	"	"	"	" Mahádev Gopál Inámdár ...	"	Inámdár.	"
558	"	"	"	" Dattátraya Balvant Párasnis ...	"	Editor, Maháráshtra Kokil.	"
559	"	"	"	" Balvant Rám- chandra Joglekar...	"	Pleader.	"

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560	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Mr. Vyankatesh Káshináth Dravid ...	Bráhmañ.	Merohant.	By a public meeti held at Satara 18th December 189
561	"	"	"	" Balvant Vithal Garvare ...	"	Money-lender.	"
562	"	"	"	" Náráyan Krishna Agáshé B. A. LL. B.	"	Pleader.	"
563	"	"	"	" Váñudev Ramchandra Joglekar.	"	"	"
564	"	"	"	" Durzáram Maniráñ Saráf ...	"	Merohant.	"
565	"	"	"	" Shítaráñ Vithobá Bájári ...	Hindu.	"	"
566	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Vyankatesh Faráskháñe...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	"
567	"	"	"	" Rámabháñ Tukaráñ Akñujkar ...	Hindu.	Merohant.	"
568	"	"	"	" Dhondiáppá Máñnyábá ...	"	"	"
569	"	"	"	" Lakshman Váñan Khatávkar ...	Bráhmañ.	Editor, Vritta-Sudhá.	"
570	"	"	"	" Váñanráv Rámchandra Gokhale.	"	Pleader.	"
571	"	"	"	" Váñudev Rámchandra Bhurke ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
572	"	"	"	" Rávji Hari Elgáññkar ...	Bráhmañ.	Money-lender.	"
573	"	"	"	" Ganesh Vishññ Shende ...	"	"	"
574	"	"	"	" Krishñaráv Rámchandra Garvare...	"	Merchant.	"
575	"	"	"	" Ohintu Rámchandra Dhandarfale ...	"	Pleader.	"
576	"	"	"	" Vishññ Divákar Dámle ...	"	Money-lender.	"
577	"	"	"	" Gopál Bábúji Páránjpe ...	"	Pleader.	"

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578	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Mr. Dattatreya Nārāyan Nābar B. A. LL. B. ...	Hindu.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Satara - 18th December 189
579	"	"	"	" Vāsudev Lakshman Phatkaji ...	Brahman.	Ināmdār.	"
580	"	"	"	" Abedin Asadalli Sheth ...	Mahomedan	Merchant.	"
581	"	"	"	" Shankar Raghunāth Kolhatkar ...	Brāhman	Pleader.	"
582	"	"	"	" Nārāyan Pāndurang Agte ...	"	Ināmdār.	"
583	"	"	"	" Ganesh Pāndurang Agte ...	"	"	"
584	"	"	"	" Sadāshiv Rām chandra Gokhale...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
585	"	"	"	" Ganesh Gopāl Kuber ...	"	Pleader.	"
586	"	"	"	" Rāvji Rāmchandra Kāle B. A. LL. B....	"	"	"
587	"	"	"	" Balvant Shridhar Sahasrabuddhe ...	"	"	"
588	"	"	"	" Māruti Manyābā Chankvāle ...	Hindu	Merchant.	"
589	"	"	"	" Govind Vishnu Rānade ...	Brāhman	Pleader.	"
590	"	"	"	" Krishnarāv Sakhārām Mahājani ...	"	Ināmdār.	"
591	"	"	"	" Chandubhāi Bāpūbhāi Atār ...	Mahomedan	Perfumer.	"
592	"	"	"	" Rāmchandra Gopāl Rājopādhe ...	Brāhman	Ināmdār.	"
593	"	"	"	" Anant Gopāl Rājopādhe ...	"	"	"
594	"	"	"	" Ganesh Ballāl Fansalkar ...	"	High Court Pleader.	"
595	"	"	"	" Raghunāth Pāndurang Karandikar.	"	"	"
596	"	"	"	" Dattatreya Rāmchandra Chitale ...	"	Editor Shubhasuchak.	"

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597	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Mr. Bhagvándás Narot-tamdás Gujar ...	Hindu	Banker	By a public meeting held at Satara on 18th December 1895.
598	"	"	"	" Ganpat Vithal Deshmukh ...	Maráthá.	Inámdár.	"
599	"	"	"	" Shántáram Vithal Makasare ...	Christian.	Private Servant.	"
600	"	"	"	" Najamudin Kama-rudin ...	Mahomedan	Merchant.	"
601	"	"	"	" Raghunáthráv Ram-chandra Panditráv.	Bráhman.	Inámdár.	"
602	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Balvant Retrekar ...	"	"	Do., at Karhád, Satara District, on 15th December 1895.
603	"	"	"	" Bájiráv Bhavánráv Retrekar ...	"	"	"
604	"	"	"	" Váman Gopál Kir-pekar ...	"	Merchant.	Do., on 10th November 1895.
605	"	"	"	" Vishvanáth Raghunáth Kolhatkar ...	"	Pleader.	Do., on 15th December 1895.
606	"	"	"	" Kondo Keshav Sahasrabuddhe ...	"	"	"
607	"	"	"	" G. R. Kiráne L. C. E.	"	Engineer.	"
608	"	"	"	" Vithal Mahipat Saprekar ...	"	Pleader.	"
609	"	"	"	" Pándurang Keshav Shirálkar ...	"	Banker.	"
610	"	"	"	" Datto Jiváji Kul-karni ...	"	Pleader.	"
611	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Shitáram Deshpánde ...	"	Inámdár.	"
612	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Mahádev Deshpánde ...	"	"	"
613	"	"	"	" Vishnu Rájáram Joshi ...	"	Contractor.	"
614	"	"	"	" Vásudev Hari Su-khátme ...	"	Merchant.	"
615	"	"	"	" Bápú Gopál Gáire.	"	"	"

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616	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Mr. Balvantráo Nárá- yan Belápurkar ...	Bráhmañ.	Banker.	By a public meeting held at Karháð, Sa- tara District, on 15th December 1895.
617	"	"	"	" Cháñdsáheb Mam- shá Káji ...	Mahomedan	Landlord.	Do. Do. 10th Decem- ber 1895.
618	"	"	"	" RámkrishnaMádhav- ráv Vaidya, ...	Bráhmañ.	Inámdár.	Do. Wai, Satara Dis- trict, on 14th De- cember 1895.
619	"	"	"	Ráo Baháður Janárdan Sakháram Gáðgil B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pensioner.	"
620	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman More- shwar Shástri Halbe ...	"	Clerk.	"
621	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Kri- shna Kothavle ...	"	Inámdár.	"
622	"	"	"	" Káshináth Váman Lele ...	"	Proprietor, Modá Vritta Press.	"
623	"	"	"	" Janárdhan Mahá- dev Gokhale ...	"	Pleader.	"
624	"	"	"	" Govindráo Yash- vant Ráste ...	"	Inámdár.	"
625	"	"	"	" Govind. Dhonddev Limaye ...	"	Pleader.	Do. at Válvá, Satara District, on 1st De- cember 1895.
626	"	"	"	" Balvant Náráyan Tagre ...	"	Merchant.	"
627	"	"	"	" Náráyan Hari Tal- valkar ...	"	"	Do. at Islámpur, Satara District, on 1st De- cember 1895.
628	"	"	"	" Murgáppá Dáðobá Mahájan ...	Lingáyat.	"	"
629	"	"	"	" Gopál Narhar Sapre. ...	Bráhmañ.	"	"
630	"	"	"	" Náráyanráv Dha- nájiráv Thorát ...	Maráthá.	Inámdár.	"
631	"	"	"	" Ganesh Govind Deshpáñde ...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	Do. at Válgaon, Sata- ra District, on 1st December 1895.
632	"	"	"	" Dinkar Rávji Kuber ...	"	Pleader.	Do. Islámpur Do. 18th December 1895.

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633	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Mr. Bálkrishna Sadáshiv Ránade ...	Bráhma.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Válvá on 1st December 1895.
634	"	"	"	" Gopál Keshav Limaye ...	"	"	Do. Vitá Do. 18th December 1895.
635	"	"	"	" Gopál Vishnu Ránade ...	"	Inámdár.	"
636	"	"	"	" Váman Shridhar Páthak ...	"	Pleader.	"
637	"	"	"	" Mahádev Appáji Ghodhake ...	"	"	Do. Khatáv, Do. 18th December 1895.
638	"	"	"	" Bápu Krishna Vaidya ...	"	"	"
639	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Hemachand Gujar ...	Hindu.	Trader.	Do. Dahivádi Do.
640	"	"	"	Shrimant Narsingráv Anandráv Máne Ráje ...	Maráthá.	Inámdár.	"
641	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Dáji Keskar ...	Bráhma.	"	"
642	"	"	"	" Shrinivás Lakshman Chipde ...	"	Pleader.	Do. Tásgáon Do. 1st December 1895.
643	"	"	"	" Gopál Hanumant Jog ...	"	"	"
644	"	"	"	" Govind Yashvant Kanjalgikar ...	Bráhma.	"	"
645	"	"	"	" Krishnará. Yashvantráv Jog ...	"	Landlord.	"
646	"	"	"	" Báláji Vináyak Kaulgikar ...	"	"	"
647	"	"	"	" Pándurang Báláji Apte ...	"	Merchant.	"
648	"	"	"	" Vishnu Bháskar Chitale ...	"	Landholder	Do., Koregaon Do. 18th December 1895.
649	"	"	"	" Báláji Vishnu Hasabnis ...	"	Inámdár.	By a public meeting held at Satara on 18th December 1895.
650	"	Bhusaval	Bhusaval.	" Chintáman Bápuji Morgáonkar ...	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Bhusaval on 4th December 1895.
651	"	"	"	Ráv Ráje Raghunáth ráv Jayakrishnaráv Deshmukh ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"

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652	Bombay.	Bhusawal	Bhusawal.	Mr. Devchand Mánikchand ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Bhusawal on 4th December 1895.
653	"	Dharwar.	Dharwar.	" V. Vajravelu Mudliar ...	Vaishya.	Superintendent Mercantile firm.	By a public meeting held at Darwar on 8th December 1895.
654	"	"	"	" Bhimráv Hayavadanráv Dhárwárkar ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	"
655	"	"	"	" Hanmant Rámchandra Shirhatti.	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
656	"	"	"	" Ganesh Govind Pasranikar ...	"	Clerk S. M. Ry.	"
657	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Balvant Karandikar B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	"
658	"	"	"	" Khanderáv Talvalkar.	"	Clerk S. M. Ry.	"
659	"	"	"	" Rangráv Lákshmanrav Gadagkar	"	Pleader.	"
660	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Vyankatesh Torgal ...	"	"	Do., at Háveri, Dharwar District, on 1st December 1895.
661	"	"	"	" Datto Rámchandra Patvardhan ...	"	"	"
662	"	"	"	" Moreshvar Pándurang Abhyankar...	"	"	"
663	"	"	"	" Lakshman Bhimráv Bellikalamdáni ...	"	"	"
664	"	"	"	" Náráyanráv Vyankatesh Nagarkatti ...	"	"	"
665	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Mahádev Nádgir ...	"	"	"
666	"	"	"	Dr. Krishnáji Trimbák Gokhale L. M. & S.	"	Medical Practitioner.	Do., Hubli, Do.-on 30th November 1895.
667	"	"	"	Mr. Gopál Jiváji Desái.	"	Merchant.	"
668	"	"	"	Pandit Shámnáth ...	"	Fuel Inspector.	"
669	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Bábáji Godbole ...	"	Mechanic.	"
670	"	"	"	" Rámkrishna Vithal.	Hindu.	Traffic Inspector.	"
671	"	"	"	" T. Swámináth Iyer.	Bráhman	Deputy accountant, Ry. Department.	"

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672	Bombay.	Dharwar.	Dharwar.	Mr. Sheshgírráv Tirumal Mutálik Desái.	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Annigiri, Dharwar District, on 30th November 1895.
673	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Rághavendraráv Válvekar	"	Pleader.	Do. Hubli Do.
674	"	"	"	" Rághunáth Anant Sule	"	Landholder.	"
675	"	"	"	" Rámchandra S. Chitguppi	"	Barrister-at-Law.	Do. ; also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
676	"	"	"	" Náráyan S. Chitguppi	"	Merchant.	"
677	"	"	"	" Gurunáth Shivbhat Hovanur	"	"	Do. Hangal Do. 17th November 1895.
678	"	"	"	" Shripád Shámji Karagudari	"	"	"
679	"	"	"	" Ganesh Bákrishna Tembe L. M. E.	"	Engineer.	Do. Bamanhalli 17th December 1895.
680	"	"	"	" Shivráñ Káshináth Tembe	"	Merchant.	"
681	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Báláji Nipáni	Sonár.	Engineer.	By a public meeting held at Yalvatti, Dharwar District, on 15th December 1895.
682	"	"	"	" Váñudev Káshináth Tembe	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	Do., Basápur Do., on 15th December 1895.
683	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Shankar Mangsule	"	Agent of Shri Shankarácharya.	Do. Shirhatti, Sangli State, on 12th October 1895.
684	"	"	"	" Dattátreya Narsinh Jarimalli	"	Landlord.	Do., Kalghatgi, Dharwar District, on 21st November 1895.
685	"	"	"	" Hanumant Shrinivás Aragikar	"	Merchant.	"
686	"	Belgaon.	Belgaon.	" Shivráñ Bhat Inámdár	"	Inámdár.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon, on 11th December 1895.
687	"	"	"	" Náráyan Govind Joshi	"	Merchant.	"
688	"	"	"	" Govind Rámchandra Oka B. A. LL. B.	"	Pleader.	"



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689	Bombay.	Belgaon.	Belgaon.	Mr. Yashvant Annáppá Gáve	Bráhmañ	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
690	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Rághavendra Náik	"	Pleader.	Do., also by a public meeting held at Sháhapur on 15th October 1895.
691	"	"	"	" Gururáo Gangádhár Nargund	"	Law-student.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
692	"	"	"	" Vyankatráv Rámráv Gutákar	"	Pleader.	"
693	"	"	"	" Shankarráv Rámáji	"	"	"
694	"	"	"	" Dattátreya Vyankatesh Belvi B. A. LL. B.	"	"	Do. do., also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 13th December 1895.
695	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Annáji Nádgavdá B. A. LL. B.	"	"	Do. do., also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 23rd December 1895.
696	"	"	"	" Vishnú Rághunáth Nátu B. A. LL. B.	"	"	"
697	"	"	"	" Hari Bhikáji Sávant	"	Proprietor and Editor Belgaon Samáchar.	"
698	"	"	"	" Vithalráo Rámchándráppá Kalkundri	"	Landlord.	"
699	"	"	"	" Sadáshiv Bálkriشنا Bháte	"	Pleader.	"
700	"	"	"	" Annáppá Pádyáppá Chaugulá B. A.	Jain	Agriculturist.	"
701	"	"	"	" Tavanáppá Dureáppá Patrávali	"	Merchant.	"
702	"	"	"	" Savantáppá Tavanáppá Patrávali	"	"	"
703	"	"	"	" Bháusáheb Vyankatráv Lengde	"	"	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
704	"	"	"	" D. M. Colah	Pársi.	Bar.-at Law.	"
705	"	"	"	" Shripád Anant Chhatre	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	Do. do., also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.

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706	Bombay.	Belgaon.	Belgaon.	Mr. Keshav Ganesh Ajrekar B. A. LL. B.	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895; Ichalkaranji on 10th Dec. 1895; by the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th Dec. 1895.
707	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Rangaráv Jálíhál B. A. LL. B. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	Do. Do., also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
708	"	"	"	" Rávji Gangádhár Khot ...	"	Pleader.	Do. at Belgaon on 11th Dec. 1895.
709	"	"	"	" Vamanráv Rámchandra Kulkarni B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
710	"	"	"	" Janárdan Nágesh Kále ...	"	"	"
711	"	"	"	" Vishvambhar V. Ashtekar ...	"	"	"
712	"	"	"	" Dhondo' Raghunáth Joshi ...	"	Inámdár.	"
713	"	"	"	" Hanumant Narsinh Kulkarni ...	"	"	"
714	"	"	"	" Mangesh Jiváji Telang B. A. ...	"	Merchánt.	"
715	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Bhagvant Náik ...	"	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
716	"	"	"	" Annáji Vajjanáth Bhátkhande ...	"	Pleader.	"
717	"	"	"	" Shámráv Annáji Deshpánde ...	"	Inámdár.	"
718	"	"	"	Khánsáheb Mahomedali Khatib ...	Mahomedan	"	"
719	"	"	"	Mr. Baslingáppá Bassáppá Konkánwádi ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	"
720	"	"	"	" Appáji Bápuji Kargupikar ...	Bráhman.	"	"
721	"	"	"	" Vyankatráv Krishna Mahájan ...	"	Pleader.	Do. Do.; also by a public meeting held at Chikodi, Belgaon District, on 6th December 1895.
722	"	"	"	" Nirvánáppá Báláppá Ghodgeri ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	Do. at Belgaon on 11th Dec. 1895.
723	"	"	"	" Gangádhár Virbhadráppá Bachri ...	"	"	"

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724	Bombay.	Belgaon.	Belgaon.	Mr. Ramchandrappa Gangarm Kasturi.	Jain.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895; also at Ohikodi, Belgaon District, on 6th December 1895.
725	"	"	"	" Shivappa Sanganbappa Kankanmelli	Lingayat.	"	"
726	"	"	"	" Chenbappa Chenvirappa Umrain ...	"	"	"
727	"	"	"	" Shankarappa Chanappa Alur ...	"	"	"
728	"	"	"	" Vishvanath Ghansham Redkar ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
729	"	"	"	" Shankar Vithal Nádkarni ...	"	"	"
730	"	"	"	" Vaman Krishna Arjunrádkar ...	"	Inámdár.	"
731	"	"	"	" Rámráv P. Atgar.	"	Pleader.	"
732	"	"	"	" Shrinivas P. Pandit	"	Landholder.	"
733	"	"	"	" Mahádev R. Mudholkar ...	Kshatri.	Manager of a Marathi Magazine.	"
734	"	"	"	" Bindo Gopal Náik...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	Do. at Shahapur on 15th October 1895.
735	"	"	"	" Anant Narsinh Kulkarni ...	"	School-Master.	Do. Do.; also by the public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
736	"	"	"	" Rango Anant Kulkarni ...	"	Pleader.	Do. at Shahapur, on 15th Oct. 1895.
737	"	"	"	" Chanbappa Gurusidappa Bolmal ...	Lingayat.	Merchant.	"
738	"	"	"	" Vithalráv Sadashiv Gokhale ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	Do. at Ohikodi, Belgaon District, on 6th December 1895.
739	"	"	"	" Anantrav Mahádev Masurkar ...	"	"	"
740	"	"	"	" Bhimráv Krishna Chipalkatti ...	"	"	"
741	"	"	"	" Ganpatráv Dáji Sháháde ...	"	"	"
742	"	"	"	" Bhimráv Appáji Mahájan ...	"	"	"

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743	Bombay.	Belgaon.	Belgaon.	Mr. Devchand Motichand Gujar	Hindu.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Ohikodi, Belgaon District, on 6th December 1895.
744	"	"	"	" Gopálráv K. Karosikar	Bráhmañ.	Landlord.	Do. at Karosi, Belgaon District, on 17th December 1895.
745	"	"	"	" Reváppá Rudráppá Mahájan	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	Do. at Athni, Belgaon District, on 30th October 1895.
746	"	"	"	" Tamájjiráv Govind Mudkavi	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
747	"	"	"	" Annáráv. Bábáji Devale	"	"	"
748	"	"	"	" Annáráo Náráyan Deshpánde	"	"	"
749	"	"	"	" Annáji Pándurang Kokatnur	"	Merchant.	"
750	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Vámanráv Solápur	"	"	"
751	"	"	"	" Shankarráav Dámodar Jog	"	"	"
752	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Narsingráv Solápur	"	"	"
753	"	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	" Mallakárjun Sidrámpá Pasáre	Lingáyat.	"	By a public Meeting held at Sholápur on 17th November 1895.
754	"	"	"	" Rámappá Mulkáppá Jain	"	"	"
755	"	"	"	" Ganesh Krishna Sáthe	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
756	"	"	"	" Revansidáppá Ráncháppá Umbarji	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	"
757	"	"	"	" Narsingdás Tagatmal Márvádi	Hindu.	"	"
758	"	"	"	" Rávjí Nánchand Gujar	"	"	"
759	"	"	"	" Ganeshdás Khushálchand Gárkar.	"	"	"
760	"	"	"	" Sharanáppá Kodgi	Lingáyat.	"	"
761	"	"	"	" Haribháí Devakaran Gujar	Hindu.	"	"

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762	Bombay.	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Mr. Mallakárjun Chenbasáppá Chaván ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Sholapur on 17th November 1895.
763	"	"	"	" Krishnalál Rám-gopál ...	Hindu.	"	"
764	"	"	"	" Bandáppá Nágáppá Kadádi ...	Lingáyat.	"	"
765	"	"	"	" Hunumant Bhím-ráv Kalghatkikar..	Bráhman.	Banker.	"
766	"	"	"	" Narsáppá Abanná..	Maráthá.	Editor of Sholapur Samáchár.	"
767	"	"	"	" Shávakshá Kávasji Dávar ...	Pársi	Pleader.	"
768	"	"	"	" Vithal Shámráv Kátkar ...	Bráhman.	"	"
769	"	"	"	" Prabhákar Lakshman Nágpurkar ...	"	"	Do., Do., also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
770	"	"	"	Dr. Vásudev Káshináth Kirloskar L. M. & S.	"	Medical Practitioner.	Do. at Sholapur on 17th Nov. 1895.
771	"	"	"	Mr. Shambhuráv Rang-ráv Kirloskar ...	"	School-Master.	"
772	"	"	"	" Sakharám Rám-chandra Kirloskar B. A. LL. B. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	"
773	"	"	"	" Náráyan Balvant Saranjáme B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	"
774	"	"	"	" Jagannáth Moreshtar Samant B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
775	"	"	"	" Bháuráo Ganesh Valsangkar ...	"	Merchant.	"
776	"	"	"	" Shítáram Vishnu Bháve ...	"	Pleader.	"
777	"	"	"	" Káshináth Vásudev Nátu ..	"	Money-lender.	"
778	"	"	"	" Narsing Shankar Deshpánde ...	"	Agriculturist.	"
779	"	"	"	" Janárdan Hanumant Hasápurkar.	"	Money-lender.	"
780	"	"	"	" Shámráv Keshav Deshpánde ...	"	Agriculturist.	"

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781	Bombay.	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Mr. Prabhákar Báláji Keskar ...	Christian.	Medical Practitioner.	By a public meeting held at Sholapur on 17th November 1895.
782	"	"	"	" Oholáppá Dodayya Borámani ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	"
783	"	"	"	" Ganpat Tátyá Máhinkar ...	"	"	"
784	"	"	"	" Lakshmináráyan Bálkisan Sarada Márvádi ...	Hindu.	"	"
785	"	"	"	" Nánchand Válohand Gujar ...	Jain.	"	"
786	"	"	"	" Mánikchand Jadhavchand Gujar ...	"	"	"
787	"	"	"	" Nemchand Válochand Gujar ...	"	"	"
788	"	"	"	" Motichand Gulábechand Gujar Kasegaonkar ...	"	Banker.	"
789	"	"	"	" Haibatráv Malhár ...	Bráhman.	Jahágirdár.	"
790	"	"	"	" K. R. Jamkhindikar ...	"	Landlord.	"
791	"	"	"	" Gulábechand Lakhmichand Gujar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
792	"	"	"	" Datto Balvant Inámdár ...	Bráhman.	Inámdár.	"
793	"	"	"	" Gopálráv Rámji Ebji ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
794	"	"	"	" Rávji Motichand Sháh ...	Jain.	Pleader.	"
795	"	"	"	" Hiráchand Sakháram Sávkar ...	"	Merchant.	"
796	"	"	"	Shrimant Malláppá Appásáheb Wárad.	Lingáyat.	Landlord.	"
797	"	"	"	Mr. Gantam Motichand Sháh Gujar ...	Hindu.	District Pleader.	"
798	"	"	"	" Dattátreya Anná Bubne ...	Jain.	Banker.	"
799	"	"	"	" Mallakárjun Chenbasáppá Thobde ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	"
800	"	"	"	" Govind Náráyan Kukde ...	Bráhman.	Editor of the Kalpataru Newspaper.	"

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801	Bombay.	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Mr. Govind Tatyá Afzulpurkar ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Sholapur on 17th November.
802	"	"	"	" Bhagvant Pandhari-náth Afzulpurkar.	"	Broker.	"
803	"	"	"	" Mahádev Narsinh Afzulpurkar ...	"	Merchant.	"
804	"	"	"	" Balvant Náryán Mangalvedhkar ...	"	Landlord.	"
805	"	"	"	" Bhimáshankaráppá Thobde ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	"
806	"	"	"	" Shivshankaráppá Thobde ...	"	"	"
807	"	"	"	" Gangádhár Vithal Kánade ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
808	"	"	"	" Alimahomed Bhimji	Mahomedan	Contractor.	"
809	"	"	"	" Bhimráv Shanker Belgali ...	Bráhman.	Banker.	"
810	"	"	"	" Dinkar Ballál Chakradev ...	"	Pleader.	"
811	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Náryán Bhájekar B. A. LL. B.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
812	"	"	"	" Mahádev Rám-chandra Ránade ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
813	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Raghu-patráv ...	Hindu.	Contractor.	"
814	"	"	"	" Devjibhál Visanji.	Bhátá	Agent.	Do., at Barsi, Sholapur District, on 29th September 1895.
815	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Govind Dube ...	Komti.	Merchant.	"
816	"	"	"	" Rámchandra More-shwar Sáne ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
817	"	"	"	" Vithal Váman Vaidya ...	"	Native State Servant.	Do., at Vairag, Sholapur District, on 15th December 1895.
818	"	"	"	" Bhálchandra Keshav Modlimbkar B. A.	"	Landlord.	"
819	"	"	"	" Lakshman Vithal Bhade ...	"	Head Master, English School, Barsi.	"

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820	Bombay	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Mr. Bhagvant Vyankatesh Divte ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Barsi, District Sholapur, on 20th September 1895.
821	"	"	"	" Malhár Rámchandra Mule ...	"	Landlord.	"
822	"	"	"	" Shambhuáppá Mallakárjun Kakale ...	Lingáyat	Merchant.	"
823	"	"	"	" Bhagvant Appáji Mahájan ...	Komti.	"	"
824	"	"	"	" Bhágyat Rámchandra Takale ...	Maráthá.	"	"
825	"	"	"	" Balvant Rávji Rede ...	Bráhman.	"	"
826	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Pándurang Pátankar B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	"
827	"	"	"	" Govind Pandharináth Sulákhe ...	"	Merchant.	"
828	"	"	"	" Kondo Amrit ...	"	Govt. Pleader.	Do., 12th Dec. 1895.
829	"	"	"	" Vináyak Shiváji Jog ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Pandharpur, Sholapur District, on 9th December 1895.
830	"	"	"	" Ganesh Rájáram Keskar ...	"	"	Do., Do., also Do. at Bhose, Do., 13th November 1895. and at Karkamb, Do., 14th December 1895.
831	"	"	"	" Rangnáth Rámchandra Bhadgaonkar...	"	Merchant.	Do. at Pandharpur, District Sholapur, 9th December 1895.
832	"	"	"	" Ganesh Raghunáth Karkare ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
833	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Náráyan Karandikar...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Sangola, Sholapur District, on 5th December 1895.
834	"	"	"	" Anant Náráyan Kaulagekar ...	"	"	Do., at Akluj, Sholapur District, on 2nd December 1895.
835	"	"	"	" Abáji Balvant Agnihotri ...	"	Inámdár.	Do., at Malsiras, Do. on 2nd December 1895.
836	"	"	Bijapur.	" Krishnáji Ganesh Ajrekar B. A. LL. B.	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Bijapur, on 25th October 1895.



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837	Bombay.	Sholapur	Bijapur.	Mr. Balvant Anná-chárya Karvir ...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Bijapur, on 25th October 1895.
838	"	"	"	" Kelavadi Govind Budha ...	Vaishya.	Pleader.	"
839	"	"	"	" Govind Annáji Chhetti ...	Bráhmañ	"	"
840	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Raghunáth Limaye ...	"	Vakil to the State of Jamkhindi.	Do., at Bhátkunki, Bijapur District, on 20th December 1895.
841	"	"	"	" Durgó Rámchandra Patvardhan ...	"	Pleader.	Do., Bijapur, on 25th October 1895.
842	"	"	"	" Bhimráv Tawargiri.	"	"	"
843	"	"	"	" Pándurang Anant Desái B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
844	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Raghunáth Náru B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
845	"	"	"	" Narhar Rámchandra ...	"	"	"
846	"	"	"	" Shiddó Timanáppá Badámi ...	"	"	"
847	"	"	"	" Rághavendra Krishna ...	"	"	"
848	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Nathurám Gándhi.	Jain.	Trader.	Do., on 15th September 1895.
849	"	"	"	" Vyankatráv Appóji Gothe ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
850	"	"	"	" Bápuji Gururáv Nádgoudá ...	"	"	"
851	"	"	"	" Krishnáráv Rámchand Bijapurkar.	"	"	"
852	"	"	"	" Rághavendraráv Annaráv Desái ...	"	Landholder.	Do., at Ilkal, Bijapur District, on 8th October 1895.
853	"	"	"	" Shripatráv Rámchandra Kalmadi.	"	Merchant.	"
854	"	"	"	Ráv Sáheb Chintámanráv Nádgoudá ...	"	Inámdár.	Do., at Indi, Bijapur District, 5th October 1895.
855	"	"	"	Mr. Pándurang Krishna Dáte ...	"	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Bijapur, on 15th September 1895.

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856	Bombay.	North Kanara.	Karwar.	Mr. Mahábaleshwar Bálóppá Borkar ...	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Karwar, on 16th December 1895.
857	"	"	"	" Vásudev Rámchandra Nádkarni ...	"	Pleader.	"
858	"	"	Sirsi.	" Vyankatráv Vásudevápá Sode ...	"	Merchant.	Do., at Sirsi, Canara District, on 13th October 1895.
859	"	"	"	" Mahábaleshwar Bhadra Bhat Gopi.	"	Pleader.	"
860	"	"	"	" Rámápá Subráv Vaze ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
861	"	"	"	" Haribábá Kámatí Halige ...	"	Trader.	"
862	"	"	"	" Vaikuntha Subráv Nilkund ...	"	Pleader.	Do., 5th Nov. 1895.
863	"	"	"	" Vyankatráv Vithalráv Nádig ...	Hindu.	Student.	Do., 20th Dec. 1895.
864	"	"	"	" Vyankápá Rám Pai ...	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	Do., 5th Nov. 1895.
865	"	"	Kumta.	" Vyankatesh Sheshagiri Halkar ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Kumta on 20th December 1895.
866	"	"	"	" Honápá Narsinh Sheth ...	Hindu.	Mukhtyár.	"
867	"	Surat.	Surat.	" Nagindás Brijbhukandás Káji ...	Baniá.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Surat on 7th December 1895 ; also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th Dec. 1895.
868	"	"	"	" Náthabhái Lálibhái.	"	Merchant.	Do., at Surat on 7th December 1895.
869	"	"	"	" Chandulál Mathurádás ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
870	"	"	"	" Manibhai Krishnamukhrám Mehtá B. A. LL. B. ...	Nágar.	Pleader.	"
871	"	"	"	" Nandshankar Párvatishankar Dave B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
872	"	"	"	" Vithal Jaishankar.	"	Merchant.	"
873	"	"	"	" Mothábhái Motilál Desái ...	"	Pleader.	"
874	"	"	"	" Mukundrái Ghelábhái Mehtá ...	Kayastha.	"	"

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875	Bombay.	Surat.	Surat.	Mr. V. M. Pakvasá B. A. LL. B. ...	Baniá.	Solicitor	By a public meeting held at Surat on 7th December 1895.
876	"	"	"	" Nánálal Keshavlál	"	Merchant.	"
877	"	"	"	" Chunilál Chhaganchand Shroff ...	Jain.	"	"
878	"	"	"	" Balvantráv Tripuráshankar Dave ...	Nágar.	Pleader.	"
879	"	"	"	Dr. Ganesh Vishnu Kher L. M. & S. ...	Bráhman.	Medical Practitioner.	"
880	"	"	"	Mr. Maganlál B. Sheth	Hindu.	Money-lender.	At a public meeting held at Ránder, Surat District, on 13th December 1895.
881	"	"	"	" Anuprám Mithálal Dinbandhu. ...	Brahman.	Merchant.	By the Dnyánodaya and Lokahitechchhu Sabhas at Broach on 18th December 1895.
882	"	"	"	" Ishvarlál Badrináth	"	Mill-Agent.	By a public meeting held at Broach on 10th December 1895.
883	"	"	"	" Amulakhrái Mahipatrám ...	"	"	"
884	"	"	"	" Chunilál Náráyanbhái Mehtá B. A. LL. B. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	By the Dnyánodaya and Lokahitechchhu Sabhas at Broach on 18th December 1895.
885	"	"	"	" Balvantrái Shivprasád ...	Kshatri.	Pleader.	"
886	"	"	"	" Ganpatráv Sitarám Mukádam ...	Bráhman.	Land-owner.	By a public meeting held at Ahmedabad, on 8th Dec. 1895; also by the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
887	"	"	"	" Jivanlál Varajrái Desái B. A. M. S., F. E. O. I., F. L. Inst. ...	Brahma-Kshatri.	Barrister-at-Law.	By a public meeting held at Ahmedabad on 8th Dec. 1895.
888	"	"	"	" Purushottam Naranji ...	Bhátíá.	Mill-Agent.	"
889	"	"	"	" Jiváji Krishna Parulkar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"

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890	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Ahmedabad	Mr. Vithal Mahádev Gokhale L. C. E. ...	Bráhman.	Teacher, New English School, Ahmedabad.	By a public meeting held at Ahmedabad on 8th December 1895.
891	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Hari Gokhale B. A. LL. B.	"	Pleader.	"
892	"	"	"	" Purushottam Náryan Joglekar ...	"	Private service.	"
893	"	"	"	" Joseph Benjamin Bánmolkar ...	Jew	Retired Hospital Assistant-Medical Practitioner	"
894	"	"	"	" Navanidharái Náranbhái Mehtá B. A. LL. B. ...	Nágar	Pleader.	"
895	"	"	"	" Purushottam Mánji Párekh ...	Jain	Kathíawár Agency Pleader.	"
896	"	"	"	" Gopálráv Rámchandra Dábhokár ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
897	"	"	"	" Mangaldás Girdharlál Párekh ...	Baniá	Banker	"
898	"	"	"	" Govindráv Apáji Pátíl B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
899	"	"	"	" Amritlál Vadilál Sheth ...	Jain.	Banker.	"
900	"	"	"	" Ranohhodlál V. Patvári B. A. LL. B. ...	Baniá.	Pleader.	"
901	"	"	"	" Jagjivandás Náthábhái ...	Soni Baniá.	Dentist.	"
902	"	"	"	" Máneklál Harilál Vakil B. A.	Baniá.	Land owner.	"
903	"	"	"	" Manishankar Gavri-shankar Bhatt B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
904	"	"	"	" Mulchand Asharám Sháh B. A. LL. B.	Mishri Baniá.	"	"
905	"	"	"	" Mahásukbrám N. Sháh B. A. LL. B.	Jain.	"	"
906	"	"	"	" Shivabhái Motibhái Patál B. A. LL. B.	Hindú.	"	"
907	"	"	"	" Lallubhái Asharám Sháh B. A. LL. B.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
908	"	"	"	" Jatáshankar Lilá-dhar Vaidya ...	Bráhman.	Medical Practitioner.	"

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909	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Ahmedabad	Mr. Keshavlál Ranchhoddás Desái ...	Hindu	Student.	By a public meeting held at Ahmedabad on 8th December 1895.
910	"	"	"	" Girdharlál Harilál Mehta B. A. LL. B.	Baniá.	Managing Clerk to a firm of Solicitors Bombay.	"
911	"	"	"	" Chimanlál Narbherám Thákar ...	Kshatri.	Bar,-at-Law.	"
912	"	"	"	" Vrajalál Vardhamán Modi B.A LL.B.	Jain.	Pleader.	"
913	"	"	"	" Keshavlál Motilál Vakíl ...	Baniá.	"	"
914	"	"	"	" Krishnalál Keshavlál ...	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	"
915	"	"	"	" Antoldás Hargovandás Jambusariá B. A. LL. B. ...	Baniá.	"	Do. at Jambusary, Ahmedabad District, on 12th Dec. 1895.
916	"	"	"	" Chimanlál Badrináth Bhat ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	Do. at Kaira on 19th December 1895.
917	"	"	"	" Gokuldás Govardhandás Párekh ...	Baniá.	Merohant.	Do. at Ahmedabad on 8th December 1895.
918	"	"	"	" Manilál Ranchhoddál Patél ...	Pátidar.	Land-owner.	"
919	"	"	"	" Bhagvandás Ranchhoddás Patél ...	"	"	"
920	"	"	"	" Ranchhoddás Nágardás Patél ...	"	Pleader.	"
921	"	"	"	" Govardhandás Morlihar Párekh ...	Baniá.	Banker.	Do. at Nadiad, Kaira District, on 18th November 1895.
922	"	"	"	" Chhotalál Hirálál Kantháriá ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
923	"	"	"	" Gokuldás Dvarkádás Taláti B. A. LL. B. ...	Hindu.	"	"
924	"	"	"	" Manilál Nabhubhái Dvivedi B. A. ...	Bráhman.	Author.	"
925	"	"	"	" Sankalchand Maganal Sheth ...	Baniá.	Banker.	"
926	"	"	"	" Chaturbhái Samalbhái Patél ...	Pátidar.	Landlord.	"
927	"	"	"	" Nárandás Kalidás Gumi B. A. LL. B.	Baniá.	Pleader.	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
928	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Ahmedabad	Mr. Motibhái Manibhái B. A. ...	Bráhmañ.	Gentleman.	By a public meeting held at Nadiad, Kaira District, in December 1895.
929	"	"	"	" Tanasukharám Manasukhrám Tripathí B. A. ...	"	"	"
930	"	"	"	" Bhagvándás Harjivándás Párek B. A. ...	Vaishya.	Gentleman.	Do. at Ahmedabad on 8th December 1895.
931	"	"	"	" Haribhái Vajeshankar ...	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	"
932	"	"	"	" Sárabhái Vajeshankar Ozá ...	"	Merchant.	"
933	"	"	"	" Varjibhái Vághjibhái Patil ...	Levá Páti-dár.	Landlord.	By a public meeting held at Nadiad, Kaira District, on 11th November 1895.
934	"	"	"	" Somábhái Motibhái Patil ...	"	"	"
935	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	" Náranji Dvárkádás.	Hindu	Merchant.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
936	"	"	"	" Vithaldás Dámodar Thákarse ...	Bhátíá	"	Do., 10th Dec. 1895.
937	"	"	"	" Vrindávándás Purushottamdás ...	Bhansáli	"	"
938	"	"	"	" Ganpatráv Morobá Pitale ...	Hindu.	Govt. Pensioner.	Do., 11th Do.
939	"	"	"	" Bhái Jivanji ...	"	Managing Clerk to a firm of Solicitors Bombay.	"
940	"	"	"	" Hari V. Lele L. C. E. ...	Bráhmañ	Civil Engineer.	"
941	"	"	"	" Tribhuvándás N. Múlví ...	Baniá	Solicitor.	Do., 12th Do.
942	"	"	"	" Gekuldás Kándas Párek B. A. LL. B. ...	Hindu	High Court Pleader.	"
943	"	"	"	" Dhondo Shámráv Garud ...	Bráhmañ	Solicitor.	Do., Do. also by a public meeting held at Dhulia, Khandesh District, on 8th December 1895.
944	"	"	"	" Govind Hari Deva ...	"	Banker.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.

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945	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Vishnu Náráyan Bhátkhande B. A. LL. B.	Bráhmaṇ.	High Court Pleader.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
946	"	"	"	" Janárdan Gopál ...	Kshatriya.	Solicitor.	Do., 10th Do.
947	"	"	"	" Rámprasád Narsing Prasád ...	Bráhmaṇ	Landlord.	"
948	"	"	"	Dr. Umedráṁ Lallubháí Desái B. Sc. M. D.	"	Physician & Surgeon.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
949	"	"	"	Mr. Yashvant Sadáshiv Gokhale ...	"	Merchant.	Do. 23rd Dec. 1895.
950	"	"	"	" Gopálji Mulji ...	Hindu.	"	Do. 21st Do.
951	"	"	"	" Shevji Pragji ...	"	"	"
952	"	"	"	" Jethábhái Premji...	"	"	"
953	"	"	"	" Náráyanráí Varmá.	"	"	Do. 18th Do.
954	"	"	"	" Shevákál. Karsandás ...	"	"	Do. 21st Do.
955	"	"	"	" Abásáheb Mehendale ...	Bráhmaṇ.	"	Do. 11th Do.
956	"	"	"	" Dattátreya R. Tilve.	"	Supt., Dhundiráj Printing Press, Belgaon.	Do. Do., also by a public meeting held at Shahapur, Sangli State, on 15th Oct. 1895; Do. at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.
957	"	"	"	" Sundernáth D. Khote ...	"	Merchant.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th December 1895.
958	"	"	"	" Eknáth R. Khote...	"	"	"
959	"	"	"	" Ránchhoddás Tribhuvandás ...	"	"	"
960	"	"	"	" Dinshá Edalji Wáchá ...	Pársi.	Mill-Agent.	Do. 10th Dec. 1895.
961	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Phirozshá M. Mehtá M. A. C. I. E. ...	"	Barrister-at-Law.	"
962	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondo Pándurang Kirloskar B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhmaṇ.	High Court Pleader.	Do., 13th Do., also by a public meeting held at Belgaon on 11th December 1895.

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963	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Shitaram Yashvant Dalvi. ...	Hindu.	High Court Pleader.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th December 1895.
964	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Ohimantlal Harilal Setalwad B. A. LL. B.	Kshatri	"	Do., 12th Do., also by a public meeting held at Surat, on 7th December 1895; by Do., Do., at Jambusar, Ahmedabad District, on 12th December 1895; and Do., Do., at Ahmedabad, on 8th December 1895.
965	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Sadashiv Dandvate ...	Bráhman.	"	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th Dec. 1895.
966	"	"	"	" S. R. Bakhle B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	Do. 10th Do.
967	"	"	"	" Narayan Ghansham Sabnis B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	Do. 12th Do.; also by a public meeting held at Dahanu, Thana District, on 12th November 1895.
968	"	"	"	" Chunilal Lallubhai Parekh ...	Hindu.	Assistant Manager Damodhar Lakmidas Mill	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 7th December 1895.
969	"	"	"	" Mahadev Rajaram Bodas M. A LL. B.	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	Do., 12th Do.
970	"	"	"	" Nayal Motiram ...	Jain.	Merchant.	Do., 15th Do.
971	"	"	"	" Ghanasham Nilkant Nalkarni B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	Do., 11th Do.
972	"	"	"	" Mahadev Vaman Bhat ...	"	"	"
973	"	"	"	" Damodar Gopalbhái ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
974	"	"	"	" Raghunath Bhikaji Gogte, B. A. LL. B.	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	Do., 10th Do.
975	"	"	"	" Govindji Madhavji.	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
976	"	"	"	" K. B. Tamane ...	Parbhu.	Secretary, General Education Institute, Dadar.	Do., 11th Do.
977	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Atmaram Trilokekar B. A. ...	"	Teacher.	"



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978	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. H. A. Wádiá ...	Pársi.	Barrister-at-Law.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 15th December 1895.
979	"	"	"	" V. R. Lakshmanji.	Parbhú.	Landholder.	"
980	"	"	"	Dr. Solomon Abrahám Erulkar M. B. ...	Jew.	Medical Practitioner.	Do., 12th Do. also by a public meeting held at Ahmedabad on 8th December 1895.
981	"	"	"	Mr. Chhagandás Gopál Bhansále ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th December 1895.
982	"	"	"	" A. V. Kolatkar ...	Bráhman.	"	"
983	"	"	"	" L. V. Fadke ...	"	Inámdár.	Do., 12th Do.
984	"	"	"	" Tamańcharya V. Athnikar ...	"	Merchant.	Do., Do., also Do. at Belgaon, on 11th December 1895.
985	"	"	"	" Vasanji Gopál Thanoi ...	"	"	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 17th December 1895.
986	"	"	"	" H. B. Shukla B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	Do., 12th Do.
987	"	"	"	" Virohand R. Gándhi B. A. M. B. A. S. ...	Jain.	"	By the Jain Association of India, on 2nd December 1895.
988	"	"	"	" V. R. Jálnapurkar L. C. E. ...	Bráhman.	Hon. Secy. Poona Sárvajanik Sabha.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th Dec. 1895.
989	"	"	"	" Atmáram Náráyan Fansalkar ...	"	Tutor to the Prince of Jayhár	"
990	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Sadáshiv Mulekar ...	"	Government Pensioner.	Do., 10th Do.
991	"	"	"	" Rámji Lakshman Gharat ...	Kshatri.	School-Master.	Do., 11th Do. also by a public meeting held at Alibag, Colaba Dt., on 10th Nov. 1895.
992	"	"	"	" Rámkrishna Mádhavráv Chonkar ...	Hindu.	Asst. to Hon. Secy. V. J. Technical Institute.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th December 1895.
993	"	"	"	" Jivandás Dayál ...	Bráhman.	Freight Broker.	"
994	"	"	"	" Muljibháí Mahomed.	Khojái.	Merchant.	Do., 11th Do.
995	"	"	"	" Vináyak Shivráv Dhárkar ...	Parbhú.	Inámdár.	Do., 12th Do. also by a public meeting held at Pen, Colaba Dt., on 18th Dec. 1895.

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996	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Mánaklál Narotamdas Shroff ...	Baniá.	Yarn Merchant.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 12th Dec. 1895.
997	"	"	"	" Lalji Rámji ...	Loaná.	Tobacco Merchant.	"
998	"	"	"	" Gokuldás Govardhandás ...	"	"	"
999	"	"	"	" Govind Dasharath.	Vaishyaváni.	"	"
1000	"	"	"	" Sorábjí P. N. Wádíá ...	Pársi.	Gentleman.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 20th December 1895.
1001	"	"	"	Dr. Jamnádás Premchand L. M. & S. ...	Jain.	Medical Practitioner.	Do., 12th Do.
1002	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagu F. Kárbári	"	Merchant.	"
1003	"	"	"	Dr. P. J. Swámi ...	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner.	"
1004	"	"	"	Mr. Vináyak Dádáji ...	"	Managing Clerk to a firm of Solicitors.	Do., 23rd Do.
1005	"	"	"	" Náráyan Vishnu Gokhale B. A. LL. B.	Bráhma.	High Court Pleader.	"
1006	"	"	"	Dr. K. N. Bahádurji ...	Pársi.	Medical Practitioner.	Do., 11th Do.
1007	"	"	"	Mr. Dalpatráj P. Khar	Hindu.	Govt. Pensioner.	Do., 12th Do.
1008	"	"	"	" Rámkrishna Náráyan Thosar ...	Bráhma.	Pleader.	Do., also by a public meeting held at Kalyan on 15th December 1895.
1009	"	"	"	" Dhákji Káshináthji Ráne ...	Parbhu.	Govt. Pensioner.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 23rd December 1895.
1010	"	"	"	Khánsáheb Pálanji Rátanji ...	Pársi.	Gentleman.	Do., 11th Do.
1011	"	"	"	Mr. Dvárkádás Dharamsi ...	Bhátíá.	Mill-owner.	Do. 12th Do.
1012	"	"	"	" Vasauji Bhagvándás ...	"	Merchant.	"
1013	"	"	"	" Kisanlál Ratanlál Daftari ...	Kshatri.	Solicitor.	Do., 11th Do.
1014	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Dáji Abáji Khare ...	Bráhma.	High Court Pleader.	"
1015	"	"	"	Mr. Dámódár Lakhmídás ...	Bhátíá.	Mill-owner.	Do., 12th Do.

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1016	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Amritlal R. Bakshi.	Hindu.	Pleader.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th December 1895
1017	"	"	"	" Shapurji Bhikaji Patel	Parsi.	Merchant.	"
1018	"	"	"	" Jairam Bhaurav Zodagrav	Hindu.	Landlord.	Do., 12th Do.
1019	"	"	"	" Daulat Sakharam Deshmukh	"	"	"
1020	"	"	"	" Anandrav Patlaji Sardeshmukh	"	"	Do. 11th Do.
1021	"	"	"	" Lakshman Atmaram Trilokekar B. A.	"	Teacher.	Do., 23rd Do.
1022	"	"	"	" Vinayak Vishnu Ránade B. A. LL. B.	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	Do., 11th Do.
1023	"	"	"	" Rustam Barjorji Paymaster B. A. LL. B.	Parsi.	"	Do., 12th Do.
1024	"	"	"	Dr. Govind Balaji Kher.	Bráhman	Medical Practitioner.	"
1025	"	"	"	" M. G. Deshmukh B. A. M. D.	"	"	Do., 12th Dec. 1895.
1026	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Ramkrishna Teridle B. A.	"	Merchant.	Do., 10th Do.
1027	"	"	"	" Gangadhar Sadashiv Gokhale	"	Engineer.	Do., 5th.
1028	"	"	"	" Balvantrav Vithal Harolikar	"	Pleader.	Do., 12th Do. also by a public meeting held at Belgaon, on 11th December 1895, and by a public meeting held at Chikodi, Belgaon District, on 6th December 1895.
1029	"	"	"	" Shrinivas Aiengar S. Setlur B. A. LL. B.	"	High Court Advocate.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 10th December 1895.
1030	"	"	"	" L. B. Joglekar	"	Pleader.	Do., 12th Do.
1031	"	"	"	" Damodar Ratanse...	Kshtriya.	Merchant.	"
1032	"	"	"	" W. A. Chambers C. E.	Christian.	Engineer.	Do., 11th Do.
1033	"	"	"	" N. M. Samarth B. A. LL. B.	Hindu.	Pleader.	Do., 12th Dec. 1895; also by a public meeting held at Surat on 7th December 1895.

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1034	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Nawábzáda Nasa-rullákhán ...	Mahomedan	Barrister-at-Law.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 23rd December 1895.
1035	"	"	"	Mr. Dungarse Gángji...	Loáná.	Merchant.	Do., 23rd Do.
1036	"	"	"	" Mahomed Hájbháí.	Khojá	"	Do., 11th Do.
1037	"	"	"	" Moladáná Somji ...	"	"	"
1038	"	"	"	" Fázalbhái Jumá-bháí Lálji ...	"	"	"
1039	"	"	"	" J. E. Modi B. A. ...	Pársi.	Barrister-at-Law.	Do., 10th Do.
1040	"	"	"	" Rastam K. R. Kámá B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Solicitor.	"
1041	"	"	"	" Jaya Karádi Lingu	Telagu.	Contractor.	Do., 12th Do.
1042	"	"	"	" Parushottam P. Khare ...	Bráhmañ.	High Court Pleader.	"
1043	"	"	"	" Vishnu Krishna Bhatavdekar B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	Do., 10th Do.
1044	"	"	"	Dr. Bhálchandra Krishna Bhatavdekar L. M. & S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1045	"	"	"	Mr. Mánekshá H. Nicholson ...	Pársi.	Merchant	"
1046	"	"	"	" D. G. Pádhya ...	Bráhmañ.	Principal, G. T. High School.	"
1047	"	"	"	Dr. Sadáshiv Váman Káne L. M. & S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1048	"	"	"	" Hiráchand N. chand ...	Jain.	Merchant.	Do., 12th Do., also by a public meeting held at Sholapur on 17th November 1895.
1049	"	"	"	" Narsingráv Sáyabu.	Telagu.	Contractor.	By the Bombay Presidency Association, on 10th December 1895.
1050	"	"	"	" Mánáji Rájoji ...	"	"	Do., 23rd Do.
1051	"	"	"	Professor Rájárám R. Bhágavat ...	Bráhmañ.	Professor of Sanskrit St. Xavier's Institution.	Do., 12th Do.
1052	"	"	"	Mr. W. G. Dáñdekar ...	"	Landlord.	Do., 11th Do.
1053	"	"	"	" Shankar Vináyak Váble ...	"	Pleader.	Do., 12th Do.

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1054	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Náráyan P. Indulkar	Hindu.	Landholder.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 11th December 1895.
1055	"	"	"	" Meghji Vallabhdás Gujaráti	"	Merchant.	Do, 10th Do.
1056	"	"	"	" V. M. Valvekar	Bráhman.	Proprietor of a printing press.	"
1057	"	"	"	" Karimbhai Nense	Mahomedan	Merchant.	"
1058	"	"	"	" Lakhmidás Khimji	Bhátia.	Mill-owner.	Do, 12th Do.
1059	"	"	"	" Khimji Buláni	"	Merchant.	Do., 11th Do.
1060	"	"	"	" Khimji Purushottam Nuranji	"	"	By Bhátia Mitra Mandal on 21st Dec. 1895.
1061	"	"	"	" Vallabhdás Ranchhoddás	"	"	"
1062	"	"	"	" Chhotálál Anandji.	"	Assistant, Lakhmidás Khimji's Sons & Co.	"
1063	"	"	"	" Kalyánji Váji	"	Cotton Broker.	Do., 23rd Do.
1064	"	"	"	" Amarchand P. Parmár	Jain.	Merchant and Poet.	Do., Jain Association on 11th Dec. 1895.
1065	"	"	"	" Tokarse Nense	"	Merchant.	By the Cutchi Dassá-Oswál Caste on 23rd December 1895.
1066	"	"	"	" Khimji Hirji Káyáni	"	Student.	"
1067	"	"	"	" V. J. Ladhá B. A.	"	"	"
1068	"	"	"	" Karsandás Shamji	Bráhman.	Cotton Broker.	By a meeting of the leading members of the Pushkarnia Brahman Caste on 25th December 1895.
1069	"	"	"	" Ganpatráv Bhiváji Náik	Kumbhár.	Trader.	By a public meeting held at Byculla on 8th December 1895.
1070	"	"	"	" Prágji Ladhárám Kavi	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Mandvi Standing Congress Committee on 25th December 1895.
1071	"	"	"	" R. W. Báláji	"	Gentleman.	By the Bombay Presidency Association on 1st December 1895.
1072	"	"	Colaba.	" Dattátreya Náráyan Vaidya B. A. LL. B.	Parbhu.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Alibag on 10th November 1895.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1073	Bombay.	Bombay.	Colaba.	Mr. Shankar Dinkar Vaidya ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public Meeting held at Alibag on 10th November 1895.
1074	"	"	"	" Gajánan Mahádev Kámat ...	"	Merchant.	"
1075	"	"	"	" Keshav Dayáram Bhat ...	"	"	"
1076	"	"	"	" Háji Dáud Sáheb Ismál Ráje Mahomed ...	Mahomedan	Contractor	Do. at Halkundi Budruk, Colaba District, on 6th December 1895.
1077	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Mahádev Vaidya ...	Bráhman.	Merchant	Do. at Dahivall, Colaba District, on 15th December 1895.
1078	"	"	"	" Ganesh Hari Sugvekar ...	"	"	"
1079	"	"	"	" Bháskar Yádavrát Bhide ...	"	"	"
1080	"	"	"	" Vishnu Parshurám Vaidya ...	"	"	"
1081	"	"	"	" Hari Parshurám Bhat ...	"	"	"
1082	"	"	"	" Bajáji Vithal Virkar ...	"	Pleader.	Do. at Mahad, Colaba District, on 8th December 1895.
1083	"	"	"	" Mahádev Govind Bhuskute ...	"	Money-lender.	Do. at Bhivandi, Colaba District, on 20th October 1895.
1084	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Lakshman Ambekar ...	"	Inámdár.	"
1085	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Ballál Joshi ...	"	Pleader.	"
1086	"	"	"	" Rámkrishna Bhikáji Oka ...	"	Khot.	By a public meeting held at Mahad, Colaba District, on 8th December 1895.
1087	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Bápúji Oka ...	"	"	"
1088	"	"	"	" Dattátreya Pándurang Nimak ...	Parbhú.	Landlord.	Do., at Pen, Colaba District, on 18th December 1895.
1089	"	"	"	" Mártand Shivrám Dhárkar ...	"	Inámdár.	"
1090	"	"	"	" Váman Bápúji Dev ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	"

Number.	Presidency of Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates; with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1091	Bombay.	Bombay.	Colaba.	Mr. Dámódar Shitárám Vadhávkár ...	Parbhu.	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Alibag, on 10th November 1895.
1092	"	"	"	" Lakshman Sadáshiv Nene ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleáder.	"
1093	"	"	"	" Antáji Bhikáji Patvardhan ...	"	Merchant.	Do., at Panvel, Colaba District, on 15th December 1895.
1094	"	"	"	" Shankar Vithobáshet Gulve ...	Lingáyat.	Money-lender.	"
1095	"	"	"	" Vishnu Moreshtar Goikar ...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	"
1096	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Ganesh Oze ...	"	"	"
1097	"	"	"	" Mahádev Malhár Joshi ...	"	"	Do., at Goregaon, Colaba District, on 8th December 1895.
1098	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Lilláshet Gujar ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	"
1099	"	"	"	" Vishnu Hari Vartak ...	Bráhmañ.	Landlord.	Do., at Tala, Colaba District, on 13th December 1895.
1100	"	"	"	" Ganesh Govind Gujar ...	"	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Alibag on 10th November 1895.
1101	"	"	Thana.	" Káshináth Vishnu Fadke ...	"	Editor, Arunodaya Newspaper.	By a public meeting held at Thana on 19th October 1895.
1102	"	"	"	" Govind Vishvanáth Apte ...	"	Pleáder.	"
1103	"	"	"	" Náráyan Govind Cháfekar B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
1104	"	"	"	" Janárdan Dámódar Dikshit ...	Parbhu.	"	"
1105	"	"	"	" Motilál Hargovindás ...	Baniá.	Merchant.	"
1106	"	"	"	" Mangaldás Devidás ...	"	"	"
1107	"	"	"	" Sakhárám Keshav Bhágavat B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleáder.	"
1108	"	"	"	" Dvárkánáth Appáji Medhekar ...	Parbhu.	Inámdár.	Do., at Kalyan, Thana District, on 15th December 1895.

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1109	Bombay.	Bombay.	Thana.	Mr. Parshurám Ganesh Bendre ...	Parbhu.	Banker.	By a public meeting held at Kalyán, Thana District, on 15th December 1895.
1110	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Keshav Gupte ...	"	"	"
1111	"	"	"	" Vishnu Vishvanáth Oka ...	Bráhmañ.	Landlord.	"
1112	"	"	"	" Balvantráv Sakháráñ Deshmukh Shiroskar ...	Márátha.	"	"
1113	"	"	"	" Shítaráñ Sakháráñ Dátár ...	Bráhmañ.	Money-lender.	By the Jolly Hall Club at Kalyán, Thana District, on 21st December 1895.
1114	"	"	"	" Prábhákar Káshínáth Oka ...	"	Landlord.	By a public meeting held at Kalyán, Thana District, on 15th December 1895.
1115	"	"	"	" Keshav Dinkar Vidhvansa ...	"	Merchant.	"
1116	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Vishnu Fadke ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Bhivandi, Thana District, on 6th October 1895.
1117	"	"	"	" Váñudev Rámchandra Ghánvatkar ...	"	Merchant.	"
1118	"	"	"	" Dáñmodar Káshínáth Vartak ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Bassein, Thana District, on 8th December 1895.
1119	"	"	"	" Lakshman Náráyan Sádhle ...	"	Landholder.	"
1120	"	"	"	" Raghunáth Morobá Ráikar ...	Kshatriya.	"	"
1121	"	"	"	" Nílkánth Bápuji Ránade B. A. ...	Bráhmañ.	Fellow, Wilson College, Bombay.	"
1122	"	"	"	" Moreshvar Vishnu Tendulkar ...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	"
1123	"	"	"	" Anant Jagannáth Gálvankar ...	"	"	"
1124	"	"	"	" Ráñdás Bápubháí Sháh ...	Baníá	Merchant.	Do., at Mahim, Thana District, on 3rd November 1895.
1125	"	"	"	" Bálkriahna Raghunáth Shringárpure.	Parbhu.	"	"
1126	"	"	"	" Bháákar Dhondo Dándekar ...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	"



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1127	Bombay.	Bombay.	Thana.	Mr. Krishnáji Káshináth Dándeekar ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Mahim, Thana District, on 3rd November 1895.
1128	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Dhonddev Dalvi ...	Hindu.	Landlord.	"
1129	"	"	"	" Hari Shítárám Paránjpe ...	Bráhmaṇ.	"	By a public meeting held at Umbargaon, Thana District, on 12th November 1895.
1130	"	"	"	" Keshav Trimbak Kárukár ...	"	"	"
1131	"	"	"	" Vináyak Shivrám Pimpútkar ...	"	Private Servant.	"
1132	"	"	"	" Dámodar Krishna Pánse ...	"	Banker.	"
1133	"	"	Ratnagiri.	" Siddheshvar Bháskar Fadke ...	"	Landlord.	By a public meeting held at Ratnagiri on 24th November 1895.
1134	"	"	"	" Narhar Bhagván Limaye ...	"	Pleader.	"
1135	"	"	"	" Vásudev Krishna Paránjpe ...	"	Landlord.	"
1136	"	"	"	" Yadunáth Sakhárák Dálí ...	Baniá.	"	"
1137	"	"	"	" Shríkrishna Nílkánth Joshi ...	Bráhmaṇ.	Soap Manufacturer.	"
1138	"	"	"	" Purushottam Sadáshív Joga ...	"	Landlord.	"
1139	"	"	"	" Hari Krishna Gore ...	"	Pleader.	"
1140	"	"	"	" Madhusudan Vásudev Athle B. A. ...	"	Merchant.	"
1141	"	"	"	" Náráyan Ballál Káne ...	"	Landlord.	"
1142	"	"	"	" Visáji Raghunáth Karandikar ...	"	Khot.	Do., at Chiplun, Ratnagiri District, on 18th October 1895.
1143	"	"	"	" Hari Keshav Oka ...	"	"	"
1144	"	"	"	" Bhikáji Anant Gokhale ...	"	Agriculturist.	"
1145	"	"	"	" Ganesh Dinkar Bápát ...	"	Pleader.	Do., Ratnagiri on 24th November 1895.

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1146	Bombay.	Bombay.	Ratnagiri.	Mr. Dámodar Sakhárám Gujar ...	Baniá.	Trader.	By a public meeting held at Dapoli, Ratnagiri District, on 1st December 1895.
1147	"	"	"	" Antáji Hari Modak.	Bráhmañ.	Vatandár.	"
1148	"	"	"	" Vishnu Hari Barve	"	Inámdár.	"
1149	"	"	"	" Gangádhar Lakshman Oka ...	"	Merchant.	"
1150	"	"	"	" Hari Vináyak Gondhlekar ...	"	Khot.	"
1151	"	"	"	" Krishñaji Vináyak Dábke ...	"	Pleader.	"
1152	"	"	"	" Maheshvar Lakshman Gondhlekar...	"	Banker.	"
1153	"	"	"	" Náráyan Gopál Talodekar ...	"	Money-lender.	Do., at Devgad, Ratnagiri District, on 6th December 1895.
1154	"	"	"	" Gangádhar Bhikáji Bápat ...	"	Pleader.	"
1155	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Bháskar Lele ...	"	"	"
1156	"	"	"	" Vishnu Rámchandra Pitre ...	"	"	Do., at Rajapur, Ratnagiri District, on 6th October 1895.
1157	"	"	"	" Shrikrishna Vithal Bhágavat ...	"	Merchant.	"
1158	"	"	"	" Shítárám Náráyan Karandikar ...	"	Pleader.	"
1159	"	"	"	" Lakshman Anant Parádkar ...	"	Merchant.	Do., at Khed, Ratnagiri District, on 18th December 1895.
1160	"	"	"	" Anant Shítárám Desái B. A. ...	"	Landlord.	Do., at Malvan, Ratnagiri District, on 4th November 1895.
1161	"	"	"	" Ganesh Kálbá Gádekar ...	"	"	Do., at Vengurla, Ratnagiri District, on 15th December 1895.
1162	"	"	"	" Shankar Báلكrishna Torne ...	"	Merchant.	"
1163	"	"	"	" Vishnu Káshirám Bhángale ...	"	Landlord.	"
1164	"	"	"	" Shítárám Rámchandra Asgaonkar ...	"	Merchant.	"

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1165	Bombay.	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	Mr. Rámchandra Bábdev Apte ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Ichalkaranji on 16th Dec. 1895.
1166	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Gopál Munjle ...	"	Banker.	Do., at Gargoti, on 23rd Dec. 1895.
1167	"	"	"	" Mahádev Rámchandra Ránade...	"	Landlord.	Do., Ichalkaranji, on 16th Do.
1168	"	"	"	" Báláji Ganesh Lokhande ...	"	Pleader.	"
1169	"	"	"	" D. G. Gholkar Sadaramin ...	"	Sub-judge.	Do., at Gargoti, on 23rd Dec. 1895.
1170	"	"	"	" Purushottam G. Patvardhan ...	"	Pleader.	"
1171	"	"	"	" Mahádev Váman Toro ...	"	Merchant.	Do., at Raibag, on 7th December 1895.
1172	"	"	"	" Subráv Vyankatráv Inámdár ...	"	Inámdár.	"
1173	"	"	"	" Vishnu Vyankatesh Kále ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Shirol, on 14th November 1895.
1174	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Yadupati Kulkarni ...	"	"	"
1175	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Nilkanth Kulkarni ...	"	"	"
1176	"	"	"	" Ráaghavendra Appáji Kulkarni ...	"	"	"
1177	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Káshináth Patvardhan...	"	"	"
1178	"	"	"	" Vítthal Sakháram Kumbhojkar ...	"	"	"
1179	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Vináyak Patvardhan ...	"	"	"
1180	"	"	"	" Ganesh Vishráam Vaigankar ...	"	"	Do., at Kolhapur; on 13th December 1895.
1181	"	"	"	" Datto Sakháram Sontakke ...	"	"	"
1182	"	"	"	" Náráyan Dattatreya Nándgaonkar ...	"	Teacher.	"
1183	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Moreshvar Bápat ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1184	"	"	"	Kumári Krishnábai Kelavkar ...	Hindu.	Student, Fergusson College.	"

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1185	Bombay.	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	Mr. Bábáji Káshináth Patvardhan ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Kolhapur on 13th December 1895.
1186	"	"	"	" Gurunáth Atmáram Pachlag ...	"	Banker.	"
1187	"	"	"	" Rámráv Krishna Rájádnýá ...	"	Sardár, Kolhapur State.	"
1188	"	"	"	" Váman Bájí Kulkarní. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1189	"	"	"	" Adiráj Devendra Upádhye ...	Jain.	Jain Priest.	"
1190	"	"	"	" Káji Kutubuddin Sáheb ...	Mahomedan	Káji.	"
1191	"	"	"	" Náráyanráv Bábáji ráv Sávant ...	Maráthá.	Pleader.	"
1192	"	"	"	" Vásudev Rámkrishna Alekar ...	Bráhman.	Private Servant.	"
1193	"	"	"	" Káshináth Gangá-dhar Gádgil ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1194	"	"	"	" Vishnu Krishna Ráshingkar B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Pleader.	"
1195	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Náráyan Gokhale ...	"	"	"
1196	"	"	"	" Ganesh Belvant Joshi B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
1197	"	"	"	" Gopál Appáji Kulkarní ...	"	Merchant.	Do. at Nandra, Sangli State, on 5th November 1895.
1198	"	"	"	" Vináyak Govind Karmarkar ...	"	"	Do. at Sangli, on 6th October 1895.
1199	"	"	"	" Anant Rámchandra Pátkar ...	Hindu.	Pleader.	"
1200	"	"	"	" Mahádev Váman Gadre ...	Bráhman.	"	"
1201	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Prabhákar Khádilkar, B. A. ...	"	Student.	"
1202	"	"	"	" Kondo Vithal Godbole ...	"	Banker.	"
1203	"	"	"	" Shrinivás Rámchandra Kotvál ...	"	Pleader.	"
1204	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Báláji Anikhindi B. A. ...	"	Banker.	Do. at Rabkavi, Sangli State, on 14th November 1895.

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1205	Bombay.	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	Mr. Gangádhara Bálkrishna Deshpánde B. A. ....	Bráhmaṇ.	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Rabkavi, Sangli State, on 14th November 1895.
1206	"	"	"	" Vyankatesh Báláji Anikhindi ....	"	Banker.	"
1207	"	"	"	" Pándurang Rámchandra Borgi ....	"	Merchant.	"
1208	"	"	"	" Tammáppá Satyáppá Ohikodi ....	Lingáyat.	"	"
1209	"	"	"	" Kotráppá Kadáppá Hattikal ....	"	"	"
1210	"	"	"	" Shivarudrayya Mahentayya Udharinath ....	"	"	"
1211	"	"	"	" Mallesháppá Annáppá Umádi ....	"	"	"
1212	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Pándurang Apte ....	Bráhmaṇ.	Money-lender.	Do., at Digraj, Sangli State, on 18th December 1895.
1213	"	"	"	" Vishna Váman Apte ....	"	"	"
1214	"	"	"	" Durvás Báláji Durvás ....	"	Pleader.	Do., at Terdal, Sangli State, on 12th November 1895.
1215	"	"	"	" Govind Krishna Konaráddi ....	Raddi.	"	Do. at Kurundwad, on 11th November 1895.
1216	"	"	"	" Krishnáji Ballál Godbole ....	Bráhmaṇ.	Manager; Bhau Náná Press.	"
1217	"	"	"	" Lakshman Dhonddev Oka ....	"	Money-lender.	"
1218	"	"	"	" Bháskar Krishna Vátave ....	"	Priest.	"
1219	"	"	"	" Annáji Bábáji Latthe ....	Jain.	Trader.	"
1220	"	"	"	" Anant Vináyak Patvardhan ....	Bráhmaṇ.	Inámdár.	Do., at Jamkhindi, on 9th December 1895.
1221	"	"	"	" Mahárudráppá Viráppá Haliyál... ..	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Banhatti, Jamkhindi State, on 8th December 1895.
1222	"	"	"	" Bhimráv Vináyakráv Apte ....	Bráhmaṇ.	"	Do., at Kulhali, Jamkhindi State, on 14th December 1895.

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1223	Bombay.	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	Mr. Ganesh Janardan Kadavlikar ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Miraj, on 8th December 1895.
1224	"	"	"	" Govind Náráyan Bedekar ...	"	Landlord	"
1225	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Ganesh Patvardhan ...	"	Merchant.	"
1226	"	"	"	" Pándurang Rámchandra Vaishampáyan ...	"	Pleader.	"
1227	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Atmáram Nádkarni ...	"	"	"
1228	"	"	"	" Vishnu Sadáshiv Gokhale ...	"	Merchant.	Do., at Haripur, Miraj Junior State, on 5th October 1895.
1229	"	"	"	" Govind Ballál Deval ...	"	Author.	"
1230	"	"	"	" Balvant Vináyak Lele ...	"	Merchant.	"
1231	"	"	"	" Bháskar Raghunáth Lágú ...	"	Landlord.	"
1232	"	"	"	" Balvant Sakháram Shirolkar ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Mudhol, on 23rd October 1895.
1233	"	"	"	" Bassáppá Shiddhalingáppá Maláli ...	Lingáyat.	Trader.	"
1234	"	"	"	" Balvant Raghunáth Tilak ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
1235	"	"	"	" Vithal Vishnu Válambe ...	"	"	"
1236	"	"	"	" Váudev Raghunáth Fadnis ...	"	"	Do., at Ramdurg, on 9th December 1895.
1237	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Krishna Godbole ...	"	Merchant.	"
1238	"	"	"	" Dámodar Ganesh Vángikar ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Faltan, on 25th November 1895.
1239	"	"	"	" Dámodar Keshav Bhide ...	"	Head Master High School.	"
1240	"	"	"	" Báikrishna Shri-dhar Kolhatkar ...	"	Teacher.	"
1241	"	"	"	" Ohintáman Dáji Vágh ...	"	Pleader.	"
1242	"	"	"	" Vináyak Dhonddev Duble ...	"	"	"

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1243	Bombay.	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	Mr. Mahádev Abáji Rudrabhate ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Faltan, on 25th November 1895.
1244	"	"	"	" Govind Dádáji Kulkarni ...	"	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Rui, Kagal State, on 3rd Dec. 1895.
1245	"	"	"	" Datto Mhakoji Kulkarni ...	"	"	Do., 23rd Do.
1246	"	"	"	" Basáppá Dánáppá Gani ...	Lingáyat.	Merchant.	Do., at Mudhol, on 23rd October 1895.
1247	"	Sind.	Sind.	" Jaffer Fadu ...	Khojá.	"	By a Sind Congress Committee, at Karachi, on 16th December 1895.
1248	"	"	"	" Pesumal T. S. ...	Hindu.	Pleader.	"
1249	"	"	"	" Tahírám Khemchand B. A. LL. B.	"	"	"
1250	"	"	"	" Harchandrái Vishindás B. A. LL. B. ...	Loháná.	"	"
1251	"	"	"	" Lálichand Chuhermal Panjábí, M. A.	"	Student.	"
1252	"	"	"	" Jashanmal Tourmal	Hindu.	Contractor.	"
1253	"	"	"	" Chaithráms Khemchand ...	"	Clerk, Messrs. Graham and Co.	"
1254	"	"	"	" Hari Lakshman Lághu B. A. ...	Bráhman	First Asst. Master, Hiranand Academy, Hyderabad, Sind.	Do., Standing Congress Committee at Hyderabad on 19th December 1895.
1255	"	"	"	" Tahírám Lílárám Shívdásani ...	Bráhma.	Pleader.	"
1256	"	"	"	" Tuljárám Daulatráms Partábani ...	Khatri nánakpanthi	Surveyor.	"
1257	"	"	"	" Shívaldás Mulchand.	Lahábá.	Pleader.	Do., Standing Congress Committee, at Shikarpur, on 15th December 1895.
1258	"	Berar.	Berar.	" Rangnáth Narsinh Mudholkar B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	By the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha, at Amravati, on 1st December 1895.
1259	"	"	"	" Moro Vishvanáth Joshi B. A. LL. B.	"	"	"

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1260	Bombay.	Berar.	Berar.	Mr. Vyankatesh Rámchandra Mudholkar ...	Bráhma.	Editor, Vaidarbha Newspaper.	By the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha, at Amravati on 1st December 1895; also by a public meeting held at Akola, on 8th December 1895.
1261	"	"	"	" Vasudev Báláji Pimplikar ...	"	Pleader.	By the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha at Amravati on 1st Dec. 1895.
1262	"	"	"	" Sumpatráv Parvatráv Deshmukh ...	Maráthá.	Deshmukh.	"
1263	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Mádhav alias Bábá Pátíl ...	Bráhma.	Banker.	"
1264	"	"	"	" Vishnu Hari Karandikar ...	"	Asst. Secretary, Berar Sarvajanik Sabha.	"
1265	"	"	"	" Bálkrishna Hari Karandikar ...	"	Pleader.	"
1266	"	"	"	" Dámodar Hari Ránade ...	"	"	"
1267	"	"	"	Bábu Shivratansinh Mahásinh Varmá Jamáder ...	Kahatriya.	Merchant.	Do.; also by a public meeting held at Akola, on 8th Dec. 1895.
1268	"	"	"	Mr. Yashvant Govind Keskar ...	Bráhma.	Editor, Pramoda Sindhu Newspaper.	By the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha at Amravati on 1st Dec. 1895.
1269	"	"	"	" Balirám Meghshám ...	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Amravati, on 1st December 1895.
1270	"	"	"	" Lakshman Hari Karandikar ...	"	Clerk.	"
1271	"	"	"	" Keshav Balvant Deshpánde ...	"	Deshpánde.	"
1272	"	"	"	" Hari Chintáman Pethe ...	"	Merchant.	"
1273	"	"	"	" Káshináth Kesháv Jog ...	"	Homœopathic Medical Practitioner.	"
1274	"	"	"	" Vishnu Mahádevráv Deshpánde Bára-khade ...	"	Deshpánde.	"
1275	"	"	"	" Govind Mahádev...	"	Landholder.	"
1276	"	"	"	" Trimbak Mahádev Kahirságar ...	"	Pleader.	"
1277	"	"	"	" Náráyan Dádáji ...	"	Money-lender.	"
1278	"	"	"	Dr. Rámchandra Naráinh Mudholkar L. M. & S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1279	"	"	"	Mr. Balvantráv N. Mudholkar ...	"	Government Pensioner.	"



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1280	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Berar.	Mr. Rámohandra Annáji Deshpánde	Bráhmañ.	Clerk.	By a public meeting held at Amravati on 1st December 1895.
1281	"	"	"	" Shrikumár Shankarsing Sardársing Varná Munsafdár.	Kshatriya.	Merchant.	By the Berar Sarvajani Sabha, at Amravati, on 1st December 1895; by a public meeting held at Akola, on 8th December 1895.
1282	"	"	"	" Vásudev Náráyan Jog	Bráhmañ.	Pleáder.	By the public meeting held at Amravati, on 1st December 1895.
1283	"	"	"	" Antáji Govind Keskar	"	"	"
1284	"	"	"	" Sávlárám Lakshman Oka	"	Merchant.	"
1285	"	"	"	" Vinayak Sávlárám Oka	"	Pleáder.	"
1286	"	"	"	" Govind Náráyan Káne	Christian.	"	"
1287	"	"	"	" Yádavráv Kále	Bráhmañ.	Landlord.	"
1288	"	"	"	" Devráv Vináyak	"	Pleáder.	Do., Do., by a public meeting held at Akola, on 8th Dec. 1895.
1289	"	"	"	" Jayakrishna Bagáji.	"	Banker.	"
1290	"	"	"	" Dattátreya Vishnu Bhágavat B. A. LL. B.	"	High Court Pleáder.	"
1291	"	"	"	" Yashvant Govind Hundivále	"	Member of the District Board, Akola.	"
1292	"	"	"	" Lalu Vithal Patel.	Kunbi.	Money-lender.	"
1293	"	"	"	" Vyankatesh Krishna Desái	Bráhmañ.	Pleáder.	"
1294	"	"	"	" Rámohandra Vishnu Mahájani B. A.	"	Landholder.	"
1295	"	"	"	" Gunvant Rámji Joth	"	Merchant.	"
1296	"	"	"	" Yádneshvar Anant Vaidya	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1297	"	"	"	" Krishna Chandrabhán Patel	Kunbi.	Landholder.	"
1298	"	"	"	" Náráyan Udebhán Patel	"	Money-lender.	"
1299	"	"	"	" Rávji Moreshtar Páchnour	Bráhmañ.	"	"

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1300	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Berar.	Mr. Shankar Rávji Patel ...	Kunbi.	Agriculturist.	By a public meeting held at Akola, on 8th December 1895.
1301	"	"	"	" Náráyanráv Sakháráv Deshmukh ...	"	Deshmukh.	"
1302	"	"	"	" Vithal Rango Táre B. A. LL. B. ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleáder.	"
1303	"	"	"	" Shankar Bálkrishna Korde ...	"	Merchant.	"
1304	"	"	"	" Náráyan Káshináth Date B. A. ...	"	Pleáder.	"
1305	"	"	"	" Gopál Ganesh Didolkar ...	"	Money-lender.	"
1306	"	"	"	" Dinánáth Gopál ...	"	Merchant.	"
1307	"	"	"	" Hari Rámchandra Anvikar ...	Hindu.	Editor.	"
1308	"	"	"	" Gopál Vishnu Ráste ..	Bráhmañ.	Insurance Agent.	"
1309	"	"	"	" Náyáran Rámchandra Deshpánde	"	Jahágirdár.	"
1310	"	"	"	" Devráv Bhagvant Nargunde ..	"	Landholder.	"
1311	"	"	"	" Vishvanáth Sadáshiv Anekar ...	"	Pleáder.	"
1312	"	"	"	" Shankar Govind ...	"	"	"
1313	"	"	"	" Pándurang Bápuji Rájandekar ...	"	Landholder.	"
1314	"	"	"	" Jivbá Dádáji Sheth	Sonár.	Merchant.	"
1315	"	"	"	" Hanumant Rávji Khazode ...	Bráhmañ.	Landholder.	"
1316	"	"	"	" Rámráv Gopál Deshpánde ...	"	"	"
1317	"	"	"	" Rámráv Sadáshiv Sádhu ...	"	Agent.	Do., at Ellichpur, on 1st December 1895.
1318	"	"	"	" Náráyan Rámchandra Gadbiakar ...	"	Pleáder.	"
1319	"	"	"	" Yashvantráv Náráyanráv Deshpánde	"	Money-lender.	"
1320	"	"	"	" Bápuráv Mahádev Pendse ...	"	Pleáder.	"

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1321	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Berar.	Mr. Shripat Mahádev Keskar ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Elichpur, 1st December 1895
1322	"	"	"	" Chimanráo Trimbak Deshpánde ...	"	Deshpánde.	Do., at Basien, on 24 November 1895.
1323	"	"	"	" Sheshráv Raghunáth ...	"	Pleader.	"
1324	"	"	"	" Yashvant Váman Dighe ...	Parbhú.	"	"
1325	"	"	"	" Rámkrishna Balarám Kide ...	Bráhmañ.	Merchant.	Do., at Mangrulpir, 16th December 1895
1326	"	"	"	" Lakshman Átmáram Mahájan ...	"	"	Do., 24th Dec. 1895.
1327	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Raghunáth Bápat ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Yavatmal 4th November 1895
1328	"	"	"	" Gopál Náráyan Bhat ...	"	"	"
1329	"	"	"	" Vishnu Tukáram Pujári ...	"	Landholder.	"
1330	"	"	"	" Vishvanáth Krishna Garde ...	"	Pleader.	Do., at Buldana on 15th December 1895.
1331	"	"	"	" Mahádev Sakharám Bápat B. A. LL. B. ...	"	"	"
1332	"	"	"	" Váman Vyankatesh Joshi ...	"	Priest.	Do., at Malkapur, 15th December 1895
1333	"	"	"	" Vishnusá Bálkrishnasá ...	Baniá.	Banker.	"
1334	"	"	"	" Raghunáth Náráyan Thosar ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	Do., at Ohikhli, on 15th December 1895; and by the Jolly H Club, at Kalya Thana District, 20th December 1895
1335	"	"	"	" Sadásbiv Moreshvar Deva ...	"	"	Do., at Yavatmal, 2nd December 1895
1336	C. P.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	" D. V. Barakáre B. A. ...	"	Head Clerk, Inspector General of education.	By a public meeting held at Nagpur, 24th November 1895
1337	"	"	"	" Chintáman Rámchandra Belápurkar ...	"	Editor, Deshasevaka Newspaper.	"
1338	"	"	"	" Gopálráv Mukund Bootee ...	"	Banker.	"

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1339	Central Provinces	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Káshináthráv Vaidya ...	Bráhman.	Govt. Pensioner.	By a public meeting held at Nagpur on 24th November 1895.
1340	"	"	"	" Lakshman Balvant Scindia ...	Maráthá.	Malgujar.	"
1341	"	"	"	" Lachhmichand Ohobe ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
1342	"	"	"	" Rávji Káshináth Gokhale ...	"	"	"
1343	"	"	"	" Datto Vináyak Gokhale ...	"	Contractor.	"
1344	"	"	"	" Rájáráv Shítáráv Dikshit ...	"	"	"
1345	"	"	"	" Náráyan Sadáshiv Tánksále ...	"	Malgujar & Contractor.	"
1346	"	"	"	" Parshurám Vishnu Godbole ...	"	Turner.	"
1347	"	"	"	Dr. Lakshman Dájibá Gádre B. A. L. M. & S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1348	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Shivrám Bhaválkar ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1349	"	"	"	" Hari Shítáráv Dikshit B. A. LL. B. ...	"	Solicitor and High Court Pleader.	"
1350	"	"	"	" Dhundhi Gunvant Thendgi M. E. ...	"	Engineer.	"
1351	"	"	"	" Gulábsing ...	Rajput.	Merchant.	"
1352	"	"	"	" Shankarráv Scindhe ...	Maráthá.	Watchmaker.	"
1353	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Vishnu Fátak ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	"
1354	"	"	"	" Antobá Janárdan Sávjí ...	Hindu.	Banker.	"
1355	"	"	"	" C. V. Náyadu ...	Kshatri.	Bar.-at-Law.	"
1356	"	"	"	" Navalóji Rávzáheb Gujar ...	Maráthá.	Jahágirdár.	"
1357	"	"	"	" Hari Mádhav Pandit ...	Bráhman.	Deputy Manager Bhosle Estate.	"
1358	"	"	"	" Shankar Lakshman Gokhale M. A. ...	"	Professor Hialóp College.	"

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1359	Central Provinces	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Rámjivan Jogi Náyadu Madrasi...	Hindu.	Head Master Andrasábha school.	By a public meeting held at Nagpur, on 24th November 1895.
1360	"	"	"	" Vishnu Dáji Kukde	Bráhmañ.	Government Pensioner.	"
1361	"	"	"	" Ganesh Vásudev Sáne	"	Contractor.	"
1362	"	"	"	" S. B. Nagarkar ...	Hindu.	Private Service.	"
1363	"	"	"	" Vishnu Dámodar Kuidarkar ...	Bráhmañ.	Banker.	By a public meeting held at Harda, on 8th December 1895.
1364	"	"	"	" Shankarráv Náráyan Parulkar ...	"	"	"
1365	"	"	"	" Krishnaráv Náráyan Rege ...	"	Jahágirdár.	"
1366	"	"	"	" Sakháram Ganesh Paránjpe ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1367	"	"	"	" Balvantráv Káshináth Agnihotri ...	"	Malgujar.	"
1368	"	"	"	" Bhagirath Prasád B. A. ...	Kalar.	Professor of Mathematics, Hislop College.	Do., at Bhandara, on 12th December 1895; also by a public meeting held at Bilaspur, on 11th December 1895; and by a public meeting held at Wardha, on 24th November 1895; Do., —Do., at Harda, on 8th Dec. 1895, Do., —Do., at Saugor, on 7th December 1895.
1369	"	"	"	Bábu Saratchandra Mitrá B. A. B. L. ...	Kshatriya.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Bilaspur, on 11th December 1895.
1370	"	"	"	" Nágendranáth De...	Káyasth.	Barrister-at-Law.	"
1371	"	"	"	Mr. Dámodar Rámchandra Shrikhande ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	By the Saugor, Hita Sabha, on 24th November 1895.
1372	"	"	"	" Vináyakráv Vaidya.	"	"	"
1373	"	"	"	" Balirám Náráyan Deshmukh B. A. B. L. ...	"	"	By a public meeting held at Chindwara, on 10th Dec. 1895.
1374	"	"	"	" Vináyak Ganesh ...	"	"	Do. 12th Do.

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1375	Central Provinces	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Shankar Ganesh Deshpande B. A. LL. B.	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Wardha, on 15th Dec. 1895.
1376	"	"	"	" Náráyan Rámchandra Joshi ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1377	"	"	"	" Dáji Jayarám Pánde B. A. B. L.	"	Pleader.	"
1378	"	"	"	" Keshavráv Mahádev Kávle ...	"	"	"
1379	"	"	"	" Dámodar Nilkant Khare B. A. LL. B.	"	"	"
1380	"	"	"	" Keshav Bálkrishna Patvardhan ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1381	"	"	"	" Lakshman Govind Deváskar ...	"	Pleader.	"
1382	"	"	"	" Eknáthráv Kulkarni ...	"	Banker.	Do., 26th Nov. 1895.
1383	"	"	"	" Gángádhár Vishnu Gánu ...	"	Engineer.	Do., 15th Dec. 1895.
1384	"	"	"	Pandit Bishambhar-Náth Dube B. A.	"	Student.	Do., at Jabalpur, on 21st Dec. 1895.
1385	"	"	"	" Vishvanáth Ganesh Sáne ...	"	Contractor.	"
1386	"	"	"	" Janárdan Gopal Bhágavat, ...	"	Agriculturist.	Do., at Raipur, on 18th December 1895.
1387	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshmanráv Modak ...	"	Service.	Do., at Rajnandgaon, on 8th Dec. 1895.
1388	"	"	"	" Bhagván Datta.	"	Landlord.	"
1389	adra s.	Madras.	VIII. Municipal Division.	Mr. C. S. Rajgopál Chárriar ...	"	Landlord.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 18th December 1895.
1390	"	"	"	" T. A. Swámináppá Iyer B. A.	"	School-Waster H. A. V. School.	"
1391	"	"	"	" M. Punith Velu Mulelliar B. A. ...	Shudra.	Landlord.	"
1392	"	"	III. "	" S K. Nair. ...	Brahmo.	On the staff of the Madras Standard.	Do., 21th Do.
1393	"	"	VIII. "	" D. Bálá Subramania Mudelliár ...	Shudra.	Landlord.	Do., 18th Do.

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1394	Madras.	Madras.	VII. Municipal Division	Mr. V. Ramaswami Iyer.	Bráhman.	Banker.	By the Mahajan Sabha on 23rd December 1895.
1395	"	"	"	" B. Venkatapathi Naidu Garu B.A. ...	Shudra.	Dubash.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 18th December 1895.
1396	"	"	"	" C. V. Kumarswami Shástri B. A. B. L.	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	By the Mahajan Sabha on 23rd December 1895.
1397	"	"	IV. "	" T. V. Appa Ráw Naidu ...	Andivalav.	Merchant.	"
1398	"	"	VII. "	" O. Venkata Subramania B. A. B. L. ...	Bráhman	High Court Pleader.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 18th December 1895.
1399	"	"	"	" T. Ethirája Mudaliár B. A. B. L. ...	Vellala.	High Court Pleader.	By the Mahajan Sabha on 19th December 1895.
1400	"	"	"	" Kuttalay Ethirája Pillay ...	"	Merchant.	"
1401	"	"	VII. "	" M. Viraratna Cháriar B. A. ...	Bráhman.	Managing Proprietor, of the 'Hindu.' Newspaper	"
1402	"	"	VIII. "	" M. Margasahoya, Mudilliár ...	Vellala.	Architect.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 18th December 1895.
1403	"	"	II. & III. "	" G. Parameshwaram Pillay B. A. ...	Hindu.	Editor of the Madras Standard	Do., 21st Dec. 1895.
1404	"	"	VII. "	" D. R. Baláji Ráw B. A. B. L. ...	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	Do., on 22nd Do., also by the Mahajan Sabha, on 19th December 1895.
1405	"	"	"	" S. Veeraraghava Chári ...	"	Note Registrar, Bank of Madras.	By the Mahajan Sabha on 19th Dec. 1895; also by a public meeting of the residents of the VII. Municipal Division, on 22nd December 1895.
1406	"	"	VII. "	" C. Srinivasa Cháriar B. A. ...	"	Merchant.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 22nd December 1895; also by the Mahajan Sabha and Triplicane Literary Society on 19th and 22nd December 1895 respectively.

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1407	Madras.	Madras.	VII. Municipal Division.	Mr. Tanjore Nágoji Ráy	Brahma	Landlord.	By the Mahajan Sabha on 19th December 1895.
1408	"	"	"	" P. Shrinivása Chárlu B. A. ...	"	Student.	"
1409	"	"	"	Rai Bahádúr P. Anandá Chárlu ...	"	High Court Pleader.	"
1410	"	"	VIII. Municipal Division.	Mr. P. S. Sivaswámi Iyer B. A. B. L. ...	"	"	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 18th December 1895.
1411	"	"	"	" V. Masilamani Pillai B. A. B. L. ...	Hindu.	"	By the Mahajan Sabha, on 18th Dec. 1895.
1412	"	"	"	" T. Rangáchariár B. A. B. L. ...	Bráhma.	"	"
1413	"	"	"	The Hon'ble. Mr. O. Sankarran Nair B. A. B. L. ...	Nair.	"	"
1414	"	"	"	" A. Krishnaswámi Iyer ...	Bráhma.	Yogi.	"
1415	"	"	II & III Municipal Division.	" P. N. Muthuswámi Naidu B. A. ...	Baliya.	Merchant.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Divisions, held on 21st December 1895.
1416	"	"	"	" P. C. Krishna-swámi Naidu B. A. ...	"	Dubash.	"
1417	"	"	"	" Venkatasubbá Iyer B. A. B. L. ...	Bráhma.	High Court Pleader.	"
1418	"	"	"	" G. Govindarájulu Chetty B. A. ...	Hindu.	Assistant, Madras Christian College.	"
1419	"	"	"	" M. Venkata Rámiah Chetty B. A. B. L. ...	Vaishya.	High Court Pleader & Asst. Law Lecturer.	By the Mahajan Sabha on 18 December 1895.
1420	"	"	"	" Gurráv Náráyan Chetty ...	"	Merchant.	"
1421	"	"	II & III Municipal Division.	" M. Ramánjalu Naidu ...	Baliya.	"	By a public meeting of the residents of the Divisions held on 21st December 1895.
1422	"	"	"	" B. Rámaswámi Naidu ...	"	Asst. Dubash.	"
1423	"	"	"	" B. Therumalasámi Naidu ...	"	Merchant.	"



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1424	Madras.	Madras.	II & III Municipal Division.	Mr. N. S. Rájárám ...	Bráhman.	Merchant	By the Mahajan Sabha on 18th Dec 1895.
1425	"	"	VII "	" P. M. Cooposwámi Naidu ...	Hindu.	Special officer to H. H. the Rajah Satupati of Rámnád.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Division held on 22nd December 1895.
1426	"	"	"	" A. C. Pártha Sáradhi Naidu ...	Hindu.	Editor, Andhra Prakásiká,	"
1427	"	"	"	" Chetlur Krishna-sámi Iyer ...	Bráhman.	Pleader	By a public meeting held at Tirupati on 15th December 1895.
1428	"	"	"	" Madabusi Sundara Chárlu ...	"	"	"
1429	"	"	"	" Vellore Sundaram Iyer ...	"	School-Master.	"
1430	"	Mysore.	Mysore.	" H. H. Nanjundaráv Davangere ...	Bráhman.	Landholder.	By the Representative Standing Committee Mysore, in November 1895.
1431	"	"	"	" K. Rámánuja Iyengar ...	"	"	Do., 2nd December 1895.
1432	"	Párlá-Kimedi	Párlá Kimedi	" Shri Shri Padma-nábha Náráyan Deo, Second Prince of Párlá-Kimedi ...	Uringa Kshatriya of the Family of the Orissa Gajapati.	Second Prince of Párlá-Kimedi.	By a public meeting held at Párlá Kimedi on 4th December 1895.
1433	"	"	"	Babu S. S. Rája Garu B. A.	Bráhman.	Tutor to Do.	"
1434	"	"	"	Mr. B. K. Dwipáyana Ráv ...	"	Secretary to the Utkal Hitaishini Samaj.	"
1435	"	"	"	Bábu Gangádhar Khadanga ...	"	Landholder.	"
1436	"	"	"	" Appanna Pandá ...	"	Asst. Teacher, Maharaja High School Párlá Kimedi.	"
1437	"	Madura.	Madura.	" L. K. Tulsi Rám B. A. ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	By the Saurashtra Sabha at Madura on 23rd November 1895.
1438	"	"	"	" M. Muthiruláppá Pillai ...	"	Landlord.	By a public meeting held at Rámnád, in December 1895.

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1439	Madras.	Tinnevely.	Tinnevely.	Mr. Sádhu Rámasubbier	Bráhman	General Secretary, Mahajan Sabha, Ambasamudram.	By the Mahajan Sabha at Ambasamudram, Tinnevely Dist., on 14th December 1895.
1440	"	Tanjore.	Tanjore.	" S. Rájagopála Iyengar	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Shrirangam, Trichinapoly District, on 22nd December 1895.
1441	"	"	Mayavaram	" M. S. Natesa Iyer	"	Landholder.	Do., at Mayavaram, Tanjore District, on 15th December 1895.
1442	"	Trichinapoly.	Trichinapoly	" S. Kuppuswámy Sarmá B. A. B. L. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Trichinapoly on 21st Dec. 1895.
1443	"	"	"	" G. Shesha Iyengar	"	Head-Master, National High School, Trichinapoly.	Do., at Shrirangam, Trichinapoly District, on 22nd December 1895.
1444	"	"	"	" T. M. Sundaram Pillay	Shudra.	Landholder.	By the Young Men's Reading Club at Trichinapoly, on 15th December 1895.
1445	"	Bellary.	Hospet.	" C. Hanumanta Gowd	Bráhman.	"	By a public meeting held at Náráyan-kerry, Hospet.
1446	"	"	Bellary.	" Belgaum Subba Shástri	"	Manager Humpi Temples;	Do., at Náráyanavara Keri, Bellary Di-
1447	"	"	Adoni.	" Palaverkadu Sabápathy Mudliar	Valalu.	Agent to a Cotton Press.	Do., at Adoni, Bellary District, on 15th December 1895.
1448	"	"	Bellary.	" C. Satagopal Cháry.	Bráhman.	Merchant.	Do., at Bellary on 3rd December 1895.
1449	"	"	"	" C. S. Subramanya Iyer B. A. B. L. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	"
1450	"	"	"	" S. Náráyanawámi Iyer B. A. ...	"	Assistant Lecturer, Wardlaw College, Bellary.	"
1451	"	"	"	" K. Shrinivása Ráv B. A. ...	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
1452	"	"	"	" Sheshá Challa Ráv B. A. ...	"	Pleader.	"

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1453	Madras.	Bellary.	Bellary.	Mr. P. S. Pārthasārthy Iyengar B. A. B. L.	Brāhman.	First Grade Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Bellary, on 3rd December 1895.
1454	"	"	"	" B. Yādavendram Pillay ...	Hindu.	Contractor.	"
1455	"	"	"	" V. Sundram Mudliār ...	"	"	"
1456	"	"	"	" B. Shrinivāsa Rāv	Brāhman.	Merchant.	"
1457	"	"	"	" K. Venkata Rāv ...	"	Pleader.	"
1458	"	Anantapur.	Gooty	" Jangamcotā Sheshagiri Rāv ...	"	Landholder.	Do., at Gooty on 17th December 1895.
1459	"	Cuddapah	Proddutu.	" Sājjādā Nanaimiah Sahib ...	Mahomedan	Hakim.	By a meeting of the Cuddapah District Association held at Proddutur on 21st December 1895.
1460	"	"	Cuddapah.	The Honorable Rāi Bahādur O. Jambulingam Mudliār B. A. B. L. ...	Vellalu.	High Court Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Cuddapah on 28th December 1895.
1461	"	"	"	Mr. V. Rāmānuja Rāv	Brāhman.	First Grade Pleader.	"
1462	"	Malabar.	Calicut.	" M. Gopāla Menon B. A. B. L. ...	Nair.	High Court Pleader.	Do., at Calicut on 23rd December 1895.
1463	"	"	"	" Chengalāth Komu Menon ...	"	Editor, Kerala Patrikā, Calicut.	"
1464	"	"	Palghant.	" V. V. Paramāchārya ...	Brāhman.	Proprietor & Manager, Native High School, Palghant.	"
1465	"	Salem.	Salem.	Mr. D. Sheshagiri Iyer	"	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Salem, on 23rd Dec. 1895.
1466	"	"	"	" T. A. Shetārām Iyer ...	"	Merchant.	"
1467	"	"	"	" Gopāl Iyer ...	"	Pleader.	"
1468	"	"	Thirupathur.	" B. Venkata Rāmāna	"	"	Do., at Thirupathur, Salem District, on 9th December 1895.
1469	"	"	Salem.	The Hon'ble Mr. O. VijiaRāghavā Chārīar B. A.	"	"	Do., at Mylapure, Salem District, on 19th December 1895.

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1470	Madras.	Salem.	Salem.	Mr. Narsinga Rao ...	Bráhman.	Landholder.	By a public meeting held at Salem, on 23rd Dec. 1895.
1471	"	"	"	" C.N. Sheshagiri Rao	"	"	"
1472	"	"	"	" D. R. Narasa Iyer.	"	Pleader.	"
1473	"	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore	" A. Lalji Sheth ...	Hindu.	Merchant.	Do., at Coimbatore, on 14th Do.
1474	"	Vizagapatam	Parvatipur.	" O. V. Jagannáth Shástri ...	Bráhman	Pleader.	Do., at Purvatipur, on 5th Do.
1475	"	"	"	" Ati Appadu Pantulu ...	"	First Grade Pleader.	"
1476	"	"	Marangi.	" Shrirám Bháradvája Sharmá ...	"	Zamindari official.	Do., at Marangi, Vizagapatam District, on 8th December 1895.
1477	"	"	Masalipatam.	" C. Rangá Cháriar B. A. B. L. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	Do., at Masalipatam, Do., on 8th December 1895.
1478	"	Godavery	Coconada.	" Paindá Venkata Chalpatí Garu ...	Vaishya.	Merchant.	By the Godavery Dist. Association at Coconada, on 26th November 1895.
1479	"	"	"	" Potapragadu Rámraju Garu ...	Bráhman.	Inámdár.	Do., on 8th Dec. 1895.
1480	"	"	"	" Devarakondá Subrahmanyam Garu	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	Do., on 26th Nov. 1895.
1481	"	"	"	" Ganjám Venkata Ratnam ...	"	1st Grade Pleader.	"
1482	"	"	"	" M. C. Venkata Rághava Aiyangar	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	By the Godavery Dist. Association at Coconada on 8th December 1895.
1483	"	"	Peddapuram.	" Vemula Venkanná Pantulu Garu ...	"	Pleader.	By the Bar Association at Peddapuram on 3rd December 1895.
1484	"	"	Coconada.	" Kasturi Narsinhvárá Pantulu Garu ...	"	2nd Grade Pleader.	By the Godavery District Association at Coconada on 8th December 1895.
1485	"	"	Ellore.	" Kanohana Nága-bhushanam Naidu	Shudra.	Mokhásadár	By a public meeting held at Ellore on 7th December 1895.

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1486	Madras.	Godavery	Ellore.	Mr. Somanchi Bhimashankaram ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Ellore on 7th December 1895.
1487	"	"	"	" Suri Sundara Ráma Shástri ...	"	"	"
1488	"	"	"	" Rájá Velanki China Venkata, Rámráv Bahádur Jamidár	Velama.	Rája of Nadimi Tiruúr	"
1489	"	"	"	" Motai Venkata Subbaráv ...	Vaishya.	Merchant.	"
1490	"	"	Rajahmundry.	The Honorable Mr. N Subbaráv Pantulu Garu B. A. B. L.	Bráhman	High Court Pleader.	Do., at Rájahmundry on 9th December 1895.
1491	"	"	"	Mr. N. V. Somayazulu Garu ...	"	Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor	"
1492	"	"	"	" S. Bhimashankara Ráv Garu ...	"	First Grade Pleader.	"
1493	"	Krishna.	Bezvádá	" M. Venngopál Pillay	Shudra.	Banker.	Do., at Bezvada on 18th December 1895.
1494	"	"	"	" Ethirajulu Pillay	"	Landholder.	"
1495	"	"	"	" M. Parankusa Pillay	"	Merchant.	"
1496	"	"	"	" M. Gajapathiráv Pillay ...	"	Landholder.	"
1497	"	"	"	" V. Rámadas B. A. ...	Bráhman.	"	"
1498	"	"	"	" S. Subbaráv ...	"	"	"
1499	"	"	"	" S. Rájaishráv ...	"	"	"
1500	"	"	"	" S. Lingayya ...	"	Pleader.	"
1501	"	"	Guntur	" Aká Rámiah Pantulu Garu ...	"	"	By the Guntur Peoples' Association on 14th December 1895.
1502	"	"	"	" R. Shriráma Shástri B. A. B. L. ...	"	High Court Pleader.	Do., 16th Dec. 1895.
1503	"	"	"	" R. Venkata Lingam Garu B. A. B. L. ...	Vaishya.	"	"
1504	"	"	"	" C. Karan Chetty ...	"	Merchant.	"

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1505	Madras.	Krishna.	Bezvada.	Mr. P. Ayyanná Obetty	Vaishya.	Merchant.	By the Guntur Peoples Association on 14th December 1895.
1506	"	Ohingalput.	Conjeevaram.	" T.K.S.Rámakrishna Iyer	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Conjeeveram on 14th Dec. 1895.
1507	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Calcutta.	" J. Ghosal	"	Zamindar.	By the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division, and by the Bar Association on 30th November 1895.
1508	"	"	"	" Jyotirindra Náth Tágore	"	"	By the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division on 30th November 1895..
1509	"	"	"	Bábu Cháru Chandra Ghose B. A.	Káyasth.	Landholder.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division on 15th Dec; 1895.
1510	"	"	"	Swámi Rám Ram Sanjámí	Sanyási.	Ascetic.	Do., Northern Do., on 18th December 1895.
1511	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranáth Bánérji B. A.	Bráhman.	Professor, Ripon College.	Do., Do., also by the Indian Association.
1512	"	"	"	Bábu Káli Prasanna Kábya Bísarad	"	Editor, "Hitabádi."	Do., Southern Do., on 15th December 1895.
1513	"	"	"	" Kálicharan Bánérj. M. A. B. L.	Christian.	Pleader, High Court.	Do., Northern Do., on 18th Do., also by the Indian Association, on 29th Nov. 1895.
1514	"	"	"	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee...	Bráhman.	Bar-at-Law.	Do., Southern Do., on 15th December 1895.
1515	"	"	"	Bábu Umá Káli Mukerjee B. L.	"	High Court Pleader.	"
1516	"	"	"	Mr. Sarechunder Mitter	Káyasth.	Landlord	"
1517	"	"	"	Bábu Krishna Kumár Mitra B. A.	Bráhman.	Professor, City College and Editor, Sanjibani.	Do., 18th Do.

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1518	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Calcutta.	Babu Heramba Chandra Mitra ...	Bráhman.	Professor, City College.	By the Indian Association on 29th November 1895.
1519	"	"	"	Dr. Nila Ratan Sarcár M. A. M. D. ...	"	Medical Practitioner.	"
1520	"	"	"	Rái Yatindranáth Choudhari M.A.B.L.	Káyasth.	Zamindár.	By the Zamindari Panchayat on 13th December 1895; by the Indian Association on 29th November 1895; by the Taki Branch of the Indian Association on 29th Nov. 1895; by a public meeting of the residents of Basirhat held on 26th Nov. 1895; and by a public meeting of the residents of Baranagore on 24th November 1895.
1521	"	"	"	Bábu Jotindranáth Bose M. A. ...	"	Articled Clerk.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division on 18th Dec. 1895.
1522	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ghose ...	"	Barrister-at-Law.	By a public meeting of the residents of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division held on 18th December 1895.
1523	"	"	"	Bábu Chandra Bhushan Bánérjee B. L. ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	Do., Southern Do., 15th Do.
1524	"	"	"	Mr. Jnánendra Mohan Karr B. A. ...	Rádhá-swámist.	Teacher.	Do., Howra Do., 13th Do.
1525	"	"	Hooghly	" Harischandra Gosáni ...	Bráhman.	Zamindár.	Do., Hooghly Do., 14th Do.
1526	"	"	Goalpara	" Upendranáth Bose B. A. B. L. ...	Káyasth.	Pleader.	Do., Dhubri on 1st December 1895.
1527	"	Dacca.	Dacca	Bábu Jagat Chandra Ráya ...	"	"	Do., Vikrampur 4th Do.
1528	"	"	"	" Umesh Chandra Dás B. L. ...	Báidyá.	"	"
1529	"	"	"	Mr. Saratchandra Chakrabarti B. L. ...	Bráhman.	"	By a public meeting held at Dacca, on 30th Nov. 1895.
1530	"	Faridpur.	Faridpur.	Bábu Prithvis Chandra Roy ...	Káyasth.	Zamindár.	Do., Faridpur, 9th November 1895.

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1531	Bengal.	Faridapur.	Faridapur.	Babu Ambicá Charan Muzumdár M. A. B. L. ...	Vaidya.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Faridpur on 9th November 1895.
1532	"	Barisal	Barisal.	" Aswini Kumár Datta M. A. B. L. ...	Káyasth.	Landholder.	By the Barisal Peoples' Association, on 15th December 1895.
1533	"	Rangpur.	Rangpur.	" Jogeschandra Dás Gupta B. L. ...	Baidya.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Rangpur, on 16th Nov. 1895.
1534	"	Dinajpur.	Dinajpur.	" Rakhaldás Sen B. L. ...	Vaidya.	"	Do, at Dinajpur, 1st December 1895.
1535	"	"	"	" Mádhava Chandra Chatterjee M. A. B. L. ...	Bráhmañ.	"	"
1536	"	Pabna.	Pabna.	Mr. J. Chowdhury B. A. (Oxon) M. A. (Cal)	"	Bar.-at-Law.	Do., at Pabna on 14th Do.
1537	"	"	"	" Shridhar Krishna Tamhane ...	Káyasth.	Artist.	"
1538	"	"	"	Bábu Mohini Mohan Chakravarti M. A. B. L. ...	Bráhmañ.	Pleader.	"
1539	"	"	"	" Mahendra Náráyan Chakravarti B. L. ...	"	"	"
1540	"	"	"	Mr. Kunja Lál Sheha...	Kunda.	Merchant.	"
1541	"	Malda.	Malda.	Bábu Madhusudan Sinha B. A. B. L. ...	Rajput.	Pleader.	Do., at Malda, 22nd December 1895.
1542	"	Rajshahy.	Rajshahy.	Mr. Sudarshan Chakravarti B. L. ...	Bráhmañ.	"	By the Rajsháhye Congress Committee on 22nd December 1895.
1543	"	Calcutta.	Murshidabad.	Bábu Satyendra Náráyan Bagchi B. A. B. L. ...	"	"	By a public meeting held at Berhampore, on 7th Nov. 1895.
1544	"	"	"	" Bhubáni Kishore Chakrabutty ...	"	"	"
1545	"	"	"	" Rámchandra Muzumdár M. A. B. L. ...	Káyasth.	"	"
1546	"	"	"	" Hemendranáth Sen B. A. B. L. ...	Vaidya.	"	"
1547	"	"	"	" Baikunt Náth Sen B. A. B. L. ...	"	"	Do., Do., also at a public meeting held at Rangpur, on 16th November 1895.



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1548	Bengal.	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur.	Babu Sureshchandra Rai B. L. ...	Bráhman.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Bhagalpur, on 21st December 1895.
1549	"	"	"	" Jogendranáth Mukherjee M.A. B.L.	"	High Court Pleader.	Do., at Purnea, 9th December 1895; also by a public meeting held at Barnagar, on 24th November 1895.
1550	"	Calcutta.	Nadia.	" Saratchandra Chowdhari ...	"	Zamindár.	By a public meeting of the inhabitants of District Nadia held on 8th Dec. 1895.
1551	"	"	"	Mr. Indu Bhushan Bhádrí B. L. ...	"	Pleader.	By the Nadia society of Congress Workers, on 13th Dec. 1895.
1552	"	"	"	" Amritanáth Mitra B. A. ...	Káyasth.	"	"
1553	"	"	"	" J. M. Bose ...	"	Manufacturing Perfumer and soap-maker.	"
1554	"	"	"	" Nanda Gopál Bhádrí ...	Bráhman.	Merchant.	By a public meeting held at Krishnagar, on 8th Dec. 1895.
1555	"	"	"	" Jogendranáth Bánérjee ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1556	"	"	"	" Hariprasád Chatterjee B. L. ...	"	Pleader.	"
1557	"	"	Jessore.	" Surendranáth Ghose	Káyasth.	"	By a public meeting held at Jessore in December 1895.
1558	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Bábu Satya Chandra Mukerjee M. A. B. L.	Bráhman.	High Court Pleader.	By the Allahabad Hindu Samaj on 21st December 1895.
1559	"	"	"	" Durgácharan Bánérjee B. A. ...	Parbhu.	"	By a public meeting held at Allahabad, on 19th November 1895.
1560	"	"	"	Pandit Bálkrishna Bhatta ...	"	Professor of Sanskrit, Kayasth Pathashala	"
1561	"	"	"	" Madan Mohan Málaviya B. A. LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader.	Do., Do; also by the Allahabad Hindu Samáj on 21st December 1895.

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1562	N. W. P.	Benares.	Benares.	Munshi Mádhó Láll ...	Bráhmañ.	Banker.	By a public meeting held at Benares, on 15th Dec. 1895.
1563	"	"	"	Bábu Káli Prasád B. A.	"	Landholder.	"
1564	"	"	"	Pandit Dámodarál ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	"
1565	"	Allaha- bad.	Mirzapur.	Mr. B. Shri Rám ...	Khatri.	Pleader.	Do., at Mirzapur, on 23rd December 1895.
1566	"	"	Cawnpur.	Babu T. N. Banerjee...	Bráhmañ.	"	By a public meeting held at Cawnpur, on 19th Dec. 1895.
1567	"	"	"	" Shirish Chundra Gupta	Vaidya.	Merchant.	"
1568	"	"	"	Lálá Lálchand ...	Jain.	Banker.	"
1569	"	"	"	Bábu Gopináth Khaimáh	Kshatri.	Merchant.	"
1570	"	"	Alighar.	Pandit Udai Rám.	Bráhmañ.	Private Service.	Do., at Alighar 21st Do.
1571	"	"	"	Mr. Háfiz Abdurrahim.	Mahomedan	Pleader.	"
1572	"	"	Agra.	" Lálá Kedárnáth B. A. B. L. ...	Vaishya.	High Court Pleader.	Do., at Agra 15th Do.
1573	"	"	"	Pandit Rájnáth Raina.	Bráhmañ.	Banker.	"
1574	"	"	"	Lálá Shámlál ...	Vaishya.	"	"
1575	"	"	Vrindavan.	Pandit Rádhá Charan Goswámi ...	Bráhmañ.	Hindu Spiritual Guide.	Do., at Vrindávan, 21st December 1895.
1576	"	"	Farkábad.	Mr. Gopálrav Hari Bakshí ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.	Do., at Farkábad, 8th December 1895.
1577	"	"	Jhansi	" Váman Vishvanáth Joshi ...	"	Railway Servant.	Do., at Jháñsí 17th Do.
1578	"	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Munshi Gangáprasád Varmá ...	Hindu.	Editor of 'Advocate' Newspaper.	Do., at Lucknow 21st Do.
1579	"	"	"	Bábu Bepin Behári Bose M. A. ...	Bráhmañ.	Advocate.	"
1580	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshmanprasád	"	Brahmo Missionary.	By a public meeting held at Lucknow, on 21st December 1895.

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1581	N. W. P	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Mr. G. T. Sanderland M. A. ...	Unitarian.	Editor of the 'Unitarian,' Boston, America, and a Unitarian Minister.	By a public meeting held at Lucknow, on 21st December 1895.
1582	Panjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Mr. Bakshi Jaishi Ram	Hindu.	Pleader.	By a public meeting held at Lahore, on 8th December 1895.
1583	"	"	"	" Lala Jethu Mall ...	"	Banker.	"
1584	"	Rajputana.	Ajmere.	Dr. Bakshi Lakshmandas ...	Bráhman.	Medical Practitioner.	Do., at Ajmere, on 21st December 1895.