

## APPENDIX A.

NOT TOO MUCH AT A TIME.

*A few Papers and a few Books that will enlighten you.*

### Papers.

INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST (London).

MAHRATTA (Poona).

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta).

### Books.

WORKS BY WM. DIGBY, C.I.E. :—

PROSPEROUS BRITISH INDIA.

INDIAN PROBLEMS FOR ENGLISH CONSIDERATION.

INDIA FOR THE INDIANS AND FOR ENGLAND.

INDIA—THE QUEEN-EMPRESS' PROMISES : HOW THEY  
ARE BROKEN.

CONDEMNED UNHEARD.

THE DARK SIDE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

THE CONDITION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN 1901.

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NEW INDIA, by Sir H. J. S. COTTON, K.C.S.I.

POVERTY OF INDIA, by DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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“I recommend Sir Lee Warner to read the ‘State and Government of India under its Native Rulers’ in the POVERTY OF INDIA, by Dadabhai Naoroji (pp. 581-614).”

My reader, I request you (and you will please request all you know) to read these books among others.

## APPENDIX B.

### WHAT DOES SIR LEE WARNER MEAN?

#### CITIZEN OF INDIA :—

*Page 8.*—The villagers sowed and reaped even though their rulers carried off as much of the crop as they could.

*Page 9.*—In short, the Governments in former days left the villages without any attempt to rescue or assist them, and the consequence was that the word Patriotism, or love of country, was unknown in India.

*Page 17.*—Trade could never flourish in India when the country was exposed to internal disorder and foreign invasion. The population barely sufficed to keep the villages populated and their lands tilled; and although there were cities whose industries in copper ware, silk fabrics, muslins, and lacquer work obtained for them a reputation not confined to India, there was neither a large demand for these products of industry in the country, nor any safe means of exporting them to foreign countries.

*Page 12.*—The raiyats know exactly what assessment they have to pay and the profits of extra diligence and care go into their own pockets. . . .

*Page 93.*—All the checks, then, which the constitution of the United Kingdom, its public opinion, and its Press supply, operate upon the administration of India, and afford effective safeguards against any misuse by the Indian authorities of the powers entrusted to them.

*Page 108.*—It is a mistake to look on the foreign capitalist as draining away the resources of India.

*Page 160.*—Some writers are in the habit of describing the home charges as a “drain” upon the resources of India, or as “tribute.” The term is misleading, for it implies a loss. The truth is, that in return for its payments made in England India receives an ample equivalent in loans, in stores, and in personal services.

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“It cannot be a matter of indifference what lessons we teach to the young; for what they learn they will pass on to others.”

READ BOOKS IN APPENDIX A.

“Autonomy is the keynote of India's destiny.”

## APPENDIX C.

### THE INDIAN HOME RULE SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED IN FEBRUARY, 1905.)

#### President.

SHYAMAJI KRISHNAVARMA, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

#### Vice-Presidents.

C. MUTHU, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Lond.).

J. M. PARIKH, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr D. E. PEREIRA, L.R.C.P. & S.

E. DALGADO, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

PARMESHWAR LALL, Esq., M.A.

Dr U. K. DUTT, B.Sc. (Lond.), D.P.H. (Cantab.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.).

SARDARSINGHI R. RANA, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law.

ABDULLA AL-MAMUM SUHRAWARDY, Esq., M.A. (Lond.).

MANCHESSHA BARJORJI GODREJ, Esq., B.A.

Hon. Secretary.—J. C. MUKERJI, Esq.

#### RULES.

##### I.—Name.

That this Society be called THE INDIAN HOME RULE SOCIETY.

##### II.—Objects.

That the objects of this Society be :—

1. To secure Home Rule for India.
2. To carry on a propaganda in the United Kingdom by all practical means with a view to attain the same.
3. To spread among the people of India a knowledge of the advantages of freedom and national unity.

##### III.—Executive.

1. That the officers of the Society consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Council, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Auditors.
2. That the government of the Society be vested in a council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary (by virtue of their respective offices), of five members who shall be elected annually at a General Meeting, and of a duly-appointed representative from each branch of the Society which may hereafter be formed.
3. That the Council have power to appoint a Treasurer and Secretary or Secretaries from amongst its own members; to elect a President and Vice-Presidents, subject to the approval of the next General Meeting; to fill up vacancies in its own ranks, and to make the necessary bye-laws for carrying out these laws, and for the general management of the Society.
4. That all candidates for election as officers shall be nominated one month before the Annual General Meeting, and that such nomination shall be publicly announced, the form and manner to be determined by the Council.

## APPENDIX C

### IV.—Membership.

1. That the Membership of the Society be restricted to Indian gentlemen only, who shall apply on a form provided by the Society, and who shall be nominated by two existing members of the Society, and approved by the Council.
2. That each member shall pay an annual subscription of three shillings or Rupees 2-4-0, which shall entitle the member to receive "The Indian Sociologist," post free, under a special arrangement made by the Council with the proprietor of that journal.

### V.—General Meetings.

1. That a General Meeting be held once a year, at such place and time as the Council shall determine, at which meeting the presentation of the report and balance-sheet and the election of officers shall take precedence of all other business.
2. That, on the receipt of a requisition signed by not less than twenty-five members, a Special General Meeting be, within one month, called by the Council. No other business but that set forth on the notice calling the meeting shall be taken into consideration.
3. That the voting at all meetings be taken by show of hands, except when a poll is demanded, when the voting shall be taken by ballot. In the case of an equality of votes, the President shall, both on show of hands, and at a poll or ballot (if any), have a casting or second vote in addition to his own.

### VI.—Expulsion.

That the Council have power to expel any member, but the member so expelled shall have a right of appeal to the Annual General Meeting, or to a Special General Meeting called for that purpose.

### VII.—Alteration of Rules.

That no alteration be made in these Rules except at an Annual General Meeting, by the vote of two-thirds of those present, two months' notice of the proposed alteration having been given to the Council.

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### FORM OF APPLICATION.

Membership, including free delivery of "The Indian Sociologist," 3s., or rupees 2-4-0 annually.

I am in full sympathy with the objects of the above-named Society, and desire to be admitted to membership of the same. I enclose an annual subscription of three shillings.

*Signature* .....

*Address* .....

*Nominated by* (1) .....

(2) .....

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*N.B.*—Subscriptions should be forwarded to the Secretary, c/o SHYAMAJI KRISHNAVARMA, 9 Queen's Wood Avenue, Highgate, London, N.

## APPENDIX D.

*Britisher, this to give you an idea what our National Assembly is doing.*

### RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE TWENTIETH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT BOMBAY, ON THE 26TH, 27TH AND 28TH DECEMBER 1904.

#### I.—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsistent with those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen-Empress, and this Congress enters its respectful but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a Public Commission.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that the true remedy for many existing financial and administrative evils lies in the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the country's service; and while concurring with previous Congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examinations for service in India simultaneously in England and in India, this Congress places on record its firm conviction that the only satisfactory solution of this question is to be found in the reorganisation of the Indian Civil Service, which should be reconstituted on a decentralized basis, its judicial functions in the meantime being partly transferred to persons who have been trained in the profession of Law.

(c) That this Congress deplores the abolition of the competitive test for the provincial service in most provinces of India. Past experience has amply established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and this, by bringing unfit men into the service, impairs the efficiency of the administration, and in addition unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service, wherever it has been abolished.

#### II.—EDUCATION.

That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the increased outlay on Primary Education, promised in their Resolution of March last and for the institution of ten Technical scholarships for the study of technical arts and industries in foreign countries, repeats its protest of last year against the retrograde policy adopted by Government in regard to Higher Education, as calculated to officialise the governing bodies of the Universities and to restrict the scope of University Education generally; and the Congress places on record its emphatic opinion that in view of the large surpluses which the Government are now realising year after year, it is their clear duty to make a much larger allotment than at present out of public funds for educational expenditure so as

(a) To spread primary education more widely among the masses of the people, and to make a beginning in the direction of free and compulsory education;

(b) To make due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture;

(c) To provide for the better manning and equipment of Government Colleges and High Schools so as to make them really model institutions;

(d) To establish at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute in the country, with minor Technical Schools and Colleges in different Provinces.

## APPENDIX D

### III.—ECONOMIC SITUATION.

That this Congress is of opinion that the deplorable poverty of the people of this country is mainly due to the drain of wealth from the country that has gone on for years, to the decay of indigenous arts and industries, to over-assessment of land, and to the excessively costly character of the system of administration. And the Congress recommends the following among other remedial measures:—

(a) That Government be pleased to afford greater encouragements to education, as indicated in the previous resolution;

(b) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that where Government may still deem it inadvisable to introduce the Permanent Settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on over-assessment.

(c) That steps be taken to employ a much larger number of Indians in the higher branches of the public service.

### IV.—INDEBTEDNESS OF THE PEASANTRY.

That in view of the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry of the country and of the fact that large numbers of them are forced to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, this Congress again earnestly endorses the suggestion put forward by the Famine Union in London that a careful inquiry be directed by Government into the condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

### INDIAN EMIGRANTS TO ENGLISH COLONIES.

(a) That the Congress, while noting with satisfaction the relaxation of restrictions recently ordered by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth in the case of Indian visitors to Australia, places on record its deep regret that Indian Settlers—subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor—should continue to be subjected to harassing restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies.

(b) In particular, this Congress records its most emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggravated form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. In view of the fact that one of the declared causes of the recent Boer War was the treatment meted out to the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Government of that Republic, and in view also of the admitted loyalty of Indian settlers in South Africa and the great help rendered by them during the war, this Congress fervently prays that the British Parliament will insist on a just and equal treatment being secured to Indian settlers in that Crown Colony.

(c) In this connection the Congress tenders its sincere thanks to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India for their firm stand in the interests of Indian emigrants, and the Congress earnestly trusts that they will not relax their efforts in the matter till a satisfactory solution is reached.

### VI.—DEATHS OF MR J. N. TATA AND MR W. DIGBY.

That this Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Mr J. N. Tata, whose great services to the Industrial development of India as also his enlightened philanthropy and patriotism the country will gratefully remember. This Congress also records its deep grief at the death of Mr William Digby, in whom the people of India have lost an earnest and devoted champion of their cause.

### VII.—SECRETARY OF STATES SALARY.

That this Congress, while protesting against the injustice of charging the cost of the India Office in London to the revenues of this country, when the Colonies are exempted from any share of the cost of the Colonial Office, places on record its opinion that the whole of the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the English Estimates.

## BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

### VIII.—SURPLUSES.

(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the large and recurring surpluses of the last six years—amounting in all to about twenty millions sterling—so far from being the result of any increased prosperity of the people, are only an indication of the fact that the level of taxation in the country is maintained much higher than is necessary, inasmuch as these surpluses have been rendered possible mainly, if not exclusively, by the artificial appreciation of the rupee and the consequent saving of between three and four millions a year on the Home remittances of the Government of India.

(b) That both for the sake of giving relief to the classes which have suffered most from the currency policy of the Government, and to remove from the path of Government a direct temptation to increase expenditure, which the existence of large surpluses year after year undoubtedly constitutes, this Congress strongly urges (1) further a reduction in the salt duty, (2) a reduction in the land revenue demand of the State in those Provinces where the agriculturists have had a series of calamitous years, and (3) the abolition of the excise duties on cotton goods.

(c) That till such a reduction is effected, the Congress urges that part of the surpluses be devoted to purposes which would directly benefit the people, such as the promotion of scientific, agricultural, and industrial education, and increased facilities of Medical relief, and that the rest be employed in assisting Local and Municipal Boards, whose resources have been seriously crippled by famine and by the annual recurrence of plague, to undertake urgently-needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of means of communication in the interior.

### IX.—REPRESENTATION.

That, in the opinion of the Congress, the time has arrived when the people of this country should be allowed a larger voice in the administration and control of the affairs of their country by—

(a) The bestowal on each Province or Presidency of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the English House of Commons.

(b) An enlargement of both the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils—increasing the number of non-official members therein, and giving them the right to divide the Council in all financial matters coming before them—the Head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.

(c) The appointment of Indian representatives (who shall be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils) as Members of the India Council in London, and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India, and the Governments of Bombay and Madras.

### X.—TIBETAN AFFAIRS AND FORWARD POLICY.

That this Congress expresses its profound regret that in the case of the recent Tibetan Expedition the object of the Act of 1858 in providing that India's revenues shall not be spent outside the statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as a "Political Mission," till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and that Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial interests, and to carry out an Imperial policy, that the Expedition had been undertaken.

The Congress protests strongly against this injustice, and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan Expedition was but part of a general forward policy, which, with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues, and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.

## APPENDIX D

### XI.—POLICE REFORM.

This Congress places on record its deep regret that the Report of the Police Commission has still been withheld by the Government from the public, though it is now two years since the Commission reported, and though portions of it have found their way into the columns of papers beyond the reach of the Official Secrets Act.

In view of the great urgency of a thorough reform of the Police force of the country, in view, further, of the large public interests involved in a satisfactory solution of the question, and the obvious necessity in consequence of giving the public ample opportunity to express its views before the authorities proceed to formulate a scheme of reform, in view, finally, of the fact that all public criticism expressed after the subject has been considered by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India is bound to be virtually ineffective, this Congress earnestly urges the publication of the Commission's Report without any further delay.

### XII.—MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

(a) That this Congress regards with grave alarm the heavy and continuous increase that has been taking place year after year in the Military burdens of the country, and that in the opinion of this Congress the present Military Expenditure of India is beyond her capacity to bear.

(b) That the Congress can only contemplate with dismay all further proposals to throw fresh burdens on the revenues of India in connection with Army expenditure, and it enters its earnest protest against throwing the cost of the proposed Army reorganisation scheme of Lord Kitchener on the Indian Exchequer.

(c) That as the strength of the Army maintained in India and the measures that are from time to time adopted to improve its efficiency are determined, not by a consideration of the military needs and requirements of India, but for upholding British supremacy in the East, as, moreover, large bodies of British troops have, in recent years, been temporarily withdrawn, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the British Parliament should seriously consider the justice and policy of making a substantial contribution towards Army Charges in India.

### XIII.—SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State not to delay any longer the Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions in the administration of Criminal Justice, the desirability of which has been frequently admitted by Government, and the practicability of effecting which, with a very inappreciable increase of expenditure, if any, has been repeatedly shown.

### XIV.—THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.

That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India for the partition of Bengal in any manner whatsoever. That the proposals are viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual, and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional, and other rights and privileges which the Province has so long enjoyed, and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax-payers cannot at all afford.

The Congress is of opinion that no case has been made out for the partition of Bengal, but if the present constitution of the Bengal Government is considered inadequate for the efficient administration of the Province, the remedy lies not in any redistribution of its territories, but in organic changes in the form of the Government, such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras.



## BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

### XV.—DELEGATION TO ENGLAND.

That, looking to the near approach of a General Election in England, and to the vital importance, at this crisis, of bringing the claims of India before the Electors, before the Parliamentary Candidates, and before the Political leaders, it is expedient that the Congress should depute trustworthy and experienced representatives nominated by the different Provinces to be present in England for this purpose, before and during the election; and that a fund of not less than Rs. 30,000 should be raised to meet the necessary expenses of such Deputation.

### XVI.—ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidatures of Mr Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham, and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire, and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that, in the interests of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which, though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament.

### XVII.—THANKS TO THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

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

And that a sum of £700 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and that the several Congress circles do contribute the amount allotted to each.

### XVIII.—APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL SECRETARY AND JOINT GENERAL SECRETARIES.

That this Congress reappoints Mr A. O. Hume, C.B., to be General Secretary; and Mr D. E. Wacha and the Honourable Mr G. K. Gokhale, to be Joint-General Secretaries of the Congress for the ensuing year.

### XIX.—CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS.

That the question of the constitution of the Congress be referred for report to a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen:—

	<b>BOMBAY.</b>	
Sir P. M. Mehta.		The Hon. Mr G. K. Gokhale.
Mr D. E. Wacha.		The Hon. Mr Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
	<b>MADRAS.</b>	
Mr. C. Shankar Nair.		Mr M. Vir Raghava Chari.
Mr Krishna Swami Iyer.		Nawab Syed Mahomed.
	<b>BENGAL.</b>	
Babu Surrendra Nath Bannerjee.		Babu Baikunth Nath Sen.
The Hon. Mr Ambica Charan Muzumdar.		Mr Abdul Kassim.
	<b>PUNJAB.</b>	
Lala Lajpat Rai.		Mr Dharmadas.
		Lala Harkishanlal.
	<b>UNITED PROVINCES.</b>	
Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.		Mr S. Sinha.
The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.		
	<b>BEHAR AND CENTRAL PROVINCES.</b>	
Mr R. M. Mudholkar.		Mr M. V. Joshi.
		Mr M. K. Padhye.

### XX.—THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

That the Twenty-First Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day 1905, as may be later determined upon, at Benares.