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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIRST INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS.

HELD AT

BOMBAY,

ON

The 28th, 29th and 30th December,

1885.

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT BOMBAY,

On the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1885.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS passed at the Indian National Congress, composed of Representatives from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Agra, Benares, Ahmedabad, Kurrachee, Surat, Veerungaum, Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chingleput, Tanjore; Combaconum, Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Anantapoor, Bellary, and Umballa, held in Bombay on the 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1885.

RESOLUTIONS.

- I.—Proposed by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras), seconded by Mr. P. M. Mehta (Bombay), and supported by Mr. Norendronath Sen (Calcutta): “That this Congress
“ earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry
“ into the working of Indian Administration, here and
“ in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Com-
“ mission, the people of India being adequately
“ represented thereon, and evidence taken both in
“ India and in England.”

- II.—Proposed by Mr. S. H. Chiplonkar (Poona), seconded by Mr. P. Ananda Charlu (Madras), and supported by Mr. J. Ghosal (Allahabad): “That this Congress con-
“ siders the abolition of the Council of the Secretary
“ of State for India, as at present constituted, the
“ necessary preliminary to all other reforms.”

III.—Proposed by the Hon. S. S. Sanyal in all I.E. (Bombay),
 seconded by the Hon. S. S. Sanyal (Madras), and
 supported by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay) :
 “ That this Congress considers the reform and expansion
 “ sion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative
 “ Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion
 “ of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils
 “ for the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab)
 “ essential ; and holds that all Budgets should be referred
 “ to these Councils for consideration, their members being
 “ moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard
 “ to all branches of the administration ; and that a Standing
 “ Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted
 “ to receive and consider any formal protests that may be
 “ recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise
 “ by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in
 “ it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities.”

IV.—Proposed by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay),
 “ seconded by Mr. Vira Raghavacharyar (Madras),
 “ and supported by Mr. D. S. White (Madras) :
 “ That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive
 “ examinations now held in England, for first appointments
 “ in various civil departments of the public service, should
 “ henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office
 “ Committee of 1860, be held simultaneously, one in England
 “ and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical
 “ in their nature, and those who compete in both countries
 “ being finally classified in one list according to merit, and
 “ that the successful candidates in India should be sent to
 “ England for further study, and

"subjection of the Indian National Institutions as may
 "seem from the 25th to the 31st" for first appoint-
 "ments (ex. ce. will be d. to the like) should be
 "filled by competent persons. Functions held in India,
 "under conditions calculated to secure such intellec-
 "tual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be
 "decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly,
 "that the maximum age of candidates for entrance
 "into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not
 "less than 23 years."

V.—Proposed by Mr. Rangaya Nayadu (Madras), seconded
 "by Mr. Dinsha Edaljee Wacha (Bombay), and sup-
 "ported by Mr. Dayaram Jethmul (Karachi):—
 "That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed
 "increase in the military expenditure of the empire is
 "unnecessary, and regard being had to the revenues
 "of the empire and the existing circumstances of the
 "country, excessive."

VI.—Proposed by Mr. J. U. Yajnik (Bombay), seconded by
 Mr. S. A. Swaminath Iyer (Tanjore), supported by
 Rao Sahib S. Venkata Subbarayudu Pantulu (Masuli-
 patam): "That in the opinion of this Congress, if the
 "increased demands for military expenditure are not
 "to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment,
 "they ought to be met, firstly, by the re-imposition
 "of the Customs duties; and, secondly, by the exten-
 "sion of the license-tax to those classes of the com-
 "munity, official and non-official, at present exempted
 "from it, care being taken that in the case of all
 "classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be
 "maintained. And further, that this Congress is of
 "opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial
 "guarantee to the Indian debt."

vi.

by the Hon. ... in all ... y), seconded by ... yulkar (Poona):

“ U.P. M. Mehta ... Hon. S. ... the annexation of ...

“ ... Laxma, Dada ... of the Government ...

“ unfort ... deprecates ... considers that ... if the Government ...

“ country ... should be ... on annexation, the entire ... separated from the ...

“ Indian Vice ... should be ... constituted a Crown Colony, ...

“ as distinct in all matters from the government of ...

“ this country as is Ceylon.”

VIII.—Proposed by Mr. Murlidhar (Umballa), seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (Surat): “ That the resolutions “ passed by this Congress be communicated to the “ political Associations in each province, and that “ these Associations be requested with the help of “ similar bodies and other agencies within their res- “ pective provinces to adopt such measures as they “ may consider calculated to advance the settlement “ of the various questions dealt with in these resolu- “ tions.

IX.—Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (Bengal), seconded by “ the Hon. S. Subramania Iyer (Madras): “ That “ the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year “ in Calcutta, and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of Decem- “ ber 1886, and the next succeeding days.”

Origin and Composition of the Congress.

In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of Representatives from all parts of India at the then coming Christmas. Poona was considered the most central and therefore suitable place and the following circular was issued.

“A Conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st of December 1885.

“The Conference will be composed of Delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

“The direct objects of the Conference will be:—(1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

“Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first Conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona, or whether following the precedent of the British Association, the Conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres.

“This year the Conference being in Poona, Mr. Chipsonkar and others of the Sarvajanik Sabha, have consented to form a Reception Committee, in whose hands will rest the whole of the local arrangements. The Peshwah's Garden near the Parbati Hill will be utilized both as a place of meeting (it contains a fine Hall, like the garden, the property of the Sabha) and as a residence for the delegates, each of whom will be there provided with suitable quarters. Much importance is attached to this since when all thus reside *together* for a week, far greater opportunities for friendly intercourse will be afforded than if the delegates were (as at the time of the late Bombay demonstrations) scattered about in dozens of private lodging houses all over the town.

“Delegates are expected to find their own way to and from Poona—but from the time they reach the Poona Railway Station until they again leave it, everything that they can need, carriage, accommodation, food, &c., will be provided for them gratuitously.

“The cost thus involved will be defrayed from the Reception Fund, which the Poona Association most liberally offers to provide in the first instance, but to which all delegates, whose means warrant their incurring this further expense, will be at liberty to contribute any sum they please. Any unutilized balance of such donations will be carried forward as a nucleus for next year’s Reception fund.

“It is believed that exclusive of our Poona friends, the Bombay Presidency, including Sindh and the Berars, will furnish about 20 delegates, Madras and Lower Bengal each about the same number, and the N. W. Provinces Oudh; and the Punjab together about half this number.”

A few days, however, before the time fixed for the assemblage, and after the Sarvajanic Sabha had completed all their preparations at Poona, several cases of cholera occurred there. These cases might or might not be the commencement of a severe outbreak, travellers arriving tired at a station where there is cholera are notoriously proved to take the disease, and it was therefore considered prudent despite the difficulties attendant on any change at so late a period, to hold the Conference, (which it had in the meantime been decided to call the CONGRESS) at Bombay.

Thanks to the exertions of the Bombay Presidency Association and the liberality of the Managers of the Goculdas Tejpal Sanscrit College and Boarding Trust (who not only placed the grand buildings above the Gowalia Tank at

the Association's disposal, but also supervised the furbishing up, furnishing and lighting of these large premises on behalf of the Association), everything was ready by the morning of the 27th when the REPRESENTATIVES (as it was determined to designate them to distinguish them from the *Delegates*, the title by which the Indian Representatives *sent to England* had become popularly known) began to arrive.

During the whole day and far into the night of the 27th, informal discussions were carried on between the Representatives and the order of the proceedings for the next three days was thus settled.

It should, however, be noted that about two hours in the evening were devoted to receiving the Hon'ble Sir W. Wedderburn Bart, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine, Colonel Phelps, Professor Wordsworth and a large number of the leading citizens of Bombay who most kindly came to the Goculdas Tejpal College, to welcome the Representatives and express their sympathy with the work on which these were about to enter.

The first meeting took place the next day, on the 28th December. Very close on one hundred gentlemen attended, but a considerable number of these being Government servants like Mr. D. S. White, President of the Eurasian Association, Dewan Bahadur Rubgande Rugonath Row, Collector of Madras, the Hon'ble Mahadeo G. Ranade, Member of the Legislative Council and Small Cause Court Judge of Poona, Lalla Baijuath of Agra, Professor Abaji Vishnoo Kattawatha of Ahmedabad, Professor Kadambi Sundararaman, M. A. of Arcot, Mr. T. Narasemina Iyer of Tiruvellur, Professor R. G. Bhandarkar of the Deccan College and many others did not (with one exception) take any direct part in the discussions, but attended only as

Amici curiæ, to listen and advise, so that the actual number of *Representatives* was, only so far as the records go, (though it is feared some few names have been omitted from the Register) 72, viz:—

From Karachi, 2; Virangam, 1; Surat, 6; Poona, 8; Calcutta, 3; Agra, 2; Benares, 1; Simla, 1; Lucknow, 3; Allahabad, 1; Lahore, 1; Amballa, 1; Ahmedabad, 3; Bombay, 18; Madras, 8; Berhampore, 1; Masulipatam, 1; Chinglipat, 1; Tanjore, 2; Kumbakonum, 1; Madura, 1; Tinnevely, 1; Coimbatore, 1; Salem, 1; Cuddahpa; Anantapore, 1; Bellary, 1.

The following is a nominal list of these *Representatives* so far as they entered their names in the Register.

Karachi.—Messrs. Dayaram Jethmal and Ooderam Moolchund, Pleaders.

Virangaum.—Mr. Harilal Mayaram Vakil and Municipal Commissioner and representative of the Loka Somgraha Sabha.

Surat.—Messrs. H. H. Dhruva, B.A., L.L.B., Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, member, managing committee Praja Hitwardhak Sabha; Mancharshaw Pallanji Kalkobad, Honorary Secretary, Praja Hitwardhak Sabha; Gokuldas Bhaidass Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Pleader; Manhashankar Jiwanram, B.A., L.L.B.; Hosangji Burjorji, B.A., L.L.B., Pleader; Narandass Parshotamdass, merchant and Vice-President, Praja Hitwardhak Sabha.

Poona.—Rao Bahadoor Krishnaji Laxaman Nulkar, Chairman, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha; Messrs. Gangaram Bhau Mashke, Pleader, District Court; Ramchandra Moreshtar Sane, Marathi editor, *Dnyan Prakash*; Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, Honorary Secretary, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and editor

of the *Quarterly Journal* of the P. S. Sabha; Shivaram Hari Sathe, Secretary Poona Sarvajanik Sabha; Dr. Pandurang Gopal, G. G. M. C.; Mr. Waman Shivaram Apte, M. A., Principal, Fergusson College and Superintendent, New English School; Ramchandra Keshaw Limagi, Pleader, District Court; Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, M. A., Professor, Fergusson College, and editor of the *Maratha* and *Kesari*.

Calcutta.—Messrs. W. C. Bonnerji, Barrister-at-law, Standing Counsel; G. B. Mookerji, editor of the *Nababihakar*, Pleader, High Court; Norendranath Sen, Proprietor and editor, *Indian Mirror*.

Agra.—Messrs. Babu Jamandas, Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, and editor of the *Nassim*; Babu Prabhu Daya Chowdhry, Pleader.

Benares.—Mr. Ram Kali Chowdry, pensioned Sub-Judge.

Simla.—Mr. A. O. Hume.

Lucknow.—Messrs. Munshi Gangaprasad Varma, proprietor of the *Hindusthani*; Pranauth Pandit, teacher, Lord Canning College; Munshi Jawala Prasad, Pleader,

Amballa.—Babu Murlidhar, Pleader, representing the *Tribune*.

Lahore.—Satyanand Agnithori, Brahmo missionary.

Allahabad.—Mr. J. Ghosal, editor of the *Indian Union*.

Ahmedabad.—Messrs. Keshawlal Motilal, Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, and Manockjee P. Mody, Vakil, Secretary of the Gujerat Sabha.

Bombay.—The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Member of the Legislative Council; the Hon. Kashinath T. Telang, C. I. E., Member of the Legislative Council, Messrs Pherozshaw Merwanji Mehta, Barrister-at-law, Chairman of the Municipal

Corporation; Dinshaw Edalji Wacha, Secretary, Bombay, Presidency Association; Dinshaw Pestonji Kanga, Solicitor; Ghanasham Nilkanth Nadkarni, Vakil, High Court; Moolji Bhowanidas Barbhaya, Solicitor; Tribhuwandas Mungaldas Nathubhoy; Jehangir B. Wacha, merchant; Rahimtula M. Sayani, Solicitor; Bal Mungesh Wagle, Barrister-at-law; A. K. Sethna, Barrister-at-law; Behramji M. Malabari, proprietor & editor *Indian Spectator*; Ganesh Ramchandra Kirloskar, Vakil, High Court; Shamrao Vithal, Vakil High Court; Abdalla Mehrali Dharamsi, Solicitor; Javerilal Umiasbankar Yajnik, Merchant; N. G. Chandavarkar, editor of the *Indu Prakash*, and Bombay Delegate to England.

Madras.—Messrs. P. Rungiah Naidu, President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, Municipal Commissioner, and Vakil, High Court, Madras; the Hon'ble S. Subramania Aiyar, B.L., Member of the Legislative Council and Vakil, High Court, Madras; P. Ananda Charlu, B.L., Vakil, High Court; and Municipal Commissioner, Madras; G. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., editor of the *Hindu*, Madras; M. Viraraghava Charriar, B.A., Sub-Editor of the *Hindu*, Madras and Secretary, Madras Mahajana Sabha; C. Singaravelloo Moodeliar, Municipal Commissioner, Madras, Merchant and Trustee of the Patchappa charity; M. E. Shriranga Charriar, B.A., B.L., High Court, Madras; Dr. S. V. Athalye, Medical Practitioner, Madras.

Berhampore.—Mr. M. Vishwanath Aiyar, B. A., Pleader, District Court Ganjam, and Municipal Commissioner, Berhampore.

Masulipatam.—Mr. S. Venkata Subba Royadu, B. L., Vakil of the High Court, and Pleader, District Court, Masulipatam.

Chingleput.—Mr. M. Y. Ramanuja Charriar, Pleader, Chingleput.

Tanjore.—Messrs. S. A. Swaminathan Aiyar, Public Prosecutor and President, People's Association, Tanjore; N. Narayanswami Aiyar, Landholder, Tanjore,

Kumbakonum.—Mr. K. Pattabirama Aiyar, Landholder, Kumbakonum.

Madura.—Mr. P. Subramania Aiyar, Madura.

Tinnevely.—Mr. Peter Paul Pillay, landholder and schoolmaster, Tinnevely.

Coimbatore.—Mr. S. P. Narasimhulu Naidu, editor, *Crescent*, and member of the Local Board, Coimbatore.

Salem.—Mr. Kristnaswamy Rout, Salem.

Caddapah.—Mr. M. Nageswara Row, Pleader, Caddapah.

Anantapore.—Mr. P. Kesava Pillay, Pleader and member of the Local Board, Anantapore.

Bellary.—Mr. A. Sabapathy Moodeliyar, merchant, landholder, and chairman of the Municipality, Bellary.

Not only were all parts of India thus represented, but also most classes; there were barristers, solicitors, pleaders, merchants, landowners, bankers, medical men, newspaper editors and proprietors; principals and professors of independent colleges, headmasters of schools, religious teachers and reformers. There were Hindus of many castes, high and low, Mahomedans (though owing to certain unfortunate accidents far fewer than were expected) and Christians, both native, Eurasian and European. All the leading Native political Associations and the principal Anglo-native newspapers were represented; there were members of Legislative Councils, Presidents and members of Municipal Committees and Local Boards, and it is difficult to conceive any gathering of this restricted number more

thoroughly representative of the entire nation than was this Congress of which the *Bombay Gazette* had the following interesting notice:—"A new era is marked in the political history of this Presidency with the organisation of what is called a National Conference which held on Monday its first sitting in Bombay. Poona was at first selected for this meeting, and Delegates from all parts of India had already assembled there; but, owing to the prevalence of cholera in the capital of the Deccan, the Delegates had to be brought down to this city, and here they have been accommodated in the spacious building of the institution which is known as "The Goculdas Tejpal Boarding-school, Sanscrit College, and Library," situated at Gowalia Tank. Before commencing the serious work for which the Conference is held, an opportunity was given at an informal gathering on Sunday afternoon to those who are strangers to this city to be introduced to some of the representative men belonging to the native community of Bombay. And the spectacle which presented itself of men representing the various races and communities, castes and sub-divisions of caste, religions and sub-divisions of religions, met together in one place to form themselves, if possible, into one political whole, was most unique and interesting. For they had come not from the Presidency towns alone, but from all parts of India, and their presence afforded a most interesting study of the heads and head-dresses typical of the numerous variety of castes and communities inhabiting this country. There were men from Madras, the blackness of whose complexion seemed to be made blacker by spotless white turbans which some of them wore. A few others hailing from that Presidency were bare-headed and barefooted, and otherwise lightly clad, their bodies from the waist upwards being only partially protected by muslin shawls. It may fairly be presumed that they are

the leading lights of the town, which they represent, and as such it may be supposed that they are well educated. But they have preferred to retain their national dress and manners, and in this respect they presented a marked contrast to the Delegates from Bengal. Some of these appeared in entirely European costume, while others could be easily recognised as Babus by the peculiar cap with a flap behind which they donned. None of them wore the gold rings or diamond pendants which adorned the ears of some of the Madrasses; nor had they their foreheads painted, like their more orthodox and more conservative brethren from the Southern Presidency. Then there were Hindustanis from such places as Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Benares, some of whom wore muslin skull-caps and dresses chiefly made of the same fine cloth. On the other hand, there were Delegates from the North-West—bearded, bulky, and large-limbed men—in their coats and flowing robes of different hues and in turbans like those worn by Sikh soldiers. There were stalwart Sindhees from Kurrachee, wearing their own tall hat surmounted by a broad brim at the top. In this strange group were to be observed the familiar figures of Banyas from Gujarat, of Marathas in their “cart-wheel” turbans, and of Parsees in their not very elegant head-dress, which they themselves have likened to a slanting roof. Some members of this community had, however, appeared in their “phenta,” which is now largely patronised by the younger generation of Parsees, and which threatens in course of time to supersede the time-honoured turban. All these men, assembled in the same hall, presented such a variety of costumes and complexions, that a similar scene can scarcely be witnessed anywhere except at a fancy ball. After the ceremony of introduction had been concluded, the Delegates freely exchanged with one another their views upon things in general and politics in particular.

They included a large number of lawyers and conductors of newspapers, and they all appeared to have agreed in the opinion that they had some political aspiration which could by no possibility clash with opposing interests, and that for the promotion of their common object there was a necessity for concerted action. It may be easily imagined that there were some enthusiasts in their number, one of whom was profuse in the expression of his unbounded joy at seeing in flesh and blood good men and true working for the public weal, whom he had formerly known only by name."

Report of the Proceedings of the Congress.

First Day—28th December 1885.

The first formal meeting of the Congress took place at 12, noon, of the 28th of December, in the great Hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanscrit College. All the Representatives &c., having assembled,

It was proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (Bengal), seconded by the Hon'ble Subramania Iyer (Madras), supported by the Hon'ble K. T. Telang (Bombay), and unanimously carried, that Mr. W. C. Bonerjee, Standing Counsel, Bengal, be invited to assume the office of the President of the Congress.

The President-elect, in rising to acknowledge the honour done him, said he might well be proud of being thus called on to preside over the first National Assembly ever yet convened in India. Looking round he saw the representatives of all the important centres of the Bombay Presidency, Karrachi, Ahmedabad, Surat, Poona, Bombay itself, and other less populous though still important towns; almost every district in the Madras Presidency was represented, as well as the towns of Madras, Salem, Coimbatore and others. Of Bengal his friends and himself might to a certain extent

be accepted as representatives, since although owing to a series of misfortunes, deaths, illnesses and the like, of which the meeting were already aware, Bengal was very inadequately represented so far as the numbers actually present were concerned, though as the delegated exponents of educated native thought in Bengal, they might claim a consideration to which their numerical strength would hardly entitle them. Then there were the representatives of Lahore, Lucknow, Agra, Allahabad, Benares, each representing political Associations collectively of very widespread influence. Besides these representatives who would take an actual part in the proceedings, he rejoiced to see present, as it were as *amici curiæ*, several of the most distinguished native officials of this country, whose presence would materially enhance the weight and the dignity of the proceedings. It was not merely provinces that were represented, almost all the political Associations in the Empire were represented by one or more of the gentlemen present, while as regards the Press, the proprietors, editors or delegates of the *Mirror*, the *Hindu*, the *Indian Spectator*, the *Tribune*, and others showed, conclusively, the universality of the feelings which had culminated in this great and memorable gathering. Surely never had so important and comprehensive an assemblage occurred within historical times on the soil of India. "He claimed for it an entirely representative character. It was true that, judged from the standard of the House of Commons, they were not representatives of the people of India in the sense the members of the House were representatives of the constituencies. But if community of sentiments, community of feelings, and community of wants enabled any one to speak on behalf of others, then assuredly they might justly claim to be the representatives of the people of India." It might be said that they were self-elected, but that was not so. The news that

this Congress would be held had been known throughout the year in the different provinces of India, and they all knew that everywhere the news had been received with great satisfaction by the people at large, and though no formal elections had been held, the representatives had been selected by all the different Associations and bodies, and he only wished that all thus selected had been able to attend, instead of their having now to lament the absence of many valued coadjutors, whose attendance had been unhappily barred by various unfortunate circumstances.

And now it seemed a fitting occasion for answering a question that had continually been asked in the world outside during the past few weeks, viz., what the objects and aims of this great National Congress really were. He would not pretend to reply to this question exhaustively. The ensuing proceedings would, he believed, do this more effectually than any single speaker could hope to do; but he might say briefly, that the objects of the Congress could for the most part be classed under the following heads:—

- (a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the parts of the Empire.
- (b) The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.
- (c) The authoritative record after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

- (d) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests.

Surely there was nothing in these objects to which any sensible and unprejudiced man could possibly take exception, and yet on more than one occasion remarks had been made by gentlemen, who should have been wiser, condemning the proposed Congress, as if it were a nest of conspirators and disloyalists. Let him say once for all, and in this he knew well after the long informal discussions that they had all had amongst themselves on the previous day, that he was only expressing the sentiments of every gentleman present, that there were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well-wishers of the British Government than were himself and the friends around him. In meeting to discuss in an orderly and peaceable manner questions of vital importance affecting their well being, they were following the only course by which the constitution of England enabled them to represent their views to the ruling authority. Much had been done by Great Britain for the benefit of India, and the whole country was truly grateful to her for it. She had given them order, she had given them railways, and above all she had given them the inestimable blessing of Western education. (But a great deal still remained to be done. The more progress the people made in education and material prosperity, the greater would be the insight into political matters and the keener their desire for political advancement.) He thought that their desire to be governed according to the ideas of government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatible with their thorough loyalty to the British Government. All that they desired was that the basis of the government should be widened

and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it. The discussions that would take place in this Congress would, he believed, be as advantageous to the ruling authorities as he was sure it would be to the people at large.

Telegrams of sympathy with the objects of the Congress were then read from the British Indian Association, from the Provincial Conference recently held at Calcutta, from a Public Meeting held in Assam under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, &c, &c.

The Chairman then having formally declared the Congress open, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras) rose and spoke to the First Resolution as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,

The proposition which I have been asked to move relates to a subject of the utmost importance to the country; it relates to a periodical enquiry into the material and moral progress of our people by the Imperial Parliament, the final arbiters of our destiny. By a merciful dispensation of Providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of internecine wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great English power. Gentlemen, I need not tell you how that event introduced a great change in the destiny of her people, how the inestimable good that has flown from it has been appreciated by them, and how profoundly grateful they feel for it. The rule of Great Britain has given India peace and security, and, on the whole, has been better in its results and direction than any former rule. At home that rule is directed by forces which the whole history of the world shows are the most conducive to high material and moral prosperity.

It has for ages developed and fostered individual liberty and social freedom which have made the English people what they are at present—the most prosperous, the most pushing and the most enlightened nation in the world, enjoying sovereignty over nearly one-seventh of the globe with control over millions of divers races and creeds. And how have we fared under a rule animated by the spirit of such a nationality? Without descanting at length upon the benefits of that rule, I can summarize them in one remarkable fact, namely, that for the first time in the history of the Indian populations there is to be beheld the phenomenon of national unity among them, of a sense of national existence, and of a common solicitude for the well-being and honour of their common country. This large and influential meeting that I have the honour of addressing to-day, this assemblage in Bombay of my chosen countrymen from Calcutta and Lahore, from Madras and Sind, from places wide apart and difficult of intercommunication, indicates the beginning of a national political life, destined to produce a profound change in the immediate future. (From to-day forward we can with greater propriety than heretofore speak of an Indian nation, of national opinion and national aspirations.)

Gentlemen, to what do we owe this marvellous change over the people? Do we not owe it to that spirit of justice and generosity, to that spirit of progressiveness, so remarkable in the English political character? Well then, it is our duty to watch jealously, so that the contact of that influence with the Government of this country is regular and constant and does not suffer prolonged intermission. It is a matter of the deepest concern to us that the affairs of our country should be periodically, if not continuously, brought to the notice of the Parliament and people of England, and be subjected to the healthy influences of a free and open inquiry conducted by the best of English politicians.

Such an inquiry was regularly made in the days of the East India Company. In 1773, 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853, which were the years when the Charter of that Company came up for renewal, searching and elaborate investigations were made into the results of the administration of the Company as represented by the financial condition of the Government and by the general progress of the people. Each time that the investigation took place, valuable information was collected and was utilized in the legislation that followed. Parliament was jealous of the political power that a Company of merchants was permitted to exercise over the government of a country, which, in area as well as in population, was a continent in itself, and which gave early promise of proving to England a prolific source of moral and material advantages. While the domestic and foreign policy of the Company was closely watched and subjected to periodical criticism and reform, these inquiries furnished wholesome checks and safeguards, particularly in the administration of finance.

Since the abolition of the East India Company those checks and safeguards have mostly disappeared, because although Parliament exercises in theory the ultimate and responsible control over the Indian Government, it has practically surrendered it to the India Council. This Council, you are aware, is only a resuscitation, in a slightly modified shape, of the body of mercantile rulers which Parliament, after deep and prolonged consideration, abolished as being inconsistent with the good government of a dependency like that of India. It is wonderful that the great statesmen of England should abolish the Company, vexed at its incompetency and its mal-administration, and in the same breath should bless it with fresh life in the shape of an even more incompetent and more despotic ruling body. Be it as it

may, it is a fact that the power that Parliament assumed in theory and the direct responsibility it undertook have been seldom exercised; and on those rare occasions when Parliament exercised them, it was not to save Indian interests, not to save them from the effects of a spirit of irresponsible and ambitious enterprise or of reckless innovation, but to sacrifice them to the exigencies of English politics. In many respects India has been a loser by the transfer of the Government to the Crown instead of a gainer. Since that time, the condition of the people has undergone a most distressing deterioration. They have been subjected to a tighter and less sympathetic despotism, and the expenditure and indebtedness of their Government have increased in a ratio utterly disproportionate to all improvement in its financial resources.

I said that since the abolition of the East India Company the ultimate control and responsibility of the Indian Government that was transferred to the Crown had been seldom exercised disinterestedly or for the benefit of the Indian people. There is, however, fair reason to believe that a change is coming over Parliament and the English public generally in this respect, and that if they be placed in possession of correct facts they will be better able to comprehend their duty and responsibility and their interference will result in substantial good. Well, gentlemen, are Parliament and the people in England in possession of such correct facts? Do they possess accurate evidence to convince them that the delegates of their power in India have properly discharged their trust hitherto? Are they certain that the policy that they have deliberately laid down for the government of their dependency is carried out in a liberal and fair spirit? Do they know that the just, the generous, and the noble pledges of Her Majesty, pledges made deliberately on

a most solemn occasion, have not been ignored, ay, have often been assumed to be mere meaningless protestations prompted by a ceremonial necessity? Yet the Proclamation of the Queen, containing these pledges, is cherished by the Indian people as the great charter of their privileges and rights, as their guarantee against the vagaries of irresponsible alien administration, as the basis, in fact, of their future progress. About the feelings and opinions of the populations of India as well as about the manner in which the declared policy of the Sovereign, Parliament and Ministers of England are practically carried out, the great Legislature of England is utterly ignorant. It cannot for obvious reasons attend to Indian matters as a portion of its regular business; nor has it done anything during the past twenty-five years to take stock of the results of the change made in 1858. In future years the internal and external interests of the United Kingdom will demand, in view of their growing dimensions and complications, even more exclusive attention, more devotion and talent than hitherto, while Indian problems themselves will assume increased gravity and require deliberate and cautious handling.

At present, on almost every important Indian question, there is extreme difference of opinion. I do not know whether there is any other country in the world of which such contradictory opinions are held regarding the most vital questions by men whose opinions are entitled to respectful attention. While one set of very esteemable men assert that India is growing happier and more prosperous under the effects of British rule, another set hold just the contrary opinion and state on very plausible evidence that India is sinking in exhaustion, and, unless prompt and radical remedies are adopted by Parliament, her complete ruin is only a matter of time. Again, while officials and their advocates

say that the system of the Indian Government is the most perfect and the most benevolent system in the world, almost the whole body of non-official critics declare that under the alien and unsympathetic bureaucracy which holds itself responsible to no higher authority, to no public opinion, and to no moral principles in political relations, it is impossible that the regeneration of the country can be accomplished. So, too regarding other questions, such as the true financial condition of the country, the system of our land administration, the employment of Natives in the higher branches of the civil and the military administration, the most divergent views are held. How long can such an uncertain state of things continue? How does England mean to do justice to her responsibility and the well-being of 250 millions of human beings, if her best men remain bewildered at the contradictory views put forth on some of the first problems of good government in India and otherwise continue ignorant of the facts relating to their most obvious duties and obligations? I do not forget that in official reports and in the utterances of official apologists facts of a certain description are placed before the English public. But I believe, gentlemen, there is common sense enough in England which refuses to accept as incontrovertible truths the account given by the bureaucracy of its own conduct and doings. The members of the bureaucracy must be heaven-sent indeed, not in any ironical sense, if they ever in public documents speak ill of themselves and deliberately go about to deprive themselves of their occupation. It ought to strike every person possessing common sense that the one-sided and flattering account given by the Civil Service of its own performances should not be accepted without extraneous corroborative evidence. The necessity for this extraneous evidence would be felt all the more in the face of the per-

plexing contradictions with which Indian controversial literature abounds.

Well, gentlemen, in soliciting an inquiry into the affairs of our country, our object is nothing more than to see that correct and full evidence relating to the real wants of the country and to the requirements of its future well-being is placed before the English public. The inquiry, we may hope, will be entrusted to men of the highest rank among English politicians, to men who represent what is best in the instincts and character of the English nation, who uphold and cherish the progressive element in their political system, and to men whose principles of statesmanship have made England what she is among the modern countries of the world. We want in the body, which may be entrusted with the inquiry, men of broad principles and liberal training rather than men of local and special knowledge. Under the direction of such men, the inquiry will be full and impartial, and will lead, as similar inquiries have led in the past, to the emphasising or to the fresh application in the government of this country of those great first principles of political progress which it is the glory of England to have discovered. Gentlemen, all of us have the utmost confidence in the justice and fairness of the English people, and we have only to solicit an inquiry into facts, being content to leave the issue in the hands of their great political leaders, be they of one party or the other, of the Conservative or the Liberal party.

Gentlemen, I have confined myself to very general remarks, and have refrained from saying anything about the scope and constitution of the Committee of inquiry we pray for. These are matters of detail and may be safely left for future consideration. With these remarks I beg to recom-

mend to your favourable consideration the proposition that has been placed in my hands, namely, "That this Congress earnestly approves of the promised Committee to inquire into the working of the Indian administration."

Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta, in seconding the above proposition, remarked:—

That it was not needful to prove the desirability or necessity of an enquiry into Indian affairs, since the leading men of both English parties have joined in admitting it. But while it was satisfactory to find both parties of one mind on this point, that circumstance itself rendered it extremely requisite to watch carefully the composition of the body to whom such an enquiry would be entrusted. The conditions under which the old Parliamentary Committees were appointed to enquire into the administration of the E. I. Company had altered and it was necessary to adopt a mode of enquiry suited to the altered state of things. Three considerations had, therefore, to be borne in mind. The body entrusted with the enquiry should be of a character that would enable it to pursue its investigations in India itself. Secondly, it was essential that the natives of this country should be represented on it, and thirdly, that the Commission or Committee should take evidence in India. Mr. Mehta was strongly of opinion that unless the enquiry was granted in the manner pointed out, it would be almost better to have no enquiry at all. Parliamentary Committees and Royal Commissions were not to be had within short intervals and it would be disastrous to have a body composed mainly of Anglo-Indians sitting in judgment upon themselves. They could well imagine beforehand the conclusions to which such a body would arrive—superficially plausible, but essentially unsound. These conclusions would be accepted for guiding

principles for at least another twenty years, and the mischief thus ensuing would be incalculable. He trusted that the enquiry would be of such a character as to ensure confidence on all sides. Fairly conducted and properly constituted, such an enquiry would be of immense service to the future government of this country by allaying many alarms, correcting many prejudices, exposing many fallacies and establishing sound principles in harmony with the healthy progress of time.

Babu Norendronath Sen said :—It would be the height of absurdity for any sane person, European or Native, at this hour of the day, to think of denying the importance of a Parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs after the experience that we have had, for nearly twenty-seven years, of the working of the system of direct government of India by the Queen without any enquiry at all during that long period. The neglect of such an enquiry which had been previously of regular recurrence, though at varying intervals of time, has been most disastrous in its consequences to the Indian people. The transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown has been almost, if not altogether, nominal, since it carried with it, and still retains the worst features of the old system of administration—the present Indian Council merely taking the place of the old Court of Directors, with this further disadvantage that the Board of Control which looked after, and supervised, the action of the Court of Directors, was abolished, and that the wholesome check of a liability to the loss of their charter—in case of proved misrule—under which the East India Company always governed this country, was destroyed. The remedy has thus proved worse than the disease. Whatever may have been the defects of the old East India Company, this much can be said in their favour, that acting

under the restraints I have mentioned, they took very good care to see that India was governed, so as not to cause grave discontent in the Native population. Their efforts were directed generally to the promotion of measures, which did not bear harshly on the people; and the main ground on which they generally claimed a renewal of their Charter, on each expiry of its term, was that they governed the country in the interests of its Native population. Whatever great advantages we enjoy at the present day are due entirely to the reforms which were introduced during the East India Company's rule on each renewal of the charter, which they obtained. No particular reforms, worth mentioning, have been introduced into the country since the direct assumption of its government by the Queen-Empress, because of the abolition of the good old system of enquiring into Indian affairs with the abolition of the East India Company themselves. Twenty-seven years is a long time; and the changes those years have wrought are almost marvellous. But no corresponding change has been made in the administration of the country to keep pace with the progress of the people. Great reforms in the present administrative system are urgently called for. We want a Parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs with the view that the urgent necessity for such reforms may be made as clear as the sun at noon day. A close and constant Parliamentary control over Indian affairs is the one thing essentially needed to satisfy the feelings of the people, and to improve the condition of the country. If it had not been for even such occasional control, as the Parliament does exercise, our lot would have been simply intolerable. But no such control can be advantageously exercised by Parliament, without a searching enquiry into Indian affairs. There is very much ignorance in Parliament in regard to Indian questions. Not only is India not represented in Parliament, but it

wants also a party that would identify itself with Indian interests.

The truth as regards this country hardly ever reaches Parliament. It is certainly not the interest, though it is undoubtedly the duty, of the Indian Council to make it known to Parliament; for that body, under its present constitution, is the greatest obstruction to all Indian reforms. As a matter of fact, there is no actual or even approximate representation of India in any of the great Councils of the State, whether in India or in England. Our Legislative Councils in this country are merely shams. The truth is always burked. It is never allowed to rise to the surface; and good care is always taken by the official classes to see that a true representation of Indian views and feelings never goes to the British public and the British Parliament. The Anglo-Indian or official view of every Indian question is always placed before the British public, whether through the Press or the platform or in Parliament. Thus India is allowed to be governed from England in entire ignorance of the wants and wishes of the Indian people. But ignorance is excusable. What is even worse is that when Native public opinion on any question of importance is known, it is completely ignored and disregarded. It is this that we most bitterly complain of, and that almost breaks our hearts. We, therefore, want a searching and independent Parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs, in order that the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth may come out, as the result of such enquiry, and that Indian reforms may be introduced on the lines suggested by such enquiry. And in order that the truth may be got at, we wish to see a Parliamentary Committee of enquiry come out to this country and take the evidence of the best and most independent portion of the Indian community—I mean the Native community of India,

who will bear testimony without fear or favour, and who will conceal nothing. A Parliamentary enquiry, held and carried out in England, will not be as complete and effectual, as it will be if it is directed to be held by a Royal Commission, sent to India. Such an enquiry will not only be most interesting, but most useful as a sort of stock-taking after the trial that the system of direct Government of India by the Queen has passed through uninterruptedly during the long lapse of twenty-seven years.

Mr. Dayaram Jethmal* rose to propose an amendment which was seconded by Mr. Oodharam Moolchand and was as follows :—

That the following words be added to the proposition as moved :—“ and hopes that such enquiry will be by a Royal Commission which should be fairly constituted and which should have instructions to take evidence both in England and in India.” Speaking in support of his amendment Mr. Dayaram pointed out that the Resolution as proposed was lame and would show that the Congress had arrived at a lame conclusion. It did not express the national wish: it expressed a mere approval of the proposed enquiry and did not ask for any thing further. He reminded the meeting that the Resolution did not state what the constitution of the Commission of Inquiry should be, and where evidence should be taken, which were the points on which an expression of the national wish was very necessary, if the proposed enquiry was to be of much practical good. He laid stress upon the difference between an inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee and a Royal Commission, and said that whereas the former would take evidence in England and would be composed of some members of Parliament, the

* Since appointed a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council.

latter would be of a different character as it would be com-
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 in
 petent to take evidence in India and could be composed of
 well informed men who understood Indian affairs better
 than members of Parliament. If the Resolution as proposed
 was adopted, India would have no right to complain if the
 inquiry was not satisfactorily carried on, whereas if his
 amendment were embodied in the Resolution and the pro-
 posed inquiry were conducted by a Parliamentary Com-
 mittee without evidence being taken in India we should not
 be in a position to say that we did not get what we wanted.

Mr. P. M. Mehta observed that he had no objection to
 adopt Mr. Dayaram's amendment.

Mr. J. U. Yajnik said that the constitution of a Royal
 Commission rested entirely with the Ministry in power at the
 time of its appointment. It was by no means possible to say
 whether a Liberal or a Conservative Ministry would be in
 office when the Committee came to be appointed. And
 therefore there would be much chance of men being appoint-
 ed who would not take impartial views of the matters that
 would come before them. He thought, therefore, that the
 proposition should remain as it was, couched in general
 terms.

Mr. K. T. Telang believed that a Parliamentary Com-
 mittee could not take evidence in India—a most important
 consideration.

Mr. K. L. Nulkar would support Mr. Dayaram's sugges-
 tion. It was absolutely necessary that evidence should be
 taken in India. A Royal Commission would do that, and
 would also be independent of English political parties.

Mr. D. E. Wacha said that the Congress should ask for
 a Royal Commission. The Parliamentary Committee on Indian
 Finance broke off by dissolution of Parliament without mak-

ing any final report, though a mass of valuable evidence was collected. That might occur again.

Mr. V. Subrayadu was not in favour of the proposed amendment. Let the authorities consider the course proper to be adopted. It might look like dictation to Parliament, if the Congress adopted the proposed amendment. Details as to place of examining witnesses, &c., might be considered hereafter.

Mr. Sabapathy Mudliar dissented from the last speaker's view about the amendment looking like dictation.

Mr. J. Ghosal thought that evidence must be taken in India, but perhaps they might try a Select Committee, and afterwards ask for a Royal Commission if that was found necessary.

Mr. A. O. Hume suggested the omission of the phrase "fairly constituted," and Dr. S. V. Athalye having supported the suggestion, the proposer and seconder of the Resolution agreed to its omission.

Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar of Bellary said the Royal Commission, like the Famine Commission, should go about travelling in the country and enquire into the nature of the administration of the country and personally examine witnesses.

Mr. P. Peter Pillai, from Tinnevely District, said :— I would support the proposed amendment to the resolution so that the Royal Commission or Parliamentary Committee might be a great and real success. Unless there is some good organisation or system of working such Commissions and Committees, they will not be of much use. Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar of Bellary alluded to the Famine Commission. I came in contact with the Commission and I

closely studied its various questions and system of working. I had anticipated the failure of the Commission and I published a review of the working of it in a public journal. When I met Mr. William Digby, who took great interest in famine matters, I told him that nothing would come out of it productive of much good to the country. My remark has been fully verified. Though the Commission had a great deal to do with questions affecting the general interests of the country, we find the condition of the ryots growing worse than before—in certain respects worse than what it was at the time of the Commission and the famine—for instance the forest laws, the salt laws, the re-organisation of the village establishment &c., which are all very oppressive to the people. Lately, there was the Education Commission. That is also a great failure. I say this from personal experience, being connected with the Educational Department. We have now some new difficulties in addition to the difficulties which the Commission professed to remove. I do not say any thing disparagingly of the gentlemen that were in these Commissions. They were all men of superior attainments and character. But the defect lies in the working and organisation of these Commissions, which were not of a sufficiently representative character and in which the wants of the people were not sufficiently represented. Unless the Committee or Commission to be asked for be thoroughly representative in character, and unless a portion of the Commission is composed of members chosen by the people, either among Europeans or Indians, I do not entertain great hopes of the success of the Commission. So I strongly support the amendment proposed.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said:—I had no thought of speaking on this resolution, but I see I must say something.

There is a notion running under some remarks; that if a Conservative Government appoints a Committee, it will not be a good one. I do not think there is any good reason for that assumption. The Conservatives are not so bad as that they will never do a good thing, nor are the Liberals so good that they never did a bad thing. In fact we owe good to both, and we have nothing to do with them yet as parties. We are thankful to either party that does us good. The Proclamation is the gift of a Conservative Government. I have some experience of a Parliamentary Committee, and that Committee, a Liberal one; and yet under the Chairmanship of a gentleman like Mr. Ayrton, you cannot be sure of a fair hearing. On the other hand, a fair minded Chairman and similar members, be they Conservatives or Liberals, would make a good Committee, and give a fair inquiry. Much depends upon the Secretary of State for India. If he is a fair minded person and not biassed in any particular way, you will have a fair Committee. If we are asking for a Parliamentary Committee, we need not be afraid of asking one from a Conservative Government. A Secretary of State like Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) will give a fair one, and we should not assume that the present Secretary will not give a good one. We should only desire that Anglo-Indians may not be put in it, or only a few such in whom Natives have confidence. In such an enquiry Anglo-Indian officials are on their trial, and they should not be allowed to sit in judgment upon themselves.

From the remarks already made, there appears to be an undecidedness, whether to ask for a Committee, or for a Royal Commission. And there seems also a notion underneath, that if we were not satisfied with the one we could ask for the other. Now we must bear in mind that it is not an easy thing to get a Parliamentary Committee or a Royal

Commission, and that you cannot have either whenever you like. Do not suppose that if we have a Committee or a Commission and if we say we are dissatisfied with its results, we would at once get another for the asking. We must make up our minds definitively as to what we want and what would be the best thing for us. You should not leave it open whether there should be a Committee or Commission. Whichever you want, say it out once for all. In dealing with Englishmen, make up your minds deliberately, speak clearly, and work perseveringly. Then and then only can you hope to be listened to, and get your wishes. You must not show that you do not know your own mind. Therefore, know your own mind, and say clearly whether you desire a Parliamentary Committee, or a Royal Commission. It is evidently the desire here, that a full and impartial enquiry by fair and high minded English statesmen, with an adequate number of Natives on the enquiring body, should be carried on in India itself. If so, then we must remember that a Parliamentary Committee can consist only of members of Parliament, and can sit in the Parliament House only. For our purpose to lay bare the actual conditions of India, an inquiry in India, in all departments and in the whole condition of India—material and moral—is absolutely necessary. No enquiry in England, and that with the evidence of Anglo-Indians chiefly—who themselves are on trial, and who would not naturally condemn their own doings and work—can ever bring out the truth about India's true condition and wants, and necessary reforms. We, then, irresistibly come to one conclusion, that an enquiry in India itself is absolutely necessary, and that such an enquiry can be conducted by a Royal Commission. Only let us clearly say our mind that we ask for a Royal Commission. Do not let there be any doubt about what we do really want. If I am right in interpreting your desire, then I say let there be no vague

general resolution, but say clearly and distinctly that we require a Royal Commission.

After some further discussion in which Mr. S. Agnihotri, Mr. Ananda Charlu, Mr. Rangayya Naidu, and Mr. B. M. Malabari took part, Mr. P. M. Mehta explained that there was no insinuation contained in the words "fairly constituted". They were intended to emphasize the necessity for a Commission about which no room should be left for dissatisfaction, as a second Commission would not be granted soon after the first.

The President in summing up the debate pointed out that every one wanted an inquiry in India as well as in England, and that that really would be best secured by adopting a resolution asking for a Royal Commission.

The Resolution was then unanimously carried in the following form :—"That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of the Indian administration here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England."

The Congress was then adjourned to 8 A. M. of the following day.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

2nd Day, 29th December 1885.

The Congress having assembled at 8 A. M. Mr. S. H. Chipionkar (of Poona) rose to move the 2nd Resolution in the following speech:—

Mr. Chairman and Members of the National Congress:—
The Resolution which I have to propose for your acceptance relates to the India Council of the Secretary of State for India. This Council is a remnant, though in another shape, of the form of government that prevailed in the days of the East India Company; and, in my humble opinion, the time has arrived when the necessity or otherwise of the existence of such an institution as the India Council should be considered. It was perhaps inevitable when the government of this country was vested in a commercial corporation, that that corporation should have delegated its trust to a Managing Board; but it seems to me to be very strange that the same device should be perpetuated after the government of this country has been transferred to the Crown. The practical result of this state of things is that though nominally we are said to be directly governed by the British Crown and Parliament, we are still virtually under the government of the Company; nay more, for in some respects, Sir, we may be said to be worse off than before. Unlike the old Court of Directors, the India Council is composed almost exclusively of retired Anglo-Indian officials who as a class are naturally prone, often from force of habit and sometimes from force of conviction, to hand down to their successors the British Indian Empire in pretty nearly the same condition in which they found it,

and who from the operation of the same causes are incapable of being struck by the abuses of that system which gave them birth, though such abuses might at first sight strike any superficial independent observer. Sir, even the authors of the Government of India Act of 1858 did not contemplate such a consummation with equanimity or without misgivings; for we find the late Lord Beaconsfield even then confessing that "with such men (*i. e.* retired Anglo-Indian officials) exercising supreme authority you could not feel sure that you would be able to obtain for the inhabitants of India that redress from the grievances under which they suffered that English protection ought to secure." The question, therefore, naturally arises what is it that English protection ought to secure to the people of India? I think you will all agree with me in holding that English protection ought to secure the gradual and progressive advance of this country in its political status, and indirectly also in its social status, for it may, I trust, afford some consolation to those of my brethren within these walls as well as outside who have the cause of social reform in India at heart to know—and I may be permitted here to passingly observe that English history strikingly emphasizes this lesson—that political progress must bring social progress also in its train; for I hold that a nation which is politically forward cannot long afford to be socially backward, and that a nation which is politically backward can never hope to be socially forward. It thus follows that the constitution of the Government of India in England must be framed primarily with a view to this object. It is necessary to draw a distinction between the Government of India in England and the Government of India in India. The former should be constituted with a view to bring to bear upon the latter the opinion of the Parliament and people of England, and to make the latter realize their responsibility

to that opinion. To enable the former to discharge these functions adequately a knowledge of local details is not absolutely necessary; nay, I would go further and say that such a knowledge of local details would decidedly constitute a positive disqualification in the controlling authority for the simple reason that such intimate knowledge of local details leads its possessors to sacrifice general principles of good government to local prejudices, engendered by bureaucratic selfishness, and to rely almost exclusively upon those prejudices in their conduct of Indian affairs. What we should look for and have a right to expect in any authority constituted in England and invested with the power of controlling the actions of the Government of India in India is an intimate acquaintance with the general principles of human nature and of good government, uncontaminated by local and bureaucratic prejudices. In the India Council, constituted as it now is, you have nothing but an intimate knowledge of local details; and, consequently, it is no wonder that the India Council ever since its establishment in 1858 has been developing an ever increasing desire for interference in all manner of details. It possesses no substantive power which at one time the advocates of its continued existence believed it to possess, and to my mind this circumstance accounts for its increasing desire to interfere in all the details of local administration, being of course naturally anxious to justify the wisdom of its original creation and of its continued maintenance. Here, Sir, with your permission I wish to invite the attention of the Congress to the testimony of the late John Stuart Mill, than whom none worked harder for averting the fate which at last overtook the East India Company, and for establishing the India Council exactly on the lines of the old Court of Directors. During the course of the discussions on the Bill of 1869, which amended the Act of 1858 in a few details, Mr.

Mill, who was then a Member of Parliament, said that it was most important that India should be governed in India and confessed that of late owing to the increasing facilities of communication there was a great tendency to over-interference on the part of the Home Government. Mr. Mill held the same views in 1869, as he did in 1858, as regards the necessity of surrounding the Indian Minister by a Council of experts, but he proceeded to add that "if the Council did not possess some substantive power, if they were made a consultative body only, they would never have that degree of weight which they ought to possess; they would be a mere superfluous wheel in the machinery; if they had only the power of giving their opinions, they would never be so powerful with the Secretary of State as his own subordinates in office." It was, however, conclusively shown in 1880 by the Duke of Argyll and the Law Officers of the Crown, that the Act of 1859 did not vest in the India Council any substantive power whatever. In 1869 the Conservatives were in opposition and they thought for a time that under the Act of 1858 the Indian Council possessed a substantive power in reference to the financial administration; but it should be borne in mind that the Conservative leaders wished even then to deprive the India Council of that power of financial control. It will be thus seen, Sir, that neither Liberals nor Conservatives wanted the India Council to be anything more than a mere consultative body. Under such circumstances, I believe, I am fully justified in citing the testimony of the late John Stuart Mill in favour of the Resolution I am submitting for your acceptance.

At the very commencement of my observations I have stated my belief, that though we are nominally under the direct government of the Crown and Parliament of England,

yet we are still virtually under the government of the East India Company; nay, I might go further and add that while the existing constitution of the English portion of the Indian administration possesses to the fullest extent all the vices or shortcomings of its predecessor, it possesses none of its redeeming features. It is unnecessary to go into details, and it will be sufficient for the purposes of my argument if I notice here briefly the striking results of British administration in India and Ceylon which are, each of them, governed on separate principles, it being of course well-known that Ceylon is governed on Colonial principles. Firstly, then, the race disqualification, which was sought to be removed by the Ilbert Bill, does not exist in Ceylon, where the Native and European Magistrates and Judges enjoy similar powers as regards their jurisdiction over European British-born subjects. Secondly, as regards the maximum limit of age for candidates competing for the Civil Service Examination of Ceylon it is even now fixed at 24, while for India the maximum limit is fixed at 19, thus practically shutting the door of public competition to the natives of India. Thirdly, as regards the disestablishment of the English Church, Ceylon has already obtained what it wanted, while we in India can hardly be said to have entered upon even the first stage of the question. And fourthly and lastly, the Ceylon Legislative Council has for several years past been representative in its character, inasmuch as the independent or non-official members of that Legislature are elected by the respective communities which they represent; and not nominated by Government as in India. In this connection it has also to be borne in mind, that the independent members of the Ceylon Legislature have the privilege of interpellating the official members of the body on executive matters—a privilege which is entirely denied to us in India. But by far the most important feature in connection with the powers and privi-

leges of the Ceylon Legislature has yet to be noticed. That feature consists in the fact that that Legislature possesses a complete control over the finances, in that the annual budget must be discussed and sanctioned by it. In India it is different. The Indian Budget is never presented to the Indian Legislature for approval and sanction except upon those occasions when new taxation is contemplated. Thus it comes to pass that so long as the Indian Government can manage to pull on without additional taxation, the Indian Legislature has no opportunity afforded to it of examining and criticizing the budget. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, you will all, I dare say, agree with me in holding that the extreme importance of this last mentioned privilege cannot be exaggerated; for it cannot for a moment be denied that that privilege alone has enabled Ceylon to enjoy an immunity, which we in India might well envy, from having to bear oppressive burdens which do not rightly belong to it. Ceylon has never had to bear, for instance, the cost of the Abyssinian War, of the Egyptian Expedition, or of the entertainment of the Sultan of Turkey when in London. The question, therefore, naturally arises, what is the cause of this difference in the treatment which India and Ceylon receive at the hands of one common mistress? It surely cannot be found in the character of the people of the two countries; for as a race the Cinghalese or the natives of Ceylon are not only not superior to the Hindus in intelligence, political capacity, or civilization, but on the contrary are admittedly their inferiors. The late Sir Erskine Perry, who knew both the countries well, bore such a testimony to our superiority over the natives of Ceylon. In his speech during the course of the debate in the House of Commons on Lord Palmerston's motion for leave to introduce his India Bill, Sir Erskine Perry said that :—"he knew the island (Ceylon) well, and was able to say, that notwithstanding the inferiority

of the Cinghalese to the Hindus as a race, the improvement, the progress and the civilization, that had taken place there, under the Queen's Government, were infinitely greater than could be boasted of in India." Since 1858, India too, like Ceylon, has been direct under the Queen's Government, for nearly one whole generation, and yet it must be sorrowfully confessed that we have not been able to overtake our cousins of the neighbouring island in the race of progress and civilization. That island still maintains its superiority over the main continent as intact as ever. And this fact necessarily suggests the question, what is the prime cause of this sad and sorry spectacle? To my mind it appears that only one answer is possible to the question formulated above. Abolish the Indian Council, and let the Indian Secretary of State direct the Government of this country on the same principles on which the Secretary of State for the Colonies governs Ceylon and the other Colonies; and you will soon observe a change for the better coming over India. The monstrous fiction that in the Indian Council India would and did find an institution to represent her and to jealously and efficiently watch her interests did at no time, and does not even now, deceive any one in India; and I am loth to believe that, though such a fiction might have deceived the English nation in days long gone by, it can deceive that nation any longer. It is this fiction which is primarily and principally responsible for the great body of the evils this country is labouring under; and unless it receives its death-blow, which, I firmly believe, it will receive when it is next put upon its trial, India can never hope to obtain that measure of justice which is her due. With these observations I beg to move for your acceptance the Resolution with which I have been charged, namely, "That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms."

In seconding the Resolution MR. P. Ananda Charlu addressed the Congress as follows:—I rise to do a duty that has an unpleasant feature about it. It consists in proposing that we should turn undertakers. There is, however, one circumstance that relieves it of much of its disagreeableness. The proposal is made under the call of our mother-country and in her best interests. Under such a call and in such interests I take it that we shall not hesitate to turn undertakers, and even worse, within constitutional limits. What, then, is the thing the extinction of which we have to propose? It is what is quaintly designated "The India Council"—not any Indian Council, or any Council doing duty *in* India. How was it composed? How is it composed? What is its history? In its inception, it was little better than a relic of the discredited John Company; for when the whole body of the East India Company was found to be inefficient, a part of that very inefficient body was considered fitter to do what the entire body was incapable of doing. This method of procedure is, *prima facie*, queer. But, perhaps, nothing better was feasible under the circumstances, consistently with the conflicting interests that had then to be taken into account. Be that as it may, the institution at its formation was a mere relic, kept alive, I must assume, as the best makeshift then possible. In its next stage of development it was no better, for it was mainly little else than an oligarchy of fossilised Indian administrators, presided over by the Secretary of State—a member of the British Cabinet. Nearly every vacancy, as it occurred, was filled by such as had been declared superannuated for service *in* India, and it is difficult to see how a body of such men could fulfil the functions of a Council, which is virtually the final arbiter of India's destinies and which has to grapple with far more weighty problems than all for solution *in* India. I do not forget

that there is a transit to a far more propitious climate. But that does not count for very much. The change might put off dissolution or might diminish the rate of decline ; but it is inconceivable that, after the meridian of life had long been passed, the change could restore the mental and physical energy of vigorous manhood. Then, again, the Indian experience of these men is not abreast of the times, as they have long been removed from, and are, for all practical purposes, beyond the reach of the influences and forces actually in operation *in* India. It is not, in the nature of things, possible for these and such as these to do justice to growing Indian requirements. The evil effects of these manifestly infumatory features in the members are aggravated by the absolute supremacy which is reserved to the Secretary of State for India, as the President of the Council. In practice, as well as by the letter of the law, this tremendous authority is reserved to the President, and it does not require much effort of imagination to realize the utter helplessness of the Council when its views are overridden by the dictator. No machinery exists for an appeal to Parliament at the instance of the Indian Council as against the decision of the Secretary of State, and I think this is after all not a matter of regret ; for, suppose such a machinery existed, the result would be no better, as the Secretary of State for India, possessing the ear of his fellow-Cabinet-ministers, enjoys by that circumstance the command of a Parliamentary majority as a matter of course. Without at all imputing to the British Cabinet a wanton desire to injure India, it may well be predicated that, when opposed to purely British interests, Indian interests will always give way. Thus we find, by an examination of its constitution and by calculation of probabilities, that the India Council contains no elements of usefulness, but contains a great many elements tending to

do harm. One of the previous speakers said that the British Parliament, conscious of its powerlessness to do justice to the claims of India, abdicated its right as a final Court of appeal in favour of the India Council, which was evidently instituted as an experiment. The experiment has failed, according to the universal verdict, and we wish that an institution which has luckily not existed for quite a generation yet, but which having been weighed in the balance has been found wanting, may cease to exist. What is proposed to take its place as a more effectual body to dispose of Indian matters does not fall within my province. The proposition to be next moved will contain the provision for its substitute. The true scope of my duty is to indicate the inefficiency of the existing Council and the necessity of its abolition as a primary condition of all other reforms. For the purposes of the proposal which I am seconding, it is enough to say that no improvement is possible till this Council is abolished, without at all implying that, by itself, such a step will at once right every thing. To adopt the Rev. Sidney Smith's happy way of putting a like case, "the medical man does not tell you, you will be all right, *when* the bile is got rid of, but he tells you that you will *not* be right, *till after* the bile is got rid of." With these remarks I beg to second the proposition before you.

Mr. J. Ghosal (of Allahabad) made the following speech in support of the Resolution :—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: The subject of the resolution which I am called upon to support has for some time past occupied so much the attention of thoughtful men, who take any interest in the good administration of the Indian Government both here and in England, and it has been so lucidly and ably discussed by the two previous speakers, that I have little or nothing to say in support of it.

Regarding the necessity of abolishing, or at least re-constituting, the India Council no two persons who have given the least thought to the subject have any difference of opinion. There exists such a general agreement on the subject that no arguments are necessary to convince those who care to pay any attention to the subject, that steps must be taken to effect a change in or to abolish the Council altogether without further loss of time, not only for the good of the people of this country, but also for that of the Government itself, because I consider what is good for the one is also good for the other.

The India Council was no doubt instituted at first to serve a good and useful purpose; but practically it has proved otherwise, as is often found to be the case with many administrative arrangements made in different countries at different times. Our best intended schemes are often found in practice to prove the contrary. When the administration of this country was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown it was virtually transferred to the Secretary of State for India. Owing to the very constitution of the British Government and the frequent changes of party government in England there was, and still there is, no knowing who might become the Secretary of State for India and at what moment. As a rule, persons having no previous connection with this country and possessing no knowledge of its affairs are selected to fill the post. For such men to carry on properly the administration of this vast country, and that while sitting in England, was considered almost an impossibility unless helped with information and advice by men who had real knowledge of this country and its people. Under the circumstances the English statesmen then in power thought it necessary to provide the Secretary of State with a Council whose members might not only help him,

but also to a certain extent serve as a check on his vagaries and high-handedness. No one could at that time find fault with such an arrangement. Let us see, however, what have been its practical results and why. For reasons already stated no single individual holds the office of Secretary of State for a long time, but the fifteen members of his Council, are almost permanent fixtures there. It is true that they are not now appointed to hold office during good behaviour, which meant almost for life, still the ten years for which they are now appointed is a pretty long time, and they are all considered great authorities on all questions concerning India. The Secretary of State having no such pretensions cannot but be guided more or less by the views, opinions and advice of these members; consequently, it is these members who virtually control and guide the administration of this country. I may say the Secretary of State is almost bound to act according to their views. Even the general impression, that in matters concerning the expenditure of public funds, the Secretary of State possesses the power of acting without the concurrence of his Council, has no real foundation. This is apparent from what has just been so ably explained by my friend, Mr. Chiplonkar. In fact, if the Secretary of State possessed the power, placed as he is, he would be most reluctant to use it except on rare occasions, when backed or guided by a much stronger force, the policy of his party in Parliament, or the decision of the Cabinet Ministers. Knowing all these circumstances we look up to those fifteen members of the India Council as the most important personages in deciding the fate of our country. This brings us to a consideration of their qualifications for exercising such powers. Are they really fit to govern India or to control, give shape to, supervise, and to find out the defects in the policy of those who carry on the actual work of administration in this country? Almost all of them are

retired Anglo-Indian officials. Owing to the peculiar circumstances and surroundings of their position while in this country, some of these Anglo-Indian officials have in them less of an Englishman than of an Oriental despot. Consider also, gentlemen, the value of their knowledge of this country and its people. India is now passing through a rapid, very rapid, transition. Look at the changes that have taken place within the last twenty, or say ten, years. The India of to-day is very different even from the India of 1880. Five years ago who could have foreseen or believed that all classes of people, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsis, and others, in every part of this vast country—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Punjab, North West Provinces, Oudh, &c,—would, without any pre-arrangement or intercommunication, simultaneously become so enthusiastic in manifesting their grateful feelings for a single individual, as they did in their demonstrations towards our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, on the occasion of his retirement from the country. Again, five years ago the very idea of such a national gathering as this of delegates from every part of India, belonging to different castes and creeds, uniting for common objects, and travelling long distances almost at a moment's notice—because it is not yet a month since the time and place of this Congress were fixed and notified—the very idea of a National Congress would have been considered utopian or impossible. The members of the India Council would be the very last persons to believe that since their departure from India the country has undergone such a mighty change. The knowledge possessed by these members regarding India is of very little use at the present moment. Their ideas and notions of the India of their days and its people have become almost ancient. As men grow in age, their opinions and convictions as well as their prejudices are liable to become fixed and stereotyped, and their capability

to understand and realise the effects of the changes daily taking place around them is proportionately diminished. Even when they understand them they feel disinclined to adapt themselves to the altered state of things. For this reason the conclusions arrived at by these members of the India Council are often formed on a wrong basis, and, therefore, sometimes they do us harm even in wishing to do us good. It is a well known fact that the generality of Anglo-Indian officials conduct the administration of this country in a manner which best ensures the preservation of their interests and of the services to which they belong. Their policy is always opposed to our advancement. And as the India Council is regularly recruited from the very same class of officials its members are the perennial representatives of Anglo-Indian prejudice, policy, and interest. Honourable exceptions are occasionally found among them, but these only prove the rule. Members of the India Council are, however, not always to be blamed for all the mischief that is done to Indian interests. They are but human. In many cases they have to uphold the policy they themselves had been carrying on while in this country, and sometimes they have to sit in judgment upon their own acts during their official careers. At other times they have to judge of the acts done by those whom they personally know well, of whose abilities they have high opinions and for whose judgment they have respect. It is but natural that under such circumstances they should do as they have been doing. If we had a different class of men as members of the India Council, men free from local and party prejudices and having no real or imaginary interest in upholding this, that or the other policy, men who would understand and could take cognizance of the real state of affairs as they are now, or happen to be from time to time, and had sympathy with our just aspirations, such a Council would be a great boon to our

country. As it is at present constituted it has become an anachronism—more a source of mischief than good. The proceedings of the India Council are not made public. The public can never know who is really responsible for the decision which a Secretary of State may have given on any particular question. It is almost an open secret that in the question of raising the age of the Indian Civil Service candidates the late Secretary of State arrived at the decision not according to his own lights, but according to those of the members of his Council; but no one can fix the responsibility on them. In fact, the mouthpieces of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, the newspapers conducted in this country to represent their views, have already done their best to fix the responsibility on the Secretary of State alone, because Lord Kimberley, who was then holding that office, happened to belong to the Liberal party. Divided responsibility by itself is a sure source of mischief, but the members of the India Council, though the real arbiters of our fate, are irresponsible, and the exercise of irresponsible power is always most mischievous and dangerous. Is it not, gentlemen, then high time that these irresponsible dignitaries should cease to take such supreme part in the administration of our country? Considering these, as well as a few other points which the limited time allowed to each speaker will not permit me to touch upon, we cannot help asking for the abolition of the India Council. When we think of this question, another naturally occurs to us, that is, by what other agency or agencies that useful purpose could be served for which the India Council was originally created, and how the work that is now done by that body should be conducted. The question is so important and vast that I don't think this is the proper time and place to go into its details. Much of the work could be easily performed by Under-Secretaries as is the case with the office of the Secretary of State for the

Colonies. But there would still remain a good portion which it is desirable, nay necessary, should be disposed of by a tribunal composed of men who are duly qualified to deal with it. We have also to consider whether such a tribunal should be located in England or in India, or partly there and partly here. Should the much wished for Royal Commission for enquiring into the administration of India be soon appointed, much light will also be thrown on this subject during the course of that enquiry. Whatever that enquiry may lead to one thing is certain. The reconstitution or the abolition of the India Council is particularly necessary as a preliminary to all other much needed reforms in the administration of this country. We no longer wish to be blessed with the so-called wisdom and experience of the members of the India Council nor with the fruits of their brain and pen. At the same time we want some other body to take not only their functions, but also some additional ones and in the deliberations of that body wish to have the views and the wants of the people of this country represented by our own countrymen, and those selected not from the class favoured by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, but from a different one. We want our interests represented by such of our countrymen as are more anxious to do good to our country than to please the big officials and secure titles for themselves and lucrative appointments for their relations—we want men who are in real sympathy with the educated classes and the people at large. To speak plainly, we, who suffer most on account of the shortcomings of our administrators, wish to have a real share in the administration of our own affairs. We want to take the work of administration more and more into our own hands so far as it is compatible with the imperial policy of the British Government. We cannot, however, expect this reform and a change in the fiscal policy of the country, until the India Council is abolished and the India Act of 1858 amended.

With these observations, gentlemen, I beg to recommend to your favourable consideration the Resolution which I have been called upon to support.

Mr. Sayani said he did not wish to oppose the Resolution, but rather to make an inquiry. The India Council had existed for many years and we ought to be cautious in asking for its total abolition. Would not the Secretary of State become a perfect autocrat without the Council? And would it not be better to wait for the result of the inquiry that the Congress were asking for, as that inquiry must necessarily embrace this question of the existence and powers of the Indian Council?

Mr. V. Subrayadu said that fears had been expressed that if the India Council was abolished, the Secretary of State would become a perfect autocrat. He thought the Secretary of State was an autocrat now. The Councillors are worthy men of antiquated notions and obsolete knowledge. They are not representative, and it is difficult to arrange for a representative Council. The system we should have is that which exists in the Colonies.

Mr. P. M. Mehta in reference to Mr. Sayani's doubts pointed out that the inquiry asked for was not so much for the purpose of their making up their minds as for testing the conclusions they had come to. The case as regards the India Council seemed to him complete. The other doubt of Mr. Sayani had been answered by the late speaker. [A member: But the Colonies have Parliaments of their own.] That is true, but I don't believe in secret irresponsible conclaves. We must have a government carried out in open day-light. And here, continued Mr. P. M. Mehta, I would ask leave to make a remark about a matter on which there is a great deal of misapprehension. I wish all our countrymen to

consider how far we can get on without the aid of what is called party government. The system of English administration is based on party and our fortunes being bound up with England, we must resort to that system for our wants also. In the English system, truth cannot be brought out except by the concussion of debate when each case is explained from both sides. Returning to the main subject of debate, Mr. P. M. Mehta said, Indian officers of Government were supposed to be unfit for work at the age of 55. Could it, then, be reasonably supposed that the effete Anglo-Indian officials who are appointed to the India Council are less unfit? Further it must be remembered that these bureaucrats must always be partial to what their brother bureaucrats do out here, as they have themselves done similar things in their time. They are, therefore, an exceedingly unsatisfactory appellate tribunal over the local officers.

Mr. Sabapathi Mudaliar said that the abolition of the India Council is necessary not only for the sake of the efficient administration of the country, but it is also necessary, in point of economy. The poverty of India is such as not to be able to afford to pay heavily for the double government when there is nothing to recommend it. By the abolition of the Council we shall obtain a large saving to the public revenue, and we shall have the further advantage of making the government more local than now.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

In proposing the next resolution, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang observed: Mr. President, I confess I feel a certain amount of embarrassment, because I happen just now to be a member of one of those bodies, the reform of which is insisted on in the Resolution that has been entrusted to me:

However, I will endeavour to do my best in placing that Resolution before you. It runs as follows:—"That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members, (and the creation of similar Councils for the North West Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration; and that a standing committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities." I think it will be convenient if I say a few words on each of the important points embraced in the Resolution I have now read. In the first place there can be little doubt that the two great divisions of the Empire, viz, the Punjab, and the North West Provinces and Oudh, ought to have Legislative Councils of their own. It is unnecessary now to consider the question whether they should have had their own local Councils before. We have got now to deal with the future, and I do not anticipate that there will be any difference of opinion among ourselves on this point, that in future those Provinces should have Local Legislative Councils constituted like those which the other Provinces possess or may hereafter possess. How should those Councils, then, be constituted? At present they are almost entirely under the system of nomination. I say almost entirely, because in the reign of our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, what may be called in some sense a new departure was made in the mode of nomination when

our late distinguished countryman, Babu Kristodas Pal, was called into the Supreme Legislative Council. And that mode has been followed in the appointment of the successor of Kristodas Pal—my friend Mr. Pyari Mohan Mukarji. Barring these exceptions, however, which may be said to prove the rule, our Legislative Councils have always been recruited by nominations. Now I do not know whether I am estopped, as we lawyers phrase it, from saying that the practical working of this system has not always been satisfactory. But however that may be, there can be no doubt that that system is now, at all events, unsatisfactory in principle. Under the excellent scheme of Local Self-government elaborated during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon we shall have a complete network of Municipal and Rural Boards, which shall to a greater or less extent be manned by representatives of the people elected by the people themselves. And that being so, it seems quite manifest, that as a keystone, so to say, to this arch of local elective bodies in each Presidency you must have elected Legislative Council at the capital city of each Presidency. This seems obviously so appropriate that it is unnecessary to further labour the point.

It will be noticed, that the phrase used in the Resolution is "a considerable proportion of elected members." This phrase has been used advisedly, as it does not seem to be desirable that we should now pledge ourselves to any specific proportion to be observed throughout the Empire. Local conditions, the laws enacted to effectuate local self-government in different Provinces, will have to be looked to in fixing the proportion in each case. But it seems to me, personally, that in order to give the principle of election a fair scope, at least one half of each Council should be elected. In our Local Boards and Municipalities' Acts in this

Presidency, that is the proportion fixed, and it would not be a very revolutionary demand to ask for that proportion in the highest Council in each Presidency. There is one important question in connection with this point as to election, which, as being one of detail and depending to a very large extent on local conditions, has not been dealt with in the Resolution itself. But it is desirable that I should now refer to it. We may be asked, what is your electoral constituency? How are you going to get your members elected? Well, as I say, I am not going to ask the Congress to come to any formal resolution on these points, but I think it is right that I should indicate some modes by which the thing can be done, if it is determined to do it. For each Presidency Town, then, there are several well organised bodies to which the right of election may be given. There are, for instance, the Municipal Corporations of each of our Presidency Towns, which can be asked to return one or more members. Then there are the Chambers of Commerce, and the Universities to which also such a right may properly be given. Again, well-established political Associations—such as the one whose aid the Government of India recently resorted to on the two occasions I have just named—might fairly be asked to return some members. Thus we can get a satisfactory electoral body within the Presidency Towns. But this is, of course, very far from enough. The Mofussil Districts must also be represented. And for this purpose, too, well-established political Associations in the Districts might be utilized as well as the bodies which naturally present themselves as suitable for the purpose, namely, the various Rural and Municipal Boards established in each Province. It will be understood that I am making these remarks, not as showing what in my opinion should be done at once, but as showing rather, that while we leave open these questions touching

the working out of the details of our scheme, we have bestowed some thought upon those questions, and can, when the time comes, suggest some feasible modes for their solution.

So much for the constitution of the Councils. Now as to their functions. And the first additional function which this Resolution points out is one connected with finance. Under the existing law and practice, financial Budgets have to be submitted to the Legislative Councils, whenever new measures of taxation have to be passed. But according to a ruling of Lord Northbrook's, about the correctness of which it is not needful now to inquire, Budgets *cannot* be submitted to the Legislative Councils when new measures of taxation are not proposed by the Executive Government. And we know, accordingly, that such Budgets have only been published for many years as part of Government Resolutions. Well, we propose that the practice prevailing in cases where new taxation is called for should be made the universal practice and be prescribed by law. It will be noticed that at present we only ask for the Budget being brought forward for consideration in the Councils. We do not propose what would probably be a too radical measure just now—namely, that the Councils should have power to reject the Budgets of the Executive Government. But even without this power, which might conceivably hamper the work of Government, it must do some good, and can do no harm to allow non-official views of Government measures to be publicly proclaimed by responsible persons, in recognised modes, and in such a way that the constituted authorities must necessarily be informed about them, and feel themselves called upon, in some sense, to answer such views. It seems to me quite obvious, that as I have said before, our

proposal on this point may fairly be expected to do some good and cannot possibly do any harm.

Well, then, the next point is in reference to the power of interpellation. This, again, appears to me to be a very moderate modicum of reform, the concession of which cannot lead to any mischief. I had occasion a few months ago to speak on this subject to an eminent authority in this Presidency, who must for the present be nameless, and an objection was then somewhat faintly, I may say, suggested to this reform. It was suggested that this power of interpellation may be abused, as it has been by Mr. Ashmead Bartlett in the House of Commons. I quite accepted then, as I accept now, the view that the power of interpellation is susceptible of being abused, like any other power, but I ventured to point that there was no reason to anticipate any such abuse of the power here, at all events for many years after it was first conceded. And when the time comes, it will be quite open to the authorities then to deal with the evil as may seem most fitting. But until that time comes, I think we may very fairly and reasonably consider the objection as beyond the pale of practical politics. And now let us see what will be the advantages of giving such a power to our Councils. In the first place, we all know that at present the responsible authorities of Government have very few unexceptionable modes of quieting discontent, by explanations of the motives and actions of Government. There is no official journal, and therefore no way which the officials consider to be consistent with their dignity for offering any information that may dispel dissatisfaction. A power of interpellation vested in the Council affords a most unobjectionable remedy for this state of things. Again, matters are always cropping up, which do not attract attention at headquarters

in time to avert mischief. To these matters attention could be drawn in Council effectively and without much difficulty, and, at the same time, with the best results. The whole administration will thus be popularised, and friction between the rulers and the ruled minimised. In questions like those which have arisen in connection with the Forest, the Abkari, or the Land Revenue administration in this Presidency, the existence of a general power of interpellation must be productive of great good.

Lastly, we come to the point how differences of opinion in Council should be dealt with. On unimportant points, of course, the Executive Government on the spot must decide finally — the responsibility for the administration being vested in them. But on important points, where also, of course the Government on the spot must decide for the same reason, it need not be allowed to decide *finally*. If the point is important enough for a majority of the Council, thus overruled by the Executive to record their protests, such protests ought to go up for final decision to the great and Supreme Council of the British Empire — the House of Commons. These protests would deal, almost necessarily one may say, with great and fundamental questions of policy, and upon them, even under present arrangements, the ultimate authority now rests with the House of Commons. On that point also, therefore, our proposals cannot be fairly regarded as either impracticable or revolutionary.

I do not know, Mr. President, that I need say more on the present occasion. The subject is one which has been frequently discussed by our countrymen, and there is a general consensus of opinion amongst us. The remarks, therefore, which I have ventured to address you really embody the main reasons upon which we have generally

arrived at the conclusion that the reforms mentioned in this Resolution ought now to be undertaken. Those reforms I venture to think are in themselves quite reasonable; they are thoroughly practicable and not in the least revolutionary; and they are calculated, on the one hand, to facilitate the work of the Government, and, on the other, to afford a fair scope for the aspirations of the people in the direction of public usefulness. I therefore confidently commend this Resolution to the acceptance of the Congress.

The Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (Madras):— Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—I rise with great pleasure to second the proposition just proposed to you by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Telang, especially as I see that there is no need to make a speech in support of it. Gentlemen, my friend has so well exhausted all that could be said on the subject and has so completely anticipated me that I really have nothing to add to what he has already told you in such elegant and convincing language, unless I mean to paraphrase to you what he has been saying and thus mar the effect of his speech. He has pointed out to you the defects in the present constitution of these Councils and has indicated to you the nature of the remedy to be applied and the lines on which reformation should proceed. He has sketched out to you a scheme which is perfect in its details so far as it goes and withal so feasible, that if we but succeed in getting Government to recognise it as practicable, we need not yet despair of a bright future. As he has himself admitted the scheme is not put forward as a panacea for all the evils, but I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it would go very far indeed to minimise the evils to a considerable degree. Having said this, I am almost tempted to sit down and make over the balance of my ten minutes to my friend Mr. Naoroji, whom I am sure you will all be anxious

to hear at some length. But before I sit down, I think I may say a few words which will enable you to judge to what opinion I myself incline. Though my connection with the Madras Legislative Council has not been quite as long as Mr. Telang's in Bombay—I have been only a year in it—I think I may fairly claim to have had sufficient experience of its working to enable me to form an opinion as to their utility. I should not fail to admit, however, that the actual working of these Councils is enveloped in somewhat of a mystery and to one outside it, it is a puzzle how it is that the non-official members are so little able to do good of any kind. Naturally enough they come in for a good round of abuses. I myself on many an occasion, when bad laws were enacted, laid the whole blame on their shoulders, and indulged in rather severe criticism of their actions. It was not till I myself became a member of the Madras Council that I saw how unjustly our friends in the Council were censured in the majority of instances and what little influence they possessed in the Council either for good or for evil. With the best intentions in the world, I may assure you gentlemen, they find themselves in the wrong place, and so long as the present constitution of these Councils remain unchanged it is idle to expect that these non-official members will prove of any great use to the country. The misfortune is that these non-official members are not allowed to feel any responsibility, and, even if some of them assume it, no opportunity is given them to render themselves useful. I do not say this in any captious spirit and I disclaim all intention of giving any offence. Somehow or other, these local Councils have become so altered in their constitution that they have altogether lost their original character and I do not think that they now answer the purpose for which they were originally designed. Whatever may have been the intention with which these

Councils were constituted at first and whatever doubts may be entertained now as to their present constitution, I do not suppose, there can be any doubt that they at no time possessed a representative character. For some time past these Councils have been so worked as to render them by no means efficient even as exponents of non-official opinion. If one carefully noted the successive laws that are enacted by these Councils, one would plainly see that the functions of these Councils are limited to registering the decrees of the Executive Government and stamp them with Legislative sanction. I am willing to agree with Mr. Telang that there is an element of usefulness in these Councils which might yet be utilized to our advantage. Admitting that, I am sceptical whether any material good will result from these Councils, so long as the present system of the Executive settling beforehand for all practical purposes in an irrevocable manner the principle of all measures that are introduced into these Councils is maintained. It appears to me that I might say without any breach of confidence, that during the short time that I have been in the Council, I have not experienced any difficulty in getting my suggestions adopted if only they related to details. Every suggestion that I made was received with great consideration so long as it did not trench on the principle already determined upon by the Government. So far as that goes, I must do the Government the justice to say that they are not only anxious to hear non-official opinion, but they also try to adopt it as far as possible consistent with the principle of the measure. The drawback then, as I just now pointed out, is that the principles of the measures that are introduced into the Councils are previously determined by the Government, behind the back of the Legislative Councils as it were, and the difficulty of the non-official members consists in their not being able to modify them

in any manner. The difficulty lies in this and I am glad that Mr. Telang has thrown light on this aspect of the question. I must concede that it may be difficult to counsel Government of the real extent of this evil and whatever difficulties there may be in convincing Government that the scheme that is now put forward is practicable, I do not think that there is any difficulty in bringing home to them the necessity of reconstituting these Councils on a popular and a representative basis. I am afraid I have taken more of your time than I properly ought, especially as my good friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whom I feel no doubt you are all impatient to hear, is to follow me. I will not therefore take any more of your time and I do not believe that, before I sit down, it is necessary that I should formally commend the proposition moved by Mr. Telang for your acceptance, as I do not think there can possibly be two opinions on the subject.

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay):—I am glad my friends, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang and the Hon'ble Mr. S. Iyer have relieved me of much trouble, as they have anticipated a deal of what I had to say, which I need not repeat.

We ask for representation in the Legislative Councils of India. It is not for us to teach the English people how necessary representation is for good government. We have learnt the lesson from them, and knowing from them how great a blessing it is to those nations who enjoy it, and how utterly unEnglish it is for the English nation to withhold it from us, we can, with confidence and trust, ask them to give us this. I do not want to complain of the past. It is past and gone. It cannot be said now that the time is not come to give us representation. Thanks to our rulers themselves, we have now sufficiently

advanced to know the value of representation and to understand the necessity that representation must go with taxation, that the taxed must have a voice in the taxation that is imposed on them. We are British subjects, and I say we can demand what we are entitled to and expect still at British hands as their greatest and most noble institution and heritage. It is our inheritance also and we should not be kept out of it. Why, if we are to be denied Britain's best institutions, what good is it to India to be under the British sway? It will be simply another Asiatic despotism. What makes us proud to be British subjects, what attaches us to this foreign rule with deeper loyalty than even our own past Native rule, is the fact that Britain is the parent of free and representative Government, and, that we, as her subjects and children, are entitled to inherit the great blessing of freedom and representation. We claim the inheritance. If not, we are not the British subjects which the Proclamation proclaims us to be—equal in rights and privileges with the rest of Her Majesty's subjects. We are only British drudges or slaves. Let us persevere. Britain would never *be* a slave and could not, in her very nature and instinct, *make* a slave. Her greatest glory is freedom and representation, and, as her subjects, we shall have these blessed gifts.

Coming to the immediate and practical part of our demand I may say that it will be to Government itself a great advantage and relief—advantage, inasmuch as it will have the help of those who know the true wants of the Natives, and in whom the Natives have confidence, and relief so far that the responsibility of legislation will not be upon the head of Government only, but upon that of the representatives of the people also. And the people will have to blame themselves if they fail to send the right

sort of men to represent themselves. I think Government has now reason rather to thank than repel us for demanding this boon which, if granted, will, on the one hand, make government easier and more effective, and, on the other, attach the people to British rule more deeply than before.

Our first reform should be to have the power to tax ourselves. With that and another reform for which I shall move hereafter, India will advance in material and moral prosperity, and bless and benefit England. The proposal about the right of interpellation is very important,—as important and useful to Government itself as to the people. The very fact, that questions will be put in the Council, will prevent in a measure that evil which at present is beyond Government's reach to redress. Government will be relieved of the odium and inconvenience which it at present suffers from misunderstanding and want of opportunities of giving explanation. The British Parliament and public, and the British Government in all its departments, benefit largely by this power of putting questions in Parliament and the same will be the result here. There will be, in the circumstances of India, one essential difference between the British Parliament and the Indian Legislative Councils. In Parliament, the Government, if defeated, resigns, and the Opposition comes into power. That cannot be done in India. Whether defeated or not, Government will remain in power. Moreover, the Secretary of State for India will have the power to veto, and no harm can happen. If the Government, either Provincial or Supreme, disregard the vote against it, and if the Secretary of State support the disregarding Government, there will be, as a last remedy, the standing Committee of Parliament as the ultimate appellate body to decide on the point of disagreement; and thus Parliament will truly, and not merely nominally as at present, become the final controlling authority.

We are British subjects, and subjects of the same gracious sovereign who has pledged her royal word that we are to her as all her other subjects, and we have a right to all British institutions. If we are true to ourselves, and perseveringly ask what we desire, the British people are 'the very people on earth who will give what is right and just. From what has already been done in the past we have ample reason to indulge in this belief. Let us for the future equally rely on that character and instinct of the British. *They* have taught us our wants and they will supply them.

Mr. Venkat Subarayadu in supporting the Resolution pointed out that the Indian Council's Act was now nearly twenty-five years old and that it was time it should be amended.

Mr. Dayaram Jethmal said :—That there was no representation of the country in these Councils in the proper sense of the word. Although the Councils contained some official members who could boast of past acquaintance with certain provinces in the course of their official duties, these gentlemen were in no sense representatives of those provinces. To speak of them as representatives would be as correct as to speak of Mr. Maclean as a representative of the Presidency of Bombay in the British Parliament. He urged the meeting to consider whether the views and wishes of the people could be represented in any sense by the official members. There were several measures vitally affecting the inhabitants of vast tracts of country as to the passage of which through the Councils those inhabitants knew absolutely nothing. And yet the speaker and every one could say that in respect of such measures the proceedings of the Councils showed that the people affected by them had made no objections, though the several Bills had been duly published. As a matter of fact sufficient publicity was

never given to the Bills and proceedings of the Legislative Councils. The chief defect lay in the fact that these proceedings and Bills were not published in the languages or characters or in papers which the people understood or read, and were not accessible to all. Take the instance of the Sind Encumbered Estates' Act and the Sind Village Cess Act which had not come to the knowledge of the people of Sind until after they actually became law. The few who heard or read about the former were those who were least affected by them. These Acts had not the approval of the people and were being continually complained of in Sind, and yet in the Council it seemed to have been assumed that the people wanted them because, though duly published, no objections to them had been received by Government! Would this happen if the provinces were represented in the Councils? If nothing else the representatives would at least inform their constituents of the introduction of measures into the Councils even if they were unable to successfully oppose their passing or bring about their passing in the form acceptable to the people.

Mr. K. L. Nulkar (Poona) said that this was the first constructive Resolution, so to speak, that the Congress would be adopting. He therefore desired to know what it was proposed to do in regard to this class of Resolutions after the Congress had passed them. He also thought that the Resolution might go further and ask for the right of election to the Secretary of State's Council.

In reply to Mr. Nulkar's question the President stated that it was intended to bring up before the Congress a formal resolution in regard to the point raised, and that the matter could then be most properly discussed.

Mr. Murlidhar (Punjab) said that previous speakers had spoken of the existing Legislative Councils as "shams," but

in the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab, even these "shams" had no existence. There, it is supposed, that officials, not mixing with the people, knowing little of their wants and wishes, were nevertheless representatives of the people. This will not do. We must have real direct representation and then we shall be able to minimise the influence of the men who are not true representatives of the people.

The Hon'ble M. G. Ranade remarked that the Congress ought to put forward a scheme complete in itself. The provision in the proposed Resolution about differences of opinion was not enough. The Secretary of State alone would be almost powerless before the War Department and the Treasury Department of the United Kingdom, and it was, therefore, necessary to have something instead of his Council, if that Council was to be abolished. He had hoped that such a substitute would be proposed in this Resolution, but he did not see any such substitute. He pointed to the repeal of the Cotton Duties, the Vernacular Press Act, the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue into the whole empire, and the expenditure in the Military Department as instances of matters in which it was necessary to strengthen the hands of the Secretary of State by a Council well constituted. After referring to Fox's and Pitt's India Bills, Mr. Ranade suggested for consideration the point whether it was not desirable to ask that the Council of the Secretary of State should be composed partly of elected and partly of nominated members.

Mr. Hume pointed out that a substitute for the Indian Council as regards extravagant expenditure was provided in the scheme proposed by the Resolution—in the power of interpellation and the financial power.

Mr. G. Subrahmanya Iyer said that it would never do to trust to a Council for escaping from the settled policy of the

Ministry and of Parliament. The question of the permanent settlement was a vital one in Madras. Sir Louis Malet helped Madras there, but it was the Council of the Secretary of State which was obstructive in that matter.

Divan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao thought that a Council would be unnecessary only if the Secretary of State was like the Colonial Secretary, but not otherwise. He thought the reference to a Parliamentary Committee would expose India to the risk of government by English political parties.

Mr. P. M. Mehta thought that no doubt there were evils in both courses, but, on a choice of evils, he thought a substitute for the India Council unnecessary. That Council is a continuously existing evil; the other would be only an occasional one. As to a Parliamentary Committee landing us in party politics, he thought the publicity of the discussions of the Committee would be a very great advantage.

Mr. Norendranath Sen thought that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons would be good, if we had representatives of our own in the House. As an alternative proposal there might be a small Parliament in India with many Indian members. Indian political bodies should be asked to name such members and also have a voice in the formation of the existing Executive Councils.

Messrs. Sundara Rama and Ananda Charlu having spoken in support of the Resolution, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said:

Before the Hon'ble Mr. Telang replies I may ask to be allowed to say a few words. I may just explain what an important thing this Standing Committee will be. During the East India Company's time, Parliament was entirely independent of it. Parliament was then truly

an effective appellate body. It took up Indian questions quite freely and judged fairly, without the circumstance of parties ever interfering with its deliberations. If there was a complaint against the Company, Parliament was free to sit in judgment on it. What is the position since the transfer of the government to the Crown? The Secretary of State for India is the Parliament. Every question in which he is concerned becomes a Cabinet question. His majority is at his back. This majority has no concern in Indian matters further than to back the Government, *i.e.* the Secretary of State for India. All appeals, therefore, to Parliament against the Secretary of State become a mere farce. M. P.'s are utterly discouraged from their inability to do any thing. And the Secretary of State becomes the true Great Mogul of India—a despotic monarch. His will is his law. Nor can the people of India influence him, as their voice is not represented in Parliament. Thus, that tribunal can scarcely exercise any effectual check over his despotism. The present legislative machinery, from the Local Councils upwards, is simply a device to legalise despotism and give it the false mask of constitutionalism. The taxpayers have no voice in the imposition of the taxes they pay and Parliament has not the ability to prevent the levy of unfair or oppressive taxation. The ultimate controlling authority seems helpless to control anything! Now if we have complete representative legislation here, and if we have a Standing Committee in Parliament, we shall have both the voice of the taxed on the one side and effectual control of Parliament on the other. Such a Standing Committee will naturally be independent of all parties. Its decision will be no defeat of Government. It will be simply a final decision on the point of difference that may have arisen between the representatives of the people in India on the one hand, and the Government on the other, on any particular question. India will thus have an effectual parliamentary control.

It is said we should propose something as a substitute for the present India Office Council. The resolution now before the Congress makes this unnecessary. The Council, when it was established, was considered to be protective of Indian interests. It has not proved so. When it suits the Secretary of State, he screens himself behind that Council. When it does not suit him, he flings the Council aside. We have no means of knowing what good at all is done by the Council. Its irresponsibility and its secrecy are fatal objections to its continuance. Such a thing in the government of an empire of 200 millions of people and under the British is an utter and an inexplicable anachronism. Moreover, the majority of the Council consists of Anglo-Indians. These, sitting in judgment on their own handiwork, naturally regard it as perfect. Having left India years ago they fail to realise the rapid changes that are taking place here in our circumstances, lose touch with us and offer resistance to all progress. Times are now changed. The natives, I may say, have come of age. They can represent directly their wishes and views to the Government here, and to the Secretary of State. They do not require the aid of this Council at the India Office for their so called representation or protection.

I may here remark, that the chief work of this the first National Congress of India is to enunciate clearly and boldly our highest and ultimate wishes. Whether we get them or not immediately, let our rulers know what our highest aspirations are. And if we are true to ourselves, the work of each delegate present here will be to make the part of India where he happens to live devote itself earnestly to carrying out the objects resolved upon at this Congress with all due deliberation. If, then, we lay down clearly that we desire to have the actual government of India transferred from England to India under the simple

controlling power of the Secretary of State, and of Parliament, through its Standing Committee, and that we further desire that all taxation and legislation shall be imposed here by representative Councils, we say what we are aiming at. And that under such an arrangement no Council to advise the Secretary of State is necessary. Neither is a Council needed to attend to the appellate executive work. There is a permanent Under-Secretary of State who will be able to keep up continuity of knowledge and transact all current business. There are, besides, Secretaries at the head of the different departments as experts. I do not deny that at times the India Office Council has done good service. But this was owing to the personality and sympathy of individual—men like Sir E. Perry. The constitution of the body as a body is objectionable and anomalous. When the whole power of imposing taxation and legislation is transferred here, the work of the Secretary of State will be largely diminished. It will only be confined to general supervision of important matters. Whatever comes before him for disposal will be set forth by the Government from here fully and fairly in all its bearings. No Council will be needed to aid him in forming his judgment. Thus no substitute is required for the India Office Council. It is enough for us to formulate the scheme, now submitted for your consideration, as one which India needs and desires, viz, representative Legislative Councils in India, with full financial control and interpellatory powers. And we shall not need to trouble much the authorities in England.

The President here observed that as it was arranged that the members should visit the Elephanta caves in the course of the afternoon he would postpone the Congress till 10 A.M. of the following day.

The Congress accordingly adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

3rd Day, 30th December 1885.

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang :—I should like to say a few words in reply to the criticisms that have been made in this debate. I am glad that those criticisms have been made because it enables me to offer some explanations which will probably be even more necessary for outsiders than for those who have assembled here. The first, and most important, point to deal with is that the Resolution now before the Congress does not provide, as it was expected to provide, some substitute for the India Council—which I should prefer to call by an apter title, the Council of the Secretary of State for India. I am afraid I must take some blame to myself for not having made this point clear in my opening remarks. And as I did not do this then, I must dwell on the point now somewhat more fully than I had thought would be necessary. Well, in my view, then, the centre of the practical work of Indian administration should be shifted from London to India. That, it seems to me, is a most urgently wanted reform. It ought not to be necessary in matters of practical administration to appeal against well-informed local officers on the spot, to what has been not inappropriately designated a conclave of “effete officers” hundreds of miles away. This being my view, I am not prepared to accept one of the suggestions thrown out by our friend Mr. Nerendranath, that we should work for representation of our country in Parliament. I do not think that that ought to be the goal towards which we should work. What I prefer is that we should have a properly and liberally framed constitution, affording due scope for local

knowledge and capacity, under a general supervision in matters involving important general principles vested in the great authority which governs the whole empire, namely, the Imperial Parliament. This object appears to me to be served by the constitution proposed in this resolution for representative Councils in the country, supplemented by the Standing Committee of the House of Commons. Such bodies will also serve the purpose which some of the speakers in the debate have in view. If we want, as we do want, the hands of the Secretary of State to be strengthened against the unfair demands of the English departments of War, &c., it seems to me obvious that such strength will be better and more effectively supplied by such Councils as are here proposed than by any substitute that we could devise for the present constitution of the India Council. On the one hand, these Councils being representative, and presumably well informed in consequence of the councillors being themselves able personally to examine the matter to be adjudicated on, will necessarily have great weight attached to their opinions. And, on the other hand, there will be great difficulties in carrying out the only proposed modification in the constitution of the India Council, namely, making it a partly representative body. In the first place, we shall not always be able to secure the services of our best men for working upon a Council sitting in London. In the second place, if we did secure them, they would be very far removed from the field of actual administrative work, and also from that influence of public opinion to which they must always be open if they are to give the fullest satisfaction in the performance of their high trusts. Thirdly, an individual member, or even more than one individual member, of such a Council sitting in London, will be quite unable to make his influence felt in all departments of administration. For, I believe, in the India Council there is specialization of functions and work in the same way as we know there is in the

Executive Councils in the country. Therefore, my scheme is that the India Council should go and leave not a wrack behind, while the useful portion of work which it is supposed to discharge ought to be performed by the proposed Councils in India.* It will thus be seen that our scheme is not a merely destructive one. We propose a substitute, and what I venture to think will be a very good substitute, for that which we recommend for abolition.

And having said this, let me now ask whether this India Council as it has existed—this Council the abolition of which we are asked to be so cautious in recommending—whether it has done any real good during the period for which it has already existed. In the first place, most of its deliberations and acts are done in secret conclave—in itself, according to my humble judgment, a strong reason for condemnation in such a case as this. The result is that its work, whether for good or for evil, is not easy to survey and judge. But portions of it necessarily see the light from time to time, and we may form some sort of provisional opinion from these materials. My friends, Mr. Chiplonkar and Mr. G. Subahmanya Iyer, have told us of one or two items of this work. That referred to by the latter may be examined in the pages of the Famine Commission's Report. And there can be no doubt that in several of these matters, the India Council has fairly earned the epithet which has recently been bestowed upon it, and which has, if I may so say, become almost classical in Bombay—namely, “abominably obstructive.” But then some specific matters have been brought forward in favour of the Council. As regards the permanent settlement of the land revenue, whatever the Council may or may not have done, it has certainly failed to give that to those Provinces which have been asking for it. As to the cotton duties, again, what influence has the India Council had on actual administrative

measures? The duties *have* been abolished, in supposed obedience to a resolution of the House of Commons which was contingent on the fulfilment of conditions that we all know were not satisfied—and the Council has been impotent to prevent the abolition. As to the Vernacular Press Act, the Act was passed and *not* vetoed by the Secretary of State. It was the law of the land until, *not* the India Council, but Lord Ripon's Council, repealed it. There were doubtless some most vigorous and excellent protests by the late Sir Erskine Perry and other members of the India Council, against that precious piece of legislation. But then those protests in actual fact went for nothing, and furthermore you cannot count upon the presence of more than one Sir Erskine Perry in the Council, or even one Sir Erskine Perry always and continuously. Lastly, as to war expenditure, if the India Council has said anything about it, it has certainly not succeeded in doing anything at all. Therefore, upon the whole, I must say that in my opinion the matters brought forward in favour of the India Council show nothing more than this, if they show so much, that in that Council you have now and then had members who have fought our battles valiantly and well, as valiantly and as well—I will add, if you like—as probably any elected representative of ours would have done. But this does not really afford any argument in favour of the system, which is vicious in itself, and which in actual working has failed to influence the administration for good.

There is one other objection, which I must now advert to. It is said that to trust to a Parliamentary Committee in the last resort as is here proposed is to throw Indian affairs into the party politics of England. I beg to say, in reference to this objection, that in the first place I am not very much afraid of the result, at all events, in this particular

matter—because the points which will be sent up before the Parliamentary Committee must be points relating to general principles of Government. But I go further, and, I say that the intervention of Parliament in our affairs asked for by the present Resolution will not throw us more into English party strife than we are already under present circumstances. Parliament is now our final tribunal, and now governs all our affairs in the last resort. And a Standing Committee of Parliament, such as we propose, is really and truly the same tribunal. We are not asking for any very serious innovation in this respect.

Upon all these grounds, Sir, I recommend the Congress to pass the Resolution as it now stands. It seems to me to be not open to the objections made; to be free from the particular defects and imperfections pointed out; to constitute really a step and an important step in the direction of progress, while at the same time it is by no means revolutionary, and involves no risk whatever.

The President in summing up the debate said that it was not necessary for the Congress to frame a complete scheme. He thought their function was to state and record what improvements were in their opinion desirable, and having done that to leave to the authorities the duty of formulating a scheme. The argument in favour of the Council seemed to him weak. It might as well be argued that the whole of the Indian system of administration should be preserved intact because such gentlemen as Wordsworth, Hume and Wedderburn held office under that system. The Council of India was from the beginning a sham. Passing on to another point the President said, it was not at all unreasonable to look forward to a time when in the Government of India there should be Ministries and changes of Ministries as in the Colonies. This is not, of course, provided for just now, but it is not inconsistent

with what is asked for. As regards the Supreme Council, that, the President said, ought to be representative of the whole country and of every great province in it. Every member will thus be able to understand what is going on in all the provinces of the Empire and they will be able to compare notes with great advantage to themselves and to the whole country.

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The President introduced Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, one of the Indian Delegates to England, who had on the preceding day returned to Bombay.

The Congress thereupon passed by acclamation a vote of thanks to Mr. Chandavarkar and the other Delegates for the valuable services they rendered to the country during their stay in England.

Mr. Chandavarkar in acknowledging gratefully on behalf of himself and his colleagues the vote of thanks passed by the Congress said that while in England he had taken the opportunity of calling on Lord and Lady Ripon, and explaining what the Delegates had done. Lord Ripon said, "tell your countrymen not to despair. If the friends of your country have been defeated at the elections, they have not been defeated on any Indian question, but on the Church and Irish question."

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

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji in moving the 4th Resolution said;—The Resolution which I am proposing does not in any way involve the question whether the distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services should be abolished or not. That is a separate question altogether,

and in fact, if my resolution is adopted that question will become unnecessary or very subordinate. The resolution which I propose to you is of the utmost possible importance to India. It is the most important key to our material and moral advancement. All our other political reforms, will benefit us but very little indeed if this reform of all reforms is not made. It is the question of poverty or prosperity. It is the question of life and death to India. It is the question of questions. Fortunately, it is not necessary for me on this occasion to go into all its merits as I hope you are all already well aware of my views and their reasons or it would have been very difficult for me to lay before you all I should have had to say without speaking for hours. There is an additional good fortune for me that what I want to propose was already proposed a quarter of a century ago by no less an authority than a Committee of the India Office itself. The report of this Committee gives the whole matter in a nutshell from the point of view of justice, right, expediency and honest fulfilment of promises. And the reasons given by it for the covenanted civil service apply equally to all the other services in the civil department. I do not refer to the military service in this resolution, as that is a matter requiring special consideration and treatment. To make my remarks as brief as possible, as we are much pressed for time, I shall first at once read to you the extract from the report of the Committee consisting of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangels, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaughten, and Sir Erskine Perry. The report, dated 20th January 1860, says:—

“ 2. We are, in the first place, unanimously of opinion that it is not only just but expedient that the Natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

"3. It is true that, even at present, no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4 Wm. 4 C. 85 S. 87, it is enacted. "that no Native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company." It is obvious therefore that when the competitive system was adopted it could not have been intended to exclude Natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

"4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a Native leaving India, and residing in England for a time, are so great, that as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a Native successfully to compete at the periodical examination held in England. Were this inequality removed we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

"5. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty's residents in India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

Now according to strict right and justice the examination for services in India ought to take place in India alone. The people of Australia, Canada and the Cape do not go to England for their services. Why should Indians be compelled to go to England to compete for the services, unless it be England's despotic will. But I am content to propose the resolution according to the views of the Committee for simultaneous examinations, both in England and India, and the reasons that apply to the Civil Service apply equally well to the other services in the Civil Department, viz., Engineering, Medical, Telegraph, Forest and so on.

I may here remind you that in addition to the Act of 1833 referred to by the Committee we have the solemn promises contained in the Proclamation of our gracious Sovereign. The fact is told to us in unmistakable language:—"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations, of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." And then they declared her gracious promise specifically on this very part of the services:—"And it is our further will that, so far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge." This gracious proclamation and the promises contained therein were made known in 1858. And the India Office Committee showed, in 1860, in what way these promises could be fulfilled, so as to relieve the English nation from "the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." With the Act of Parliament of 1833, the solemn promises, of 1858, of our Sovereign before God and man, and the declaration by the India Office of the mode of fulfilling those promises in 1860, it is hardly necessary for me to say more. Our case for

the resolution proposed by me is complete. As a matter of justice, solemn promises and even expediency I would have ended my speech here, but my object in proposing this resolution rests upon a far higher and a most important consideration. The question of the extreme poverty of India is now no more a controversial point. Viceroy and Finance Ministers, have admitted it. The last official declaration by Sir E. Baring is complete and unequivocal. In his budget speech of 18th March 1882 he 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 this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the taxpaying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and, if it were possible, would be unjustifiable." Again, in the discussion on the budget, after repeating the above statement regarding the income of Rs. 27 per head per annum, he said :—" But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the mass of the people. In England the average income per head of population was £33 per head ; in France it was £23 ; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £4 per head. He would ask Honorable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." With this emphatic and clear opinion before you, I need not say more. The question is what is the cause of this poverty ? I have shown in my papers on the poverty of India, and in my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India, that the sole cause of this extreme poverty and wretchedness of the mass of the people is the inordinate employment of foreign agency in the government of the country and the consequent

material loss to and drain from the country. I request those who have not already seen these papers to read them, for it is utterly impossible for me to go through the whole argument here. It will be, therefore, now clear to you that the employment of Native agency is not merely a matter of justice and expediency, according to the views of the India Office Committee, but a most absolute necessity for the poor, suffering, and starving millions of India. It is a question of life and death to the country. The present English rule is no doubt the greatest blessing India has ever had, but this *one evil* of it nullifies completely all the good it has achieved. Remove but this one evil, and India will be blessed in every way and will be a blessing to England also in every way. The commerce between England and India will increase so that England will then be able to benefit herself ten times more by India's prosperity than what she does now. There will be none of the constant struggle that is at present to be witnessed between the rulers and the ruled—the one screwing out more and more taxes, like squeezing a squeezed orange—inflicting suffering and distress, and the other always crying itself hoarse about its inability to provide them owing to extreme poverty. By the removal of the evil—India will be able not merely to supply a revenue £70,000,000, but £170,000,000, with ease and comfort. England takes over 50 shillings a head for her revenue, why may not India under the same rule be able to take even 20 a head? Indians would easily pay £200,000,000. I should stop now. I hope you will see that this resolution is of the greatest possible importance to India and I implore every one of you present here to-day to strain every nerve and work perseveringly in your respective localities to attain this object. With regard to the second part of the resolution, the uncovenanted services, the same reasoning and necessity apply. A fair system of competition, testing all necessary qualifications—

mental, moral and physical—will be the most suitable mode of supplying the services with the best and most eligible servants and relieve Government of all the pressure of back door and private influences, and jobbery.

“The subject of the age of candidates for the Civil Service examination needs no lengthened remarks from me. It has been only lately threshed out, and it has been established beyond all doubt that the higher age will give you a superior class of men, whether English or Native. I conclude, therefore, with the earnest exhortation that you will all apply yourselves vigorously to free poor India from the great evil of the drain on her resources.

If the British will once understand our true condition, their conscientious desire to rule India for India's and humanity's good, will never allow the evil to continue any longer. Lastly, I hope and trust that our rulers will receive our representations in their proper spirit. We sincerely believe that the good we propose for ourselves is also a good for them. Whatever good they will do to us cannot but in the very nature of things be good to them also. The better we are in material and moral prosperity the more grateful, attached and loyal we shall be; the worse we are the less our gratitude and loyalty shall naturally be. The more prosperous we are, the larger shall be their custom, the worse we are the condition will be the reverse. The question of our prosperity is as much the question of the prosperity of England and her working man. England's trade would be enriched by £250,000,000, if with our prosperity each unit of the Indian population is ever able to buy from England goods worth only £1 per annum.

What is wanted is the fructification in our own pocket of our annual produce. I repeat that it is my hope and trust that our rulers may receive our prayers in their right spirit and do

us all the good in their power, for it will redound to their good name, honour and everlasting glory. Let us have the Royal Proclamation fulfilled in its true spirit and integrity, and both England and India will be benefitted and blessed.

With these observations I beg to propose the Fourth Resolution :—

“That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various Civil departments of the public service, should hence forth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, ‘be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit,’ and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years.”

M. Vira Raghavachariar (Madras) seconded the resolution in the following speech :—

Mr. President and gentlemen :—

In rising to second the proposition so well explained by our veteran statesman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, I have to make a few observations. Individually, gentlemen, my opinion about this question is, that the distinction between the Covenanted Civil Service and Uncovenanted Civil Service must be

done away with, and Native gentlemen, of approved ability and integrity, found in the Uncovenanted department, should be drawn into the ranks of the former. My reasons for the abolition of that service are numerous. Firstly, such a coveted service is no longer required. Education has made considerable progress in this country and the character of educated Natives for integrity and honesty of purpose is established beyond all doubt. Secondly, you must all admit that the members of that service are paid and overrated. The scale of their appointments was in the hands of the Directors of the East India Company and those gentlemen had to provide for their sons, cousins, and dependants. It was also the general impression of men in England, then, that India was the land of pagodas and mohurs. Circumstances have changed now and we see no reason why we should continue to get men for that service from England, at such an enormous cost. Now, again, let us see whether they are not overrated. The work that they do is not of a high order; most of it is trivial, and even this they perform negligently and inefficiently. The Collectors are, in fact, respectable Head Clerks and the Assistants are in training for that respectable position. Is it right, I ask gentlemen, that Collectors should be paid 2,500 Rupees a month for uprooting prickly pear and for karkunlike criticism of subordinate Magistrates' returns? Again, I ask gentlemen, is it fair that Assistants should get about Rs. 1,000 for going about the country in tents? You know, gentlemen, that that service, to maintain which the life-blood of the nation is sucked, has degenerated. Many Anglo-Indians have admitted this fact. Who will venture to gainsay my statement that the Civil Service has degenerated when we see that the service which has produced a Hume, a Wedderburn, and a Cotton, now holds among its ranks Macleans, Laidmans, and

Atkinson and Machiavockes? Gentlemen, the fact is that we are now getting men of inferior order from England. The men we get are mere boys distinguished for their mental rawness and immaturity of character. They are generally minutely instructed rather than highly educated. The nobility of England does not care to take office in India. But, gentlemen, Mr. Dadabhai has said that that service should be retained at least for some time to come and we must all yield to his wiser counsels. The proposition moved by my honourable friend, is so modest and reasonable, that I am sure it will command the attention of the British public. By demanding these reforms, gentlemen, we must all bear in mind that we are clamouring for no special indulgence. We condemn the existing rules that are so framed as to secure all advantages to English competitors and to throw considerable impediments and difficulties in the way of competitors from India. While professing to treat all competitors with impartiality, the rules are so framed as to practically shut out the children of the soil from competition. We say, let these inequalities be removed, let Natives and Englishmen be allowed to compete on equal terms. If it be remembered that our youths join an English school and begin the English alphabet when they are eight or nine years old, that on an average they spend about six years in acquiring the English language, that it is about their fifteenth year that they begin to construe English books for themselves and that it is after that that they can devote their time to the study of English literature, history, science, philosophy, will it be considered unreasonable, gentlemen, if we demand that our youths should be permitted to compete for the examination upto the age of 23? If, again, it be remembered, that under existing rules our youths are compelled to quit these shores at a very early age to go to England and put themselves under tuition of somebody

for a year or two, will it be considered unreasonable if we demand that the examinations should be held in some Indian centres, simultaneously with the examination in London? Again, gentlemen, as for numerous other appointments in the Salt, Forest, and other departments, supposed to be reserved exclusively for the Natives of this country, I need not tell you that the relations of influential members of the Civil Service are put in. I hold in my hand a list of such appointments in the Presidency of Madras, and you will see from it that only three Natives hold employments in the Settlement Department. The truth of the whole matter is that at the cost of Indian money English youths are fed, clothed, and padded to the detriment of the interests of the Natives. These facts have been repeatedly brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and Parliament by several philanthropists in England and India, and now the voice of the nation loudly demands a reform. It remains to be seen how long the authorities will choose to walk in the old way. Though our demands may be put off for a short time, they cannot be indefinitely postponed. The progress of education throughout the different provinces of the Indian Empire is so great, and the facilities for intercommunication so various, that we, who were hitherto strangers to each other as the Sikhs, the Mahrattas, the Bengalees and the Madrasses, consider ourselves as one people with the same grievances, and with the same aspirations. We now begin to perceive that notwithstanding the existence of differences in our mother tongue, social habits, and manners, we possess the true elements of a nationality about us, we possess the talent for organization, and we possess too many things in common to permit of our living apart for ever as strangers. Is it not time for us now to sink our minor differences and concentrate our forces for the attainment of grand national objects? With these observations, I heartily second the

proposition so ably moved by our illustrious countryman Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Mr. D. S. White (Madras) :—I do not rise to oppose the Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's Resolution, nor to propose an amendment. I desire merely to submit some observations which I think the members of this Congress should hear and take into serious consideration. The proposition contemplates an application for raising the competitive age in England of candidates for the Civil Service, and for holding examinations simultaneously in India. On both points I differ. I do not think the remedy is in raising age but in procuring the gradual abolition of the Civil Service. What we need I think is that the future importation of boys should be put a stop to. The real education of these boys takes place in India and the State is put to enormous expense in connection therewith, while there is no need for the expenditure. The State now has at hand indigenous talent, educated at its own expense, either locally or in England, and should take advantage of it, and if it requires special talent from England it may import it just as men ready made are imported for the Educational Department. For the Judicial Service, the Bar in India offers itself, and why boy Civilians should be paid for years to learn to become Judges is a matter not easily understood. I do not think that any one in India would grudge paying for anything which would add to the stock of knowledge in it, and therefore it seems to me that the competitive system should be abolished and that men of eminence and skill alone, in any profession, should be brought out on limited covenants. On the same or rather stronger grounds I do not approve of holding examinations in India. All that we will get will be boys again, boys to be trained at the expense of the State, boys whose views of life will be limited to Indian experience. Either from England or India, we want men

of experience and established reputation, and it is by such men that the New India will be moulded to higher and better things. I must not be understood as desiring that existing appointments should be interfered with, but only as enunciating the view that the present system should gradually die out and give place to a better one. I do not approve of the Resolution for another reason. I have always maintained that the present law and the orders of the Secretary of State give us as much as we want; and I think it will be more profitable if we try to secure what is ours instead of raising fresh issues, the determination of which none of us perhaps will live to see. The age and local examination questions involve fresh legislation and the extinction of that which exists. While therefore we are waiting for the fresh legislation we shall lose what we have. Fifteen years have elapsed and the Statute of 33 Victoria Chapter III. is still being violated; that is fifteen years have not proved sufficient for the mere carrying out of a well-defined piece of legislation. What will be the time needed for fresh legislation and for securing honest compliance with it? In the recent Blue Book, Lord Kimberley, on the very points I am referring to, says that the Statutory Civil Service was expressly designed to remedy any disadvantages arising out of the age restriction in England and that before Parliament is again resorted to, the remedy already prescribed should be thoroughly exhausted. It is our primary duty therefore to press for the enforcement of the boons already granted to us. The Statute 33 Victoria Chapter III. has never had a chance, and it cannot be condemned as bad law when it has never been tried. I will go very lightly over the ground to show how disappointment after disappointment was caused to the Natives of India. The Act distinctly said that Natives of India of proved merit and ability were to be selected as Statutory Civilians. This was an admirable measure and a

wiser one could not possibly have been provided. If carried out it would have rewarded the best men, secured them for the higher administration of the country, and acted as the most powerful lever for training subordinates into officials of the highest character. But respect for vested interests and prejudices prevailed. The word "proved" was thrust out for "approved" in the rules framed, and any one "*approved*", though not of *proved* merit and ability, was appointed. The nominations of *approved* persons turned out most unfortunate as they were bound to do, and on a protest to the Secretary of State, an examination of candidates was ordered. At last, however, the Act has some chance of being carried out honestly, for a person of proved merit and ability has been appointed in Madras. But even in this case the Statutory Civilian has been compelled to go into one of the lowest grades, the object apparently being that no Statutory Civilian should have influence or power for the space of 15 or 20 years. If the Hon'ble gentleman's proposition is carried I wish it to be understood that I do not object to it. I have merely taken the opportunity of expressing my views which have been arrived at after a very long and careful consideration.

During the progress of this Conference the necessity for union among all Natives of India for the purpose of securing their common rights and privileges has been much pressed on our attention. My own belief is that without such union we will never accomplish what we desire. I am willing to do my best, but I trust this Congress will help me by giving some assurance that it is serious in desiring unity. I have just come from a Conference of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Associations held at Jubbulpore. It was decided by the Delegates that a memorial be sent to the Viceroy, praying that on the next occasion a Eurasian or

Anglo-Indian Native of India be appointed to the Statutory Civil Service. I shall be delighted to know that this Conference is prepared to ask the bodies it is associated with to support such a memorial. (Loud Applause.)

Mr. Girijabhusan Mookerjee (Bengal) in rising to support the Resolution said:—It was unnecessary that he should speak at any length, even if he were permitted to do so, upon a subject which had engaged the attention of the country for some years and with regard to which the country had pretty emphatically expressed its opinion. They were asked simply to record the unanimous opinion of the country on the subject. The government of the country was practically in the hands of the Civil Service and the exclusion of the Natives from that Service meant their practical exclusion from the administration of their own country. Then, again, from a long employment of the monopoly of power, privilege and prestige these Civilian rulers here had become, if his Bombay friends would permit him to borrow an expression from them, “abominably obstructive” in the way of national progress. That being so, if they could secure for their countrymen additional facilities to enter the service they would not only succeed in obtaining a larger and fairer share in the administration of their own country, but would also succeed in materially weakening the force of that obstructive opposition which was so heavily felt now. They would not only do this, they would do something else. They would succeed in removing a stain from the honour of England. For although the principle, that the Natives like the Europeans were eligible to all posts without distinction of race, creed or colour, had been affirmed in successive Acts of Parliament since 1833, although this principle had been reiterated in the Royal Proclamation, although for half a century the Crown as well as the people of England had been pledged to this just and

liberal policy, the position of their countrymen with regard to the Civil Service had not materially altered. The rule of holding examinations in England, the reduction of marks assigned to oriental classics and the reduction of the maximum age for competition had practically put competition out of their reach. Lord Monteagle, in the debates in the House of Lords in 1853, when the renewal of the Charter was under the consideration of Lord Aberdeen's Government, truly observed that "if the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance or what possibility is there of Natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country which their education and abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess." They all know how the observations of Lord Monteagle had been verified by subsequent experience. It was unnecessary that he should dilate upon these almost insurmountable difficulties, for they all felt them. But he regretted with his countrymen that these difficulties had been created with the deliberate object of keeping them out of the Civil Service. This was no doubt a serious charge against an enlightened Government and an enlightened people and he would be the last person to bring this charge if he were not armed with unimpeachable evidence to support it. To convict an accused person what better evidence could the jury expect than the confession of the culprit himself. Here they had the confession of Government by the mouth of its executive head, one who was certainly not over friendly towards the Natives of this country. Need he mention the name—Lord Lytton. The speaker then read the following extracts from a confidential minute of Lord Lytton's :—

"The Act of Parliament is so undefined and indefinite obligations on the part of the Government of India towards its Native subjects are so obviously dangerous

that no sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Under the terms of the Act, which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated Natives whose development the Government encourages, without being able to satisfy the aspirations of its existing members, every such Native, if once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the Covenanted Service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts in that service. We all know that these claims and expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to Natives of the competitive examination system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete, are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act, and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

The speaker then went on and said no language could be plainer or stronger than this. Would the English people allow such ugly charges to be brought against them, simply because the Civilian bureaucracy here as well as at the India Office had taken upon themselves to question the wisdom of the Imperial Legislature, and to think that the stability and maintenance of the British rule required the exclusion of the Natives from the higher administrative posts. He would not waste time in exposing the unsound-

ness of these views. They had yet to learn that a generous and liberal policy of trust and confidence in a subject race ever endangered the maintenance of a foreign rule. The teachings of history had always pointed to a different conclusion. The events which took place in the different parts of this vast empire, on the eve of Lord Ripon's departure from India, amply showed how a liberal policy could evoke the loyalty of a conquered people. Amidst a conquered population, alien in race and religion, and largely exceeding the number of their conquerors, with education spreading fast and wide among them, with a public opinion ever growing stronger and with powers of organisation rapidly developing, if there was any danger to a foreign rule it must proceed not from a liberal policy founded on natural justice and expediency, but from a policy of repression and exclusion founded on narrow prejudice and unmerited distrust. The speaker then pointed out that their claims to extended employment in the higher service, were not only based upon the ground of national justice to the people, but upon the ground of the plainest political expediency. Economy also required it. If goods were available in their own market, why should they, poor as they were, go to a foreign country and pay a much higher price for imported goods. Then again, the high salaries and pensions enjoyed by their Civilian rulers were mostly spent out of the country. The experience bought at such a high price was not also retained in the country for its future use, but was shipped out of the country and pretty often employed against its interest.

What justice the Indians to the honour of the English people loudly demanded, what expediency plainly required, what economy distinctly sanctioned, should they not have that simply because Lord Kimberley, evidently under some evil influence, said *no* to the earnest pray-ers

of the united people of India and to the wise recommendation of the Government of India. No, they ought not to despair. They had ample confidence in the justice of the English people. They must agitate and earnestly and perseveringly agitate till they got what they wanted. Let them not simply pass this resolution, but let them resolve further that they should not rest satisfied till they got all that they wanted.

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji:—I am glad I have not much to reply to. The appreciation of the importance of the resolution is clear. My remarks will be more as explanations of a few matters. I had much to do with the passing of the clause for granting to us the Statutory Civil Service. It is an important concession, and we have to be very grateful for it. I need not here go into its history. The statesmen in England who gave us this were sincere and explicit in the matter. Whatever complaint we have it is with the authorities here. First of all, after the clause was passed, the Government of India entirely ignored it and did nothing to give it effect for 6 years! It was only when pressure was applied to it from England, into the details of which this is not the time or place for me to enter, that the necessary rules were at last prepared and published. These rules have been so drafted that they may be carried out in a way to bring discredit on the Service. And whether this is done intentionally or not, whether the subsequent objectionable action upon it was also intentional or not, I cannot say. But the most important element in the carrying out of this clause was partially or wholly ignored, and that has been the real cause of its so-called failure,—I mean educational competence, ascertained either by suitable competition, or proved ability, was an absolutely indispensable condi-

tion for admitting candidates to this Service. It is just this essential condition that has been several times ignored or forgotten. Let therefore your efforts be devoted strenuously, not against the clause itself, but against the objectionable mode in which the nominations are made. The Bengal Government has moved in a satisfactory direction, and its example should be followed by all the Governments. It will be the height of folly on our part to wish for the abolition of this Statutory civil service—excepting only when simultaneous examinations are held in England and India giving a fair field to all, as proposed in the present resolution. In this fair competition, Eurasians, or domiciled Englishmen, in fact all subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, will have equal justice. I understand that the Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians come under the definition of what is called “statutory Natives.” It is only right that those whose country is India should be considered as Natives, and should enjoy all the rights and privileges of Natives. United action between the Natives and Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians will be good for all. What is objectionable is, that Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians blow hot and cold at the same time. At one moment they claim to be Natives, and at another they spurn the Natives and claim to be Englishmen! Common sense must tell them that this is an absurd position to take up and must ultimately do them more harm than good. I desire that there should be cordial union between all whose country is, or whomake their country, India. One of the speakers remarked that the employment of Natives will be economical. This is a point which I am afraid is not clearly understood. The fact is that the employment of a Native is not only economy, but *complete gain* to the whole extent of his salary. When a European is employed, he displaces a Native whom nature intended to fill the place. The Native coming in his place, is natural. Every pie

he eats is therefore a gain to the country, and every pie he saves is so much saved to the country for the use of all its children. Every pie paid to a foreigner is a *complete material loss* to the country. Every pie paid to a Native is a *complete material saving* to the country. In fact, as I have already endeavoured to impress upon you as earnestly as possible, it is the whole question of the poverty or prosperity of the country. We should of course pay a reasonable price for English rule, so that we may have the highest power of control and supervision in English hands, but beyond that is simply ruin to India and not such a benefit to England as she would otherwise have, were India a prosperous country. Our friend there expressed some doubt about the necessity of going to England. I say without the least hesitation that the candidate himself as well as the service will be vastly benefitted by a visit to England. The atmosphere of freedom and high civilization which he will breathe will make him an altered man—in character, in intelligence, in experience, in self respect and in appreciation of due respect for others. In short he will largely increase his fitness and command more respect in his responsible service. I mean, of course, in the resolution that the expenses of such visits to England by the candidates who have successfully passed the different examinations for the different services in India, should be paid from the public revenue. It may be made clear in the resolution, by adding “at the public expense.”

I conclude with my most anxious and earnest exhortation to this Congress, and to every individual member of it, that they should perseveringly strain every nerve to secure the all important object of this resolution as early as possible. Once this foreign drain, this “bleeding to death,” is stopped, India will be capable by reason of its land,

labour and its vast resources to become as prosperous as England, with benefit to England also and to mankind, and with eternal glory to the English name and nation.

Mr. M. P. Modi (Surat) inquired with reference to the proposition put by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji regarding the Indian Civil Service and other Services, whether that part of the proposition, which said that after passing the examinations in India, the successful candidates should be made to spend two years in England, applied to all Services. He said all could see the desirableness of those who wanted to enter the Civil Service and return administrators of this country being made to spend that time in England. But if that requirement was extended to other Services such as Medical and Engineering, the speaker wished to know what necessity there was for that.

Mr. Dadabhai said that the words were intended to apply to the "Civil Service" only.

Mr. G. Subrahmanya asked whether Lord Kimberley's last Despatch should not be specifically referred to.

The President pointed out that the last clause of the proposed Resolution was in truth a reply to that Despatch. In putting the proposition to the vote, the President said, that there was a little difficulty about recommending a residence in England as a compulsory measure. He thought it would not be acceptable to the country at large, but the Congress might, perhaps, accept it as a provisional compromise for the present.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and passed.

Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu (Madras) moved the 5th Resolution as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

You are aware that while the poverty of India is daily increasing the limits of taxation have been reached and almost all resources of revenue exhausted. British Administration has unfortunately not been economical, either from ignorance, inability, unwillingness, or some other cause or motive unknown. Nay, it has been extremely extravagant, so extravagant that it is not able to make the two ends meet. Our rulers have often recourse to another, and a very disastrous, expedient, of raising loans to maintain equilibrium between income and expenditure. This is generally a method to which spendthrifts and reckless speculators resort, but fortunately for them, at the last stage, when they are no longer able to raise loans, they have a ready relief at hand, viz., either the Bankruptcy or the Insolvent Court; but, I do not think, our Government, has such an institution to give it relief.

That the above is not an overdrawn picture but a real representation of the embarrassed condition of Indian finance, has been borne testimony to by several financiers of great and tried ability and by several humane, able and far seeing Viceroys, the true representatives of our Queen-Empress and the true sons of the land of liberty and philanthropy,—representatives who have unanimously declared that India is not capable of enduring further taxation and that the only remedy is to rigidly enforce retrenchment and economy in all directions. Moreover, experts in military affairs as well as the members of the Simla Army Commission have, after fair discussion and mature deliberation, pronounced their opinion that the military

expenditure has grown very excessive and that there is absolute necessity to curtail it.

In 1857 the Indian Military expenditure was			11,463,000
64	do.	do.	14,510,247
66	do.	do.	16,748,220
70	do.	do.	16,329,739
72	do.	do.	15,678,112
76	do.	do.	15,308,460
77	do.	do.	15,792,112
80	do.	do.	21,712,862
84	do.	do.	16,975,750

Thus the military expenditure has increased by five millions. While, therefore, the cry is for reduction, to our surprise, disappointment and misfortune, the Ministry of the day have resolved to increase the expenditure already unbearable by an additional charge of 2 millions for adding 30,000 men to the existing army without proving the necessity for such an increase.

Gentlemen, let us, first of all, see whether there is any necessity for this increase. Peace and order have been restored to the country and there is no fear of internal disquietude. It is true that the scare of foreign invasion, caused by the recent action of the Russian Government, created some apprehension. It is more the bad feeling evinced by some of our Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects than anything else that made the Russians believe that the Natives were ready to assist them in subverting the British Indian Empire. Was not Russia sufficiently undeceived when, on the occasion of her threat, all the inhabitants of India, from the prince down to the peasant, vied with one another in placing the entire resources of their several States and their hard earned private fortunes, at the disposal of our Government? Did not many native gentlemen also apply, on the same occasion, to the Governor

General to give them permission to enlist themselves as Volunteers so that they might by action also, and not only by mere word of mouth, display their loyalty by fighting for their country and for their Sovereign? Did not the whole body of Native Princes and the entire mass of the population all over this country evince well and spontaneously similar loyalty to our Queen-Empress on the occasion of the departure of our late and most beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon? And if it were not quite superfluous, I should, once more, declare, and I am perfectly certain that all of you will join me in that declaration, that no Native of India will ever be guilty of want of gratitude and loyalty to our Queen-Empress for the innumerable and inestimable blessings conferred on us by British rule. Gentlemen, had it not been for English education and Western civilisation, persons inhabiting different parts of this vast country, speaking diverse languages and professing diverse religions, would not have this day met together in this Hall to interchange thoughts, give expression to their common grievances and aspirations, and discuss in a most constitutional manner the means for redressing those grievances and fulfilling those aspirations.

Under these circumstances, it is to be hoped that our rulers will change their present policy of suspicion and distrust for a generous and confiding one. Let them moderately encourage rather than rudely damp the martial spirit of our martial races, by improving the status of the Native army, treating it, not as a mere mercenary force but, as part of the national army, accepting the offers of the people to enrol themselves as Volunteers, systematically utilising the armies of the Native States by giving them better arms and better discipline and making them an integral and efficient part of the army of the Empire and by admitting Native

gentlemen as officers in the Indian army. A generous policy that will introduce these changes will vastly strengthen the military position of the British in this country, backed as it will be by the whole moral force of the people. It will be seen that we therefore do not require more troops. But if, in spite of these facts, more European soldiers be required for the purposes of war, should it actually break out on any future occasion, they could be called from England very easily, and at an exceedingly short notice, because of the existence, at present, of greater facilities of communication between the two countries. But I believe that there is no present necessity of increasing the military expenditure of this country by adding 30,000 men to its army at a cost of 2 millions to overburdened India.

With these remarks, I propose the Fifth Resolution:—

“That in the opinion of the Congress the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and regard being had to the revenue of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.”

Mr. Dinsha Edulji Wacha (Bombay) seconded the Resolution in the following speech:—

GENTLEMEN.— Our Madras friend, the mover of the Resolution, has just pointed out to you in general terms the alarming growth of the military expenditure during the last few years. And I would now endeavour to place before you the causes and nature of that growth in details. The particulars I am about to bring to your notice will, I am sure, convince you how burdensome, and even partially unjust, is the present expenditure of 17 millions sterling per annum, and how great is the necessity of reducing it to the figure of $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 millions which was with little fluctuation maintained till 1871-2. It is superfluous to say

that the net increase during the last twenty years has been 3 millions sterling or an annual average growth of £150,000. Contrast, gentlemen, for a moment the 17 millions expended in 1884 on an army of 189,000 men, British and Native, with 11½ millions in 1856 on an army of 254,000 men. Admitting all that has been urged as to the organic changes that have been introduced into the British army for better efficiency, the rise in prices of food and forage and clothing, and the dearness of recruits—admitting all these facts, none who has impartially studied the question and given some thought to the cost of the various armies maintained by the great military monarchies on the Continent of Europe can fail to acknowledge the extravagance of the army services as maintained in India. No subject demands greater attention than the cost of the army at this juncture when the Indian revenues are threatened with a further charge of 2 millions sterling per annum on account of the 30,000 more soldiers who are now being rapidly enlisted. I trace the root of the continuous growth in the military expenditure to the amalgamation scheme of 1859. It has been the main cause of financial embarrassment to the Government of India. Sir George Balfour regretted that he took a part in that scheme. Sir Charles Trevelyan observed that it was based on a principle which has been found to be extravagant and crushing in practice. It is in the nature of a one-sided partnership in which India was not allowed freedom of contract. What the exact nature of this partnership is may be best stated in the words of the late Mr. Fawcett:—"A few years after the abolition of the East India Company what is known as the Army amalgamation scheme was carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced Indian statesmen. India was thus, as it were, bound hand and foot, to our own costly system of army administration, without any regard apparently being had to the fact that various

schemes of military organisation, which may be perfectly suited to a country, so wealthy as England, may be altogether unsuited to a country so poor as India. . . . A partnership, has been established between England and India, and as one of these countries is extremely rich, and the other extremely poor, much of the same incongruity and many of the same inconveniences arise as if two individuals were to join in house-keeping, one of whom had £ 20,000 a year and the other only £1,000. An expenditure which may be quite appropriate to the one whose income is £20,000 would bring nothing but embarrassment to the one whose income is only £1,000. The money which is expended may be judiciously laid out, but if the man with the smaller income finds that he is gradually becoming embarrassed with debt because he has to live beyond his means, it is no compensation to him to be told that he is only called to contribute his proper share of the expenses. His position would be the more intolerable if like India, after having been compelled against his wish to join the partnership, he is forced to continue in whether he desires to do so or not." This, gentlemen, is the precise condition to which India has been reduced by the amalgamation scheme. No doubt, it has certain advantages but these are greatly overbalanced by the many disadvantages India has to put up with.

So far, I have dealt with what I may call *the* cause of the present costliness of the Indian army. I hope you will be good enough to give me a patient hearing for a few minutes while I briefly dilate on the broad *results* of that one sided contract to which I have referred. They are deduced from official facts and statements. Indeed, I shall try throughout to support my observations by placing before you overwhelming official testimony to convince you beyond the shadow of a doubt how excessive is this expenditure and

how far is it incurred without due regard to the interests of the country. In their report, the Simla Army Commissioners state (p. 185):—"We think that the portion of the army employed in this country should be organised and administered with due regard to the interests of the people of India, and not for the purpose of supplying defects in the system of home defence, and, above all, that it should not be made the means of obtaining, at the cost of India, advantages for the army at home which do not entirely affect the interests of the country." I do not think the justice of this principle can be impugned. But to give a fair idea of how the process of increasing the charges on the European forces in India has been carried on, it is needful to cite the testimony of the Government of India itself. It should be remembered that in the aggregate these charges have thrown an additional permanent burden of £800,000 per annum—charges in levying which the Indian Government has had no voice. In the 45th paragraph of their despatch of 21st November 1884, it is stated:—

"In 1864-65 increased rates of pay were granted to medical officers of the British service in India, amounting to £20,000 a year; and a revised scale of clothing and compensation to the British army was introduced costing £20,000 a year.

"In 1865-66 increased rates of pay were granted to veterinary surgeons, amounting to £3,500 a year.

"In 1866-67 gymnastic instruction was introduced for British troops at a cost of £15,000 a year.

"In 1867-68 an increase of 2d. a day was made to the pay of British soldiers, and an additional penny on re-engagement, the cost being £250,000 a year.

"In the same year skeleton companies of Royal Engineers were formed in India, at a cost of £2,500 a year.

“ In 1868-69 increased pay was given to paymasters, quarter-masters, and riding-masters of British regiments, amounting to £15,000 a year.

“ In 1870-71 the grant of good-conduct pay, at earlier periods, to British soldiers, increased our Army estimates by £35,000.

“ In 1871-72 instruction in army signalling and telegraphy was introduced at an annual cost of £4,000.

“ In 1871-74 garrison instruction was introduced, at a cost of £20,000 a year.

“ In 1871-74 the appointment of additional subalterns to regiments in India, to allow others to attend the course of garrison instruction, formed a new charge of £5,000 a year.

“ In 1873-74 improvements in the regimental schools of British regiments in India by the application of Home regulations, increased the estimates by £7,000 a year; the grant of band allowance to British regiments in India by £14,720; and the readjustment of ranks of the British Medical Service in India by £18,000.

“ In 1874-75 the raised rates of pay of British troops in India added to the estimates £64,000 a year.

“ In 1875-76 the grant of pay of rank to majors of Royal Artillery and engineers in India created a new annual charge of £27,000.

“ In 1876-77 the increased pay of non-commissioned officers and lance ranks amounted to £40,000 a year.

“ In the same year prospective charges for deferred pay were introduced, the maximum to be reached in 1890 being £165,000.

"In 1876-77 also the promotion of British medical officers after 12 years' service, and non-effective charges by changes in the rules for compulsory retirement, introduced a new item of £29,000.

"In 1879-80 the readjustment of veterinary surgeons' pay cost £1,900 a year.

"In 1880-81 a reorganisation of the army Medical Department non-effective charges involved a new annual charge of £13,320.

"In 1881 the Royal Pay Warrant of 25th June 1881 raised a fresh charge for the pay of non-commissioned officers and men of £30,000 a year,"

The Despatch goes on to say that "these additional charges amount to more than £800,000 a year. Some of them were necessary for improvements; others were imposed with little or no reference to Indian wants, and in most cases without the Indian Government having any voice in the matter." It will be seen from the above facts and figures how costly and how ruinously one-sided is the partnership, which the Imperial Government has obliged India to enter into, in the matter of military administration, without giving her the smallest voice in the conduct of that partnership.

I hope I have made it clear to you from the extract just quoted the fact that almost all the charges were fastened on this country in consequence of the exigencies of the organisation of the British army in England. Home demands for payments have been steady and persistent. In their Military Despatch (No. 168, dated Simla, 22nd May 1879) the Government of India observed:—"A large part of the Home expenditure is for pensions, furlough allowances, the overland troop transport service, and stores. The re-

mãinder is for payments to the Imperial Government on account of Imperial troops which have been repeatedly investigated, but with results we have not been able to accept as satisfactory.....Justice to India requires the reduction of these payments to a consolidated yearly payment of £850,000." Two years later, the Government of Lord Ripon remonstrated on the burden of these charges in a manner so telling that I would best make you understand their gravity by quoting the paragraph on the subject (44, Despatch No. 401 of 1881). "It has to be observed that whereas the British garrison in India has practically remained unaltered in respect of numbers and efficiency for many years past, its cost has been in course of constant increase from the various changes which have been made in the organisation of the British army, *changes made entirely, it may be said, from imperial considerations in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced.....*It has to be remembered that charges which do not cause any very serious addition to the English estimates, and which are carried on without the least reference to India involve very much larger charges on the Indian revenues by reason of the much more liberal allowance enjoyed by officers in this country. The conversion for example of the first Captains of the Royal Artillery into Majors gives the officer so promoted an increase of only 5 shillings a day in England: in this country the difference between the pay of a Major and a Captain of artillery is Rs. 342 a month." Gentlemen, look at the immense difference in this one item of military charges alone. Fancy, a poor country like India being screwed by a wealthy country like England to pay Rs. 292 more per month for the promotion of officers in *one grade only of one branch* of the army! But, the enormity of the heavy charges thrown upon this country in the matter (a) of home depôts, (b) of recruits, (c) of non-effec-

tive services, (d) of transports, and (e) of short service will be perceived at its full from the sequel. As to Home Depôts, the *Westminster Review* observed for as back as 1866 or 1867 :—" England bears the expense of maintaining an army for the use of India whereas the truth is that India is maintaining a vast army which, though paid by India, is available at any moment for the service of England. Of these troops paid from the revenues of India, no less than 10,000 on the average are stationed in the Home Depôts and form a part of the defences of England at all times. Now, India is not merely required to pay for the transport of troops both to and from India but is made to pay a consolidated charge of £10 per annum to the Horse Guards for every British soldier serving in the country upon the pretext that it is necessary to keep these depôts in England to maintain the force. This charge of late years has amounted to nearly £700,000 a year, and must be held to be a most unwarrantable exaction when it is remembered that these depôts form an important part of the garrison required for the defence of the United Kingdom.....At the very time the Colonels of the French army were threatening the nation with invasion (1859) on account of the Orsini plot, the Ministers and publicists of England were congratulating themselves upon the presence in England of some 20,000 to 22,000 soldiers in depot the cost of whom was being defrayed by the Indian tax-payer on the ground that the regiments to which the men belonged were serving in India. The pretext was true, but the exaction was surely disgraceful.....Thus was the defence of the richest country in the world shabbily devolved upon the very poorest." Gentlemen, this is the true history of the cost of home depôts. After the vigorous manner in which the reviewer has criticised the gross injustice of the burdensome charge, an injustice which, I regret to say, they have done but little

to repair even now, it is unnecessary for me to further comment upon it.

As to the extravagant cost of recruits, I may mention that a continued controversy has gone on during the last 25 years as to the mode of calculating on a fair and equitable basis the charge for their enlistment and maintenance prior to their embarkation for India. And though one method after another has been adopted and discarded, they have not yet come to any satisfactory arrangement so far as this country is concerned. Meanwhile, it would not be un instructive to quote here the reports of General Jamieson and Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Seccombe on the extraordinary dearness of a recruit, as supplied by England to India. "We feel it to be our duty again to refer to the fact that the East India Company were able to send efficient artillery and infantry recruits to India at a cost of £26-7-5 per man, instead of £136-13-11 for cavalry and £63-8-5 for infantry recruits as now proposed. We are fully aware that the changes made in the terms of enlistment, pay, clothing, would have increased the charge, as incurred by the East India Company, but the proposed establishments for, and the period of training which have formed the basis of this Third Report of the Committee, appear to us to be *enormously in excess* of what can possibly be required for the purpose of properly recruiting the British Army in India." According to Colonel Sykes the maximum in one particular year was as much as £376! So strongly impressed were General Jamieson and Mr. Seccombe with the "enormously" excessive charge of recruits per man, that they raised the serious question why India should bear the whole burden of maintaining depôts which virtually form a part of England's home defences, and why should that burden

be increased by the long periods of training enforced on recruits for service in this country? For further particulars I would refer members to the evidence taken by the Parliamentary Select Committee which sat from 1871 to 1874 to inquire into the questions relating to the finances of India. Suffice to say that the experts who were examined and cross examined on the subject failed to give any satisfactory explanation.

Coming now to the burden of the non-effective services, I would ask you to refer to the blue-book on the subject published by order of the House of Commons, on 12th August 1884. It gives a succinct account of how the charges have grown year after year and how vigorously the Government of India has been fighting for years past to bring these charges within a reasonable limit. I would not, therefore, tax your patience further on this head beyond informing you in a few words how alarming is the growth. "Prior to 1822 India paid nothing for non-effective charges; that from 1822 to 1861 the principle which governed the division of non-effective charges between England and India was one of a fixed payment by India to England of £ 60,000 a year; that from 1861 to 1870 this latter principle was abandoned in favour of a capitation payment; and finally, that in 1870 the principle of capitation was abandoned in favour of a system under which the capitalised value of the pensions was paid by the Indian to the English Treasury. This latter is the system which is still in force. Gentlemen, here are the figures of the enhanced charges between 1871 and 1884. In the former year they amounted to £1,775,133, in the latter to £4,158,780. The increase has amounted to £ 2,383,647 in 14 years or 134 per cent. In other words, the charges on account of non-effective services have steadily increased at an annual average of

£ 170,260! The iniquity of the charges however does not rest here. While disputes as to the fairness of the demand by the War Office for charges from year to year have gone on, during which the Government of India continued to pay large sums in part, a claim for arrears was made for a million sterling and more which, as you all know, has had to be paid only last year by the Indian Treasury. Nay, you will have some idea of the gross injustice of their demand when I tell you that £100,000 were claimed for interest alone—interest on arrears which remained unadjusted on account of the delay at the War Office alone! This is the treatment which India has to suffer from the military authorities at home. Moreover, the injustice of the charge is greatly enhanced when it is considered that *the Crown Colonies are never charged a sic-pence for non-effective services*. I will just read what the Government of India has said on the point. “We believe also that we are correct in saying that Crown Colonies pay nothing towards the non-effective charges.” It is one of the heaviest items of Army charges, and entails besides a large loss by exchange.

Coming to the overland transport service, it may be mentioned that the East India Company incurred on an average £70,000 per annum, net. Of course, the troops came via the Cape in ships. But though the opening of the Suez Canal has revolutionised the whole transit trade between Europe and Asia, though freights have in consequence been lower than they were prior to 1870, and though immense facilities of communication now exist, the charges are indeed very extravagant. In 1864-65 they came to £182,244; in 1883 to £365,000 or fully double! Besides, it must be remembered that India has been saddled with the cost of five transport vessels amounting to £1,200,000. Some years ago public feeling on the subject was very vigorously

expressed in the columns of the *Englishman*. "There is one item of military expenditure touched upon in General Norman's excellent financial analysis of the Indian Army Bill for the past year which deserves instant attention and correction. - As a bit of senseless extravagance, it is solely chargeable against the home authorities who make India pay for the patronage and political capital it affords to the Admiralty. We allude to the transport charge of £400,000 for the carriage of, let us say at hazard, some 4,000 soldiersbeing at the rate of £100 per man.....Nor is the exorbitant nature of the charge its only objection. The ordinary carrying and other trade is injured by it. It is in the nature of competition without containing one of the elements of competition." Another veteran journalist of great experience observed:—"the truth seems to be that the Home Government is utterly reckless what it spends on Indian account. That the building of this fleet was an act of extravagant folly when the circumstances of the country are remembered who can doubt? India is not in circumstances to afford *this wanton outlay of public money*." Gentlemen, it is again needful to remember that England *never charges a sixpence for the transport of her troops to her foreign possessions* in every part of the civilised world. In a minute on this subject, Sir Charles Wingate recorded as far back as 1859 as follows:—"The cost of transporting British troops to India, is also charged upon the British shipowners, and as it is made for the maintenance of British authority in India it would clearly be reasonable and fair that the charge, as in the case of troops sent to any of our foreign dependencies, should be borne by the British Exchequer." It may be fairly admitted that public criticism has had the effect of getting the expenditure somewhat reduced of late under this head. Still it is not all that is desirable. The Simla Army Commission recommend in their report,

(para 210) "that the system whereby all reliefs and drafts of British troops are sent by British troopships to Bombay, should be revised.....We advise that steps be taken to ascertain at what rates the great English Steam Companies would convey troops regularly to the several ports of Calcutta, Madras, Kurrachee and Rangoon. We believe, that, if a contract were made for a considerable number of troops, and for a term of years, private companies would convey troops regularly and comfortably to and fro from the several ports nearest their stations, at considerably below the cost of transport by the troopships."

I now come to the last of those charges fastened on India in consequence of the changes in the organisation of the British Army nearly, the short service system. It would be presumptuous for me as a layman to pronounce on the merit or demerit of the system. I would, therefore, content myself by again quoting the testimony of experts. The Simla Army Commission (paragraph 209) state:—"It has been already mentioned that the short service system recently introduced into the British Army has increased the cost, and has materially reduced the efficiency of the British troops in India. *We cannot resist the feeling that, in the introduction of this system, the interest of the Indian taxpayer was entirely left out of consideration.*"

Gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed too much on your time by referring to the several details of the army charges which have increased the total cost to 17 millions sterling. But I trust you will bear with me a few minutes longer before I sit down. I ask you, to remember that the Home Military Charges are divided into two parts—the one includes the expenditure under the control of the Indian Government, and the other the expenditure not under such control and regulated by the

War Office. While the former has been steadily maintained at an average of £2,500,000 since 1874-5, the latter, that is the expenditure controlled by the War Office, has risen since that year from £800,000 to about £1,400,000 and there is no saying how rapidly it may swell to £2,000,000.

View, then, this expenditure of 17 millions sterling as you may from every point, you cannot help admitting its appalling enormity. It means 39½ per cent of the net revenue of 43 millions. In other words the Army service charges absorb the whole of the net land revenue save a million. While the normal growth of the latter is estimated at about £57,000 per annum, the growth of the former is more, £150,000—that is to say, one year's growth of military expenditure absorbs the growth of the net land revenue for nearly 2½ years. Consider the weight of this burden on so poor a country as ours—a country which has no true surplus of revenue to fall back upon and has no ordinary means to provide for unforeseen contingencies like war or famine. Consider the burden from another point also. Out of the total expenditure of 17 millions, 4 millions on an average are annually disbursed in England. The amount has to be paid in gold. So that, we have to pay nearly one crore of Rupees more to meet the loss by exchange, under this one head only. I will not detain you with the economic aspect of this fact. But I may mention that every million sterling that is expended in England on account of India involves a loss by exchange of about 25 lakhs of Rupees at the present rate. The larger the amount annually of the bills drawn by the Secretary of State on the Indian treasury for Home Charges, especially military, the larger the exports of the products of this country. In other words, India has to grow more and part with more products in exchange for home remittances. The significance of

this economic fact I leave it to you to realise. But while this military expenditure is growing apace, while all India to a man has been loud in denouncing its crushing burden, the authorities have determined to add 10,000 more British and 20,000 more Native troops at an estimated cost of 2 millions sterling per annum, and that, too, without any cogent reasons. How is this additional permanent expenditure to be provided for? For months past the air has been rife with rumours of the imposition of an Income Tax. Indeed statements have lately been freely made on authentic sources that we may very soon expect a bill being introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council for the purpose. As, however, another member of this Congress will speak to the general question of revenue and taxation I will refrain from dwelling on this subject.

But I hope, gentlemen, I have made it quite clear to you how great is the strain on Indian finance on account of the maintenance of a small army of 1,89,000 men—an army which, I unhesitatingly say, costs twice as much and a little over as any army in any part of the civilised world. In fact there is no parallel to its extravagant cost. The growing charges on the army services are a source of perpetual embarrassment to the Government of India. Viceroy after Viceroy and Finance Minister after Finance Minister have remonstrated with successive Secretaries of State for India on the urgent necessity of curtailing the expenditure but they seem to have remonstrated to little purpose hitherto. In fact, the evidence taken before the Select Committee on Indian Finance in 1872-3, conclusively shows that the Secretary of State himself is almost powerless to prevent the War Office perpetually making inroads under one pretext or another on the revenues of India.

That part of the expenditure which is not under the control of the India Office, needs to be brought under control by a Parliamentary statute, apart from an honest retrenchment all round in the various branches of the army administration. I cannot help believing that Mr. Laing was perfectly correct when he said that "India is the milchcow of England" and that Indian revenues are encroached upon "to suit the exigencies of English estimates."

The Select Committee to which I have referred, stated in their Report that they "could not lay down too strongly, the position that the English estimates ought not to be relieved at the expense of the Indian revenues, but that the Secretary of State for India in Council has the constitutional right of refusing to pay for objects in which he considers that India has no interest." In this respect it has been admitted that India was better situated during the administration of the late East India Company, though, it has been observed, that even then the authorities at the Horse Guards did not fail in spite of the most formidable opposition offered by the Court of Directors, to saddle 10 millions sterling of the cost of the first Afghan War on the revenues of this country. Mr. Fawcett observed:—"It should, however, never be forgotten that when the East India Company was abolished, the English people became directly responsible for the Government of India. It cannot, I think, be denied that this responsibility has been so imperfectly discharged that in many respects the new system of Government compares unfavourably with the old. . . . There was at that time an independent control of expenditure which now seems to be almost entirely wanting. It was no doubt, intended, when the Government of India by the Act of 1858 was transferred from the Company to the Crown, that the Council of the Secretary of State should exercise, the same

control over Indian expenditure, as had formerly been exercised by the Directors of the Company and by the Court of proprietors. But gradually the influence and control of the Council have been so completely whittled away that it is now openly declared by the Secretary of State that he can spend the revenues of India, beyond her frontiers, without obtaining the consent, or even bringing the subject under the notice of his Council. . . . Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the present state of things. When the Secretary of state desires to avoid responsibility he can shelter himself behind his Council, when he desires to act untrammelled by their control and unhampered by their advice, he can ignore them as completely as if they did not exist." The root of the evil lies here and active steps must sooner or later be taken, the sooner the better, to bring an end to it, highly injurious as it is to the material interests of the country and its people. It is to be earnestly hoped, therefore, that the Resolution which this Congress will now be asked to adopt will be turned to practical account by the various political organisations. For unless a vigorous remonstrance is sent up to the authorities against the burdensome character of the total charge, and the injustice of a portion of the charges, I am humbly of conviction that this growth of the military expenditure alarming, and in certain matters uncontrolled as it has been in the past, will grow more burdensome and uncontrolled and seriously embarrass the finances of the country in future. This contingency our united efforts must at all hazards legitimately attempt to avert—relying on that stern sense of justice which pre-eminently distinguishes the British among the great nations of the civilised world.

The Resolution was supported by Mr. Dayaram Jethmal (Kurrachee) who began by suggesting an earnest and

careful consideration of this question. The pith of the matter he said was :—Had the Government made out the necessity for the proposed increase? If it was justifiable there was of course nothing to be said against it. So far as the people of India were aware the reasons for it were totally wanting. This was certainly a fit case for enquiry. Had the people given cause for it? No. Surely no mutinous spirit had been exhibited by the Natives of India. Had the inhabitants in the interior assumed a warlike attitude towards the ruling power? Loyalty was the ruling spirit that moved the nation from one end of the country to the other. The only excuse which the speaker had heard of for the proposed increase was the bugbear of a Russian invasion. Well, with regard to this plausible excuse, whatever the fears might be, there were facts important and patent which should be borne in mind. It had been acknowledged by competent authorities that the existence of a neutral zone on the North West of India was a factor in the problem which should always be considered by the British Government. With friendly Afghanistan, between Indian and Russian territory, there was no necessity of a very large Indian Army. And was not Afghanistan friendly? What chance had a warlike foreign power like Russia of doing harm to India in the immediate present or in the near future? The expenditure was quite unjustifiable. Even if the frontier required to be strengthened with larger troops there was no need of increasing the Indian Army. It could not be said that sufficient troops were not available in the interior of the country for frontier purposes. Regiment after regiment remained unemployed from year's end to year's end and kept in cities and provinces where they were not required. He instanced the regiments in Sind, in the cities of Karachee and Hydrabad, the men of which found their time hang heavy on their hands. They were absolutely idle. If there was any agreeable

occupation for them, they, or rather some of the members of these regiments, found it in annoying the harmless civil population and in insulting the modesty of respectable Native women innocently walking in the streets. The meeting also knew well the enormous number of cases of running amuck on the part of Native sepoy which had occurred and which were occurring almost everywhere, in India—wherever, in fact, Native regiments were stationed. These occurrences, he thought, were inevitable and natural, as the causes were well known, as the men had nothing to do. Hardly any evidence was required to prove what the Native regiments in India were doing. If there was anything more than another for which they were required, it was to guard the frontier. They were not required to guard the population. There was enough police in the districts and cities of India for the protection of the people and for preserving peace and order. The whole of the present Native army was not required for ordinary garrison duty. Then it might be said that sudden emergencies might arise and to be prepared was half the battle. But it was absurd to think that large bodies of troops should be scattered thickly in and about the country. For emergencies in towns we have large bodies of volunteers. The volunteers cost the State something. There was no reason why their services should not be utilized in cases of emergency. The volunteers, at least the European and Eurasian volunteers, were dispersed in all important centres. Why should not volunteering become still more general? It was a matter of extreme regret that the Native volunteer movement had not received encouragement. The representations of the people had not been granted. The feelings of loyalty did not always meet with the response which they deserved. It was devoutly to be wished that Natives should be admitted as volunteers. There was no doubt that

the movement would spread. There would then be no necessity for increasing the army even if increased fighting strength was required. Every one understood that the foundation of the British Empire rested on the loyalty of the people. The people were remarkably peaceful. The proposal to increase the army, instead of utilizing the available troops in British India and the troops of the Native Princes and Chiefs and admitting Natives as volunteers, was calculated to create an impression in the minds of the inhabitants of India that our rulers had no confidence in us. This policy of distrust must cease. What did the recent Central Asian crisis prove? Did it not prove completely the loyalty of the educated Natives? That they rallied round their rulers was a truth now acknowledged far and wide. The example of the educated Natives spread and spread till the whole country resounded with echoes of loyalty and enthusiasm. The Government would be pursuing the safest policy in trusting to the education of the people. Education must spread. If the reasons for the increase were of any value such reasons could be urged in every country and in every age. Where would the British Government stop? Two millions would in course of time be increased to four millions if the present policy and present apprehensions continued. After all the increased cost would have to be met from the pockets of the people. It would be raised by grinding taxation. This increased burden was a serious affair. The good-will of the people was the one thing which was all important. Going back to history, the speaker referred to the Mogul Emperors and reminded the hearers that the best allies, the best friends, the best supporters of the Mogul rulers were the Hindus, the Rajputs. He strongly recommended the adoption of the proposed Resolution.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik (Bombay) proposed the Sixth Resolution as under:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Congress, the proposition to which I solicit your attention is: “That, in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the re-imposition of the Customs Duties; and, secondly, by the extension of the License-tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, which are at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained.” So far, gentlemen, the topics which have engaged your attention have had for their object the reform of the administrative and consultative departments of the State; but the subject of the Resolution you have just passed, and that to which I have now the honour of addressing you, are of an eminently practical character. They directly touch your pockets. Three months hence, you will have before you the Financial Statement of the Government of India. That Statement will lay bare the matured proposals of Government arising out of the balance sheet of the year. Already the air is thick with rumours in regard to fresh taxation, as to the probable imposition of an Income Tax in place of the existing License-tax. The time is opportune, therefore, for this Congress to formulate its own views as to the best means of raising a maximum of revenue with a minimum of annoyance. For this purpose it is needful to recall what Sir Auckland Colvin said at the conclusion of the last Financial Statement (for 1885-86, para. 139):—‘If during the ensuing year (1886-87), we are not called upon to submit to any material increase of expenditure, the estimates, based as they are on a very low rate of exchange and a very moderate calculation as to the revenue of our trade, may, I think, be trusted to

bear the test of trial. Should trade revive or exchange become more favourable, we shall have resources ample enough to meet our estimated expenditure. On the other hand, it is impossible to say whether additional expenditure may not in the course of the year have to be provided for, exceeding the limits of any addition which our revenues may reasonably hope to derive from the strengthening of our railway receipts or from the improvement in our exchange.' The worst forebodings herein pointed out have been realised. Our expenditure on account of the military operations during the year and on account of the proposal made in Lord Randolph Churchill's statement to add a permanent burden of 2 millions a year for the cost of 30,000 troops to the Indian army, has exceeded 'the limits of any addition which our revenues may reasonably hope to derive from the railway receipts or from the improvement in our exchange.' No doubt there has been an increase in railway receipts but it has been more than counter-balanced by other circumstances. There has been an increase of expenditure over and above the estimated amount. Exchange has suffered a serious fall since the date of the last budget. It has touched a limit below 1s. 6d. and may, for aught we know, go down still further. Mr. Westland has calculated that for every fall of a farthing in exchange, the Government of India suffers a loss amounting to somewhere about a quarter of a million sterling. On this basis we must be prepared for a loss of at least a million sterling in exchange. To this add the two millions of permanent charge for additions to the army of India. Against this it is possible you may have a set-off in the shape of a surplus over estimated revenue. In bad times Indian financiers are apt to estimate revenues under several heads at a much lower level than they do ordinarily. This plan no doubt strengthens their contention for 'elasticity'

of revenue, and enables them to claim credit for prudent management of finances. Trade, again, has been dull. Perhaps this has been a year of the most depressed trade in India during a very long period. As a set-off against these adverse influences, the Government of India issued, some-months back, a Circular letter directing 'all optional expenditure, whether from Provincial or Imperial Revenues, to be suspended,' 'all proposals for increases of salaries, or of establishments or for additional expenditure of any kind should be narrowly scrutinized'. Particular attention was directed to the Public Works Department as offering perhaps the readiest scope for the use of shears. It seems to me that considerable relief would be given to the finances, if retrenchments were carried out in a thorough and rigorous manner, without impairing the efficiency of the public service. But what has been the fact? A retrenchment Circular from the Government of India is no new thing. In 1879 a similar Resolution from the Government of India was issued. But the relief afforded by it was hardly appreciable. Generally the plan adopted by Heads of Departments for the purpose of showing what reduction is or can be made by them is to dispense with the services of a clerk here and a clerk there, to dismiss a *panivala* or water-bearer who supplies water to the thirsty members of a public establishment, or a *Chapprasi* on perhaps Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 a month. Until retrenchment, to be effectual, goes up higher, until it touches the pockets of those who receive very high salaries, any cheeseparating policy of the kind at present pursued can surely impart no sensible relief. Retrenchment must begin at the top, with the salary of the Viceroy, with the salaries of the members of the Supreme Government, and of the highly paid Secretaries to the Government of India. Shears should next be applied to the salaries of Presidency Governors and to those of the Mem-

bers of their Councils, including the salaries of the Commanders-in-Chief of the different Presidencies. Then there is the Civil Service—the most highly paid service in the world. Time was when this service needed to be remunerated on the present extravagant scale. Thirty years ago the Covenanted Civil Servant was looked upon as living as an exile in a foreign land. But circumstances have immensely changed. The Civil Servant of the present day can run back to his native land, meet his relations and friends, and rejoin his post in India within a period of eight or ten weeks. Again, some of the over-grown departments called into being to meet special emergencies may very well stand a clipping. Of this we have a notable instance in the revenue Commissionership for the Central Division of this Presidency. The office was created to meet a famine emergency. That emergency has long passed away but the Commissionership still remains and is a drag on the revenues of this Presidency to the extent of about half a lakh of rupees a year. It is not, however, the salaries which are alone to be considered. Increase of salaries carries with them increase of pensions. It is not intended by these remarks to urge that there should be a sudden cutting down of all salaries. The retrenchment policy of Government, to be of any permanent benefit, should aim at reductions for the future. The reduced scale must be made applicable to new incumbents. This will remove grounds of ill-treatment or injustice in the case of existing holders of appointments. The new comers will know what they are to expect. And thus the working of the retrenchment policy will be sensibly felt not only in the amount of salaries, but in the amount of pensions which are periodically payable. No doubt much courage and firmness are needed to carry out a policy of rigorous retrenchment: much odium and unpopularity have to be incurred. But if this is faced in the exigencies

of Indian finance, and if the war policy of the Government of India in the sacred name of the security of the country gives way, there can be no doubt of a substantial relief being imparted to the Indian Exchequer.

Turning now to the proposals for obtaining increased revenue allow me in the first place, to point out that in the re-imposition of the Customs Duties the Government of India possess a source of revenue the burden of which will be *least* felt by the people. Its expediency will be recognised at a time of great financial pressure. We have instances in the past financial history of this country which show that as heavy a duty as 10 per cent. at one time, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at another, was imposed on imports into this country by Mr. James Wilson in the interests of revenue. It has been urged that the abolition of import duties was necessary in the interests of free trade; but it must be remembered that import duties here were never laid with a view to protection; that its levy has had no protective effect, and that even in the best free-trade country in the world, we have it on the highest financial authority, on the authority of Mr. Gladstone, that the state of the revenue should be the guiding consideration in all such impositions. The abolition of customs duties means that while India is to be made a free port for the benefit of the English and of the European manufacturer, Indian tea and Indian silver ware must continue to be handicapped by customs duties in the English and European markets. Is this fair? Is this just? Is it because India has no voice powerful enough to influence the policy which governs the fiscal relations of India and England that she should be thus unfairly treated? It shows that the British manufacturer, or the British trader is to enjoy all the benefit arising from the protection of the country, from the construction of strategic railways and from frontier fortifications, while the Indian taxpayer is to bear the burden of them. The customs' revenue

can be collected at the least expense and with the least annoyance to the people. I trust, therefore, that in considering the expediency of the re-imposition of import duties, the Government of India will give a fresh proof of their solicitude for the welfare of the people. I now come to the second expedient, namely, the re-adjustment of the License-tax, this re-adjustment to consist chiefly in its extension to classes who have hitherto escaped from its burden, and in the maintenance of a sufficiently high taxable minimum. Gentlemen, the unfair and unsatisfactory manner in which the License-tax has worked has, as a rule, been admitted by successive Finance Ministers. It was admitted by Sir John Strachey and it was admitted by Sir Evelyn Baring. And I do not think that Sir Auckland Colvin has been an exception to the rule. But Sir John Strachey did not like to be unpopular with the official and professional classes who are able to make their voices heard. It was the voiceless millions therefore that he preferred to operate upon. Sir Evelyn Baring fared no better in this respect. The License-tax has worked unfairly in this way. Officials from the Viceroy with his $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or £25,000 a year and Governors with their £12,000 a year, Lieut-Governors with their £8,000 a year, and successful lawyers like barristers, and attorneys or solicitors, and medical men, who, after a successful practice of some years in this country, retire with fortunes to their native land, are left untaxed while a poor, wretched trader, with his 4s. a week, has to bear the brunt of it. The Act has worked unfairly in three ways. In the first place, it has left untouched, as I said just now, the richer and more influential classes. Secondly, the incidence of the tax has varied in different places. In Bengal, and the N. W. Provinces, the limit of taxable minimum has been Rs. 700 a year. In Madras it is Rs. 500. In Bombay it is Rs. 200. And thirdly, the limit of taxable

minimum put is very low. Having regard to the condition of the masses from whom the tax is levied, it would be a relief to most of those whose income is below Rs. 1,000 a year to be exempted from its operation. But with the extension of the taxable limit and the extension of the tax to those classes who can pay it more easily, not only will much of the inequality in its incidence and much of the unfairness in its levy be removed, but those classes will be brought under its operation who can pay it without reminding one of 'much cry and little wool.' Besides these, there is of course the Income Tax, but its general unsuitableness to this country, coupled with the inquisitorial character of the proceedings in which the practical working of the Act results, has made it to be regarded with disfavour though it is just possible to take away the sting from it. With these remarks I trust the Resolution I hold in my hand will commend itself to your approval.

Mr. S. A. Swaminath Iyer (Tanjore), seconded the proposition, He said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

In rising to second the proposition moved by my friend opposite, I may point out that the subject of this Resolution is one that immediately concerns the well-being of the teeming millions of this vast continent. The very mention of the words "fresh taxation" is enough to strike horror into the hearts of the people. It must be clear to all who have the interest of the dumb millions of the poor of the country, that additional taxation means their complete ruin. It has been admitted by successive Viceroy and Finance Ministers that all sources of taxation have been fully exhausted and that India, poor as it is acknowledged to be, can ill afford to bear any fresh burdens. The present subject is one which is immediately connected with the

Resolution we have just now passed, viz., increase of military expenditure. In discussing that subject our attention was chiefly directed to the proposed additional expenditure. But in dealing with the question now on hand, we have to go further and consider whether the existing military establishments are required for the preservation of the British empire in India. Gentlemen, I may without much fear of contradiction safely answer this question in the negative. At present the military strength of the country consists of (in round numbers) 64,000 European soldiers and 126,000 Native soldiers maintained at a cost of 17 millions sterling. I see, Gentlemen, you are surprised to find that the military expenditure of the country almost covers the whole of the Land Tax raised in this purely agricultural country. But let us pause and enquire how this extravagant expenditure has come to exist. It is the outcome of the policy of *distrust* of Natives which of late years characterises the administration of this country. Gentlemen, I must appeal to your feelings of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown and ask you if we, in any way, deserve this treatment at our rulers' hands. Who was it that conquered India for the British? Who was it that fought the battles of Plassey, Assaye, and Sobraon? Is it possible to forget that it was the Native soldiery and not a handful of Europeans that won those brilliant victories by which the British Empire in India was formed and consolidated. Surely, nothing has since happened to change this policy of *trust* into one of *distrust*. I ask you, Gentlemen, if, at the present moment, the one thousand and one races that inhabit this vast continent of India do not all join together in praying for the stability and continuance of the benign rule of Her Gracious Majesty, our Queen-Empress. When, a few months back, Russia threatened to invade India, what was the conduct of the Natives? The Native States throughout

this vast Empire and Native noblemen stood firmly by the British Supremacy and offered to place all their available forces and resources at the disposal of the Government of India. Did not the Indians of all creeds and colours join together and offer to form Volunteer Corps? It is superfluous to multiply instances of Native fidelity and attachment to British rule. If, therefore, our rulers will only change their policy of *distrust* into one of *confidence*, if they will utilize the martial spirit of the country, there can be no doubt that a very considerable reduction in expenditure can be effected. Even if the bugbear of a Russian invasion should become a reality, the Imperial army formed on the lines above indicated, assisted by the armies of Native States will be able effectually not only to repel the invaders but also to maintain peace and order in the country. Consistently, therefore, with the efficiency of our army, I would urge very strongly upon the attention of this Congress the necessity of curtailing our present military expenditure by more largely utilising the martial spirit of the country.

The next quarter where the shears may be applied with advantage is the favoured heaven-born Civil Service. When any financial pressure is felt, the Government of India sends circulars to all heads of Departments to make retrenchments to meet the financial crisis. What do the Departmental heads do? They forthwith proceed to dismiss a Musalji, a peon and one or two underpaid clerks and show a saving of a few thousands of Rupees. This is not what will satisfy the exigencies of the State. The high salaries paid to Civil Servants require closer attention. These high salaries were fixed at a time, when a voyage to India was a matter of six months and more, to induce good men to accept service in India. But times are altered. Steamers and telegraphs

have placed England almost next door to India. A voyage to India now occupies of less than 3 weeks. Now, therefore, in the changed circumstances of the case, it cannot for a moment be seriously contended that those inducements in the shape of princely salaries are any longer required. There is a general complaint that the quality of the material we now get for the price paid has deteriorated very considerably. These officials are now too expensive, seeing that all they do could be accomplished by the Indians themselves. They have now become a luxury too costly for the means of the governed. Judged by our means, there can be no difference of opinion as to the necessity there is of reducing the salaries of the highly-paid public servants. The number of Civil Servants must be reduced. The Natives of the country should be more largely employed in the different branches of the public service on less pay than is given to Europeans. It is then and then alone that the cry of financial embarrassment will gradually cease to be heard. If additional expenditure be after all found absolutely necessary, if by judicious retrenchment and strict economy, it should be found impossible to provide ways and means for meeting the additional expenditure then the only course left open is to have recourse to taxation. We have now to consider which of the three courses now open to us is to be adopted :—(1) increase of Salt Duty, (2) reimposition of the Customs Duties, (3) and extension of the License Tax. In dealing with this part of the question, I may begin by stating that direct taxation is at present impossible, the highest limits having been already reached.

As regards the increase of *Salt Duty*. It would be unjust and unrighteous if the tax on salt should be increased. It is a necessary article both for human as well as animal well-being. It was but recently that the tax on this article of

consumption was reduced and equalized. Since then there has been a steady increase in the income from salt and it would be bad policy and a retrograde movement to raise the tax, especially at a time when the poor millions of India are anxiously looking forward for a further reduction of the tax. It must be conceded on all hands that, in the interests of the poor of India, the price of salt cannot be too much cheapened. As any increase, therefore, of this tax will fall heavily upon the masses of the people of the land, I would strongly urge upon the attention of this Congress the necessity of its entering its strong protest against any attempt on the part of Government to raise the tax on salt.

Next comes '*The Import Duties.*' The Customs Duties, you will remember, were partially abolished by Lord Lytton's Government in 1878, and the rest, those on finer cottons, by its successors—entailing upon India the enormous loss in the aggregate of a little over a million pounds. This large sum was taken from the half-starved people of India and given away to the millionaires of Great Britain to secure to the party in power the votes of Lancashire. The duties on the coarser cottons were abolished, as the mover of the proposition stated, not at a time when the finances of the country were in a flourishing condition, but at a crisis when the country could ill-afford to lose such a revenue. It must be borne in mind that of all modes of taxation indirect taxation is the least offensive and the least oppressive. The Import Duties on Cotton goods have scarcely been ever felt and much less have been complained of. It was an act of gross injustice to poor India that, under the plea of extending Free Trade, English manufactures should be exempted from Customs Duties, when imported into India, while Indian products imported into England are still held liable to the same duties. Government would have acted fairly by

India if it had prepared India to compete successfully in the market with the machine-made articles of England, before it proceeded to do away with the above duties raised for revenue purposes only. The re-imposition of the cotton duties, therefore, would not only meet in a great measure the additional expenditure thrown on the Government of India but repair the fiscal injustice inflicted on this country. Furthermore, it would not be oppressive to the people and could be collected unseen and unfelt. If the amount thus raised be insufficient to meet the cost thrown upon the Government, then, I would suggest the extreme desirability of remodelling the License Tax, so as to bring the official and professional classes within the scope of its operation. It is the official and professional classes that benefit by the peace and security of the British rule in India and it is they that contribute the least to the revenues of the country. If the License Tax were so extended as to reach the official and professional classes and if a judicious gradation of the tax were adopted much of the odium now attaching to this tax would be removed.

Gentlemen, I have already trespassed upon your patience and exceeded the time allotted to me. I shall now leave the rest in the hands of Mr. Venkata Subbarayudu Garu, the supporter of this proposition, who I believe has devoted much time and attention to the study of this question.

With these few observations I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution moved by my friend Mr. J. Ū. Yajnik.

Rao Saheb Singarajee Venkata Subbarayudu Pantulu Garu (Masulipatam) supported the Resolution in the following speech :—

The subject is one of paramount importance. If there is one subject which affects us most it is taxation. We admit

that a government cannot be carried on without taxing its subjects. This is but a truism. It is equally true that heavy taxation impoverishes the people and defeats its object. Taxation, therefore, cannot proceed beyond a certain point. That we have reached this point has been admitted on all hands. The recent expression of a strong opinion on this matter by Lord Randolph Churchill in his budget speech obviates all necessity for giving reasons for this view. According to Dr. Hunter, a great authority on Indian statistics, forty millions of our countrymen go through life upon insufficient food. This number is gradually increasing. Unquestionably India is one of the poorest countries on the face of the earth. We are subject to periodical famines, and each famine carries away three or four million souls; while it reduces to a state of utter destitution fifty or sixty millions. The average income per head has been ascertained to be Rs. 27 per annum. This will not give one wholesome meal a day. Eighty per cent. of the population live by holding or tilling land. That land has been most heavily taxed has been proved to demonstration by the miserable condition of the agricultural classes who form the backbone of our country. Additional taxation in this direction is out of the question. But even granting that this is an overdrawn picture of the country, and that the country is fairly prosperous and wealthy, it will occur to one when additional taxation is proposed what is the necessity for it? The answer to this question is furnished by the present Secretary of State for India and other Russophobists. It is this—Russia wants to invade India which must be defended. The best way to defend India is to fortify the North-West frontier by building a chain of forts from Karachi to Peshawar and by increasing the standing army. Is it likely that Russia will invade India? Is the proposed method of defence absolutely indispensable for safeguarding India against Russian aggression? Russia is

far away from us. Strong natural barriers and independent kingdoms lie between us. Russia's finances are not in a solvent condition. These circumstances alone will suffice to dispel from the minds of all reasonable men all delusions of Russian advance against India.

As to the second question, the proposed method of defending India is utterly uncalled for and useless. It has its advantages. I do not deny them. It will provide employment for large numbers of Europeans and Indians. It will create a large demand for materials of various descriptions in English and Indian markets. Apart from these, I see no advantages derivable from it. This step convinces Russia that the British Government is very nervous about its position in India and that that Government has begun to feel that it is not sufficiently strong to resist her at least with the existing means of defence. We have about 1,000 Native States small and large. They maintain an armed force of 381,000 men. The British Indian army is by no means small. We have 60,000 British soldiers in our service, and nearly double that number of sepoys. We have, therefore, a total force of 180,000. Discipline and train the Native armies, give them arms of precision. You can withdraw from the Native States 250,000 out of their 381,000 men and utilise them. You will have then a united force of about 500,000 men. The internal peace of the country can very well be preserved by the Police and Volunteer Corps. Oppose this united army to Russia not in Afghanistan but on our North-West frontier. You will be able to annihilate the Russians. If our paternal and benevolent Government will adopt the policy of 'trust and fear not,' not a pie need be spent on defensive military preparations. Gentlemen, we are a grateful nation. We feel grateful to the British Government, for the immense benefits it has conferred upon us. We know that that Government

is the only one in the world that could do us good. We know that the British nation is the richest nation in the world. We know that it is to our advantage to continue to be ruled by a nation, which possesses at once the best form of constitutional Government and the greatest wealth on the face of the globe, and that Government has made us what we are and has given us all the best institutions we have at present. Therefore, there is no motive to be disloyal. Disloyalty is foreign to our nature. The history of the country proves it beyond all doubt. We consider a king as a god on earth. Have we ever as a nation tried to oust the established Government in this country? Have we not crushed those deluded people, who under an erroneous conception supposed that their religion was intentionally attacked by the introduction of greased cartridges? Has it not been admitted by impartial and enlightened Englishmen that their Government in this country is one by sufferance? If this has been so for nearly a century, what is there then to make us disloyal now? Every English knowing Indian is a patriotic soldier in the British cause. There are some Anglo-Indians who say that English education has awakened in us wishes and aspirations which are inconsistent with existing Government. There cannot be a more malicious and unfounded calumny than this. It is the interest of some of them to say so while others are led away by ignorance. The generous English nation knows that we are peaceful, loyal and law abiding. Gentlemen, our position is this: we are the children of our beloved mother Empress. We have been passing through a long minority. Some of us at least have arrived at majority. We solicit that those may in administrative matters be consulted by the servants of our mother. Our affectionate mother has most graciously promised to grant our prayer, but our elder brothers, to whose care that good mother has

committed us, continue to misrepresent, that we are not fit to participate with them in the management of our affairs. We say this ought to be set right. For saying this, we are called disloyal. In the speech of Lord R. Churchill, there is a passage which we should protest against. In proposing to increase the Indian Army, he said he would require 20,000 sepoy and 10,000 British soldiers, to keep the sepoys down. Bearing in mind that it is the Indian sepoy who is the main-stay of British power here, it is a serious slur on his loyalty, I say to my English brethren, that utterance of Lord Randolph Churchill. You take the sepoy to Egypt, to Malta, Afghanistan and what not. He renders most praiseworthy services. He has placed his country at your feet and he has destroyed his countrymen, under your orders. You say you cannot do without him. But, you declare that he ought not to be trusted! Is this fair? Is this just? Can this be British fair play? I believe England and India would not approve of that rash observation. What pains an Indian most is to see that this policy of distrust has been growing. In the early days of the Company's rule, we had five sepoys to one British soldier. Just before the mutiny we had three sepoys to one British soldier. We have now two sepoys to one British soldier. Gentlemen, this state of things is grievous to us and discreditable to our rulers. In the matter of volunteering, the most loyal, patriotic and most respectable children of the soil have not been trusted. There is no cause for alarm. There is no real necessity for augmenting the strength of our army or for fortifying the frontier. You know, and know it, only too well, that our views are not the views of our rulers. I would, therefore, say a few words as to what should be done if additional expenditure is unavoidable in the defence of the country. The first effort of a wise and benevolent Government, such as the one we have, should be to see if savings cannot be

effected by curtailing current expenditure. The wisdom of this is admitted and printed circulars are constantly issued by our rulers on the subject. A chaprassie here, and a sweeper there, and an attendant or a dufter-bund in a third place have been dispensed with. This is not satisfactory. In spite of these orders, existing departments have been overgrowing and new ones are brought into being. I would ask that expenditure in certain branches of the administration may be retrenched at once. I will enumerate them if you will permit me.

1. Carry out the recommendations of the Simla Army Commission. Abolish the Presidency military commands and carry out the other suggestions made by that Commission. This will effect a saving of Rs. 1,00,00,000.

2. Put a stop to gubernatorial migrations to olympian heights.

3. Don't undertake unremunerative public works, unless they are intended as protection against famine.

4. Abolish the system of purchasing stores required for India in England.

5. Cut down the salaries of the Civil Service. Employ Natives largely. Deputy Collectors can fairly do the work of Head Assistant Collectors and Sub-Collectors.

6. Discontinue payment of subsidy to Afghanistan and stop entertainments and durbars.

If extravagance of expenditure be put a stop to, enough money will be found for useful and necessary expenditure. Otherwise, we shall never be free from want. If ways and means should be devised, I would say re-impose the cotton duties. The unwise step of abolition was taken by a Conservative Viceroy and reluctantly completed by his Liberal successor. The free-trade principle urged in support of that

step was a threadbare pretext. If more revenue is wanted—I don't think it will be—I say, extend the licence tax to the official and professional classes and to incomes derived from stocks or public debt irrespective of the fact whether the holder thereof lives in England or India.

Additional taxation and extravagant expenditure proceeding simultaneously would involve the British Indian Government in financial embarrassment from which the Government will find it difficult to extricate itself. These financial difficulties and additional taxes will create an enemy in the shape of a canker within the bosom of our paternal Government, and you know what it will do. The country will be impoverished; cultivators will abandon their lands and Government will follow their example and relinquish India. May heaven forbid this dire calamity. This will be worse than an invasion by Russia; therefore, the remedy proposed is worse than the disease. As for raising the salt tax, it is out of the question. We are paying Salt Tax at a rate varying from 500 to 2500 per cent on the cost of production. Men and live-stock cannot live without it. We vegetarian Indians absolutely need salt. The average income of an Indian ryot is a half pence per diem. Why not Lancashire and Birmingham and York and others, who are benefitted by India, contribute to our defence fund? Why cannot this be done by reviving the import duties?

I will, with your permission, quote from Ransome's work on "India and how we keep it:—"

"Now suppose for a moment that we were expelled from India or abandoned it; what would happen? Would things go on as they are? Certainly not. In the first case, a terrible blow to the purchasing power of India would be struck in the desperate struggle that would certainly ensue

before we are defeated; and after we were gone, Russia would certainly endeavour by hostile tariffs, to cut us and our colonies out of all share of what trade might be left. In the second case, our abandonment of India would certainly be followed by an anarchy such as on a small scale followed the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain 1,400 years ago. In it all the work we have done for the material prosperity of the country would disappear; capital would fly before its attacks; the commercial prosperity of India, built up with so much toil, would perish like a dream."

"I need not picture to you the terrible results to England of such a catastrophe. We know something of bad times. No bad times that we have ever known would be even a shadow of what would ensue. Lancashire would be utterly ruined; Yorkshire would feel a terrible blow, and I hope you will agree with me that when we think of what value India is to us in the present, and what a mine or wealth it will be to our children and grand-children, that any one who for a moment suggests indifference to its fate, or stints his hand in doing what is needful for its maintenance, is trifling with the well being, not only of his fellow citizens, but of millions yet unborn."

Gentlemen the time allotted to me has been exceeded. I cannot detain you any longer. So I will close with these words that I would cordially support the resolution moved by Mr. Javerilal.

Mr. S. B. Chiplokar proposed that a rider in the following words should be added to the resolution asking for an Imperial guarantee to the Indian debt:—"and, further, that the Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt."

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang seconded the proposal, observing that the arguments in support of this view have been collected together in one of the "Indian Leaflets" issued during the last English Elections.

The rider was accepted as part of the Resolution by the proposer and seconder.

Mr. Dayaram Jethmal proposed as an amendment that the words "secondly by the extension of the License Tax to the official and professional classes &c" be omitted. He said the extension of the License Tax in the proposed manner meant virtually the imposition of an Income Tax which he said was very unpopular and distasteful. He said he did not mean that the present License Tax should be retained as it is. He was no advocate of the License Tax. He thought the License Tax which affected the mercantile classes at present was equally bad. He objected on principle most strongly to any increase of taxation. The Resolution as worded would have the effect of proving to Government an unobjectionable way of raising a tax in this country. It could be understood very well how advantage would be taken of the expression of such views by the Congress. The Government does not sometimes mind acting on the principle, "give an inch and take an ell." The "if" in the Resolution was not enough. The Resolution pointed out the ways and means to carry out the proposal for an increased army expenditure, and was inconsistent with the Resolution on that question. The Government would necessarily impose an Income Tax and increase the army. That would be the effect of the Resolution.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Oodharam but on being put to the vote was lost.

The original Resolution then with the rider was put to the vote and carried.

Mr. P. M. Mehta asked leave to bring in a motion about the Burman question, and in doing so said that he would not go into the question of the annexation which he thought was unwise, unjust and immoral. But he would only look at the matter from the Indian point of view. Lord Dufferin has said that the weakness of our North West Frontier disables him from giving as much attention as he would like to give to home affairs. What will be the result, when we have similar trouble on our North East Frontier also? He would say that if annexation was decided upon, they should make Burmah a Crown Colony; and then with Ceylon in the South and Burmah in the East, they could ask with greater strength and reason for more liberal institutions in India than she now possesses.

These remarks were received with so much applause that the President said he would take the applause as equivalent to a grant of leave to make the motion which was:—
 “That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of this country, as Ceylon.”

Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Luxman Nalkar (Poona) seconded the motion made by Mr. P. M. Mehta. He said he was glad the Congress was taking up this burning subject, as he thought it was the duty of the Congress to do so. The financial burdens under which India is groaning are due in a most serious measure to the First Afghan war. The annexations of Sindh and the Punjaub were the outcome of that war—and the aggressions of Russia might be said to be traceable to those early aggressions of our own British Government. We must, therefore, raise our voice against these aggressions

which are in character precisely similar. The difficulties occasioned will be such as will defy any remedy being applied. There will be increased taxation, for the necessity of fortifications at the North East frontier will arise much earlier than it did in the case of the N. W. Frontier. The course of this Burman business shows indifference in the first instance, and then all of a sudden a change, and a declaration of war for the interests of trade. If the annexation is in the interests of trade, let the country be made a Colony, and add British Burmah to that Colony, if that is thought expedient.

[A member] Burmah is a paying province.

I doubt that. It was similarly said that the Punjab was a paying province, but the accounts show a very different result. For it must be remembered that in consequence of the annexation of the Punjab the frontier military expenditure had to be increased. This sort of increased expenditure is generally omitted from the calculation when the remunerative character of annexed provinces is talked of.

The Hon'ble S. Subrahmanya Iyer asked whether it was desirable to retain the earlier part of the resolution. Might not the Congress merely content itself with saying that if unfortunately the decision of the authorities is to be as threatened, India ought not to be affected or disturbed by the effects of such a decision?

Mr. Swaminath Iyer and Professor Sundadara Ramana spoke in support of this suggestion.

Mr. P. M. Mehta pointed out that the adoption of this suggestion might exhibit the force of the opposition to the annexation policy as being weaker than it really was. This view being then accepted by The Hon'ble Subrahmanya Iyer and others the Resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. Murlidhar (Umballa) then rose to propose the Eighth Resolution:—"That the Resolutions proposed by this Congress be communicated to the political associations in each province, and that these associations be requested with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these Resolutions "

Mr. Murlidhar said that the Congress must take some steps to give effect to the Resolutions passed. Their opponents were sure to misrepresent and perhaps vilify them. And, therefore, it was necessary that the opinion of the intelligent classes among their countrymen should be brought out upon all the subjects discussed by the Congress.

Mr. H. H. Dhurva (Surat) seconded this resolution and it was carried unanimously.

It was next proposed by Mr. Hume and seconded by The Hon'ble S. Subrahmanya Iyer:—"That the Indian National Congress reassemble next year in Calcutta, and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December 1886, and the succeeding days."

The Hon'ble Subrahmanya Iyer in seconding the Resolution said that Madras would be most ready to welcome the Congress, if they were pleased to fix Madras at their next place of meeting. But he thought Calcutta was the appropriate place for the purpose.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The President said he could say on behalf of his brethren of Bengal that though owing to various unfortunate and accidental circumstances Bengal was not largely represented at this Congress as was to be desired, that the

Congress had the warm sympathy of that Presidency which would give them a cordial welcome when they met there next year.

Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer then proposed and Mr. S. Aguihotri seconded the proposition:—"That the thanks of the Congress be offered to the Managing Committee and officers of the Gokuldas Tejpal Charities for their kindness in allowing the use of the Gowalia Tank House to the Congress, and in rendering other valuable assistance to the Members, as also to the Secretaries of the Bombay Presidency Association and those associated with them." Mr. Mulidhar in supporting the proposition said he had one complaint to make against his Bombay friends. He charged them with theft. They had robbed him of his heart.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang in responding said, that it had been a great disappointment to Poona that owing to untoward circumstances the place of the meeting had to be changed after their preparations had made considerable progress. The Trustees of the Gokuldas Charities also deserved special thanks for their help in the matter rendered at excessively short notice.

A cordial vote of thanks to the President for his very able conduct in the chair was then proposed by Mr. P. M. Mehta and carried by acclamation. Three cheers were next called for Mr. A. O. Hume which having been given.

Mr. Hume, after acknowledging the honour done him, said that as the giving of cheers had been entered on he must be allowed to propose, on the principle of better late than never, the giving of cheers, and that not only three, but three times three, and if possible thrice that, for one the

latchet of whose shoes he was unworthy to loose, one to whom they were all dear, to whom they were all as children—need he say Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress.

The rest of the speaker's remarks were lost in the storm of applause that instantly burst out and the asked for cheers were given over and over again with a vehemence and enthusiasm rarely equalled.

The Congress was then dissolved.

APPENDIX A.

**Adoption of the foregoing Resolutions in all
parts of the country.**

The foregoing Resolutions were widely circulated in the larger towns in all parts of the country and new public meetings or meetings of existing Associations were held for the purpose of considering them. In most places all the Resolutions were unanimously adopted; in one or two, there was a difference of opinion as regards the total abolition of the "India Council", and as regards the necessity of a stay in England on the part of selected candidates for the Civil Service. Both these points were referred to in the debates of the Congress (see pp. 53, 69, 101, supra). And it is probable that with the explanations afforded by the debates, which of course were not generally available at the time, these differences of opinion may be found to be smaller than they are at present.

Communications have been received from the following places, showing the acceptance of the Resolutions of the Congress.

Bengal.—Berhanpur, Bhagalpur, Balasore, Cuttack, Mymensing, Dacca, Rajshaye, Bankipore.

Bombay.—Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar, Alibag, Belgaum, Carwar, Dhulia, Hydrabad (Sindh), Karachi, Poona, Ratnagiri, Satara, Solapur, Surat, Thana.

N. W. Provinces and Oudh.—Allahabad, Benares, Bulandshahar, Fyzabad, Lucknow.

Mudras.—Adoni, Anantapur, Ariyahir, Bapatlal Bezvada, Calicut, Chintalpudi, Coconada, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Cuddappab, Erode, Gooty, Guntur, Kuliti-

lai, Kumbakonam, Madras, Madura, Manargudi, Masulipatam, Melur, Mettapollium, Mylapore, Negapatam, Palabur, Panruti, Rajahimandry, Sattur, Srirangam Sinckerrydoorg, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Tiruchangad, Trinchinopolly, Triplicane, Trivellore, Vellore.

At Bapatla, the majority of the meeting resolved:—
 “That there ought to be a Council with enlarged powers to check the action of the Secretary of State, or, in case of this not being possible, the present Council should stand as it is.”

At Ahmedabad, Anantapur, Calicut Guntur, and Masulipatam, there was a difference of opinion as to the necessity of selected candidates for the Civil Service staying in England. At Anantapur, the following proposal was carried:—“That the successful candidates in India may be sent to England, for further study, and allowed there to appear for such further examinations as may seem needful, provided, however, that being sent to England should not be compulsory, and those who prefer going to England should be entitled to full pay, and those that do not only two-thirds pay of the post to which they are appointed.” At Calicut, the following resolution was proposed but rejected by a majority. “And that the successful candidates in England should be sent to India for further study, and subjected here to such further examinations as may seem needful.”

At Calicut, two members dissented from the Resolution about Military Expenditure.

At Masulipatam, the resolution to extend the License Tax to the legal profession was objected to by a majority of the meeting on the ground that the Government already levied an entrance fee from members of the Profession and that there was a Municipal Tax imposed upon them.

APPENDIX B.

Political progress in India.

(FROM THE "TIMES'S" BOMBAY CORRESPONDENT.)

Times's Weekly Edition, Feb. 5th 1886.

BOMBAY, DEC. 31.

The people of Bombay claim as the motto for their city "*Urbs prima in Indis*," and it is really not without reason. When the agitation over the Ilbert Bill was at white heat, and in Calcutta not only race division, but even division between English and English rendered social intercourse almost impossible, still the natives in Bombay kept their heads cool and discussed the question at a great representative meeting in the Town-hall with a discretion and moderation that left nothing to be desired. At the time of Lord Ripon's departure they showed themselves capable of organizing an ovation which not merely delighted the sympathizers with the recent benignant rule, but still more startled the great mass of Anglo-Indians as the first proof that the natives of India are really capable of a national movement.

This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing power. They brought together a national congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy-one members met together ; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations. Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence ; the Mahomedans of India were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either

Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges, and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of taxpaying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam.

But, in spite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, this was a great representative meeting last week. The delegates were mostly lawyers, schoolmasters, and newspaper editors, but there were some notable exceptions. Even supposing those three professions alone provided the delegates, the meeting would fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. And now let us see what they did, what was the outcome of this important gathering. They discussed politics alone; not a word was said of social reform. They evidently had a firm belief that a nation could be made happy by Acts of Parliament, for all they discussed and all they demanded was political power and political changes. A tone of most absolute loyalty pervaded all the proceedings; the Empress was rapturously applauded, and many nice things were said of the beneficent effect of British rule. Education and material prosperity, order, security, and good government were all incidentally mentioned as causes of gratitude towards the present rulers. But such allusions were only by the way. Every desire was concentrated on political advancement and an immense increase of the share at present given to the natives of India in the government of their own country. The question of their ability to govern themselves was never

even touched by the wisest of the speakers. The major premiss of all the arguments seemed to be "Every Hindoo is a born administrator. It is mere Western folly to think that representative government is an act which only comes by long political training in all the lower stages of a citizen life and the patient selection of the fittest." Much stress was laid on the need of a monster Commission of Inquiry into the whole existing administrative fabric. The vials of patriotic wrath were opened on the Indian Council, and a Standing Committee of the House of Commons was thought a panacea for all evils. But though there was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concessions, there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East.

APPENDIX C.

The Indian Congress.(EDITORIAL OF THE *Times* ON THE ABOVE.)

Bombay has been making, a noteworthy effort to substantiate its claim to be the leading city of India. At the end of last year it was the gathering-place of a National Congress, brought together from all parts of the country for the discussion of public affairs. It is at Bombay, therefore, that India has for the first time given proof of the existence of a national life and spirit. In India, as elsewhere, there is abundant room for improvement, not altogether, perhaps, in the directions to which the Congress points, nor by the methods in which it chiefly trusts. The resolutions cover a wide ground. Some of them we very heartily approve. Others appear to us something more than questionable. But from first to last there is one common idea running through them. The Congress is not satisfied with the slender political power which the Natives of India possess. It demands for them a larger share in the deliberative and executive functions of government. The memory of Lord Ripon's administration is still held in honour at Bombay, and the Congress there met has given utterance to aspirations which Lord Ripon has had no small share in encouraging. On the representative character of the late Congress our information is not precise. Our correspondent tells us who were there and who were not there. Every important political society in India sent its delegates to Bombay, but of whom these political societies consist and for whom they can claim a right to speak we are not told. One great section of the Native population was conspicuously not there. No Mahomedan took any part in the proceedings. The members present were drawn, for the most part,

from three orders—native lawyers, native schoolmasters and native newspaper editors. There were some notable exceptions, but the rule was as we have said. It is what we might have expected beforehand. The work of the Congress has certainly been intrusted to the hands most likely to be found capable of performing it and most forward in offering themselves for it. A more mixed assembly would have been less competent, perhaps, but its claim to be representatives all round might have been admitted with less doubt.

The first resolution of the Congress was in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration. There is good ground for the request. It is now nearly thirty years since the government of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, and for so long a time no such inquiry has been held. In former days it was of regular periodical recurrence as often as the time came for a renewal of the Company's charter. The need for it has been now recognized. The Commission for which the Congress asks was mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and, since Mr. Gladstone has signified his strong approval of it, we may expect that it will be issued whatever political party may be in power. It is a matter of course that the people of India will be represented upon it, and that all available evidence will be taken to guide the Commissioners to a judgment upon the whole case. How far the results of the inquiry will correspond with the hopes of the Congress is a wholly different question. The delegates have sketched in advance a scheme of reforms or changes which they wish to see carried into effect. First and foremost, and as a necessary preliminary to all other reforms, the Indian Council is to be abolished, and its place to be taken by a Standing Committee of the House of Com-

mons. In India itself the Supreme Legislative Council and the several provincial Councils are to be expanded by the admission of a considerable number of elected members. Thus reformed, they are to have a necessary voice on all questions of finance, and a right to interpellate the executive on all points of administration. If protests are raised and overruled, the protesting members are to have a right of appeal to the Standing Committee by which the present Indian Council is to be replaced. Changes are next proposed in the rules for the examinations of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The Congress asks, *inter alia*, that these examinations should be held in England and in India simultaneously, and that the admissible age of competing candidates should be 23 at least. As regards finance, the Congress holds that the increased and, as it believes, the needless demands for more military expenditure are most properly to be met by retrenchment in other branches. But if this is not done, and if more money must be raised, the Congress looks in the first place to a re-imposition of the customs duties, and secondly to extension of the licence tax. This second demand has been granted. The Income Tax Bill was passed after a short debate, in the course of which the various restricting amendments proposed to it were lost. The final demand of the Congress that Great Britain should extend a guarantee to the Indian debt has not been granted in terms, and is not likely to be. But while the English rule exists in India, there is enough of a practical guarantee to give absolute safety to the bondholders. The Congress is further prepared to offer advice on the Burmese question. Its objection to the annexation of Upper Burmah comes a little too late. Its claim that all Burmah should in any case be separated from India and should be constituted a Crown colony includes matter on which it has an imperfect right to speak. The separation of Burmah and the consequent

loss of the Burmah surplus revenue it may very properly ask. But what is to be done with the country afterwards it is for England rather than for India to determine. The approaching visit of the Indian Viceroy to Mandalay will put him in a position to give advice on this matter.

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and schoolmasters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India best will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they were carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test. Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this. But that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mahomedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would

certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been. The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will the government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this very practical point of view.

APPENDIX D.

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang's Letter to "The Times" dated 9th March 1886, touching the remarks made in the foregoing correspondence about the Mahomedan community and Social Reform.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir,—The letter of your Bombay correspondent, dated 31st December last, regarding the Indian National Congress, together with your editorial article based upon it, has been read here with much interest. The members of the Congress have not much reason to complain of the account of their work given by your correspondent, and they must feel grateful to you for the amount of sympathy manifested in your remarks upon it. At the same time it seems probable that some of the conclusions arrived at in your article would have been modified, if some further details of the proceedings of the Congress had been brought to your notice. As one of the Secretaries of the Congress, therefore, and with the approval of the President, I beg to send you some particulars regarding two important points made in your article.

The first point is in reference to your remark that the Mahomedans of India were conspicuous by their absence at the Congress. Although it must be admitted that the Mahomedan community was not adequately represented at our meeting, your remark is not altogether an accurate one. Two leading Mahomedan gentlemen did attend the Congress, *viz.*, Mr. R. M. Sayani and Mr. A. M. Dharamsi. Both of these gentlemen are graduates of the University and attorneys of standing at the High Court of Bombay. Mr. Sayani held the office of Sheriff of Bombay last year; was a member of the Khoja Law Commission appointed by Government some years ago; and has for many years past been a member of the Municipal Corpora-

tion and Town Council of Bombay. Mr. Dharamsi, also, is a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. Further, the Hon. Mr. Badroodin Tyabji, a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay, and Mr. Cumroodin Tyabji would have attended the Congress, had they not been absent from Bombay at the time the Congress was sitting. Mr. Badroodin is Chairman of the Managing Committee and Mr. Cumroodin one of the vice-presidents of the Bombay Presidency Association, which, in concert with the Poona Sarvajani Sabha, convened the Congress. As regards the other provinces, causes similar to the above indicated must doubtless have operated with greater force. And it must be remembered that this Congress was the first of its kind, and naturally, therefore, there were some shortcomings. But we feel confident that next year, when the assemblage will be at Calcutta, the Mahomedan community will be represented as it befits its numbers and importance. The second point relates to the omission of social reform from the proceedings of the Congress. As regards this, it is to be observed that the main object of the Congress was a political one. But when the programme of business was informally discussed by the members, they decided that after the subjects for which they had specially assembled were disposed of, questions of social reform should be considered if there was time. As it happened there was no time to do this, because several of our members were obliged to leave for their respective homes on the third day of our meeting. But on that day, a very earnest social reformer, Divan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, of Madras, gave an eloquent address on social questions, and he was followed by another eminent reformer, the Hon. M. G. Ranade, of this Presidency. You will probably consider that the importance of social reform is even more powerfully recognised when it is eagerly discussed by persons avowedly assembled for another purpose than when it is taken up in ordinary course as part of a formal programme. I hope you will give insertion to this in your journal.

I am, &c.,
K. T. TELANG.

High Court, Bombay, 9th March.

APPENDIX E.

**Telegrams despatched by the Indian National
Telegraph Union to London.**

(To the Daily News.)

1885.

No. 1. *On 15th April*:—The Association* during the present political crisis has received from all parts of the country strong and universal assurances of sympathy with England. The feeling of the Indian Princes and people was never more loyal. All the principal Indian Princes including Cashmere, Holkar, Mysore, Scindia, Gaikawad, Nizam, have voluntarily offered their cordial co-operation. People everywhere showing enthusiasm with British rule against Russian aggression. Native volunteering advocated everywhere and by the whole of the Native Press. Offers have been made to the Viceroy by 400 principal Natives of the Bengal Presidency consisting of Zemindars, barristers, officials, graduates, to enlist. In the Madras Presidency enlistment has already commenced. A similar feeling is manifested in Bombay, Poona and elsewhere. This unprecedented manifestation is everywhere regarded as a striking justification of the policy of the Royal Proclamation as carried out and brought home to the people during Lord Ripon's Administration. This Association gave Lord Reay an address of welcome which while pointing out the necessity of various internal reforms unreservedly expressed confidence in and attachment to the British Government.

2. *On 7th May*:—Great satisfaction felt at determination of Government to avoid war, if possible. Every confidence in the Gladstone Ministry on this point. No danger of Native loyalty being impaired by peace with Russia. War would retard internal reforms happily commenced by Lord

* This telegram was despatched by the Bombay Presidency Association on behalf of the I. N. T. Union.

Ripon which have evoked such marked good-will throughout the country. The desire to support Government by Volunteering becoming stronger and more general.

3. *On 30th July*.—Native Community view with great alarm rumoured establishment British Cantonment Kandahar, because it will paralyse peace negotiations and suggest forward movement on part of Russia, because even though Amir may consent it will involve complications with Afghan people, because it will entail serious and useless extra expenditure. Country already suffering from retrenchments necessitated by recent preparations for war. Many useful and popular schemes checked for want of funds.

Great satisfaction at Lord Churchill's renewed declaration in favour of inquiry into Government of India Act, 1858. Strong feeling in favour of reform or alterations of Indian Council. Fresh nominations to Council deprecated.

(To Mr. John Slagg, M.P.)

4. *On 8th June*.—Great satisfaction here at your motion for inquiry into Government of India Act, 1858. Subject much discussed by Native Press. Steps being taken to hold meetings and petition Parliament thereon. Fawcett's opinion strongly upheld, namely, Parliamentary inquiry into Act extremely important work for new Parliament.

5. *On 5th August*.—On Indian Budget Debate please bring on motion for Parliamentary inquiry into Government of India Act. Feeling against Indian Council unanimous.

(To The Daily News.)

6. *On 27th August*.—Telegraphic summary Lord Randolph's Budget Speech widely discussed by Native Press. Full text anxiously awaited now received. Attack on Ripon's frontier and financial policy unanimously condemned by Native public opinion. *Bombay Gazette*, influential and impartial exponent of Anglo-Indian opinion, elaborately exposes exaggera-

tions and misstatements of speech which it calls thoroughly partisan. Between frontier policies adopted by Beaconsfield and Gladstone Governments, no hesitation here. Thoroughly understood that former policy chimerical, dangerous, designed rather to gratify army and portion of official hierarchy than safeguard interests of India. Situation not really changed by advance of Russia long foreseen on Merv. Leading sentiment of Afghans fear of losing independence now threatened by Russian advance. Thus their present friendly temper towards English alliance furnishes remarkable confirmation of wisdom of resolution to evacuate Kandahar and abandon forward policy. Similarly, present disposition of Indian people so radically different from what it was under Lytton undeniable fruit of Ripon's farsighted and liberal domestic policy. Such policy best preparation for securing safety of Empire by developing resources, conciliating affection of all classes, and avoiding costly aggressive enterprises.

Additional permanent military expenditure of two millions viewed with great anxiety. Increased military strength should be sought in preparations within Indian frontier, utilising support of Native volunteers, and help cordially offered by Native Princes.

Promised inquiry into system of Indian Government and declared readiness to listen to enlightened Indian opinion regarded with satisfaction ; but all feel that promised boons but empty shadows if disastrous policy of Lytton Strachey regime adopted by present Government and forced on Indian people.

7. *On 4th September* :—Large enthusiastic meeting last Wednesday for Fawcett Memorial. Lord Reay presided, all classes joined. Great stress laid on Fawcett's advocacy of economy in Indian finance. Gratitude expressed for his disinterested and distinguished services to India. Influential representative Committee appointed to collect funds and determine form of Memorial. Sympathy expressed and support promised

by Provincial centres. Nawab of Junaghad subscribed £100. One speaker remarked amidst vociferous applause that if India and England united as Fawcett wished, they might defy 100 Russias.

8. * *On 11th September*:—Government proposal to add 30,000 men to peace effective Indian army, besides large expenses on frontier defences and Railways, has created general alarm. Necessity of this expenditure disputed, and generally felt that burden will be unendurable. Thoroughly understood that domestic reform and developing country's resources must be laid aside. Also, general fear that present Government in permanent power may under military influences be tempted or driven into wasteful perilous foreign policy from which Elections of 1880 delivered India. Lord Randolph's recent speeches grieved and surprised people as not showing independence expected from one having personal experience of Indian opinion. He now appears as mouthpiece of small official clique hostile to Ripon.

9. *On 17th September*:—Active movement in India to bring Indian topics before Electors of United Kingdom. Delegates already left.

Dadabhai Naoroji nominated to Legislative Council. Lord Reay's nomination of him and Madhev Govind Ranade highly approved everywhere.

10. *On 17th September*:—British Indian Association. Indian Association of Calcutta, Mahajan Sabha of Madras, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Sind Sabha have joined this Association* in united movement to bring Indian topics before British Electors. This Association held important meeting and adopted General Appeal to Electors urging fulfilment of Parliamentary and Royal pledges with Parliamentary inquiry how far

* Bombay Presidency Association.

already redeemed. Confirmed appointment of Delegates to London from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Gratitude expressed to Bright and Hartington and goodwill for candidature of Slagg, Ghose, Digby, Phear and others. Temple and others not recognised to represent Indian interests. •

11. *On 7th October* :—Madras Mahajan Sabha held meeting, to bring Indian questions before British Electors, adopted Rajah Sir Madhevroa's instructions to Indian Delegates: to gratefully acknowledge benefits of British rule; solicit greater attention to Indian affairs, sympathy for Indian feelings and aspirations; plead for moderate taxation necessities of life, and security of land tenure; explain material benefits from connection of India and England placing reliance on British wisdom, justice and generosity.

12. *On 14th October* :—Native Press intelligently discusses and condemns proposed increased Military expenditure. No evidence showing increase required for necessary effective strength.

13. *On 26th September* :—Public warned against telegrams tending promote war with Burmah. Alleged provocation disputed between Bombay Burmah Trading Company and Burmah Government about sale of timber. Indian tax payers' interest not sufficient justify war. Shareholders accepted risk to profit by monopoly.

14. *On 5th November* :—*Times's* Calcutta Correspondent misinformed in ascribing partisan motives to Indian Delegates' Mission. Objects fully explained in this Association's proceedings and reply to Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy's resignation. Printed copies now in Delegates' hands for distribution. Native Press condemns Sir Jamshedji's action.

Sir Charles Aitchison's appointment of Native Judge, Punjab Chief Court, given great satisfaction in Punjab and generally approved.

Public feeling against appointment of Resident at Kashmir.

Late Maharaja opposed it as affecting his position. New Maharaja assiduous at administrative reforms.

15. *On 20th November* :—Indian public expresses hearty gratitude at sympathetic receptions Indian Delegates in England. Large audiences assembled to hear them very gratifying as showing readiness of British people to hear India's appeal even during election turnouts.

Burmah War viewed with disfavour by Indian opinion and annexation protested against as causing complications. King Theebaw's misconduct insufficient ground for depriving Burmese people of independence.

(To the Manager Press Association.)

16. *On 31st December* :—Indian National Congress, embracing nearly hundred distinguished representatives from all parts of Empire, concluded after three days' continuous debate. Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, Standing Counsel, Calcutta, presiding. Honourables S. Subramania Iyer, Dadabhai Naoroji, Kashinath Trimbuk Telang, M. G. Ranade; Messrs. P. M. Mehta, Rao R. Raghunathrao, Satyanand Agnihotri, A. O. Hume, S. D. White, present. Passed Resolution urging that promised inquiry into Indian affairs should be by Royal Commission on which Natives should be represented—evidence being taken in India and England; proposing abolition of the India Council, introduction of representative element into Supreme and Local Legislative Councils, including additional Councils for North West Provinces and Punjab, with general right of interpellation, and power to discuss financial questions, provision being made to refer to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons any formal protests of such Councils; opening of all civil departments to all Statutory natives with simultaneous examinations in England and India, raising of maximum age of Civil Service examination to 23; objecting to increased military expenditure; demanding Imperial guarantee to Indian Debt and extension license tax to professions and officials, and reimposi-

tion of Import Duties, if additional taxation absolutely indispensable; deprecating annexation Upper Burmah and suggesting, if annexation determined, making whole Burmah Crown Colony entirely distinct from Government of India. Congress closed with enthusiastic cheers for Queen Empress. After Congress, Delegates and large Bombay gathering discussed questions Hindu Social Reform.

1886,

17. *On 14th January* :—Great public meeting held here, welcome Indian Delegates returned from England. Delegates acknowledged gratefully interest and sympathy evinced, by British public, specially working men. Delegates' work enthusiastically approved as wholly successful.

18. *On 22nd January*:—People of India appeal to people of England to instruct representatives to support Hunter's intended motion condemning annexation of Upper Burmah to India, and earnestly trust this question may be decided solely on principles of right and justice. Annexation under pretext of opening new markets condemned as unworthy of England and deprecated as strengthening Military and despotic tendencies in Government.

19. *On 28th January*:—Influential crowded Meeting at Madras to welcome Delegate returned from England. Rajas Nilambore, Calicut, Rammad present and took part. Telegrams of sympathy received from public meetings at 21 provincial centres. Delegate enlarged on sympathy of British and expressed admiration of English home-life. Thanks voted to all Delegates. Meeting separated with cheers for Queen.

20. *On 4th February*:—Bombay Association forwarded detailed Memorial to Indian Secretary against necessity two millions permanent additional annual military charge. For imperial defence England should bear equitable share. Each Indian Finance Minister has vainly protested against

unjust encroachments of War Office of Indian revenues. Laing, Balfour held fourteen millions army charge sufficient. Now seventeen millions without increased number or efficiency. Salisbury, Northbrook, Argyll, Sandhurst, Lytton, quoted. Memorial recommends provide additional strength by reducing non-effective military charges, and Native Volunteers to keep internal order. Should avoid taxation on population with average yearly income forty shillings.

Chief Justice Garth proceeding on leave. Rumoured English junior supersedes Native Justice Mitter who acted, 1883. Much indignation, Calcutta, supposed reversal Ripon policy.

Popular demonstration Krishnagur. Welcomed Manmohan Ghose returned Indian Delegate. Crowd gave cheers for Deptford Liberal Electors.

21. On 12th February:—Much satisfaction felt at Lord Ripon's joining Cabinet. Indian opinion had hoped he would be Indian Secretary.

General disapproval of haste passing Income Tax Bill.

Financial Committee appointed does not command confidence. Members official with one exception.

22. On 22nd February:—Much disappointment and regret at the proposal of Ministry to throw Burman War expenses on India. Adverse opinion strong. Whole Burman question exciting keen criticism and much feeling.

23. On 6th March:—Requisition to Sheriff, Bombay, largely and influentially signed by Europeans and Natives for Public Meeting to ask for Royal Commission on Indian affairs. Lord Dufferin's declaration of Ministry preferring Parliamentary Committee over Royal Commission, not considered satisfactory. Old precedents relied on not applicable as circumstances changed and Indian public opinion grown stronger. Local Meetings being held throughout India, ratifying resolution of Indian National Congress regarding Royal Commission.

(To the Right Hon'ble W. E. Gladstone, Prime Minister.)

24. *On 23rd February*:—United Associations Bengal, Madras, Bombay, earnestly pray inquiry into Indian affairs should be by Royal Commission containing English statesmen and competent Indians. No Anglo-Indian official as already telegraphed by Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Commission would take evidence here. This essential. Parliamentary Committee of 1871 on Indian Finance rendered fruitless by dissolution.

25. *On 26th March*:—General disappointment expressed at Parliamentary Committee instead of Royal Commission. Little hope Indian witnesses of age, experience, position visiting England. Peers nomination well received. Commons' nomination inspire no confidence as Anglo-Indian official element strong. Independent Indian interest weak.

(To the Manager Press Association.)

26. *On 9th April*:—Monster meeting of agriculturists in Jessore district of Bengal. Confirmed resolutions of National Congress. Other public affairs, like administration of criminal law and taxation, discussed. Right of representation in government desired. Honourable Tyabji, Mahomedan Member of Council, publicly declared Indian Mahomedans cordially sympathising with other sections of nations in Congress resolutions and political movements generally.

27. *On 21st April*:—Anglo-Indian and Native Press condemns Grant Duff's Government for mode of disposing of charges brought by Crole, Collector of Madura, against Thomas, Senior Member of Council. On ex-parte report twenty Native officers recently dismissed or degraded for recommending remission Land Revenue on account of disastrous flood. No opportunity for explanation afforded. Report kept confidential. Public feeling much excited. Numerous meetings to protest being held.

28. *On 25th June* :—Deep grief felt at the death of two great Maratha Princes, Holkar and Sindhia. They were two of the most loyal friends of British Power among Indian Princes. Holkar's son adult and was invested with powers during father's lifetime. Sindhia's son minor. Arrangement for government of the States believed satisfactory.

Ensuing elections watched with keen interest, especially candidature of Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji and Lal Mohan Ghose. Desire keenly felt and universally expressed for their success. Much gratitude felt to Holborn and Deptford for supporting Indian candidates. Public meetings to express confidence will soon be held.

Much anxiety felt about Thibet mission. Misgivings entertained about fresh developments of activity on frontier.

No regret felt at collapse of Parliamentary Committee on India. Preference for Royal Commission confirmed. Proposed Indian Civil Service Committee not regarded with satisfaction.

Correspondence touching Sullivan—Crole case of Madras partially published. Much adverse comment on Grant Duff and his government. Independent investigation insisted upon as indispensable.

29. *On 30th June* :—Crowded Public Meeting held here, 29th. All communities represented. Dinsbaw Petit presided, opened proceedings, eulogising worth Lal Mohun Ghose and invaluable patriotic public services of Dadabhai Naoroji. Resolution expressing confidence in both and gratitude to electors, Holborn and Deptford, passed amid enthusiastic cheers. Sympathising telegrams received from public meetings held at all principal stations in Presidency.

30. *On 30th July* :—A very crowded influential Meeting held at Calcutta last week, protesting against Simla Exodus. All classes of people, European and Native, fairly represented. Eloquent speeches made showing financial and political mischief consequent on migration of Government.

Practice shown to be recent. Meeting received telegrams of sympathy from all quarters.

31. On 13th August :—Regret widely expressed at Ilbert's approaching departure from country. His sympathy with Indian people and support of beneficent measures of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty and absence of morbid activity of Legislative Department under him generally appreciated.

Aitchison's approaching departure from Punjaub Government also viewed with regret in Punjaub. Meetings held asking for extension of his term of office.

Abandonment of intended Thibet mission viewed with satisfaction as avoiding frontier complications.

Continued disturbances in Burmah regarded as auguring graver difficulties. Fears entertained that overgrown Military expenditure will grow still further.

32. On 28th August :—Much satisfaction felt at Samuel Smith's proposed amendment to address regarding Burman War operations and expenses.

33. On 4th September :—Secretary of State's decision in Crole case generally considered somewhat disappointing.

Rumour at Madras that Sullivan retires forthwith. Thomas's appointment of at least questionable wisdom. His recent proceedings at Madura and Tanjore most unpopular.

Vote on Samuel Smith's amendment and Hunter's received with regret but the strength of minority considered hopeful sign.

Gorsf's reply to Lethbridge about exodus thought unsatisfactory. Provincial exodus not so important as Supreme Government's Simla migration for seven months.

34. On 1st October :—Lord Harris's reference to reimposition of Cotton duties considered here more practical than seems to be supposed. Increase of Salt duty clearly less defensible than imposition of Cotton duties.

Ministerial declaration regarding Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs not thoroughly satisfactory. Opinion respect-

ing necessity of Royal Commission unchanged. Committee's scope narrower than Lord Randolph Churchill had proposed in last Parliament. India Government Committee on Civil Service not looked forward to with confidence.

Anxiety felt about proposed Bonerwal Expedition and Badekshan affairs. These military movements considered objectionable financially and otherwise.

