



REPORT
OF
THE TWELFTH
Indian National Congress,

HELD AT
CALCUTTA,

On Monday the 28th, Tuesday the 29th, Wednesday the 30th and
Thursday the 31st December,

1896.

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1897.



SOME OF
England's Pledges to India.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1833.

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

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

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

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

LORD NORTHBROOK ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

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

LORD LYTTON'S SPEECH AT THE DELHI ASSEMBLAGE ON 1st JANUARY 1857.

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

LORD RIPON IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

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

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

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

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

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

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Indian National Congress is no infant institution. Its last annual session, that of 1896, was the twelfth. As a body organised for political agitation it may, therefore, be said to have passed not only infancy but adolescence and to have attained maturity. It should not, for this reason, stand in need of any introduction. It has, or ought to have, by this time, made the acquaintance of the cultivated public here and in England. Unfortunately, however, circumstances have arisen within the last few months which the antagonists of the institution delight to represent as a melancholy commentary, or else as a scandalous satire, on its purposes and its methods. The circumstances, unfortunate in every respect and regretted at least as much by the people of this country as by Englishmen and the Government, have no sort of connection, logical or historical, with the Congress or its work. But they are there. They reflect on the loyalty of some individuals at any rate, who are natives of India. They are viewed generally with suspicion, alarm, and resentment. And it is not impossible that they should have caused secret satisfaction to a few jealous souls who may regard the present situation as an excellent opportunity for discrediting the Congress, crushing its aspirations, and giving it a quietus. Their iron is hot and they are striking it with remarkable skill and vigour. To some extent they have already succeeded; the iron is partially bent in the direction they wish. Indignation has been roused in England; and from the press and the platform the cry is almost universal for a policy of repression and retrogression; for a restraint, for instance, of the native press of this country and even a reversal of the policy that has been so far followed in regard to the higher education of the people. The gravity [of the situation from a national point of view may be realised from the fact that even the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India has been so influenced by the fallacies that have been repeated with emphasis] all around him, that he could declare, from his place in Parliament, that India was not to be governed according to English principles.

The Congress, therefore, once again stands on its trial. It has to render an account of itself. It sees very few friendly faces about itself. It stands before a critical and prejudiced public as at once a stranger and a criminal. It stands in that position through no fault of its own; it has been made to assume it through a mere ungrounded suspicion of its adversaries. It has become necessary, therefore, to introduce it to its judges with some, at least, of the credentials it has been able to secure during its eventful career of twelve years; to place before those judges its very latest transactions; to call their attention to the spirit which manifestly animates its work; to vindicate afresh its programme and its methods; to plead, not only for a

continuance, but for an expansion of those just and liberal English methods according to which the country has been so far governed; and to wait for a verdict of all who claim to be judges, on the materials so placed before them.

The Congress has outlived much calumny. It has done so not by waging against it a war of words, but by falsifying it by deeds. Sir William Hunter after having carefully watched the movement in its early years, wrote in 1889:—

The history of India has yet to be written, and when it is truly written, Englishmen will learn that the present movement is the inevitable result of causes which we ourselves have set in motion. Those who misrepresent us, speak of our movement as isolated, dangerous, or unimportant. But I believe this political movement in India is an indestructible part of that great awakening in India which is showing itself not only in the intellectual progress of the Indian people, but in India's commercial development and in many signs of a new national life. We have got a great force to deal with, a force which must be powerful either for the disintegration of our Indian Empire or for the consolidation of our Indian Empire; and therefore as an old official I say it is our duty to use it as a consolidating and not as a disintegrating force.

And again in 1890:—

I may therefore briefly say that those political movements are the legitimate and inevitable result of Western Education in India. The men who conduct them are the men to whom in all other respects, intellectual and moral, we are accustomed to point as the highest products of British rule in India. They are the men who form the natural interpreters of our rule to the masses of the people. To speak of such men, when their activity takes a political direction, as disaffected, would be equally unjust and untrue. For they are the men who, of all our Indian fellow-subjects, realise most clearly that their interests, present and future, are identified with the permanence of British rule.

Sir Charles Dilke in his *Problems of Greater Britain* has honoured the movement with an elaborate notice from which we quote the following:—

The recent attitude of the leading Anglo-Indians towards the Indian National Congress has been confused, and we gain no certain guidance from it when considered as a whole. The general position has been hostile, but some of the thoughtful men, as, for example, Sir William Wedderburn, the President of the National Congress of December 1889, have given, under the form of benevolent neutrality, a full and general approval. The high authority of Sir William Hunter has been set upon the side of approbation, and his pen has conferred upon the last three Congresses a considerable publicity—the meetings of 1885 and 1886 having passed almost unnoticed. Sir William Hunter's support outweighs much opposition. His unrivalled knowledge of India makes him a most trustworthy guide, in everything, may I say, but spelling. The attention which was excited in the United Kingdom by the Congress of December 1888 was curiously enough, aroused by Mohammedan opposition to it. Some leading Indian Mussulmans, able to write an excellent letter of the orthodox English type, stated their views in opposition to the Congress through the most influential English journals. The result of this opposition was to attract much notice in England, which led to an examination of first principles that had not the result that the Mohammedan gentlemen intended, and a study of Sir William Hunter's letters and articles has completed the educating process. He has conclusively shown, with the calm of the historian rather than with the partial spirit of a contemporary writer, that the present native movement is the necessary outcome of the principles on which our rule of India has been based, and that it is to our interest, as much as it would be to our honour, to satisfy it in some measure.

As has been well shown, men who speak better English than most Englishmen; who conduct able newspapers in our tongue; who form the majority on Town Councils which admirably supervise the affairs of great cities; who, as native judges, have reached the highest judicial posts; who occupy seats on the Provincial, the Presidency, and the Vice-regal Councils, or, as powerful ministers, excellently rule vast Native States,—can no longer be treated as hopelessly inferior, to ourselves in governmental power.

Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not invective, and there is so much reason to think that the Congress movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests of Great Britain, bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met half-way. The official class themselves admit that many of the natives who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and to push their claims for decorations; and, while I am on this point, I may add that it is an almost universal opinion among officials themselves that some of the recent appointments in the various classes of our orders have been unfortunate. Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, with which I have dealt in the last chapter; but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention.

Mr. Justin McCarthy says that he understands most thoroughly and appreciates most keenly the bureaucratic *regime*, which is the rule of the local officials, by which the local officials pass on their reports to the governing office in London, and the governing office in London are under the impression, in accepting that report and that statement, that they are getting a precise and accurate account of the feelings of the people. He then goes on to observe:—

We have been governing India far too long on that system; it is quite time that we now at last hear and listen to the views of the Indians themselves. As I understand the movement, that and nothing more is what the Indian Congress desires and demands; its members only ask to be allowed to make known the views of the populations of India from those populations themselves. They are willing, when that has been done, to submit those demands to the clear common sense, the impartiality, and the justice, of the English people. That is the beginning of all representation. You must have the voice of India, you must know what its populations wish for themselves and claim for themselves, and till you hear that voice speaking to you directly, as people unto people, you cannot possibly hope to govern with stability and with safety a great country like India. You cannot control India except by the consent of the various populations whom this Empire undertakes to govern. That is what we want. We want to win the consent of the different populations, to instil in them confidence in our intelligence, in our goodwill, in our anxiety to make them happy and prosperous, and when we have attained that consent and can act on and with that consent, then, and not by any possibility till then, can we make a stable, a strong and a permanent Imperial State.

Colonel J. C. Ardagh, Private Secretary to Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, wrote in a letter to Mr. A. O. Hume, dated the 19th January, 1891:—

The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits.

The *London Times* wrote on the 13th January 1893:—

There can be no doubt that in all these matters the Indian National Congress of last month really represented the views of the Indian people; and represented them in a spirit alike conscientious to its constituents and loyal to the British Government. The Congress as it has grown older, seems to feel the responsibilities of a maturer strength. It is divesting itself of that tendency towards extreme proposals which three years ago imperilled its usefulness.

And again on the 5th January 1894:—

The many movements, moral and political, now stirring the life of the Indian peoples are doing still more. These movements are the direct result of the enfranchisement of thought, the individual security, and the freedom of speech and opinion which British

rule has secured for India. Among such movements the Indian National Congress holds a foremost place. But it is from the fact that it is only one of many, and that it is the product not of an isolated agitation, but of a general social awakening, that it derives its true significance.

The last testimonial that we shall cite, shall be like the first, from the pen of Sir William Hunter. It is of a very recent date, the year 1896. It embodies the results of a rather close scrutiny maintained for about eleven years by a mind singularly acute and well-informed. Whatever men might think of the details of the programme of the Congress, it represented, according to Sir W. Hunter, a political power in India which no Indian statesman or Member of Parliament could afford to disregard. It was the child of British rule, the product of Schools and Universities. "We have created and fostered the aspirations which animated the Congress. And it would be both churlish and unwise to refuse now to those aspirations both our sympathy and our respectful consideration." The following is from the same pen:—

The leading native journals are loyal critics of the Government and a true strength to the British rule. But some of the more ignorant sections of the Native Press have shown that they are unable to enjoy that liberty without abusing it. The Congress clearly perceives this. Cheers greeted the President's impressive warning to local agitators and newspapers who "have not fully realised the distinction between licence and liberty; and have not wholly grasped the lesson that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges." If the Congress at its yearly meetings thus wisely confines itself to proper consultative functions, and thus firmly separates itself from disaffection of every sort, it may render great service to India. In that case, and in that case alone, it will justify the opening words of its venerable convener at Madras: "To well balanced minds such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation."

Here are the transactions of the last year's Congress. By its work let it be judged. It is for the world to decide after reading the resolutions and the speeches, whether the Congress still confines itself, as of old, "to proper consultative functions" or arrogates to itself business not its own; whether it "separates itself from disaffection of every sort" or allies itself to disaffection of any sort. Let the resolutions speak for themselves. No commentary is needed to show their real character, that is to say, whether they are seditious or loyal, extravagant or moderate, foolish or sensible, presumptuous or respectful. Let the speeches also tell their own tale, render their own account. But let it be remembered in justice to the speakers that they have had to speak on very short notice, with little opportunity of access to books and papers that they might have liked to consult, and, in several instances, under all the distractions and inconveniences incident to a change of residence and surroundings. The speeches should not be taken as representing the best that the speakers were capable of, either as literary performances or as arguments to establish cases. And, lastly, it should be remembered that the speakers were, of necessity, made to observe certain limits of time in the delivery of their speeches. The speeches, therefore, should be scrutinised in no jealous or fault-finding spirit; should not certainly be taken as exhaustive expositions. With all their imperfections, however, they are placed before the public; and even as such, they may fairly challenge criticism. It may be confidently asserted that though

they are not the result of elaborate preparation, and scarcely an attempt has been made to practise the arts of secrecy, they will not be found to contain a single word that is disloyal or disrespectful to constituted authority, or a single suggestion that is unconstitutional or revolutionary. The position taken up by the speakers, it will be found, is fortified by cogent arguments and in many instances by unimpeachable authority. If the Congress must be attacked, let it be attacked with reference to what it has said or done and not upon fictitious assumptions as to its purposes. Like the Government, it has a right to be fairly represented, if it must be represented at all; and it cannot but resent calumny that proceeds from inaccurate information or malice. In so far as it lacks the power to punish calumnies, it has even a stronger claim than Government to fair, reasonable, well-informed criticism, if any criticism is to play round it at all.

The resolutions embrace a variety of topics. Excepting a few ceremonial ones, they deal with matters of the highest importance. The Congress rightly expressed Indian public opinion on the great question of the famine, and its deliberations were promptly followed by the appeal which the Government made to the British public for subscriptions in aid of the famine stricken sufferers in India. Some of the Resolutions suggest improvements in the administration of justice, such as the separation of Judicial and Executive Functions (Resolution III.), the extension of Trial by Jury (Resolution VII.), the bestowal of a right on accused persons in warrant cases to demand committal to the Court of Sessions (Resolution XI. b). Some insist on a fairer treatment of the claims of natives of India to appointments in different departments of the Public Service (Resolutions V., VI., X). There are several which discuss questions of Finance and Economy (Resolutions IV, VIII, XII, XIII, and XVII). Some refer to the status of some classes of Her Majesty's subjects (Resolutions IX and XV). Two have reference to the administration of the Native States (Resolutions XI. i, and XVIII). The Congress cannot but notice with satisfaction that it has been unnecessary to repeat some of the resolutions of earlier years, their object having been gained. For instance, some of the main resolutions of its earlier years demanded an extension and reform of the Legislative Councils on a partially elective basis. That object has now been attained. The Congress may congratulate itself that a Legislative Council having been established in the Punjab, another of its resolutions will henceforth have to be omitted from its programme. But the chief object of congratulation to the Congress of last year, was the attitude of the Mahomedan community towards itself. It was certainly one of increased friendliness and sympathetic appreciation. The President was a Mahomedan gentleman of high position and culture, and, as this report will shew, his address was the most elaborate defence that could be made of the Congress and its work. It is comprehensive, conciliatory, and absolutely fair to all parties and opinions. Much that might have been said in this Introduction, has already

been said by the President. Therefore, it would be well to take his address as part of this Introduction and read the two together. It may be confidently expected that any one, whether a Mahomedani or not, who will read that address will become a convert to the political creed of the Congress.

It is not desirable, nor is it possible within the limits to which the Introduction must necessarily be confined, to discuss in detail the substance of the different Resolutions. For one thing, an elaborate discussion is to be found in the speeches which are here reported, and an ideally perfect discussion would fill volumes. All that can be done in an introduction is to state, and, where necessary, to explain the leading general principles upon which the Congress insists; to call attention to the more important of its demands, and to sketch, in a general way, the grounds, logical, practical and historical, on which the demands are based. The present occasion demands a re-statement of general principles; and as regards particular topics it is necessary to call attention to (1) the separation of judicial and executive functions, (2) the demands of economy, with which are connected the subjects of industrial development and military expenditure, (3) the recruitment of the public services on principles of justice and grounds of practical expediency. One of the subjects which have become ripe for reform is the separation of judicial and executive functions. All that can be said on it from the point of view of abstract principles, and a great deal that can be said on grounds of administrative convenience, has been said in the speeches delivered on the Resolution which deals with that topic. It may be necessary, however, to point out that the demand for a reform in this direction is not a recent one, nor has it been made merely by the class of men commonly called agitators. There appeared an article entitled "Indian Judges, British and Native" in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 266, (October, 1896). The article is commonly attributed, and, we believe, with good reasons to Mr. Justice Markby, late of the High Court, Calcutta. The Reviewer says:

"In the most emphatic manner, both in Parliament and in India itself, we have taken every opportunity to give to natives repeated and solemn assurances that we will employ them, as far as it is possible, to do so, in all ranks of the public service. The honour of England, the good faith on which we pride ourselves and which is the strength of our hold on India, demands that the promise shall be heartily and liberally performed. Between the Native and the English competitor the question is now only one of merit."

He then goes on to observe what Englishmen in India, who are hardly likely to be prejudiced against themselves, have to say on the respective claims of the Hindu and the European:

"Now setting aside with all due respect, those who have been bred as soldiers, let us see how the picked men, the Bengal Civilians, are prepared for their important duties. The following extract from a minute of Mr. Justice Loch will show us pretty clearly how the matter stands: 'An assistant (that is, a member of the Civil Service who has just come out from England) remains at the Sudder station of a district for a very short period. In the course of a year from his joining it he is liable

to be sent to take charge of a sub-division. For the next fifteen years of his career he is employed in the duties of a Magistrate and Collector.' That is the first part of his career: and this is how Mr. (Justice) Loch describes the last: 'Without any training in the duties of a Civil Judge or any knowledge of the law by which his proceedings are to be guided, a man after fifteen or more years' service as Magistrate or Collector, or both, is transferred to the bench, and expected to control a number of subordinate courts, the Judges of which may have commenced and continued their judicial career before he entered the service. To give a complete idea of a career to any of our readers who are not already acquainted with India, we must parallel it by some supposed case in England. If a man who had divided fifteen years of his life between the duties of chief constable of a county, a land agent, a Justice of the Peace, and a clerk in Somerset House, were to be suddenly placed as a Judge in the Court of Queen's Bench, it would be something of the same kind, and not more absurd.' "Perhaps, however, the most curious thing of all is that so far from being considered failures, these men, who frequently enter a Civil Court for the first time in their lives to preside over it, give the most perfect satisfaction to the Government. The law is so simple; the state of society so inartificial! That is the answer to all doubts as to the qualifications of Judges thus prepared." "There is something almost ludicrous in the following story related by Mr. (H.S.) Maine in minute. 'A Civil Servant to whose continuance in executive employment there were apparently some objections, was about six months since appointed by the Bengal Government to a Judgeship, in spite of his energetic protestations of his incompetency, and even his avowal of his ignorance of the language in which justice was to be administered. The law must indeed be simple and the society inartificial, to make this a successful appointment'. Then comes a consideration of the qualifications of a native judge. "The British Civil Servant, without radical changes, is cut off from all hope of ever bettering his condition in this respect; but how stands the native? He can study law for several years before entering upon the active duties of life; he can find a career in which throughout he may be kept in close contact with the actual administration of the law; he may thus enjoy the inestimable advantage of a constant relation between his theoretical studies and his practical pursuits. The language in which men transact the daily affairs of life is his own. The law is based on ideas which he, to a great extent, inherits and shares. That with these advantages, and with the natural aptitude for law which natives display, the Civilian Judge will soon, if he does not already, stand conspicuous for his ignorance by the side of a Native Judge, is clear enough to those who choose to look." The Reviewer says that he has "heard more than one judge of the High Courts in India state his conviction of the superiority in legal acquirements of the younger native judges as compared with the European judges who sit in appeal over them" and observes: "After the solemn promises we have made to natives of India to employ them wherever they are fit, after the complete success which has attended the appointments of Baboo Shumbhoo Nath Pundit and Baboo Dwarka Nath Mitter to Judgeships in the highest Court in India, we cannot long overlook the strong and constantly increasing claims of natives to a larger share in Judicial Offices, and it seems to us equally clear that under the present circumstances the whole administration of justice in India must thus by degrees ultimately pass into the hands of natives."

Mr. Howad, Director of Public Instruction at Bombay, addressed a letter to the Government of Bombay in which he said:—

"The time is fast coming when lawyers trained in this country will be procurable in such numbers and possessed of such professional attainments and practical experience as to constitute a formidable body of rivals to the untrained judges of the Civil Service."

Mr. Fitz-James Stephen (afterwards Sir Fitz-James Stephen) wrote as follows in a minute on the Administration of Justice in British India (1872):—

"Civil Judicial work is at present ill done, inasmuch as the inferior judges are better trained for it than the superior judges who are not trained at all. Appeals in most cases lie from a better to a worse instructed tribunal, which cannot be regarded as in any sense inferior to the one appealed to."

Mr. Stephen proposed two remedies for this evil, (1) the separation of judicial from executive functions, and (2) the better education of Civilians.

In the non-regulation provinces, the executive and judicial functions he found united in every grade of service. In regard to this system I observed :—

(1) "It weakens the executive administration by practically giving judicial administration greater prominence in the minds of the district officers and converting them into lawyers; (2) The conditions under which the two kinds of work have to be done are such that it must be bad economy of time to unite them in the same person. Judicial work is indoor work, which ought to be done at stated times, punctually observed; executive work is, in many cases, outdoor work which, to be done well, must be done at all sorts of times as circumstances may require. It is obvious that a man who has to do both must either be unpunctual as a judge or inefficient as an executive officer. Moreover, his double character furnishes an idle man, or a man who dislikes either branch of his work, with a ready excuse for inefficiency. He can always answer any complaints made by his judicial or executive superior, as the case may be, by saying that the conduct complained of arose from an undue stress of executive or judicial work."

As to the desirability of establishing a distinct judicial service in the Regulation Provinces, the Government of Bengal invited the opinions of several officers on the subject, and with one or two exceptions they all appeared to be in favour of the change. Their evidence, according to Mr. Stephen, established these three propositions. (1) That the Magistrates are greatly embarrassed by the union in their persons of judicial and executive functions. (2) That the earlier stages of judicial employment do not fit men for appointment as Session and Civil Judges. (3) That there is some danger that the regular legal education now given to Subordinate Native Judges and Pleaders may cause their efficiency to contrast unfavourably with the inefficiency of European Sessions Judges.

The writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, however, is of opinion that no mere patchwork remedy will be of any avail, and he considers that the separation of judicial from executive functions is in the nature of a patchwork. He says :—

"It is a terrible mistake to suppose that a mere separation of functions adequately meets the present crisis. With such an education in law as the average of young Civilians bring out with them to India, small in amount and of that peculiarly volatile kind which is always laid up in stock for competitive examinations, he will be still altogether unfit to cope with the Native Advocate, or sit in appeal from the Native Judge."

It has been well pointed out by Dr. Field, late a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, that the principle contended for by the Congress is not a new one, but had been recognised at least as far back as 1860 :—

That judicial and executive functions ought not to be combined in the same individual, has long been a settled principle of the English system. In 1860 it was decided, after careful discussion and deliberation, that this principle ought to be applied to India—not, however, in all its completeness, to all parts and provinces—but with a due regard to the conditions of each, gradually and to such an extent as those conditions showed to be feasible and prudent, and without danger from a too radical change. This policy has never since been altered, nor has its soundness been ever seriously questioned. In accordance therewith it was considered in 1860 unadvisable, and partly for financial reasons not feasible, to carry the separation of judicial and executive functions lower down than the District Officer; but it was then contemplated that the separation should

be completely carried out at some future time. The members of the Police Commission were agreed "that, as a rule, there should be a complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities; that the official who collects or traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade who is to sit in judgment on the case, even with a view to committal . . . that the same true principle, that the Judge and detective officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice." Having regard, however, to the constitution of official agency then existing in India they had to make the District Officer an exception to this rule; but they were careful to say—"As the organization becomes perfected, and the force effective for the performance of its detective duties, any necessity for the Magistrate to take personal action in any case judicially before him ought to cease." When the Police Bill was before the Supreme Council, the late Sir Bartle Frere—after observing that it was one thing to lay down a principle and another to act upon it at once and entirely when it was opposed to the existing system, to existing forms of procedure and to prejudices of long standing—advocated the acceptance of the proposed measure of reform, pointed out that even in England it took time to carry out the principle when once admitted, and "hoped that at no distant period the principle would be acted upon throughout India as completely as his Hon'ble friend" (the Member for Bengal) "could desire." When, therefore, it is now proposed that the separation of executive from judicial functions should be completely carried out in Lower Bengal by relieving the District Officer of judicial authority the proposal is not a new one; it is merely the revival of a question which was exhaustively discussed and conclusively settled seven-and-thirty years ago.

What was found practicable so far back may surely be found practicable now. What could not destroy prestige then cannot destroy it now. What was not deemed too expensive a system in the past cannot be of prohibitive cost to-day. The late Mr. Manomohan Ghose of the Calcutta Bar in his speeches and pamphlets showed that the reform had become specially urgent in the present day, and the very small innovation, which, at his instance, the Congress provisionally demands, cannot be objected to from any conceivable point of view that can be recognised as rational. It is simply this, that appeals from the decisions of Magistrates of second and third class powers should be heard not by the District Magistrate but by the District Judge.

With regard to the economic condition of India, diverse views have been held. There are those who believe in the growing poverty of the country, and there are others who believe in its increasing prosperity. It is not easy to ascertain the character of the change that is taking place in the material condition of the people regarded as a whole; nor is it easy to determine even the tests by which the character of the change is to be ascertained. It is not difficult, however, to obtain something like an accurate idea of the present condition of the country. For the substance of the following description we are indebted to Sir H. S. Cunningham who was a judge of the Calcutta High Court, and who as president of the Famine Commission had special opportunities of acquainting himself with the material condition of the country:—

Between the Himalaya and Cape Comorin dwells a fifth part of the human race. The 225 millions of them who are governed directly by British administrators, swarm in dense multitudes upon the fertile and well-watered regions. A quarter of the entire population is crowded into one-twelfth of the area. 21 millions are on the scale of 877 to the square mile, and in parts of the rich Gangetic Valley the ratio runs to 930 per square

mile. There are 37 millions, the ratio of which is more than one person per acre and a case was found in the N.-W. Provinces where families aggregating 830 persons were living on 330 acres.

The vast majority of this dense population is agricultural. Great as has been the industrial development in other directions of recent years, at least 80 per cent. are directly interested in the soil, and rise or sink with its fortunes. It follows, necessarily, that their holdings are minute. Of 9½ millions of tenants in Bengal, nine millions pay less than Rs. 20 rental, and 6 millions pay less than five. In the North-West Provinces and Punjab the holdings are somewhat larger, but the holdings of 1½ millions of tenants at will in the former Province average only 4 acres, and in Oudh 2 millions of tenants occupy, on an average, three acres apiece. In Bengal and Upper India together there are 14 millions of tenants with holdings of between 3 and 6 acres. In Bombay there are ½ million of Government Ryots with holdings ranging from 5—10 acres, and half a million with less than 5 acres. In Madras there are 1½ millions Ryots who pay less than 4 Rs. rental.

Such people live, of course, on a somewhat humble scale.

After the great famine of 1876-8 Lord Lytton's Government directed a systematic inquiry into the condition of the lower classes of the population. That inquiry, first carried out by the Famine Commission, has been subsequently pursued in more detail, and is still proceeding.

It is obvious, the writer goes on to say, that an agricultural population, thus crowded on the soil and increasing at the rate of 28 millions or 11 per cent. in the decade—and possessing no other considerable outlet, is likely to have no wide margin above the bare level of existence. The occupants of the soil are, at many seasons, hard pressed—too often in debt to the local money-lender, and though railways have given them a market for their produce, and canal-irrigation has brought affluence to some classes, their lot is not, even in good times, without its anxieties.

"Below them is another social stratum, with whom the struggle for existence is still more severe. 'Everywhere,' it has been said of Oudh, in every hamlet, there is a residuum of half-clad starvelings, who have no cattle and no means of livelihood, save, perhaps, a tiny patch of spade-tilled land and their labour, remunerated at the rate of 4lb. of coarse grain of three halfpence, or, at most, twopence farthing per day. And even this wretched employment is not to be procurable all the year round. How—underfed and almost unclothed as they are—they contrive to live through the cold nights of winter, which they often spend in field-watching to keep off thieves, human and others, is a standing marvel."

The same description would, there is much evidence to show, apply to the class of landless labourers in every part of India. As a general rule, they are abjectly poor and resourceless, living from hand to mouth, and certain to sink, unless rescued by some external aid, at the first touch of additional pressure.

Great light is thrown on the condition of the people in India by its bills of mortality and their enormous variations from year to year. The year 1894, for instance, was rather unhealthy. The recorded mortality rose by nearly 2 millions to 7½ millions, or nearly 34 per mille, as against 5½ millions or 25½ p.m. in the previous year.

Bengal and the N.-W. P. both recorded 1½ millions of deaths from fever, and in the N.-W. P. mortality the death-rate rose from 24 per mille to 42 ½. the recorded deaths exceeding the recorded births by more than 2 per mille. The death-rate in Berar, where the people are well-off and famine is unknown, rose from 25 per mille to 42 in 1889 and sank again to 29 in 1892. The Central Provinces ranged in two years from 28 to 43. and one district,—Gujerat in the Panjab—fertile prosperous, with no canal irrigation or high prices, the mortality rose in 1890, owing, the doctors say, to heavy rainfall and a water-logged soil, from a five years' average of 29 to the portentous rate of 79 per mille.

Such variations tell us of a population at a far lower range of ability to protect themselves against natural destructive agencies than that, for instance, of England—far

poorer, more resourceless, more exposed to climatic vicissitudes, less robust in vitality, more the victims of epidemics such as cholera, against which England has secured, we believe, complete immunity, and to the fevers which are induced by undrained fields, bad houses insufficient food, bad clothes, and the other evils of a low level of existence.

We have it on high authority, therefore, that India is poor. Increased military expenditure, under these circumstances, is an acknowledged evil. Roughly speaking, the expenditure may be divided into two heads, (1) the cost of maintaining the Army, and (2) the cost of Military Expeditions. Immediately after the suppression of the Mutiny, Lord Canning decided that the military charges of India ought not to exceed £ 12,500,000 per annum. That amount has been exceeded long since. This is due as well to the increase in the strength of the army, as to the increase in the cost of maintaining it. The Simla Army Commission of 1879, said in their report, that a field force of fifty to sixty thousand fighting men would be sufficient for repelling external aggression on the North-West and North-East frontiers of India. Those numbers also have been largely exceeded. Viceroy and Finance Ministers have repeatedly deprecated the growth of military expenditure. In 1861, Mr. Samuel Laing, then Finance Minister, observed;—"I am sanguine that the total expenditure on the army may be kept at £12,250,000 or even brought down to 12 millions in India and England. It is not fair that India should pay the full cost of the reserve establishment in England. If a fair settlement is made, I look for a considerable further reduction in the military estimates." In paragraph 5 of their Military Despatch, No. 168, dated Simla, 22nd May 1879, the Government of Lord Lytton remarked in reference to the payments made to the Imperial Government, on account of Imperial Troops: "These have been repeatedly investigated, but with results, we have not been able to accept as equitable and satisfactory. We have grave reasons for thinking that justice to India requires the reduction of these payments (by about half-a-million sterling) to a consolidated yearly payment, of £850,000." In their despatch No. 401 of 21st November 1884, the Government of India state "that whereas the British Garrison in India has remained practically 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, and in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced." It is hardly necessary to quote opinions, more recent. If, as Sir Charles Dilke said in his address to the Fabian Society in London, financial considerations would necessitate a revolutionary change in British rule in India, it would appear that no where would the change be more urgently needed than in military administration.

Expeditions undertaken by the Government of India for purposes that are Imperial, and other than defensive, should in fairness be paid for wholly or very largely out of the English Exchequer. The subject is a very large one and a full discussion of it cannot here be attempted. For the present,

all concerned in the defence of Indian interests would be satisfied if the 55th Section of the Act for the better Government of India, was duly observed and enforced. The section is well-known, but as it was practically disregarded on an occasion so recent as the war against Burmah in 1885, it may be desirable to quote its terms;—"Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden, urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues."

On the subject of Public Appointments, the people of the country have a real grievance. When they complain that the resolution of the House of Commons in favour of simultaneous examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service, has not been given effect to, but has been unconstitutionally burked, they only state a fact and do not express a mere opinion. If they err, they are content to remember that they are erring with a majority in the House of Commons. In regard to the Uncovenanted Service also, the Congress has a right to complain that not only have the claims of the people not been duly recognised, but pledges often repeated by official authorities have been disregarded. It is impossible here to enter into details which have often been pointed out in the press and on the platform. The appointment of the Public Service Commission raised a hope in the minds of the people that long neglected claims would at last be recognised but unfortunately the recommendations of that body have been treated by the Government in a way which has narrowed rather than widened the prospects of the people. The latest and most conspicuous instance of injustice to the children of the soil, is the despatch of the Secretary of State which purports to re-organise the educational service of the country. It is enough here to call attention to the resolution which deals with that subject and the speeches delivered on it. Unfortunately, the instances are too numerous of a violation of pledges and unfair treatment of claims, contrary to the letter and the spirit of a hundred solemn declarations made by the highest authorities. Other claims have been recognised in the disposal of appointments than character and ability. Nationality has in many instances been treated as a qualification and therefore also as a disqualification. It would almost seem that the spirit of the times was, in this country, against the recognition of the fair and liberal English principles, according to which the administration had, until recently, been conducted.

Government would do well to consider the ultimate drift of a policy of revolutionary reaction. History seems to have given her verdict against it. There are errors in statesmanship which may cause little or no harm. There are other errors which produce irreparable mischief. Such an error is the attempt to fight against nature. A policy which seeks artificially to bring about a survival of the intellectually and morally unfit, can suc-

ceed no more than a policy of keeping alive the physically weak and infirm and destroying the able-bodied members of society. Statutes and Proclamations may be cast to the winds, but Nature will not be rebelled against. To conduct a body politic with the assistance of its weakest members, rejecting the strongest, is not only foolish but mischievous. Nature is swift and certain in her penalties; and some catastrophe quickly convinces the architect of his error, who seeks to serve with sand the purposes of granite. In political life the claims of fitness, of justice, are higher than those of sentimental likes and dislikes. They are higher not only on grounds of morality, but also on grounds of expediency. The business of life is no respecter of persons and it can not but be badly done when entrusted to hands that are not competent.

It is rather late in the day to raise doubts as to the loyalty of the Indian people, or to reconsider the English principles on which the country has been so far governed. Whatever may be the grounds of loyalty, the fact is there. It is possibly true that self-interest and gratitude constitute the strongest grounds of Indian loyalty. English rule is, on the whole, vastly better than anything that preceded it. No other foreign rule can be equal to it; and the sudden transfer of it to any other power would be a great public calamity. The educated people are more loyal than the uneducated because they can better appreciate the blessings of English rule; they are also more critical than the uneducated because they have higher ideals of good government. Educated sons of India have learnt to venerate the spirit of the British law which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil, understanding by "British soil," not only the soil of England, but of England's possessions. To them, as to Englishmen, England is a name unequalled in the greatness and the glory of its historic associations. But they cannot, for that reason, perpetually sing odes to the beatific character of English administration. The duties of life are much too serious to allow a perennial display of tenderness and veneration. In political life, it is more necessary to observe defects than praise merits. Progress is accomplished not by adulation, but by criticism. The habit of criticism displayed by the educated native of this country, is an imitation of the English habit; and imitation is the sincerest flattery. His aspirations are cast in an English mould; even his cant is an echo of the English cant. To call upon the Indian, therefore, to give evidence of his loyalty, would be like requiring a venerable matron with grandchildren on her knees, to render an account of her affection and fidelity to her lord whom she has served for half a century.

It cannot be wise now to alter the principles of English rule in India. For good or for evil, the choice has been made. It was made on the first day of English supremacy, and to attempt to unmake it now would be a procedure even more revolutionary than to Anglicise Indian rule to the farthest point. English methods in India are not only a governing, but an educating agency.

A great English writer, after a wide historical survey, has come to the following conclusion: "Everywhere it will be found that politics form the main education of a people. And what do they teach? The people are now invited to assist in the councils of their statesmen. They are free to discuss whatever concerns the Government of the state,—religion, political science, history, the laws, the social condition of the people, and the diplomacy of foreign powers. How wide a range do these questions embrace in the whole field of human knowledge! Who can fail to be enlightened by the study of them? And political studies surpass all others in the interest they excite, and the earnestness with which they are pursued. They form part of the daily life and conversation of the citizens of a free state. Books may be laid aside or read with languid inattention, but the stirring interest of public affairs arrests the thoughts and stimulates the faculties of the most inert. Freedom is the best of national schoolmasters." India has need of this best of national schoolmasters. The time has gone by when the highest duty of Government consisted in imparting European science and literature to a select class. The country has developed immensely since Lord William Bentinck's day; her demands are greater; her aptitude for progress is greater. An expanded policy has become necessary to meet the new demands. The pedagogue with his grammar and his lexicon, his Atlas and his Euclid, his blow-pipe and his test-tube has yet work enough to do. But he will not reach the people, nor reorganise life. The people must receive their new birth not by Ideas alone, but by Action: and Industrial activity, Military discipline and Local Self-government must now supplement the influences of English education. To quote Sir Erskine May once more: "If rights of public meeting and of free discussion in the Press are either ignored or trampled upon by the executive, there need be no correspondence at all between the will of the people and the acts of the legislature. In such a State, whatever be the outward form and title of Government, it is in truth nothing better than an arbitrary despotism. Sudden revolution or decay, prolonged it may be, over centuries, are the only alternatives which can be looked for. France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, have been fortunate enough hitherto to adopt one solution. Turkey and the other Asiatic kingdoms have had the other thrust on them. To Germany and England alone, it has hitherto been given to escape the necessity of either alternative." We have a right to expect that the Government of India will proceed rather upon the analogy of English methods, than that of the methods recognised in continental or oriental countries; and that it will reflect upon the wise maxim of Macanlay; "The true secret of the power of agitators is the obstinacy of rulers; and liberal Governments make a moderate people."

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

On the 28th, 29th, 30th & 31st December, 1896.

Resolution I.

* **Resolved**—That this Congress desires to place on record its humble congratulations on Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, having attained the sixtieth year of her reign, the longest and the most beneficent in the annals of the Empire—a reign associated with the most important advances in human happiness and civilization. The Congress expresses the hope that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over her people.

Resolution II.

Resolved—That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of Indian Political Advancement and accords its hearty welcome to Mr. W. S. Caine as the Delegate of the British Committee to this Congress.

Resolution III.

Resolved—That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India which, the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. In this connection the Congress desires to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. Mon Mohun Ghose who made this question the subject of his special study.

Resolution IV.

Resolved—Considering that the Local Governments are entrusted with all branches of administration, excepting Army expenditure, superior supervision and control here and in England, and the payment of interest

on debt, this Congress is of opinion that the allotments made to the Provincial Governments on what is called the provincial adjustments are inadequate, and that in view of the revision of the Quinquennial Provincial Contract, which is to take place in 1897, the time has arrived when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralization, by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different Provinces principally to the Local Governments; the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract, so as to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty, and that advantage arising from the normal expansion of the revenues which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and the satisfactory administration of the different provinces.

Resolution V.

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

Resolution VI.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby records its protest against the scheme reorganizing the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted; for in the words of the Resolution:—"In future Natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial service." The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

Resolution VII.

Resolved—That this Congress having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of Trial by Jury, and to the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated

persons is available in all parts of the country, and concurring with previous Congress, is of opinion that Trial by Jury should be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final.

Resolution VIII.

Resolved—That this Congress once again places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of Salt tax imposes upon the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to the level of 1868.

Resolution IX.

Resolved—That this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

Resolution X.

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

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

Resolution XI.

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

(a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its

- integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104 and 105 of the Despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option ;
- (b) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
 - (c) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India without distinction of creed, caste or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;
 - (d) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army ;
 - (e) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India ;
 - (f) The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government ;
 - (g) The abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;
 - (h) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature and a Provincial Legislative Council in the Punjab ;
 - (i) The withdrawal of the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, as being retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people.

Resolution XII.

Resolved—That this Congress deploras the out-break of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India and holds that this and other famines which have occurred in recent years are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government

both in the Civil and the Military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy, which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

In the meantime the Congress would remind the Government of its solemn duty to save human life and mitigate human suffering, (the provisions of the existing Famine Code being in the opinion of the Congress inadequate as regards wages and rations, and oppressive as regards task work,) and would appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund (keeping a separate account of it) to its original footing and to apply it more largely to its original purpose, *viz.* the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people.

That in view of the fact that private charity in England is ready to flow freely into this country at this awful juncture, and considering that large classes of sufferers can only be reached by private charity, this Congress desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the manner in which the Government of India is at present blocking the way, and this Congress humbly ventures to express the hope that the disastrous mistake committed by Lord Lytton's Government in the matter will not be repeated on this occasion.

Resolution XIII.

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

- (1) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist at the present time, and restrictions be put on over-assessments in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the Permanent Settlement at the present time, so as to leave the Ryots sufficient to maintain themselves.
- (2) That Agricultural Banks be established and that greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.
- (3) That the minimum income assessable under the Income-tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand.
- (4) That technical schools be established and local and indigenous manufactures fostered.

Resolution XIV.

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

Resolution XV.

Resolved—That having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam this Congress is of opinion that the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893 should be repealed.

Resolution XVI.

Resolved—That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, and in view to the utilisation by those Governors of the power of giving when necessary a casting vote allowed them by law, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three members and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors must be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service, and in view to carrying out the object without additional cost, this Congress would suggest that the officers commanding the forces of those Presidencies be declared members of the respective Councils as the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay were, before the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of 1893 was passed.

Resolution XVII.

Resolved—That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the policy of Government, in provinces where the Settlement of Land Revenue is periodical, to reduce the duration of the settlement to shorter periods than had been the case till now, and prays that the settlement should be guaranteed for long periods, at least for sixty years.

Resolution XVIII.

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of maladministration or misconduct until the fact of such maladministration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

Resolution XIX.

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

Resolution XX.

Resolved—That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of satisfaction at the delegation by the Bombay Presidency Association of Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha, Joint General Secretary of the Congress, to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Expenditure, and the Congress has full confidence that Mr. Wacha will give accurate and adequate expression to its views on the questions which form the subject of enquiry.

Resolution XXI.

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

Resolution XXII.

Resolved—That a sum of Rupees sixty thousand be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress Publication "India" and also for the expenses of the Joint General Secretary's Office, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in committee, for the year 1897.

Resolution XXIII.

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

Resolution XXIV.

Resolved—That the Thirteenth Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas Day, 1897, as may be later determined upon, at Amraoti, Berar.

RAHIMTULA MOHAMED SAYANI,

President, Twelfth Indian National Congress

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWELFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
CALCUTTA,

On the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1896.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

First Day.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh opens the proceedings.

THE FIRST SITTING of the Congress commenced at 1 P. M. on Monday the 28th December 1896. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.I.E. (Calcutta, No. 40, in list) in opening the proceedings, said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am sorry to say that the President of the Reception Committee, our distinguished countryman Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, is ill and therefore unable to welcome the assembled delegates to-day in person, and believe me gentlemen, when I say that nobody regrets his enforced absence more, or feels it more keenly, than Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter himself. In his unavoidable absence I have been commissioned, as a sort of delegate or representative, to do the honours on the present occasion on behalf of the Reception Committee, and to read to you the speech which Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter had prepared for delivery to-day. I can assure you that nothing could give me greater pleasure than the privilege of being allowed to read on behalf of Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt. (Calcutta, No. 252, in list) this speech prepared by him :—

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

“The spectacle now repeated for the twelfth time, which greets my eyes to-day, is one that is calculated to gladden our hearts and to confirm our long-cherished hopes. Our progress through the path chalked out by ourselves has been hitherto beset with difficulties and has been full of struggles, and I believe it will continue to be so for sometime to come. But do not be disheartened or discouraged on that account.

In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, there is, to my mind something ineffably touching in this earnestness of our endeavour amid ridicule, misunderstanding and neglect, to press forward towards the goal of our aspirations; in this expectant patience which anxiously watches events as they move slowly; and in this unshaken confidence in the righteousness of our cause, in this abiding plenitude of faith, which believes that, appearances notwithstanding, the ultimate triumph of that cause will be the work of British Justice vivified by British magnanimity. With such earnestness, such patience, such confidence, such faith, you have come from your distant homes to strive unitedly towards the fulfilment of a sacred common purpose, dear to your hearts as pleasure and imperative to your conscience as duty. I cannot but feel grateful to my colleagues on the Reception Committee for the great honour they have done me in allowing me to represent them on such an occasion. Gentlemen, I give you, on their behalf, a most cordial welcome to the metropolis of India.

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Chairman
of
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Committee's
Address.

It is impossible for those of us who had the honor and the pleasure of attending the Congress held in the sister Provinces to forget the anxious care, watchful forethought and mindfulness of every detail of convenience, the enthusiasm, the cordiality which marked the hospitality which it was their good fortune to share and which makes us keenly feel the deficiencies of our own arrangements. While therefore imploring the delegates from those provinces to be kind enough to overlook our shortcomings, I take the liberty to assure them, that if the desire to please and the genuine happiness felt at the meeting, count for anything in a host, we are not by any means wanting in these important respects. We see around us faces now grown dear to us with the familiarity of long acquaintance and intimate friendship, men of different creeds and races, inhabiting places remote from each other, of diverse manners, customs and traditions, and speaking many tongues, who have assembled together in furtherance of the same great purpose, and animated by a common enthusiasm. Even if we eliminate the greatness and the vital importance of that purpose, the very fact of such an assemblage, giving as it does a rare and eagerly looked for opportunity of greeting old friends scattered over this vast empire, is a sufficient stimulus to the ambition of the most higgardly host to rise equal to the occasion. The ambition is there, and I beg that any defect in its fulfilment may be generously ascribed to anything else but the heart.

On the Committee of which I have the honor to be the Chairman, inhabitants of all parts of the presidency and members of all sections of the community are represented. This is a new departure in the organization of the Reception Committee, because we wish it to be understood that it is not one town or one section of the community, but that the whole of Bengal is taking part in this great act of national hospitality.

But it is not a mere *Mela* that we have assembled here to hold. If the Congress had borne no other fruit than the establishment of cordial relation-

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ship and mutual good understanding among the various Indian races and communities with apparently conflicting interests, it would certainly be a matter on which we might well congratulate ourselves. A united India if not an accomplished fact is a consummation devoutly to be wished for; to-day's assemblage and its predecessors for over a decade, inspire us with the confident hope that we have passed through the stage of mere speculation and tentative experiment, and are making steady progress towards tangible accomplishment. We want to be united, and united for a purpose. Without discussing the point which does not properly arise now, whether such union is feasible on the basis of language or religion, I have no hesitation in saying that those who deny for India the possibility of such a union, forget that the essential cement, which unites such variously circumstanced peoples as the Indian races, is, above all things, a common political need, a unanimity in political aspirations, born of the fact that they owe willing allegiance and loving homage to the same beloved Sovereign. That we have felt the need, that we can be unanimous on matters in connection with it, is, to begin with, entirely due to the enlightened and essentially just Government under which we live, and the commencement being made under such auspices, the desired end is sure to follow.

The spirit that pervades us is one that has been reawakened within us by the methods of administration which in other branches of our activity have borne such good and I hope lasting fruits. It is the spirit of intellectual doubt followed by patient inquiry, the spirit of reluctance to accept conclusions until they are tested and approved by reason, of an over-mastering desire to do after a prolonged period of inane lethargy. English literature, English science, English history, which have been made accessible to us in the train of English administration, and in which our rulers take such a just and laudable pride would have to be reckoned as worth nothing, if they failed to achieve the results which have followed their pursuit in India.

The difficulties of Government are, in all circumstances, great, and nobody appreciates them better or more thoroughly than the race which, for centuries has been facing them, grappling with them, has made sustained efforts to overcome them, and in whose hands it has pleased Providence to place the destinies of India. But over and above this the fact that our Government is a Government by foreigners, alien in manners and customs, sentiment and feelings to the subject race, super-adds other difficulties of no small magnitude. And our object is that we may have an organisation by which we may submit the unanimous views of the nation regarding public measures that come up for the consideration of the Government and by which we may indicate to our rulers in what respects the present machinery of administration may be improved, so as to promote national welfare to its fullest extent. We offer help, but no menace to the Government. The purpose of our uniting is not, as it has sometimes been misrepresented to be, to force its hands, but to induce conviction by reason and argument based upon direct representation of facts touching the condition of the people, and the effects of contrivances resorted to in the machinery of Government for amelio-

rating it. Gentlemen, we wish to approach the Throne, stand face to face with it, and observe its justice and beneficence instead of merely feeling the weight of its omnipotence.

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Chairman
of
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Such, Gentlemen, to my mind, is the purpose, of this gathering, the aim, and object of the Congress, a very important object, no doubt; but simple, humble and innocent in all conscience. To those of you who have piloted the organization from its inception, to those who have taken part in any of its deliberations, to unbiassed outsiders who have been at any the least pains to understand and follow the processes of its functional and structural growth, this avowal is an unnecessary repetition of an already thrice-told tale; but it is a repetition, which I venture to think, is not altogether without its uses. We of course, know what we are about, we make no secret of it; we invite people to come and inspect our work. But in spite of all our precautions for ensuring publicity there will still be some individuals who will give us credit beyond our intentions. If these were persons with whom we never had any concern we might very well leave them alone. But the necessity of this oft-repeated avowal lies in the unfortunate fact that such individuals happen to constitute at least a portion of the very body with which we are most vitally concerned. It has been to me a regret and a puzzle why we have hitherto been unsuccessful in enlisting on the side of the Congress the appreciative sympathy, if not the active support of the entire ruling body. We approach the rulers with help in their difficulties; some of them cast furtive glances, and fight shy of us, imagining that we carry with us robbery or murder. We tell them we mean no harm, and get in return flung in our faces the unkind riddle that we do not think our thoughts. Beg pardon; but we, and not you, can think our thoughts say we, and what can we do under the circumstances but to repeat our assurances in every form and trick of language, so as to convey to them our real meaning, hoping by repetition of words as of water drops to wear away their stony-hearted suspicion. Perhaps they are not altogether to blame; perhaps, in spite of all our efforts, we have not been sufficiently explicit; perhaps we have not as yet caught the particular phrase which is intelligible to their ears; but I venture to think that it will be conceded that we have spared no efforts to make our aim and intention as clear as possible.

Yes, gentlemen, we expect that openness should be met with openness. We have told our rulers what we are, and what we mean to do; and if there is any mis-apprehension touching our aims, or any patent defect in our method of work, we shall be only too glad, if our rulers will let us know how to remove the one, and rectify the other. We court criticism, or even censure, if offered or administered in a really genuine spirit of sympathetic guidance. But beyond the application to us of some enigmatically condemning epithets, we have been favoured with nothing except cold and perhaps sullen silence. Confident of the perfect transparency of our object we do not fear any light, mild or fierce, that may beat upon us; but it is impossible to enter on the defence before charges are formulated. We may, however, gather into some sort

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of shape, some random adverse utterances and it may perhaps be worth while to attempt to reply to them, if only to show that we always are willing and prepared to give, in a spirit of sincerity, our best consideration to any suggestion or criticism that may be offered us. It has been said that the Congress represents only the educated classes, a microscopic minority, and not the masses, or even all the sections of the community. It strikes me that this assertion, at least the most important part of it, is based upon a gratuitous and unwarrantable assumption of facts. If you unravel and analyse this somewhat complex proposition, you will find underlying it several postulates of very doubtful correctness. It presupposes a necessary antagonism, in matters with which the Congress is concerned between the educated and the non-educated, and that therefore, the former *cannot* represent the latter. It presupposes, that the educated have an apathy for the uneducated, and that therefore the former *do not* represent the latter. It presupposes that a foreign administrator in the service of the Government knows more about the wants of the masses than their educated countrymen. These are premises which need only be stated in order to show that they carry with them their own refutation.

If it is true that those who think must govern those that toil, it is still more true, that those that think must represent those that toil. All ages and all countries, civilization as well as barbarism, *a priori* reasoning in common with the facts of the history, testify to the axiomatic character of this simple and elementary but essential principle. Is it to be believed that this natural order of things does not hold good in this unfortunate country? Difference there certainly is between the educated and the uneducated. But difference is not antagonism. As a matter of fact, have our rulers ascertained that the views embodied in the Congress resolutions adopted during the last eleven years are not the views or are opposed to the views of the masses? Are our rulers, as a matter of fact, aware that a very preponderating number of us who take part in the deliberations of the Congress were not exactly born in the purple and have necessarily to live among the masses, work with the masses, and share their joys and sorrows? Is the mere fact of education to be made responsible for the very strange revulsion of feeling which creates in us the alleged antipathy and apathy to our own people? If that is the allegation, the burden of proof is certainly on those who make it. The claims of education ordinarily, so strong, not only for representing itself, but those who have not received its blessings, are much more so where it is a case of not mere articulate-expressing of vaguely albeit keenly felt wants, but of additional complications and difficulties arising out of methods of government with which the masses are not familiar. And who can interpret to them this unfamiliar method but their countrymen who have acquired a familiarity with it by their western education and culture? (Hear hear). It is impossible for the most sympathetic foreign officials to afford this help. It is extremely impossible that they would make any serious attempt to touch the inner life of the masses. I do not deny that if they felt the vital necessity of doing so, they might succeed, at least partially. But they have not the incentive.

The people have to approach them, and not they the people. And the policy has been more than once declared and acted on that the principles of Government must be essentially European. Therefore the officials feel no necessity for directing their serious attention in this direction. And the very important thing which they need not do, which they will not do, the Congress volunteers to do, and begs their acceptance of the volunteering. The Congress is ambitious of effecting the connection necessary for the completion of the circuit, through which the prayers of an united nation may ascend from the ruled to the rulers. Search your hearts, gentlemen, and answer me these questions. Have you met here to aggrandize yourselves at the expense of the masses? (No no) Are your hearts callous to the miseries of your dumb fellow-subjects? Are you lawyers and newspaper-men, anxious only for the length of your speeches, and the breadth of your paragraphs? (No, no, certainly not) If that is so, break up the Congress, consider my welcome retracted and return to your homes. Pardon me, gentlemen; I know very well what your reply will be. (Loud applause).

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of
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Committee's
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Does the Congress represent all sections of the community? It is true that many of our Mahomedan fellow subjects have not joined it yet. But I believe that their reluctance may be traced to much the same source as that which has given rise to misunderstanding and suspicion on the part of our rulers. Our avowed object is to promote the common weal of continental India. If we have been successful in making ourselves properly understood it is difficult to conjecture the precise reason for their keeping aloof from the movement. It can hardly be any necessary antagonism between the interests of the Hindoos and the interests of the Mahomedans; for on the platform on which we meet such a conflict cannot exist (hear hear). The points wherein we differ are not our topic, we do not discuss each other's social polity or domestic arrangements; nor is it our province to pronounce an opinion on the comparative merits of the tenets of the various Hindu and the various Mahomedan sects. We meet on a platform on which Hindus and Mahomedans are brothers, as subjects of the same Sovereign, as governed by the same laws, as amenable to the control of the same officials (Cheers). That government is avowedly conducted not on Hindu or Mahomedan but on European principles. Hindus conform to that principle, and Mahomedans conform to it, and the closer the approximation the greater the political well-being. Logic and common sense alike point to the conclusion that this antagonism between Hindus and Mahomedans is a myth. (Loud applause).

It is however a pleasure to note that this needlessly unkind feeling of aloofness of our Mahomedan brethren is gradually and steadily disappearing (Cheers). It is a source of great gratification to us all that we have this year as our President an eminent Mahomedan gentleman who is an honour not only to the community he represents but whose leadership of this national movement as President-elect of the Congress has been received with unmixed satisfaction and gratitude by all sections of our community in all parts of India. (Loud cheers).

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 Chairman
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Our past vicissitudes and the experience we have gathered ought to make us certainly not sadder, but wiser men. Perhaps it has been, after all our own fault that misunderstanding of any sort or kind has been allowed to prevail, and it is just as well that to make assurance doubly sure we should at least, so long as there is the faintest chance of misconception, give a sufficiently binding guarantee touching not only our aims but also our mode of procedure so as to bring the certainty of conviction to the wavering, undoubting faith to the suspicious and satisfaction to the critical. We ought to hasten to define the constitution of the Congress in writing. Although it is a fact which nobody who has watched our work can deny, that from the very commencement we have adhered rigidly to the principle that the Congress should not adopt any resolution unless there was a practical unanimity, and that, therefore, a formal declaration is more or less superfluous, yet I think that superfluity is much safer than economy. It is probable that if we had taken this precaution from before, there would not have been the necessity of this never-ending reiteration of our intentions, this proclamation of ourselves as a useful body. Let us put down in black and white, that we shall not adopt any proposal as one for which the Congress is responsible unless it is approved by practically the whole body of us. It will be not merely of the nature of protection of the interests of the minority, but of as complete a unanimity as possible. We should by this means be able to satisfy ourselves that really one sentiment pervades our counsels and underlies our union, to satisfy the Government that our prayers are unmistakably those of the nation, and to satisfy our Mahomedan brethren that it will be impossible for Hindu votes to swamp theirs.

I ought not to detain you further with this address which after all is only an introductory one. But I should be wanting in my duty to an intimate and a highly respected friend, and to a most prominent and useful member of the Congress, if I omitted to refer to a melancholy event which has cast a deep gloom over the people of this province, and if you will permit me to say so over the other provinces as well. A true patriot has recently passed away from us in the prime of his life and patriotic activity—I allude to the lamentable and untimely death of Mr. Monomohun Ghose. (Cheers) By his sincerity of manners, by his sweetness of temper, by his readiness to help the distressed, by his eminently practical turn of mind, by his deep legal learning, by his wholehearted devotion to his country's cause, he had endeared himself, to high and low, to laymen and to the profession alike. (Cheers) The educated have no sympathy with the masses, our rulers imagine; let them search the records of criminal trials and they will see how Mr. Ghose, a fine product of western civilization and education, felt in the depths of his heart and worked with a single-minded zeal for a poor wretch belonging to the lowest stratum of Indian society worked not only as an advocate, but as a feeling protector. (Hear hear) A sterling soul and a genuine patriot, his willing and able services were, amid the overwhelming pressure of professional engagements always at the disposal of his country's cause. Of the Congress he was a powerful pillar. No longer shall you have

in your deliberations the benefit of his lucid eloquence, his masterly array of facts, his sober enthusiasm, his genial and dignified presence, his sincere support and his whole-souled sympathy. The separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions was latterly the chief object of his strenuous endeavour; and when he took a thing up, he took it up with all the determination of his earnest nature. I mourn the loss of a dear friend; and all of us mourn the loss of a fervent and unflinching patriot taken away when the need of him was the sorest.

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It cannot for a moment be doubted that we meet this year under the most adverse circumstances. Our countrymen in all parts of India are suffering from famine; and we in Calcutta where the Congress meets were threatened with what is called the plague. It was seriously proposed to us that the sittings of the Congress should be suspended for this year. We could not see our way to accept this proposal. We had invited our countrymen from all parts of India to come and meet us in Calcutta. We could not very well tell them that the invitation was cancelled and that our houses were closed. But apart from this sentimental consideration, there were others of graver importance which influenced us in our decision (Hear, hear). The famine unfortunately is an ever-recurring event in India. It occurs with almost the periodicity of climatic changes to which we are accustomed. Now that we are confronted with this terrible calamity, and the attention of the rulers and the ruled alike is drawn to it, we feel that the Congress should meet now, if ever, if only to declare its views, to enlighten, and if need be, to protest. (Cheers). I am sure the famine will be a question which will engage your earnest attention, and your conclusions will, I am convinced, be such as will not fail to enlighten the Government and the British public. I will venture to add in this connection that it will not be enough for us to indicate the measures of relief which the Government may adopt. We must go deeper into the causes which from time to time produce such widespread scarcity throughout India. What those causes are it is not for me to say, but there is a general and widespread impression that the country is being gradually impoverished by excessive taxation and by over-assessment in the districts that are not permanently settled (Cheers).

Our tale of sorrow is ended. In the economy of nature, joy and pain are mysteriously intermingled. The year that is about to expire, came upon us, trailing clouds of gathering gloom as well as glory. Our glorious Empress has during the year completed the record of the longest reign of any British Sovereign and what a proud record of peace, progress and enlightenment it is! (Cheers). To every Indian Her name is a household word. Never I believe within historic times, has any Sovereign of Hindoostan evoked such deep enthusiastic loyalty, such loving attachment to her person, such gratefulness for the anxious and benign solicitude for the welfare of the teeming millions as our beloved Queen-Empress.

Brother-delegates, once more I bid you a hearty welcome to our city."
(Loud and prolonged cheering.)

First Day. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose (Calcutta, No. 40 in list) then said: Gentlemen I would now call upon the Hon'ble Pandit Bishumbhar Nath to propose the name of the President of this Congress.

**Election of
President**

**Hon. Pandit
Bishumbhar
Nath pro-
poses Hon.
R.M. Sayani**

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishumbhar Nath (N. W. Provinces, No. 606, in list) said:—

I assure you it is a great satisfaction to me in spite of my feeble health to find myself in this Hall of Harmony. I am much delighted to see our energetic friends here have succeeded in raising this superb fabric amidst the surrounding palaces of this great city. This is our twelfth session, so that from my point of view, a bit of a lawyer as I am, the statutory period of limitation having thus begun to run, we have so to say acquired a Parliamentary title as against those who have been seeking in vain to dispute its validity. Using the mildest expression I can, I say it is a mistake to suppose that the Congress is a Hindu, Brahman, or Bengali movement. On the other hand it is the legitimate and constitutional means of laying the political needs and wants of the whole people of this country at the foot of the throne of our beloved Sovereign, through her august representative, the Viceroy of the Indian Empire, (Cheers)

Coming now to the function assigned to me, I feel it is a most pleasing one. I am proud to be allowed the privilege of proposing the name of our President-elect, as to whose eligibility for the chair, there can, I am sure, be no two opinions. (Cheers) The distinguished lawyer whose name I now have the honor to propose is the Hon'ble Mr. Mahammad Rahimatullah Sayani, a most enlightened and public spirited citizen of Bombay. He has more than once sat as a member in the Legislative Council there, and has also served as Sheriff of that Commercial Capital of India. He is an influential and respected leader of his own community—the Khwoja Mummadans. To me personally it is indeed a peculiar source of gratification to see that so esteemed a Mahomedan gentleman should be chosen to preside over this great deliberative assembly. Besides being now his colleague in the Supreme Legislative Council, I have, ever since my youth, been intimately associated with the *elite* of the Muslim community in my part of the country, and it is still my enviable good fortune to enjoy the confidence of almost all its representative men in Upper India. His election will, I trust, tend also to silence those on the opposition who still assert that the Muhammadans entirely stand aloof from the Congress movement and look upon it with disapprobation. That it is not so, is clearly established by ocular demonstration, and by the noble example, repeated within a short space of time in the election, as President, of a second Muhammadan gentleman. I, therefore, hope my proposal will be carried by acclamation, (Loud cheers).

Dr. Rashbehari Ghose (Calcutta, No. 40, in list): I now beg to call upon Mr. Ananda Charlu to second the resolution,

Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu Vidya Binode (Madras, No. 756 First Day. in list) said :—

Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu seconds.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the easiest duty of the day to perform. The President is one who is as well known to you as any gentleman can be known; he represents a community and is in fact a host in himself in the representation of that community. He has been introduced to you by my honourable friend in the most handsome terms, and it would not be right for me to detain you any longer, because you have already received his name with such great acclamation. Therefore, gentlemen, I beg to second the resolution that the Hon'ble Mr. Sayani take the chair as President of the twelfth Indian National Congress (Loud cheers).

Dr. Rashbehari Ghose: Gentlemen,—the Hon'ble Mr. Rahimutulla Mohammad Sayani has been duly proposed and seconded as President of the twelfth Indian National Congress. If it is your pleasure that the honourable gentleman should be elected as the President of this Congress you will please signify the same by a show of hands in the usual way.

Mr. Sayani's election was carried with great acclamation, the audience rising to their feet.

Dr. Rashbehari Ghose: The Hon'ble Mr. Sayani has now been duly elected President of this Congress.

The Hon'ble R. M. Sayani declared duly elected.

Dr. Ghose then vacated the chair which was taken by Mr. Sayani amid loud cheers.

The President The Hon'ble Rahimutulla Mohammad Sayani (Bombay, No. 707 in list) then delivered the following

The President's Inaugural Address.

Address.

I beg to thank you most heartily for the great honor you have conferred upon me by electing me President of this your Twelfth Congress. It is the highest honor which my fellow-countrymen can bestow upon me. I am aware that it is also an honor which carries with it a serious responsibility, as it is by no means a light task to guide the deliberations of so large, so varied and so distinguished an assembly, representing as it does all that is loyal and patriotic, enlightened and influential, progressive and disinterested, in the country. I am further conscious of the fact that the position to which you have elected me has been invariably occupied in the past by extremely able leaders enjoying the full confidence of the people at large, and that under any circumstances it will be beyond my power to come up to the standard of my immediate predecessor in this chair, who is so well known as one of the brightest ornaments of the country generally and especially of the province of Bengal. Relying, however, upon merciful Providence and on your indulgence and forbearance as also on your sympathy and support, I hope I may be able to discharge the duty you have entrusted me with to your satisfaction.

The Origin of the Congress.

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Some time prior to the Christian year 1885, certain Indian gentlemen who had received their education in the English language and been trained to English methods, and who had moreover derived their ideals of political institutions from English philosophers and statesmen, met together to deliberate amongst themselves on the advisability of convening a meeting of some of the most enlightened men of each province for the purpose of discussing the moral and material condition of the country and taking practical steps for its amelioration. A meeting was accordingly resolved upon; and as its conveners were God-fearing, law-abiding, peace-loving and peaceful subjects, distinguished for their independence, for the purity of their public lives, for the honesty of their purpose and for their political sagacity, their invitation was largely and cordially responded to. The meeting was attended by delegates deputed from each province and by some Europeans who warmly sympathised with the object. The discussion unmistakably emphasised the fact that there was a general consensus of opinion amongst the educated Indians that the existing political condition of the country was susceptible to a vast improvement. That there was no doubt that the people had well-founded grievances which required to be redressed and serious disabilities which needed removal. All were agreed that in order to achieve those objects, so conducive to the greater happiness and contentment of the people, it was advisable to adopt all legitimate and constitutional means and proceed on the methods employed by Englishmen themselves for agitation. That if agitation was carried on on such principles, never mind however long, there was a fair and reasonable chance of success, specially with the co-operation of such Europeans as were ready and willing to extend their sympathy and moral support to a movement so legitimate and national. It was accordingly decided that a Congress should be held of all educated and eminent Indians, leaders of various centres, and all admirers of the political institutions of England, with the express purpose of appealing to Government to redress grievances and remove disabilities from which the people suffered, and to secure such other reforms as the exigencies of the time and the progress of the country demanded, consistently of course with the liberal principles and the declared policy of the British Government as laid down years ago in statutes and charters, in Royal proclamations and resolutions of Parliament. Accordingly, the necessary steps for organising such a Congress were taken. The principal promoters of that organisation were themselves the products of English education, while the persons invited to attend from the different Presidencies and Provinces were similarly the products of that same vivifying agency. There was also the facility of travel on account of the rapidity and cheapness of communication, the result of railways, one of the most import-

ant boons which English civilisation has conferred on our country. There was also the security to person and property assured by the Pax Britannica. Thus the call to attend, fell upon willing ears and the invitees readily complied. All the elements necessary to secure a full attendance were combined, leading to cordial co-operation in the noble work thus initiated. In short, the country was ripe for the movement, so that delegates from the principal centres eagerly flocked to give expression to the "sober second thoughts of the people." They were all responsible citizens assembled to focus the manifold political grievances of the people and give them their needed articulation. For the first time they met on a common platform to achieve a common object, namely, to represent in the name of their countrymen the grievances under which they suffered and to give voice to their political sentiment and aspirations. They keenly felt the desire for wholesome reform and discussed with freedom and candour their political condition which they considered to be degrading. Their intellectual attainments recoiled against what they considered to be political subservience; their educated notions revolted against political disabilities; and their hearts aspired to attain a higher national ideal of citizenship under the beneficent rule of the British which they fully appreciated. It was an ideal worthy to be encouraged and fostered by all right-minded and justice-loving Englishmen, and took complete hold of them. The habitual lethargy of the Indian disappeared under the potent influence of this new and lofty standard of political regeneration. Ideas of a fair share in the management of the affairs of their own country and the enjoyment of greater constitutional freedom pervaded all minds. It was not a mere sentimental cooing between loving cousins nor a mere stage show got up for the amusement of the public at Christmas time, but a very serious organization of combined intellectual strength, intended for the discussion of very serious matters. Surely they thought, and thought honestly, they were not mere theorists or sentimental dreamers but intelligent, loyal, patriotic well-meaning, public-spirited men, representing the collective wisdom and ability of what was soon to become a United India. Feelings of sympathy and brotherhood pervaded the members, and every one was prepared to give anxious thought and patient consideration to what each other had to advance and urge. They felt that the Congress was but the first rich harvest of what had been sown long before by wise and beneficent British statesmen in the shape of schools and colleges. They further felt that the Congress was but the visible embodiment of a new education and a new awakening such as the country had not seen for some centuries before—the strong impact of Western civilisation on Eastern thought. In fact, they felt that there could be no doubt of the strength and depth of this awakening having national regeneration as its ultimate aim and object. They felt that their object was rational and practical—that under the vivifying influence of the Congress all the various peoples of the country could slowly and steadily be welded into one inseparable, indissoluble whole, to the everlasting benefit of India and the glory of England, and that those who attended them as members of the first Congress would in the fulness of time be recognised as the great pioneers of the movement.

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First Day. A brief Analysis of the Declarations of the Congress Leaders.

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The following is a brief analysis of the declarations of the Congress leaders:—

(a) To remember that we are all children of our mother-country, India, and that as such we are bound to love and respect each other and have common fellow-feeling for each other, and that each one of us should regard as his own the interests of the rest of us.

(b) That we should endeavour to promote personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the great communities of India, to develop and consolidate sentiments of national growth and unity, to weld them together into one nationality, to effect a moral union amongst them, to remove the taunt that we are not a nation, but only a congeries of races and creeds which have no cohesion in them, and to bring about stronger and stronger friendly ties of common nationality.

(c) That we should endeavour specially to promote personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the earnest workers in the cause of India, to eradicate by direct friendly personal intercourse, all possible racial or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of India, and to develop and consolidate sentiments of national unity, to effect a moral union amongst them which may stand as a solid bulwark against all external elements likely to divide or separate.

(d) That we should work together for our common elevation; that we should work in the spirit that we are Indians and owe a duty to our country and to all our countrymen; that we should all work with a single-ness of purpose for the amelioration of our country.

(e) That in carrying out our work, we should take care that no questions should be decided without full previous preparation and detailed discussion of it all-over the country; that no point should be pressed unless there prevails an absolute or an almost absolute unanimity of opinion amongst the thinking and educated classes of our countrymen.

(f) That we should confine our attention to those questions only in which the entire nation has a direct participation; that we should pass only such resolutions as are not the issue of the brain of a single individual but are the result of the best thoughts of many minds during a long period; that we should give due deference to the views and feelings of each other amongst the whole people of our country; that we should deal with those questions alone on which the whole of the educated and thinking portion of British India is substantially agreed.

(g) That we should conduct our proceedings with moderation and dignity so as to disarm all adverse criticism; that every member should be afforded an opportunity of maturely and gravely considering each question

in all its bearings; that we should conduct our proceedings in such a way that whenever any resolution or decision has been come to, it should proceed from the Congress with authority and be received outside with respect; that we should conduct our proceedings in such a way that we may acquire and maintain a character for moderation, sagacity, and practical good sense; that we should be moderate in our language and in our demands; that we should remember that it is only by patience, perseverance, and long effort that we can hope to succeed.

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(h) That we should remember that right and truth must ever prevail in the end; that it is not by violence or by noise that great things are achieved, nor by ambition or self-seeking: that it is by calm, indomitable reliance on that moral force, which is the supreme reason, that a nation's life can be regenerated; that we should avoid faking jumps into the unknown.

(i). That the best interests of the Indian tax-payer lie in peace, economy and reform; that his motto should be, peace, loyalty, and progress. That the first most essential requisite for his happiness is the assurance of permanent peace and the rigid maintenance of law and order.

(j) That our business is to represent to Government our reasonable grievances and our political disabilities and aspirations.

A brief Summary of the Subjects discussed by the Congress.

The following is a brief summary of the subjects discussed by the various Congresses held up to date:—

Working of Indian Administration, The Council of the Secretary of State for India, Legislative Councils, Simultaneous Examinations, Annexation of Upper Burmah, Poverty of India, Public Service, Trial by Jury, Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, Volunteering, Education, Industrial Condition of India, Arms Act, Police Administration, Abkari, State Regulation of Vice, Permanent Settlement, Plate Duties, Salt Duty, Forest Laws, Currency, Military and Civil Expenditure, Medical Service, Compensation Allowance, Forced Labour, Cotton Duty, Financial Condition of India, Recruitment of Higher Judicial Service, Freedom of the Press, Water Cess, South Africa, Legal Practitioners Bill, and Grievances of Railway Passengers.

The places where the Congress has held its Sittings.

The following are the places where the Congress has held its Sittings:—

Bombay	...	...	...	...	(twice)
Calcutta	...	...	...	...	(twice)
Madras	...	...	...	...	(twice)
Allahabad	...	...	...	...	(twice)
Nagpur	(once)
Lahore	(once)
Poona	(once)

**The names of the gentlemen who have presided at
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The following are the names of the gentlemen who have presided at
Congress Meetings :—

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee	...	...	(twice)
Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee	...	...	(twice)
Mr. Budruddin Tyabjee	...	...	(once)
Mr. George Yule	...	...	(once)
Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.	...	...	(once)
Mr. P. M. Mehta	...	...	(once)
Mr. P. Ananda Charlu	...	...	(once)
Mr. Alfred Webb	...	...	(once)
Mr. Surendranath Banerjee	...	...	(once)

From the brief outlines of the history of the origin of the Congress, herein given, of the declarations of its leaders, of the subjects it has discussed, of the places in which it has held its sittings, and of the persons who have presided over its deliberations, it is clear that the Congress was the direct outcome of the noble policy of England in introducing English education in India, and diffusing knowledge over the length and breadth of this country, by means of schools and colleges, and thus awakening the rising young men of our country to a sense of the duties they owed to themselves, to their neighbours, and to their countrymen generally. That although most of these young men had not travelled to Europe, nor even crossed the ocean that separates their country from the rest of the world, indeed some of them had hardly travelled in their own country, and a few of them had never left even the confines of the towns which had given them birth, all of them had by studying all that is best and ennobling in English literature and freely conversing with noble-minded Englishmen, acquired a knowledge of the events that had happened and were happening in Europe, and especially in England, that thrice happy island, the home of liberty and progress. They had amongst other things learnt how the existing political institutions of England had obtained their present form; how English patriots, through adverse circumstances, had, by never-failing courage and indomitable perseverance, acquired, one after another, their present privileges of liberty of thought and freedom of action, both in the field of religion and politics. We all know how in ancient times noble persons resolved to devote their lives to the beautifying of their mother-cities, used to travel far and wide, and in their extensive travels used to come across the beauties of other cities and from such beauties to form general notions of beauty, and how on their return to their native cities, used to endeavour to beautify their own cities in accordance with the notions of beauty thus formed by them. In a similar manner our educated young men, whilst mentally travelling through the realms of the

History of Europe generally, and particularly the History of England, had their attention drawn to the political history of England, and thus acquired ideas of liberty, which in course of time, they thought of applying to their own country. In short, they became anxious to regenerate the political condition of India. They felt, however, that the vast majority of their own countrymen, among whom higher education had not yet permeated, would at first give them no support but rather ridicule, and would obstruct them. At the same time they anticipated that the ruling class might misunderstand them. They felt they had serious difficulties to contend with in the initial stage. Misrepresentation and misunderstanding are elements which every new movement has to combat with. They resolved, therefore, to be cautious and circumspect, and at every step to feel the ground before they actually put their foot thereon. They were, of course, prepared to face adverse and hostile criticism, obloquy and accusations. The English martyrs, they knew, had undergone all this, nay, even suffered tortures and death. But our young men felt they had certain advantages which English martyrs had not. The Government had educated them, had in a manner sown the seeds of and fostered their new ideas. Some Englishmen themselves sympathised with them. Under the ægis of English Rule they had toleration, and, believing in their new faith, and resolved to go through all trials, all struggles, all vicissitudes, they started to put their ideas into execution. The origin of the Congress was thus an epoch in the history of the country, and with the establishment of the Congress began a new era in the political history of India, and during the years that have followed, the movement has extended from a comparatively few persons to the whole of the educated classes and has already begun to agitate the masses, and if it is guided in the future, as it has been guided in the past, by moderation, prudence, and sagacity, is bound to have a decisive influence on the destinies of British India for the good of the country and for the glory of England. The Congress is now favoured with the presence of about two thousand members from as many hundred places, all speaking the "sober second thoughts" of the people and counting amongst them the foremost leaders of opinion in the country, and all the culture, the intelligence and the public spirit—indeed, the collective wisdom of the united, educated, and thinking portion of British India. It holds its sittings in the most important cities in the empire, under the presidency of the most prominent Indians of the day as well as of Englishmen of the genuine sympathy of the late Mr. George Yule, Sir William Wedderburn, and Mr. Alfred Webb.

The first President of the Congress was an able representative of Bengal, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, an able and experienced member of our legal profession (who is known to have more than once refused a High Court Judgeship), whose devotion to his country is well known.

The second President was my fellow-citizen, Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, whose invaluable and disinterested services to his country for nearly half a

First Day. century, not forgetting the work recently done in Parliament, are now matter of history. In fact, he may be said to be the principal maker of the political history of the country.

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The third President was my honored and distinguished co-religionist, Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabji, an educated and cultured Mussulman of catholic views.

The fourth President was the late Mr. George Yule, a distinguished Anglo-Indian merchant, who had taken a deep interest in the welfare of this country and its people.

The fifth President was again an Anglo-Indian, a member of the Indian Civil Service, a distinguished champion of the Congress movement, Sir W. Wedderburn, Baronet, M. P., who has worked both in and out of Parliament with a devotion which has commanded the admiration of all India.

The sixth President was my valued friend, Mr. P. M. Mehta, one of the most enthusiastic and devoted adherents of the cause of India, whose record of services for the last thirty years is one of which every one of my countrymen ought to be proud.

The seventh President was Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, a distinguished representative from Madras, an eminent leader in his own Presidency.

The eighth President was again Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, of whom I have already spoken.

The ninth President was again Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, the self-denying unique patriot of India, whose advent to Lahore was the cause of those unparalleled demonstrations which are already historical.

The tenth President, Mr. Webb, was a warm-hearted and reflective Irish Member of Parliament in deep sympathy with our aspirations.

The eleventh President was The Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee, whom I have already referred to.

This brief record shows the cosmopolitan character of this great movement. It also indicates how representative it has been of all the communities of this great empire, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, and Anglo-Indians. Their addresses prove that the Congress is not a party organization or a political caucus, but an assembly representative of the light and leading of this vast Empire, dealing with public matters and serving public interests generally in a broad and catholic spirit, with the view not of supplanting, as is often erroneously and absurdly alleged, but of supporting the Government of this country.

The only communities that remain yet unhonoured in this matter are the Eurasians, the Portuguese, and the Jews. It is not, I presume, from any lack of desire on the part of this Congress that they have not yet been

honored with the election of one of them as president, but because the communities are small, and it is difficult to find from them representative men. In the case of the Eurasians, this opportunity would have been gladly availed of had not the late Mr. D. S. White, the President of the Eurasian Association, been snatched away from us by the cruel hand of death soon after the date of the first Congress held in Bombay, at which he was present. I hope, and this assembly will, I trust, share my hope, that these communities also will have their turn in proper time.

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With a record of such illustrious Presidents before me, and coming, as I had to do, immediately after one of the most eloquent modern Indian orators and leading spirits of the wealthy and educated province of Bengal, I naturally felt diffident of my ability to discharge the onerous and responsible duties devolving upon the occupant of this chair, but counting, as I have already stated, upon your indulgence, forbearance, and generosity, your sympathy and support, I consented to preside, resolved to follow the example of my esteemed friend Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabji, who has had the benefit of eight years' residence in England, is a gentleman of manifold experience, moderate and considerate views on public affairs, and who has been eminently successful, but is nevertheless an orthodox Mussulman commanding the confidence and respect of his co-religionists. The one great object-lesson which his example teaches, is, that Mussulmans, with benefit to themselves, and consistently with Mussulman interests,—even assuming that Mussulman interests as unthinkingly alleged, are in conflict with the interests of the rest of the Indians,—can and ought to take part in this national movement.

The Policy of England.

I now proceed to point out how far in unison with the declared policy of Great Britain and British statesmen is the programme of the Indian National Congress. From the following few extracts it will be seen that the Congress is doing nothing but nobly endeavouring to practically pursue the very policy which the statesmen whose views I give in these extracts laid down for the better government of India during the best part of the present century.

Sir John Shore, in 1787: "Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the State, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced), there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counterbalanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion."

Mr. Charles Grant, in 1797: "Whatever diversity of opinion may have prevailed respecting the past conduct of the English in the East, all parties will concur in one sentiment that we ought to study the happiness of the vast body of subjects which we have acquired there. Upon this proposition—taken as a truth of the highest sincerity and importance, the

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following observations are founded Al- though in theory it never can have been denied that the welfare of our Asiatic subjects ought to be the object of our solicitude, yet, in practice, this acknowledged truth has been but slowly followed up Of late undoubtedly much has been done, and excellently done, to improve the condition of our subjects in the East, yet, upon an attentive examination, it may perhaps be found, that much yet remains to be performed." Amongst measures of improvement, Mr. Grant advocates that no force but reason should be employed; that knowledge should be communicated to the natives of India through the medium of the English language; extension of printing for dissemination of English ideas; enlightening Indians by promoting mechanical industry; improvement in agriculture by the introduction of machinery."

The Act of 1813: "That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India, and such means ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement, and in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing the benevolent designs, so as the authority of the local Governments respecting the intercourse of the Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and the principles of the British Government on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be unavoidably maintained."

By clause 43 of this Act it was ordered that the sum of £10,000 should be appropriated to the education of the natives in all the three presidencies. This was the *first* statutory declaration enjoining on the East India Company to spend a lakh of rupees on education. The sum, however, was not spent till 1824, which is the first year in which the State spent some money on education.

On the 2nd October 1815 Lord Moira issued a minute declaring his solicitude for the moral and intellectual condition of the natives and his anxiety to see established and maintained some system of public education.

In 1817 Lord Hastings announced that the Government in India did not consider it necessary to keep the natives in a state of ignorance in order to retain its own power; consequent on this announcement the Calcutta Text-Book Society and the Hindu College were immediately founded.

Elphinstone, in 1823:—"It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest and our honor are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone

that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-reliance from which all other good qualities spring, and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. We have all often heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population, of the savings of a life squandered on some one occasion of festivity, of the helplessness of the ryots which renders them a prey to money-lenders, of their indifference to good clothes or houses which has been used on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them, and finally of the vanity of the laws to protect them when no individual can be found who had spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour; there is but one remedy for all this, which is education. If there be a wish to contribute to the abolition of the horrors of self-immolation and of infanticide, and ultimately to the destruction of superstition in India, it is scarcely necessary now to prove that the only means of success lie in the diffusion of knowledge.”

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Sir John Malcolm in 1828:—“One of the chief objects, I expect, from diffusing education among the natives of India, is our increased power of associating them in every part of the administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement, and of security. I further look to the employment of the natives in such duties of trust and responsibility as the only mode in which we can promote their improvement; and I must deem the instruction we are giving them dangerous, instead of useful, unless the road is opened wide to those who receive it to every prospect of honest ambition and honorable distinction.”

The Court of Directors in 1830:—In the meantime we wish you to be fully assured, not only of our anxiety that the judicial offices to which natives are at present eligible should be properly filled, but of our earnest wish and hope to see them qualified for situations of higher importance and trust. There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the natives than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employments in the Civil administration of India. As the means of bringing about this most desirable object, we rely chiefly on their becoming, through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilized Europe, on the general cultivation of their understandings and specifically on their instruction in the principles of morals and general jurisprudence. We wish you to consider this as our deliberate view of the scope and end to which all our endeavours with respect to the education of the natives should refer. And the active spirit of benevolence, guided by judgment, which has hitherto characterized your exertions, assures us of your ready and jealous co-operation towards an end which we have so deeply at heart.

“The improvements in education however which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people, are those which concern the education of the higher classes, of the persons possessing

Lord Lytton in 1877 :—“ But you the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honor and consistent with the aims of its policy.”

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Lord Ripon in 1882 :—“ The document (Her Majesty's Proclamation) is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument, it is a declaration of principles of Government, which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir Fitz-James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were free to be received and acted upon by the Government of England it would do more harm than anything else could possibly do to strike at the very root of our power and to destroy our just influence, because that power and that influence rest upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our armies.”

“ My study of History has led me to the conclusion that it is not by force of her armies or by the might of her soldiery that a great empire is permanently maintained, but it is by the righteousness of her laws, by her respect for the principles of her justice.”

Lord Dufferin in 1887 :—“ Glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn among them (the people of India), circumstances permitted me to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given, a generation ago, by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen, as by their influence, by their acquirements and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen, were marked out as useful adjuncts to our legislative councils,”

The principles of policy, which may be deduced from the above extracts are—

(a) That it is the duty of England to study the interest, the happiness and the welfare of the people of India.

(b) That it was not necessary to keep the people of India in a state of ignorance in order to retain the power of England over India.

(c) That the people of India should be educated. That this education should be given to them through the medium of the English language and that English ideas should be disseminated broadcast amongst them.

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(d) That the people of India should be associated in the administration of the country and that every prospect of honest ambition and honorable distinction should be open to them.

(e) That all disabilities in regard to public employment should be removed.

(f) That the policy of British Rule in India should be a policy of justice, good faith and righteousness, and of advancement of the people.

The Proclamation.

I now pass on to the gracious Proclamation of the Queen in 1858—a Proclamation which is rightly held to be the Magna Charta of the Indian people. It will be observed that it is to secure the fulfilment of the solemn pledges of the Proclamation that the Congress is strenuously endeavouring. It is because some of the pledges remain unfulfilled and others are violated that the Congress is obliged to appeal to our rulers. Let me now repeat some of the extracts.

“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 blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.”

“And it is our further wish, that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be truly and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity to discharge.”

This document is, as stated by Lord Ripon, a Declaration of Principles of Government. It is the Magna Charta of British India. It was not the result of agitation or even of petition. It was granted by the free will and pleasure of the sovereign, and truly displays the generosity of the Royal nature. It was given after the suppression of the Mutiny, and is a remarkable proof of the clemency of the British Crown. It is characteristic of the Noble Lady, the Mother of her subjects, whose reign has been an epoch in the History of the world. Deep reliance on merciful Providence and true sincerity pervade the document. It is stated that this century, which is rapidly approaching its end, has been the humanitarian century *par excellence*, and has seen the end of many injustices and of many follies, that deserved to be wiped off the face of creation. But of all the mementos of this humanitarian century, so far as India is concerned, the Proclamation will stand the highest and will be cherished the deepest and the longest by a grateful people.

General Remarks.

It will be observed from the above extracts, both from the opinions of the English statesmen and from the Proclamation, that the people of

England, possessing, as they do, a genuine admiration for their own constitution, and jealous as they are for their own liberty, are not the people to view with disfavour the political aspirations of the people of India, aspirations for sooth, which the people of England themselves have deliberately inspired in the hearts of the people of India by purposely educating them in the English language, by disseminating amongst them English ideals of political life and by encouraging them to raise themselves by education, intelligence and integrity, so as to become qualified to occupy positions of importance and trust in the service of the Government, as also to take part in the administration of the country. Under the circumstances, those persons—and I regret to say some such do exist amongst my community—who imagine that the people of England are at heart against the people of India are certainly doing a great injustice to the people of England. It may be that such wrong-headed persons may have been led into committing the mistake by the insular rigidity of England and the stiff and stand-off attitude of some Englishmen and their rough refusal at times to budge or bend an inch. But surely such persons should not be carried away by outward appearances or by false inferences derived from such outward appearances. If such people will go a little deeper into things, their minds will soon be disabused of these pure delusions. In fact, a more honest or sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English nation; and there ought to be no doubt whatever as to the ultimate concession of our demands, founded as such demands are on reason and justice on the one hand, as on the declared policy and the plighted word of the people of England on the other,—provided always that the people of India are true to themselves. I repeat that there can be no doubt whatever as to these reasonable demands being ultimately conceded.

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Sir William Wilson Hunter, in his article dealing with "the effects of a strongly constructed and vigorously enforced system of Western instruction upon an Asiatic population," says "India is now going through a quicker and more striking metamorphosis. We sometimes hear its marvellous awakening compared to the renaissance of Europe four hundred years ago. But in India the change is not only taking place on a greater scale; it also goes deeper. It derives its motive power, moreover, not from the individual impulse of isolated men of genius or of cultured popes and princes, but from the mighty centralising force of a Government which, as an engine of human unification, has had nothing to compare with it since the days of Imperial Rome. English rule in India is however calmly carrying out processes of consolidation that never entered the brain of Roman statesman or emperor. While maintaining a policy of cold non-interference towards the rival religions, the domestic institutions, and the local usages of the Indian peoples, it is silently undermining those ancient separatist influences which made for the isolation of races. It has created a new nexus for the active intellectual elements in the population,—a nexus which is beginning to be recognised as a bond between man and man and between province and province, apart from the ties of religion, of geographical propinquity, or of caste, a nexus interwoven

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"I may therefore briefly say that those political movements are the legitimate and inevitable results of Western education in India. The men who conduct them are the men to whom in all other respects, intellectual and moral, we are accustomed to point as the highest products of British rule in India. They are the men who form the natural interpreters of our rule to the masses of the people. To speak of such men, when their activity takes a political direction as disaffected, would be equally unjust and untrue; for they are the men who, of all our Indian fellow-subjects, realise most clearly that their interests, present and future, are identified with the permanence of British rule.

"But brief as this survey has unavoidably been, it suffices to show that the present political movements among the Indian races are only one aspect of a general advance, moral, intellectual, and industrial, that is now going on. The most significant fact connected with the late Indian National Congress at Bombay was not its marvellous assemblage of 1889 representatives from every province of India. It was rather that this great gathering for political purposes was held side by side with a still greater meeting in the same city for ameliorating the condition of women in India, the Social Reform Conference, attended by 6,000 persons, chiefly Hindus. A political movement which is purely political—may be wise or unwise; but a political movement which forms part of the general advance of a people to a higher state of society and to a nobler ideal of domestic and individual life, is irresistible. It may be guided, it may be moderated, but it must assuredly be reckoned with."

At a meeting held on the 10th May 1866 at Aligarh, Syed Ahmed Khan, in a deliberate speech, said;—"It is with great regret that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect that body, Gentlemen, to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before it?..... There are many men now composing it, liberal in their views, just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race. To excite this interest however it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves be made clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, Gentlemen, that the wants, be the wants of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian or the Mahomedan, of the black-man or of the white, will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India, with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her.....so characteristic of Eastern races, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy, apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her budget brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency are

to be properly represented in the governing body of the British nation? It has come, Gentlemen, and I entreat you to interest yourselves for your country. The European section of the community in India, now grown so large, have set on foot an association in London with branch associations in India, in order to have Indian affairs and the wants and desires of all classes of her inhabitants brought prominently to the notice of Parliament.....but unless the entire native community out here co-operate with them, place funds at their disposal, and take such measures as may conduce to place the scheme on a permanent basis, the opportunity will be lost, the natives of India will be unrepresented, and you will only have yourselves to reproach when in after years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions, whilst your wants remain still unmet.

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"I am afraid that a feeling of fear, that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented, were you to inaugurate a measure like, this deters you from coming forward for your country's good. Are the Europeans thought factious and discontented? Believe me, that this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded: and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope such a healthy sign of increased civilization on the part of its inhabitants. If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race like the English than if you remain, as you now are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every Government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motives, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy, whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you, my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of affairs is inimical to the well-being of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government." Syed Ahmed Khan then quotes from Mr. John Stuart Mill the following passage: "The rights and interests of every one of any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The second is that the general prosperity attains a greater height and is more widely diffused in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it." Syed Ahmed Khan then proceeds: "These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are to those of any

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other nation, and it is in your power, it now rests with you alone, to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you be afraid? Here am I, a servant of Government, speaking out plainly to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction—one which I have invariably expressed, both in public and in private—that the greater the confidence of the people of India in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the present Government rests, and the more mutual friendship is cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefit to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your rulers, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes and fears, and you may be quite sure that such a course of conduct will place you in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights, and that this is compatible, nay synonymous, with true loyalty to the State, will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth hearing.”

The Mussulmans and the Congress.

[It is imagined by some persons that all, or almost all the Mussulmans of India, are against the Congress movement. That is not true.] Indeed, by far the largest part do not know what the Congress movement is. Education of any sort or kind is conspicuous by its absence amongst them, and their habitual apathy has kept them from understanding the movement at all. In fact, they are blissfully ignorant. What the causes of such ignorance and apathy are, will be presently inquired into. [It will be sufficient here to state that one infinitely small class of persons who have received liberal education through the medium of the English language, and another equally infinitely small class of persons who have received no education whatever through the medium of the English language, but who have acquired a smattering of what they are pleased to consider education through the Hindustani language, have considered it a fashionable thing to abuse the Congress and Congressmen as such. There being thus two different classes of malcontents] if they may be so called, the grounds of their opposition are naturally different, nay even inconsistent, with each other. There is a third class, also, a small one at present, who have recently risen from their apathy and are honestly endeavouring to educate themselves in the right direction and are destined soon to come to the front, and, it may safely be surmised, will become as enthusiastic supporters of the Congress movement as any; but with this last-mentioned class we have no immediate concern, and this address will confine itself to the two classes first mentioned. Before going, however, through the grounds of opposition on the part of these two classes it is desirable to revert to the causes of ignorance and apathy aforesaid. An advocate of the views of the first two classes might

well be supposed, if he ever cared to put his views systematically, to place First Day the case for the Mahomedans in the following way;—

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[Before the advent of the British in India, the Mussulmans were the rulers of the country. The Mussulmans had, therefore, all the advantages appertaining to the ruling class. The sovereigns and the chiefs were their co-religionists, and so were the great landlords and the great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility, or carrying influence and high emoluments, was by birth-right theirs. The Hindu did occupy some positions, but the Hindu holders of position were but the tenants-at-will of the Mussulmans. The Mussulmans had complete access to the sovereigns and to the chiefs. They could, and did, often eat at the same table with them. They could also, and often did, intermarry. The Hindus stood in awe of them. Enjoyment and influence and all the good things of the world were theirs. Into the best-regulated kingdoms, however, as into the best-regulated societies and families, misfortunes would intrude and misfortunes did intrude into this happy Mussulman rule. By a stroke of misfortune, the Mussulmans had to abdicate their position and descend to the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen. The Hindus who had before stood in awe of their Mussulman masters were thus raised a step by the fall of their said masters and with their former awe dropped their courtesy also. The Mussulmans who are a very sensitive race, naturally resented the treatment and would have nothing to do either with their rulers or with their fellow-subjects. Meanwhile, the noble policy of the new rulers of the country introduced English education into the country. The learning of an entirely unknown and foreign language, of course, required hard application and industry. The Hindus were accustomed to this, as even under the Mussulman rule, they had practically to master a foreign tongue, and so easily took to the new education. But the Mussulmans had not yet become accustomed to this sort of thing, and were, moreover, not then in a mood to learn, much less to learn anything that required hard work and application, especially as they had to work harder than their former subjects, the Hindus. Moreover, they resented competing with the Hindus, whom they had till recently regarded as their inferiors. The result was that so far as education was concerned, the Mussulmans who were once superior to the Hindus now actually became their inferiors. Of course, they grumbled and groaned, but the irony of fate was inexorable. The stern realities of life were stranger than fiction. The Mussulmans were gradually ousted from their lands, their offices; in fact everything was lost save their honor. The Hindus, from a subservient state, came into the lands, offices and other worldly advantages of their former masters. Their exultation knew no bounds and they trod upon the heels of their former masters. The Mussulmans would have nothing to do with anything in which they might have to come into contact with the Hindus. They were soon reduced to a state of utter poverty. Ignorance and apathy seized hold of them while the fall of their former greatness rankled in their hearts. This represents the

First Day. train of thought which pre-occupies the mind of many who would otherwise be well disposed towards this movement: all will admit that though they might object to particular statements, on the whole there is an element of truth which explains the Mahomedan depression:

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"Almost everywhere" says Sir W. W. Hunter, "it was found that the Hindu population seized with avidity on the opportunities afforded by State Education for bettering themselves in life; while the Mahomedan community, excepting in certain localities, failed as a whole to do so. State Education thus put the finishing stroke to the influence of the Mahomedans, as the former ruling race in India. That position they had inherited from the time of the Mogul Empire, and during the first period of the Company's administration they still held an undue proportion of official posts. In the last century Mussulman Collectors gathered the Company's land-tax in Bengal, Mussulman Foujdars and Ghatwals officered its police. A great Mussulman department, with its head-quarters in the Nawab Nazim's palace at Murshidabad, and a net-work of Mussulman officials over every district in Lower Bengal, administered the Criminal Law. Mussulman jailors kept ward over the prison population of Northern India; Kazis or Mahomedan Doctors of law presided in the civil and domestic courts. When the Company first attempted to administer justice by means of trained English officers in its Bengal possessions, the Mahomedan Law Doctors still sat with them as their authoritative advisers on points of law. The Code of Islam remained for many purposes the law of the land; and the ministerial and subordinate offices of Government continued to be the almost hereditary property of the Mussalmans." But with the introduction of English education, "the Hindus began to pour into every grade of official life; and the state system of education in 1854 completed the revolution." Teaching disappeared everywhere, even in the mosques. After the Mahomedan conquest of India the mosques had become "the centres of educational activity, and were supported by imperial or local grants of land." But the mosques now ceased teaching, even in Lower Bengal, the Province which, "a hundred years previously, was officered by a few Englishmen, a sprinkling of Hindus, and a multitude of Mahomedans." The Mussalmans lost all ground.....

"It became apparent that western instruction was producing not only a re-distribution of employments but also an upheaval of races."

The Government of India, that is the English gentlemen, both in England and in India, directly concerned in carrying on the administration of India, became alarmed at this state of things. The English people, generally, were grieved at the mistaken, yet noble, race of Indian Mussulmans thus going fast to ruin. Despatch after despatch was sent to India to do something for the Mussulmans. Special facilities were ordered. Some Mussulmans were after all found willing to receive liberal education, and

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13. That Government employment should be conferred not on the test of examinations, but by selection on the ground of race, position of the family, and other social and local considerations.

14. That public distinctions, such as seats on the Legislative Councils, Municipal Boards, and other Public Bodies, should be conferred not by the test of election, but by nomination based on the ground of race, and social influence and importance.

15. That inasmuch as the Congress is a representative body, and inasmuch as the Hindus form the majority of the population, the Congress will necessarily be swamped by the Hindus, and the resolutions of the Congress will, to all intents and purposes, be the resolutions of the Hindus, and the Mussulmans' voice will be drowned, and, therefore, if the Mussulmans join the Congress they will not only not be heard, but will be actually assisting in supporting Hindus to pass resolutions against the interest of the Mussulmans, and to give color to such resolutions as the resolutions of Hindus and Mussulmans combined, and thus aiding in passing resolutions against themselves and misleading Government into believing that the Mussulmans are in favour of such resolutions.

16. That Mussulman boys have to learn the languages appertaining to their religion, before joining schools; they are, therefore, at a disadvantage in the start for English education as compared with the Hindus. That the result is, that the Hindus pass the examinations, and as Government employment is given upon the test of examinations, the Mussulmans are necessarily ousted from Government employment, and it follows that the test of examination is not a fair test.

17. That as employments are given on the test of examinations, the result is that Hindus get such employment, and even in districts where the majority of the population are Mussulmans, the Hindus form the subordinate officialdom. That the Hindus being hostile to the Mussulmans, lord it over them, and the Mussulmans are naturally grieved to be lorded over by the Hindus; that in many cases these Hindus are from the lower strata of society, and in that case they tyrannise the more and thus aggravate the harsh treatment of the Mussulmans. That the result is that the Mussulmans, and amongst them Mussulmans descended from royal and noble families, are mortified at being not only ruled over, but even molested by and tyrannised over, in all manner of ways by Hindus, and Hindus of the lowest orders.]

Answers to the above objections.

1. Mussulmans in the past—Mussulmans not in name only, but orthodox, true Mussulmans—constantly travelled in foreign lands and mixed with all the nations of the world. The Mussulmans in India are the descendants of the Mussulmans who thus travelled to and settled in India, and of the Hindus

whom such Mussulmans converted to Islam. All the Mussulmans in India have always lived side by side with the Hindus and mixed with them and even co-operated with them, both during the period of the Mussulman rule, as also since then. In fact, both the Mussulmans and the Hindus, as also other races residing in this country, are all equally the inhabitants of one and the same country, and are thus bound to each other by ties of a common nativity. They are all sharers in the benefits and advantages, as also in the ills, consequent on common residence; and, so far as natural and climatic conditions are concerned, all the inhabitants, irrespective of all other considerations, are subject to common joys and common sorrows, and must necessarily co-operate with each other, as humanity is imperfect and dependent on co-operation. Again, both the Mussulmans and the Hindus are subjects of the same Sovereign and living under the protection of the same laws, and are equally affected by the same administration. The object of the Congress is to give expression to the political demands of the subjects and to pray that their political grievances may be redressed and their political disabilities may be removed; that the political burdens of the country may be lightened and its political condition may be ameliorated; that the political status of millions of human beings who are their fellow-countrymen may be improved, and their general condition may be rendered more tolerable. It is a most meritorious work, a work of the highest charity. No nobler or more charitable work could possibly be conceived. The only question is whether there should be two separate organisations, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, both simultaneously doing the same work, separate in name, but identical in nature and interest; or whether there should be a joint organisation. Obviously, the latter is preferable, especially as the Congress has no concern whatever with the religion or the religious convictions of any of its members.

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2. It is not true that the Congress movement is a movement in opposition to Government. It is a movement for the purpose of expressing the grievances of the subjects to Government in a legal and constitutional manner, and for the purpose of asking Government to fulfil promises made by Government, of its own free will and pleasure; in fact, it is the duty of all truly loyal subjects—subjects desirous of seeing the Government maintained in its power—to inform Government of their own wants and wishes as it is also the duty of Government to ascertain the wants and wishes of the subjects, and, indeed, those subjects who will not keep the Government well informed of their own wants and wishes cannot be called true friends of Government. We are all aware that the English nation, our common fellow-subjects, always makes it a point to inform Government of its own wants and wishes, so that Government may be able to fulfil such wants and wishes. In the case of India, moreover, promises have been made from time to time by Government to concede certain privileges; indeed, we have the plighted word of our most Gracious Sovereign herself confirming those promises. It is our duty, therefore, to remind Government of such promises and to ask it to fulfil them.

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3. Language is but the medium of expression. Orthodox and true Mussulmans have in their time learned the Greek, the Latin, and other languages. There is, therefore, nothing against learning any language. In fact, many Mussulmans of India; indeed, most of them, learn and speak languages other than the language of their religion. The objection, therefore, against learning the English language, which is moreover the language of our rulers, is so absurd on the face of it, that it need not be further adverted to.

4. The object of the Congress has already been stated. The success of the Congress, as has also been stated, instead of weakening Government, will only contribute towards the greater permanence of British rule in India. The Mussulmans, therefore, need not be frightened by phantoms created by their own imagination.

5. It is the duty of all good boys, who have by the liberal policy of their fathers been enabled to receive a liberal education, to repay the kindness of their fathers, by assisting their fathers in the management of their affairs with the aid of such education and by contributing to the maintenance and welfare of the family by all honest means in their power. Similarly, it is the duty of those subjects who have received a liberal education with the aid of Government, to repay the kindness of Government by assisting Government in the proper discharge of its high functions by informing Government of the shoals and rocks lying ahead in its path and thus enabling Government to steer clear of such shoals and rocks, and not to lie by quietly with a false sense of gratitude and leaving Government to run against such shoals and rocks and thus unintentionally, of course, but nevertheless contribute to its grounding ashore. True gratitude lies in true good wishes and true good assistance and not in false modesty and indolence.

6. If the Congress does not, as is alleged, adequately represent all the races, surely the fault lies, not on the shoulders of the Congress leaders who invite all the races, but on the shoulders of those races, themselves who turn a deaf ear to such invitation, and prefer not to respond to it. It is the duty of such races, in response to such invitation, to attend the Congress and not to blame the Congress when, in fact, they ought to blame themselves.

7. All public bodies, assembled in public meetings, desirous of giving every publicity to their proceedings and even keeping a public record of its transactions, ought to be judged by their sayings and doings. It is not right or proper to attribute to such bodies improper motives, unless such motives can be fairly and reasonably inferred from their sayings or doings or both. In fact, no person, having any sense of self-respect, ought to attribute improper motives, unless he is prepared to prove the same, and

it is to be hoped, for the honor of the Mussulmans, to cease from making reckless charges which they are not prepared to substantiate.

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8. As to the aims and objects of the Congress not being practical, it is a well known fact that public attention has been drawn to the demands of the Congress, and not only the classes but even the masses have already been awakened to a sense of their political grievances and disabilities. Government has also been pleased to take into its favourable consideration the demands of the Congress, and has partially conceded the expansion of the Legislative Councils and introduced the element of election therein. Indeed, if the Congress movement is continued with the same ability, prudence and sagacity that have characterized it in the past, and especially if those who have hitherto contented themselves with simply throwing out objections begin in right earnest to take part in the movement, the movement is certain to bear fruit in the very near future and to end in practical results.

9. As to the Congress not being important enough to deal with the subjects it takes up, it will not be denied that the Congress contains in its ranks some of the most educated, most wealthy and most influential men of the day, some of whom have occupied—and occupied honorably—public offices of trust and importance, and most of whom are leaders of their respective centres. In fact, in the Congress camp one comes across legislators, municipal councillors, rich zamindars, extensive merchants, renowned lawyers, eminent doctors, experienced publicists, indeed, representatives of every industry and every profession in the land. In fact, it will be hard—nay impossible—to name any other non-official public body equally important with the Congress.

10. As to the modes of government prevailing in the West not being adapted to India, the position stands as follows. In a primary state of society, whilst a particular small nation, confined to a narrow strip of territory, is governed by a single ruler, who generally belongs to that nation and is residing in that territory, as the nation is not a numerous one and the territory not a large one, the ruler is necessarily in daily and constant touch with his subjects. The affairs of the State are of a very limited nature and do not occupy much time of the ruler. Moreover, there are not special or local circumstances of sufficient importance to be taken into consideration. The affairs of the State are of a simple nature. The offices are not many and do not require special merits for their proper performance. Whenever, therefore, the ruler has to appoint to a post, the ruler himself is qualified to do so. He does not find it necessary to resort to any complicated method for the performance of this part of his duty. Hence the posts are filled without compelling the candidates to undergo the trouble of going through any definite or complicated course of instruction or examination. As the nation, however, increases in numbers, as the territory is enlarged and the needs of society become more numerous and more complicated, the number

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11. As to the modes of government prevailing in the West not being adapted to Mussulmans, the observations in answer to objection No. 10 also apply to this objection. The Mussulmans may be reminded that our Holy prophet did not name a successor. He left it to the believers to elect one for themselves. The Caliph or the successor was originally freely chosen by the free suffrages of the believers and was responsible to them for his acts. In later times this practice was altered, and the Caliphs were made hereditary; but this was done by the confidence and the consent of the believers. But even to this day, the sanction of the believers in the shape of *Biat*, is deemed necessary. "The Government of Islam," says Mr. Ahmed Risa, "is therefore in the hands of an elective monarch, limited in the exercise of his powers by prescriptive religious traditions. According to Mussulman Law, if the Caliph departs from these traditions, the body of the learned (Ulema) is armed with the right of remonstrating, and is even able to depose him. Amongst these traditions, there is one which makes it obligatory on the Caliph not to do, or even to resolve on, any act without first seeking the advice of the chiefs of the tribes and the doctors of the law—a principle very characteristic of Representative Government. According to Mussulman Law, the Caliph is bound to be just, to respect the liberties of the people, to love his subjects, to *consider their needs*, and *listen to their grievances*." "It is clear that Islam knew how to determine and regulate the rights and duties of the sovereign, even before England essayed the task." Islamism has no caste. "Let all your subjects," said Frederick the Great, "have the right to address you directly both in speech and writing." "The Mussulmans," says Mr. Ahmed Riza, "are free from clerical domination, and know nothing of rank or social grade." Said Ali, the fourth Caliph, "Superiority in knowledge is the highest title of honor." "The spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion" of the Mussulmans was remarkable, Mussulman cities were "full of savants and men of letters." "Roman Law and Greek Science continued their evolution among the Arabs." "The best of Holy wars," said our Holy Prophet, "is the righteous word spoken to a monarch who is acting tyrannically." "Islam knows no master: the Commander of the Faithful is only the chosen servant of the people." "Obedience to a Chief is limited; it is founded on the presumption that the Chief commands in the name of the law and in the interests of him who obeys." "'Obey me' said Abu Bekr (the first Caliph), 'so long as I go on in good practices. If I deceive myself, warn me. If you do not, you will be responsible.'" The Government of Islam is a collective authority in which every free citizen, in possession of his mental faculties, is bound by a common destiny, and shares its responsibilities." "Islamism is not occupied with supra-mundane interests alone. It does not say, 'Leave to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.' It teaches its adepts that they have a civil duty to fulfil here below, and especially the duty of controlling the conduct of Cæsar." Election and Representation as also Universal Brotherhood are the characteristics of Islam and ought not to be objected to by Mussulmans.) All Mussulmans are equal, and if they want any employment, they must like the rest

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pass public examinations. If they want any position of rank, they must endeavour to be fit for such position and resort to election, like the rest. Of course, if they can gain such position by nomination, they must thank their good fortune, but if they cannot, they have no right to grumble. They may contend, however, that so far as examinations are concerned, they are at a disadvantage, as compared with the Hindus. If that is so, it is no doubt a misfortune. But surely they must rely on merciful Providence and put their own shoulders to the wheel and by the grace of God they are bound to succeed in their efforts; nay even more, if they have more difficulties to overcome than the Hindus, so much the more creditable will be their success to them, and so much the more will they be qualified, not only for the initial posts, but for higher promotion. In fact, even in India, we find that when Mussulmans do really take to liberal education, they generally equal, if not even surpass the other races, and that Mussulmans are good not only in matters requiring muscle and valour, but also mental powers and intellectual vigor, and the Mussulman community of India can produce distinguished and deeply learned scholars, such as Mr. Justice Budruddin, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and Mr. Justice Mahmood, and here it may be remarked in passing that if Mussulmans in India have a few more leaders of educational advancement, of the calibre and energy, and persistence and devotion, of the type of Syed Sir Ahmed Khan, who has by his life-long services done a great deal for Mussulmans in this matter, and whose name will be remembered with gratitude and admiration for a long time to come, Mussulman education is bound to prosper. The Mussulmans may further contend that in elections they will be swamped. All that may be said here is that they are mistaken in thinking so. They have simply to try, and they will find that they will have no reason to complain. Assuming, however, that they are unsuccessful, notwithstanding their honest endeavours and notwithstanding their fitfulness, why, then Government will, for its own safety, be compelled to come to their help. Objections 12, 13, 14 and 16 have already been answered.

15. | It does not follow that, because the Hindus form the majority of the Congress, that the Resolutions of the Congress will be the resolutions of the Hindus. It is a standing rule of the Congress, solemnly passed and recorded, that if any proposal is disapproved of by the bulk of either the Hindus or the Mussulmans, the same shall not be carried. | Again the Congress is not a meeting of shareholders in a Joint-Stock Company or any other body formed for the gain of profit or for private interests, and a numerical majority does not and cannot influence its decisions—decisions by the bye, which cannot affect anybody as they are simply expressions of opinion, and as such must necessarily depend on their intrinsic sense and reasonableness to carry any weight with Government for whose benefit they are passed. | Again, so long as the Congress leaders happen to be men of education and enlightenment, men of approved conduct and wide experience, men, in fact, who have a reputation to lose, the Congress will never be allowed to run its course for the benefit of sectional, private or party

purposes. Again, if the Mussulmans attend Congress meetings, surely the Congress shall be bound to hear and to give careful consideration to Mussulman views, and arguments founded on facts and reason are bound to prevail. Assuming, however, that the Congress is reduced to a rabble meeting, which is not probable, why, then it will lose its position and nobody will pay any attention to its resolutions.

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The Mussulmans, however, instead of raising puerile and imaginary objections from a distance, should attend Congress meetings and see for themselves what is going on in such meetings. Indeed, they will find that even when one member puts forward cogent reasons in opposition to the proposal, such proposal is eventually dropped.

17. If the complaint in regard to the conduct referred to in the objection be correct, it may be mentioned that such conduct is not peculiar to any particular race.

It is in the nature of things that persons of low origin, born and brought up in the atmosphere of low morals, should, on finding themselves suddenly clothed with the authority of the Sircar, get their heads turned and be led into playing the tyrant. The less the education they have received, and the smaller the emoluments their posts carry, the greater their superciliousness, the more marked their contempt for others. Cringing to superior authority and lording it over the people who have anything to do official with them, are the distinguishing traits of these pests of society. Persons of high birth and culture, who have seen better days and better society may sometimes be naturally inclined to give to these supercilious tyrants sound thrashing so as to make them remember it to the end of their day and prevent them from reverting to their evil ways. But persons of high birth and culture naturally recoil from doing anything which may savour of vulgarity, and hence their silent sufferings. Government has been ever ready and willing to check high-handedness and insulting conduct on the part of their native subordinate officials. Europeans, both official and non-official, lovers of manliness and justice as they are, strongly disapprove their hauteur. But no Government, however watchful, and however anxious it may be, can possibly completely eradicate the evil, the true remedies for the removal of which are as follows. The standard of education required of candidates for subordinate official posts should be gradually raised higher and higher so as to compel the candidates to have better education and better culture, in order to make them forget the evil surroundings of the previous life and to take to a better appreciation of the moral law of nature. At the same time education should be disseminated all over the land, and the standard of education of the masses should be gradually and steadily raised, so that the masses, armed with the weapon of education, may not have meekly to submit to petty tyrannies, but may know how to protect themselves against them and to bring the offenders to a proper sense

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Advice to the Mussulmans.

All who believe in one God and acknowledge the Holy Prophet are true believers. The fundamental principles of Islam are few and simple. Islam knows no castes and ought not to have divisions and sub-divisions: yet we find Islam divided into sects, into innumerable divisions. This is certainly against the spirit of Islam. All true believers are equal. By Mussulman Law they can all eat with each other, nay more, they can eat with the followers of the Great Prophets on whom Revelation has descended. All Mussulmans can intermarry, nay more, Mussulman males can marry females from the followers of the Great Prophets. Yet the different sects of Indian Mussulmans will not intermarry, even amongst themselves. It is the duty of all true believers to educate themselves, their wives and their sons and their daughters so as to enable them to know God aright. Yet ignorance is the prevailing rule amongst Indian Mussulmans. Mussulman females are free. Marriage is a contract in which the husband and the wife are parties. Females have independent property. Yet amongst Indian Mussulmans there are frequent cases of maltreatment of wives. The Musjids are places of worship as also places for giving education, and places of meeting for discussion of social and political matters. Yet discussion and consideration and expression of opinions is an exceptional thing amongst Indian Mussulmans. Freedom of speech and liberty of action consistent with a few fundamental and world-recognised principles are the birth-right of Mussulmans. Yet Indian Mussulmans are content to sit idle. To point out to the rulers their own grievances and to ask redress for them is the privilege of Mussulmans. Yet Indian Mussulmans prefer to remain silent. To be active and to be energetic, to be enterprising and to be fearless, has been the characteristic of the faithful. Yet Indian Mussulmans prefer to remain indolent and apathetic. Are not Indian Mussulmans, then, to blame themselves? If the Indian Mussulmans once shake off their lethargy and rid themselves of their apathy, if they unite together and love each other, as members of the same fold, as brothers of a universal Brotherhood, mix with each other and intermarry, educate themselves and their wives and children, and meet together and exchange opinion and voice their grievances, and generally endeavour to raise themselves and actively co-operate in the raising of their brethren, they have under merciful Providence as bright a future before them as they had a glorious past. The Indian Mussulmans are a brave and generous race, and it is natural that they should smart under the misfortunes that have overtaken them and resent the treatment that has been and is extended to them. But certainly apathy and lethargy are not the means calculated to reinstate them in anything like their former greatness. Relying, therefore, upon merciful Providence and True Religion, and placing confidence in Almighty God, the Creator of the

Universe and the Dispenser of all things, they must rise equal to their present trials, and it is to be fervently hoped that the Benign Ruler may have mercy upon them and raise them again to prosperity and good fortune. One of the obvious means by which Indian Mussulmans can raise themselves is education. It is stated that there are five crores of Mussulmans in India. It is further stated that the average annual income per head of population in India is rupees twenty-seven. If so, the average annual income of Indian Mussulmans ought to be rupees one hundred and thirty-five crores. The *sakat* or tax on this income at the rate of two and a half per cent. comes to nearly rupees three crores. Making all possible allowances for those who may be exempted from payment of *sakat*, and for that purpose reducing it to one tenth, we can have the splendid annual sum of rupees thirty lacs, that is, at the rate of one anna per annum per head of Mussulmans in India, which is certainly not a very heavy average annual payment. If all the Indian Mussulmans join together and voluntarily contribute as above suggested, they will thereby be fulfilling one of the main commandments of Islam, and thus performing an act of duty. With this magnificent sum schools for primary, secondary and higher education can be established and maintained, and in such schools education as also food and clothing to students may be given, and there will, thus, every year, be maintained, lodged and educated thousands and thousands of Indian Mussulman youth. Government will have under the grant-in-aid rules, to contribute to this sum, and thus the total sum will be materially increased. If this system is established and continued, in the course of a few years, education will have permeated all ranks of Indian Mussulmans, and the condition of the whole body will have become so much improved as to be a matter for admiration. What is wanted is voluntary performance on the part of all Indian Mussulmans of a strictly religious duty and on the part of the leaders co-operation and good management, and it is to be devoutly wished that Mussulmans in every part of India, instead of scouting the idea will allow good sense for once to overcome apathy and lethargy and give to this suggestion a sympathetic consideration.

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It may be observed here in passing that it is sometimes contended in disparagement of the Indian Mussulmans that "Islam is unfit to be a moral code for a nation to live in"; that "the faith of Islam is incompatible with good government and with the happiness of a people." Both the above accusations are absolutely false. In fact, the tenets of Islam are inherently capable of good government and good and happy subjects. The very first and most fundamental doctrine of Islam that there is no God but God, that is but one God, is not only the true doctrine, but also binds the true believer to be a respectable man, and, if Mussulmans have become degenerated, it is not on account, but in spite, of Islam. Another fundamental doctrine is that of prayers. Prayers bring the human being in personal contact with his Creator. Another fundamental doctrine is that of observing fast, which teaches men by personal experience to think of the miseries of their fellow human beings.

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Another fundamental doctrine is that of charity, and which has been admitted all over the earth and in all times to be an excellent virtue. Another fundamental doctrine is that of Haj, which, apart from its religious benefit, has all the benefits of travel. There is nothing, therefore, in Islam to cause degeneracy, on the other hand, there is everything in Islam to make Mussulmans loyal subjects and good citizens.

Present Condition of India.

If you will look at the map of India, you will find that India has the appearance of a one-legged horse. India has from time to time been a prey to foreign invasions from without and to internecine wars within. Famine periodically visits the land, and so does plague. English rule has, however, stopped foreign invasion, and the Pax Britannica has put an end to internecine wars. Western arts and Western methods are employed to prevent— at all events to check—famine and plague, to keep them within gradually diminishing limits, and, under steadily increasing control, it is to be hoped that these monster evils will, in the near future, be completely laid at rest. The resources of the country are being gradually developed, and its trade is increasing. Public expenditure, however, under British rule, is increasing by leaps and bounds far beyond the national income that is at present realized, or that can reasonably be expected to be realized in the near future. The average income per year per head of population is, in England, £33 (thirty-three pounds sterling); in France, £23 (twenty-three pounds sterling); in Russia, over £9 (nine pounds sterling); in Turkey in Europe, £4 (four pounds sterling); whilst in India, it is only Rs. 27 (twenty-seven rupees,) or, at 1s. 4d. per rupee, £1-14-6 (one pound sterling fourteen shillings and six-pence). Thus the average income per year per head of population in India is about $\frac{1}{19}$ (one-nineteenth) of the average income per year per head of population in England; or, in other words, so far as the annual income is concerned, England is nineteen times better off than India, or India is nineteen times worse off than England. Again, the population of India is mostly agricultural. The ratio of town population to country population in India is one to twelve, that is, the agricultural population of India is $\frac{12}{13}$ (twelve-thirteenth) of the total population of the country. In England, the ratio of town population to country population is two to one, that is, the agricultural population in England is only $\frac{1}{3}$ (one-third) of the total population of the country. Thus town population, as compared to country population, is, in England, 24 to 12, whilst in India, it is 1-12; or, in other words, so far as the ratio of proportion of town population to country population is concerned, England is 24 (twenty-four) times better off than India. Again the population of British India is, in round numbers, 22 (twenty-two) crores whilst the total Imperial taxation, in round numbers, is Rs. 95 (rupees ninety-five) crores, or, in round numbers, Rs. 4-8 (rupees four and annas eight) per head of population; and, as the average annual income per head is Rs. 27 (rupees twenty-seven), the percentage of taxation to annual income is

$4\frac{1}{2}$ to 27, that is, sixteen-and-a half per cent. The population of the United Kingdom is, in round numbers, about four crores, whilst the total Imperial taxation is a little more than that of India and comes to about Rs. 25 (rupees twenty-five) per head; and, as the average annual income per head is £33, the percentage of taxation to income comes to about six per cent. Thus, so far as the percentage of taxation to income is concerned, India is two-and-a half times worse off than England. Moreover, it is a well-known fact, the same percentage of tax to income, when levied on persons having good incomes, may be easily borne by them and may not be at all felt by them; when levied on persons having poor or small incomes—may be heavily felt—may even become wholly unbearable. In fact, this incidence is now well admitted in the case of income-tax, and it is for this reason that, in levying that tax, incomes under a certain amount are wholly exempted, and on incomes above that amount and up to a certain amount, there is a sliding scale put into operation. Thus the ratio of $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of taxation to income, in the case of India, though nominally only two-and-a-half times higher than the ratio in the case of England, is in incidence, considerably more heavy, and India is, therefore, in reality, considerably worse off than that ratio indicates. Again, in the year 1849-50, the population of British India was about fifteen crores, whilst the expenditure was about twenty-seven crores. In the year 1894-95 the population was about twenty-two crores, whilst the expenditure was about ninety-five crores. The increase, in population, therefore, was $\frac{22}{15}$, or about fifty per cent., whilst the increase in taxation was $\frac{95}{27}$, or about three hundred and fifty per cent., that is, the growth of expenditure was about seven times the growth of population. During the same period, the charges of collection rose from 6.06 to 9.75, that is, more than fifty per cent.; the expenditure on civil administration rose from 6 to 14.83, that is, more than 240 per cent.; and the expenditure on Army rose from 11.39, to 24.31, that is, more than 213 per cent. Again, the estimated debt of British India for the year 1895 is £127 (one hundred and twenty-seven million pounds), whilst that of Great Britain is £660 (six hundred and sixty million pounds). Thus the Indian debt is about one-fifth of the British debt, whilst the capacity of India for repayment of debt, as judged by the average annual income per head of population, is only one-nineteenth! Again, the debt of Great Britain in the year 1875 was £780 (seven hundred and eighty million pounds); of India £130 (one hundred and thirty million pounds). Thus, from the year 1875 to the year 1895, the British debt is reduced by £120 (one hundred and twenty million pounds), whilst that of India, only by £3 (three million pounds). Again the rate of interest on public loan in England, in the year 1875, was $3\frac{1}{4}$ (three and one-fourth) per cent.; in India, 4 (four per cent.) and there is still a corresponding difference in favour of England and against India. Again, Great Britain annually pays, by way of interest, 12s. 9d. (twelve shillings and nine pence) per head; and, as the average annual income per head is £33 in England, the proportion of interest to income is nearly two per cent.; India annually pays, by way of interest, annas three and pies nine per head; and, as the

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average annual income per head is Rs. 27 in India, the proportion of interest to income is nearly one per cent. Thus a British subject, who, so far as his average income is concerned, is nineteen times better off than a British Indian subject, has to pay, by way of interest on national debt, only two per cent. out of his average income, whilst an Indian subject, who, so far as his average income is concerned, is nineteen times worse off than a British subject, has to pay one per cent. that is, in this respect also, is nine times worse off than British subject. Again, the Imperial expenditure of the United Kingdom has risen from 81 (eighty-one million pounds) in the year 1881 to 94 (ninety-four millions) in the year 1895. This addition is caused, for the most part, by an increase of the naval and military from 25 (twenty-five) to 38 (thirty-eight millions), an exceptional and temporary measure. The charges of the national debt have decreased from 28 (twenty-eight) to 25 (twenty-five millions), and the debt itself from 770 (seven hundred and seventy) to 660 (six hundred and sixty) millions. The Imperial expenditure of India has risen from 71 (seventy-one) crores in the year 1881 to 94½ (ninety-four-and-a-half crores) in the year 1894. The charges on the national debt have, contrary to what has happened in England, instead of decreasing, risen from 485 (four crores and eighty-five lacs of rupees) in the year 1881, to 512 (five crores and twelve lacs) in the year 1894, and the debt itself has increased from the year 1884 to the year 1894 as follows, that is, permanent debt in India from 93 (ninety-three crores) and odd to Rs. 104 (one hundred and four crores) and odd, and permanent debt in England from 69,271,088 (sixty-nine millions and odd) to Rs. 114,005,826 (one hundred and fourteen millions and odd). Again, the total land, according to the survey of India, is 539,848,840 (five hundred and thirty-nine and odd). Of this land actually cropped is 196,600,688 (one hundred and ninety-six millions and odd); current fallows, thirty millions and odd; available for cultivation, 99 (ninety-nine millions) and odd; not available for cultivation, 113 (one hundred and thirteen millions) and odd. Forests, 62 (sixty-two millions). The average incident of Government Revenue per cultivated acre is Rs. 1-3-2½ (one rupee three annas and two and two-fifths pies). The population of British India is 22 (twenty-two crores). The average acreage under food-crops is 18.60 (eighteen crores and odd). The average of food-crops per acre (both irrigated and unirrigated) is 0.31 ton or 694 (six hundred and ninety-four pounds). The total of food-crops is 576 (five crores seventy-six) lacs tons. The average consumption of food-grains per head of the population per annum is 585 lbs. (five hundred and eighty-five pounds) or per day 1.60 lbs. (one pound and six-tenths pounds). The total consumption is 577 (five crores and seventy-seven lacs) tons. It is clear from the above facts and figures, that India is a very poor country; that it is an agricultural country with but few manufactures; that Indians are a poor nation, living from hand to mouth—indeed, some of them actually starving and many of them having barely one meal a day; that taxation is very heavy; that charges for collection and the cost of administration, both civil and military, have increased far beyond the capacity of meeting them; that, notwithstanding the heavy taxation, the national debt—

especially the gold debt and the charges to meet such debt—are steadily increasing. First Day.

That the Indians are a poor people, that they are overtaxed, that the Civil and Military expenditure of India is excessive, that the drain from India is of a ruinous character, that both justice and self-interest demand of our rulers that native labour should be more and more substituted for foreign labour and that all unproductive expenditure should be stopped, the following extracts from the speeches and writings of English statesmen themselves, make abundantly clear.

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Mr. Bright, in the House of Commons, 14th June, 1858 :—“The cultivators of the soil, the great body of the population of India, are in a condition of great impoverishment, of great dejection, and of great suffering.”

Lord Lawrence in 1864 :—“The mass of the people enjoy only a scanty subsistence.”

Lord Lawrence, before the select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1873 :—

“The mass of the people of India are so miserably poor that they have barely the means of subsistence.”

Major Baring, Finance Minister of India, in his Budget speech, 1882, after stating that the average income per annum per head of population in India is Rs. 27, says :—“It is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is exceedingly poor.”

Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, 10th May 1870, said that India was “too much burdened.”

Mr. Bright, in his speech at the Manchester Town hall, 11th December, 1877 :—

“I say that a Government..... which has levied taxes till it can levy no more,..... and which has borrowed..... more than all that it can levy.....”

Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, 30th June 1893 :—“The expenditure of India and especially the Military Expenditure is alarming.”

Lord Salisbury :—“India must be bled.”

Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, Minute, 29th April 1875 :—
“..... where (in India) so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent.”

Mr. Bright, in the House of Commons, 24th June, 1858 :—“We must in future have India governed, not for a handful of Englishmen,.....”

Sir George Wingate in “A Few Words on our Financial Relations with India,” 1859.

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"They [taxes not spent in India] constitute.....an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country."

Mr. Fawcett, in the House of Commons, 5th May 1868:—

"Lord Metcalfe had well said that the bane of our system was that the advantages were reaped by one class and the work was done by another."

The Duke of Argyll, in the House of Lords, 11th March 1869:—

"I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty or the promises and engagements which we have made."

Sir George Wingate in "A Few Words on our Financial Relations with India." 1859:—

"Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from IndiaFrom this explanation some faint conception may be formed of the cruel, crushing effect of the tribute upon India." "The Indian tribute, whether weighed in the scales of justice, or viewed in the light of our own interest, will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense....."

Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, 23rd August 1883:—

"The Government of India cannot afford to spend more than they do on the administration of the country and if the country is to be better governed, that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the service."

Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India, in a letter to the Treasury, 1886:—

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of public revenue is very peculiar,.....from the character of the Government which is in the hands of foreigners who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the Army. The impatience of the new taxation which will have to be borne wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country, and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger the real magnitude of which it is to be feared is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of or concern in the Government of India, but which those responsible for that Government have long regarded as of the most serious order."

The table, recently prepared by Mr. W. Martin Wood, formerly Editor of the *Times of India*, whose knowledge of Indian finance and economies is surpassed by few, and who in his retirement still takes a deep and abiding interest in Indian affairs, gives the financial condition of the country at a glance so well that I will reproduce it here for your information.

Comparison of three Stages of Increase in Indian Expenditure during the last thirty years, that is, from June 1864-5 to 1894-5.

Heads of Expenditure, etc.	1864-5.		1874-5.		1884-5.		1894-5.		Increase.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	
(a) Gross Expenditure	45840000		57690000		71366070		94163609		48323600
<i>Deduct</i> chief items of outlay not being Administrative Charges :-									
Opium—Cultivation and Collection.	2325780		2560300		2966640		1646400		
Salt—Production and Collection	462130		492680		449328		497600		
Railways—Working Expenses	1565430		4085000		12949306		23629400		
	4353340		7137980		16365274		25773400		
(b) State Expenditure (Civil and Military)	4148666		50552020		55000796		63390200		26903540
(c) Army Charges (adding Military Works charged to Revenue and deducting Receipts)	15888060		15584600		17453424		24338400		8446740
(d) Civil Expenditure (including post Telegraph and mint)	25598600		34967420		37544372		44057400		18458800
(e) Aggregate (net) Military Expenditure (in three decades)			Rx. 162464818		184929075		220563743		58098925
			To the decade ending 1884-5 must be added the contribution from the British Treasury five millions sterling, approximately		5850000		(Includes Special Defence Works.)		
					190779075				
(f) Public Debt at the period	{ Rx. 7445768		69757678		93132425		104349278		Rx. 29891597
	{ £26125100		48876116		69271088		116109490		£ 89984390
(g) Council Bills drawn for in the year	£6729473		10841615		13758900		15532300		8802827
(h) Home charges during the year	£4997495		12905585		17527466		15594500		10597005
(i) Excess of India's Exports over Imports	Rx. 19960000		12620000		15630000		34082000		
(k) Arrears due from Guaranteed Railway Companies for interest in excess of net earnings	£6650000		24629000		25949613		23185015		

Again, in the words of another Englishman, money is leaving the country without commercial "equivalent" to the tune of £25,000,000 (twenty-five millions pounds) yearly, or if you take the present fall of the rupee into consideration, then to the tune of forty millions pounds yearly. In short, it is as clear as possible that the ability of the country to bear any fresh taxation is exhausted, and any further burden on the taxpayers would simply break their back—a dangerous consequence to be avoided at all hazard. Yet it is stated that Indians should remain silent, forsooth because it will be an act of disloyalty to discuss, aye even to discuss in a loyal and constitutional manner with the best of motives, honorable in themselves and calculated to ensure the safety of the country and the maintenance of the British rule in India, moderate measures of reform. It is true that English rule in India has done

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First Day. much for India, but much more yet remains to be done, and it is a matter of extreme surprise as well as of deep regret that the sort of supercilious objection above referred to comes from people who, to say the least of it, ought to know better. With the above facts and figures, and it is certainly not an overdrawn picture, glaring in their faces, all true lovers of their country, and all its inhabitants, and all its rulers, possessing the most ordinary common sense, if they have even a spark of humanity left in them, ought to bestir themselves, and leaving aside all differences arising from differences of race or creed and forgetting even just resentment, if there is any, join with their fellow-countrymen in the movement—sober and temperate as it is—expressly organised for the amelioration of the country, of their countrymen, themselves included. The objectionists should remember that even the most honest and the best regulated administration has constant need of proper criticism even at the best of times. For all Governments are, in their nature, monopolists, and as such have constantly to be watched and warned. In India, moreover, on account of its foreign character, it is excessively bureaucratic, more than other Governments in the world are, and, hence the greater necessity for constant watchful criticism on the part of the people. The Government of India, moreover, consisting as it does of capable and well-meaning gentlemen, is from the nature of its position and constitution, between two conflicting interests, the interests of England and the interests of India, and it is the sacred duty of all loyal Indian subjects to strengthen the hands of the Government of India in its laudable efforts to obtain financial justice for India by moral support of the united Indian nation; and judged from this point of view, keeping aloof from the Congress movement is not only undesirable but may even merit censure.

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If the short sketch above given of the Financial result of the British administration in India for one century only be correct, we are necessarily forced to ask "if these be the results in the green leaf, what will they be in the dry wood?" And yet Indian Mussulmans still hold aloof, alike from western education and from those political movements among our countrymen to which western education has given rise and when appealed to, they talk of difficulties in their way and ask for special encouragement and special facilities and special privileges. "Special encouragement to any class," said the Education Commission, "is in itself an evil, and it will be a sore reproach to the Mussulmans if the pride they have shown in other matters does not stir them up to a course of honorable activity; to a determination that whatever their backwardness in the past they will not suffer themselves to be outstripped in the future; to a conviction that self-help and self-sacrifice are at once nobler principles of conduct and surer paths to worldly success than sectarian reserve or the hope of exceptional indulgence."

Indeed it will be a happy day for India when the disproportion between the Mahomedans who ought to be at school, and those who are actually at school, is reduced to the lowest possible minimum, and the Indian Mussulmans, as a body, make it a point to educate their children and actively co-

operate in all the public movements in the country generally, and especially "our good Congress, the germ of future federated parliament.....with hearts honest, true and unselfish".....and participate in our great bloodless battle for justice and freedom and specially make a beginning now when "all minor sources of anxiety are overshadowed by the cloud now impending over our beloved land in which we too plainly discern the gloomy spectre of famine frowning down upon.....a teeming, frugal and ceaselessly industrious population" and join in asking a redress at the hands of Government and in expressing disapproval of the mistaken system, whereby the entire resources of 220 millions of people are placed at the disposal of able and well-meaning men who are nevertheless foreigners, who cannot in the nature of things sufficiently and adequately appreciate the wants, the necessities, the real condition of the people over whom they rule, and are naturally though unconsciously drifting to the conclusion that India is to be ruled for the glory of Great Britain and not for the good of her own people. That this system is a mistaken one and that a strong financial check is necessary is now admitted by eminent Englishmen themselves. Lord Welby, President of the Royal Commission now sitting, says, "Sir David Barbour made a criticism, which I think all officers connected with Financial departments must allow as a criticism of general application, namely, that sufficient attention is not given by the departments in India to the financial question. They hardly appreciate the gravity of it, and do not forecast what the financial effect of the measures on which they are bent may be. That, of course, is a defect common to all Governments. The heads of different departments very seldom take a general view of the effect of their administration. They are anxious to carry out measures which they think are important." Sir David Barbour says, "I certainly think that something is very desirable, which would ensure greater attention being paid to financial consideration in connexion with the Government of India.....I think it would be better for India, better all round, if more attention were given to the financial question, and if we went more slowly in periods of great apparent financial prosperity.".....Sir Auckland Colvin agrees with Sir David Barbour in the opinion.....Lord Welby further says "the point of Sir David Barbour's criticism, I think, might be put thus: that in a country like India where deficits are more dangerous than they would be here, where new taxation is more difficult than it would be here, the Government as a whole does not give sufficient attention to what may be the financial results of measures which it adopts.".....Whereupon Sir Auckland Colvin remarks, "I agree entirely to that, that in a country where the taxpayer is an alien, and is not able to make his voice directly heard, the need of giving close attention to economy in administration is greater than it would otherwise be." From these remarks coming as they do from such high authorities this Congress will be perfectly justified in coming to the conclusion that "the discussion upon the Budget, both in India and in Parliament, needs to be converted from a farce into a reality," and that all thinking and reasonable men will be justified in expecting all the races inhabiting British India to join the Congress and co-operate with it in the cause of their country and of

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First Day. themselves. Indeed, I have a presentiment, that in the very near future my co-religionists will not only join the Congress movement, but take active part in moulding it and will deem it the highest prize of their civic life to be permitted to preside at its sittings.

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Famine.

I now come to the most absorbing topic of the hour. After a lapse of twenty years, famine has again overtaken a greater part of the country. The insufficiency of rain-fall in Behar, in the North-West provinces, in the Punjab, in parts of Central India, in many districts of Bombay and Madras and in Mysore, has already led to distress among those classes who habitually live from hand to mouth. The cultivators, whose impoverished condition is well-known, are the greatest sufferers. Next come the class of small artisans and weavers; and then the day-labourers who barely eke out an anna per day as wages. The prices of food grains in every one of the afflicted tracts went up high, in some cases 50 and 100 per cent. This occurrence was most unusual. It has seldom happened that at the very beginning of the season of scarcity, prices of wheat, rice, bajri, and jowari have gone up so high as has been the case at present. That such a condition of affairs should have created panic and led even to looting and rioting as in Sholapur, in Nagpur, and elsewhere is not unintelligible. The people seem to have been frightened at the insufficiency of food-grain. They naturally thought that if a limited stock of grain, at the very commencement of the scarcity, should raise prices so high, what might, happen when the season advances and the stocks are exhausted? No doubt, the first impulse was to curse the Bania grain-dealer and lay on his head all their woes. But as the panic subsided, and as it became known that Government would spare no efforts to relieve the distressed, while the long arm of charity may be expected to loyally assist the efforts of the State, prices went down a little. This may be taken as the situation at present. The weekly official reports show that upwards of two lakhs of persons in various parts of the country are already employed on relief work, and that as week after week advances, the number will swell till at last it may reach a maximum in April and May, the number of which it is impossible to forecast at present. Every presidential and provincial Government has been straining its nerve to do its level best to cope with the distress which really bespeaks well of the humanity of our Government. British civilisation could not tolerate famine. And the head of the State has already declared from his place in the Council Chamber that his Government will endeavour to save life at all cost and all hazard. Let us all devoutly hope that it may be so able to achieve its noble intention without indulging in hope or prospect not founded on the realities or circumstances prevailing in the country. To entertain sanguine prospects which may not only be not realised but which may end in heavy mortality, otherwise preventible, would be grievous. For when we recall to mind the disastrous mortality which took place in 1877-78, when, according to official accounts, over 50 lakhs of human beings perished,

we cannot but contemplate with the gravest apprehension what may befall unhappy India at this dismal juncture, should the efforts and energy of the State, with all the ample resources and most perfect organisation at its command, be found to be not so satisfactory as the people have been led to expect. I do not mean to say that these efforts and energies will be wanting. But it is not unlikely that, here and there, owing to more sanguine estimates of food and fodder and other optimistic views, the same care and attention may not be paid. You may have on paper the most perfect Famine Code ; but, unless those entrusted with its work, from the highest to the lowest, do not fall short in carrying out its provisions by a variety of causes, it is not unlikely that mortality, otherwise preventable, may ensue. It is, therefore, the duty of every citizen and public body to heartily second the efforts of our benign rulers in saving life. The Press, too, is doing an invaluable service in placing before the public from day to day all intelligence regarding the famished in various parts of the country. It is discharging a noble duty worthy of its sacred functions, and we cannot but express our gratitude to it for its enterprise, which enables it to give such wide publicity to all intelligence in connexion with the famine. Its argus eyes can detect neglect, indifference or mismanagement anywhere, and enable the authorities concerned to set matters right at once. The primary and essential function is to see that relief is given in time. That it is not allowed to be too late when it may become impossible to save lives.

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That the Government, as the Hon'ble Mr. Woodburn observed the other day, is in a better position to-day to cope, and cope effectively, with famine, than it was 20 years ago, is no doubt perfectly true. We have had two crores of irrigation works and seven crores of protective railways constructed since 1880 out of the Famine Fund. Facilities of communication have been vastly increased ; many a tract of the country has been brought within the radius of our railways both trunk and branch. All these are assuring elements in connexion with the present famine which were wanting in 1877-78. But, while admitting these facts, we should not forget that despite branch or feeder railways, despite increased communications, despite other facilities of transit, if there be no sufficient food-stock in the country to move from the locality where it may be a surplusage to one where it may be most wanted, then these appliances and resources are unhappily of no avail.

Thus the most pressing question of the hour is not irrigation or railways, but the stock of food in the country. For your own province, I was rejoiced to see the other day from the note issued by your public-spirited and energetic Lieutenant-Governor that though there was an insufficiency of rice, the surplus of the Burma crops, plus importations from Singapur and Saigon, might be able to supply it. The Upper Provinces, under the able administration of the equally energetic Sir Antony Macdonnell, are a wheat consuming country. Though wheat has been less exported from those provinces last year for purposes of exports, it is not impossible that there may yet be a

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deficiency and if that is so, wheat may be imported from Persia, and Russia and even America though at a dear rate. Thus, the wants of that populous, but very poor, province might be fairly supplied. It is needless for me to inform you that the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh have a population numbering $4\frac{3}{4}$ crores. But it is so poor on the whole that according to the weekly reports the largest number of persons *gratuitously* relieved are to be found in that province, and it also has the largest number of persons employed on relief-works. But as regards the food-supply of the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Madras, I have not yet noticed full and detailed official estimates being placed before the public and if that is so I hope it will soon be done, for you will agree that an approximate knowledge of the stock vastly helps private enterprise and private charity between them to import grain and pour it into those localities where it is most needed.

But, this question of the stock of grain shows clearly that India lives from hand to mouth. A leading weekly journal in Bombay, the *Champion*, gave statistics a few weeks ago, based on the figures of the outturn of food per acre as given by the Famine Commissioners, shewing that with a population of 22 crores in British India, the total quantity of food required, at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per day per head, was 5.80 crores of tons, while the actual outturn of food-crops could not be estimated, at more than 5.76 crore tons, taking 18.60 crore acres as the whole area cultivated for these, and computing the outturn at 31 ton or 694 lbs. per acre. These statistics would lead us to infer that the outturn of food just sufficed for the population. But there is an average export of 25 lakhs of tons beyond the sea. If then exports were taken into account, the quantity actually retained for home consumption would be *pro tanto* diminished, that is to say, while the food required was 5.80 crore tons, the quantity available was only 5.51. This would signify a deficiency of 29 lakhs of tons which would mean insufficiency of grain for a crore of the population. If these statistics are wholly or even approximately correct and we have no reason for thinking they are not as they are founded on official figures, you may imagine, how perilous is the situation. The late Sir James Caird observed that India had no food-stock surplus to last even for ten days. Since he made that statement, which has never been contradicted, population has vastly increased, while the area annually cultivated for food-crops is barely enough. A further comparison shows that the area sown for non-food crops is relatively larger, as may be seen from the following table:—

	In crores of acres.		Percentage of increase.
	1880-81.	1894-95.	
Total food-crops	16.62	18.62	12
Total non-food crops	2.15	3.90	81

Thus, while the acreage of food-crops has only increased 12 per cent. in fifteen years, the acreage of non-food crops has increased 81 per cent., or almost doubled. Though it is a matter of satisfaction to know that the area

for merchantable crops has increased almost double, that the area for food-crops should not show the same growth is a matter not only for regret but for deep reflection by every one interested in the better welfare of the country, so far as the annual food-supplies are concerned.

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To us, again, it is a further matter of regret that the substitution of the system of paying the land revenue in cash for that in kind, is having its pernicious effect on our ryot. Whatever may be the merits of the cash system, it is to be feared it is not exactly suited to the cultivators of this country. The *kind* system previously in vogue was automatic in its incidence, and so far was most conducive to the happiness of the ryot. Whatever the condition of the crops, he had enough food-grain to last him for domestic consumption. If the crop was 16 annas, he paid in proportion to the State in kind. If it was 8 annas the proportion to be paid to the State would diminish. Thus, the State dues fluctuated according to the condition of the crops, while the factor of food for annual domestic consumption remained constant. This system, in a great measure, tended to alleviate distress at the very outset of the scarcity. The cash system is wanting in this element and so far is defective.

This leads me, to rivet your attention on the great danger looming in the near future in connection with our agrarian problem. It is, I admit, a gigantic problem and has been staring our rulers in the face for many a year past. Now and again palliatives have been applied by means of legislation. But palliative measures, you will admit, are, after all, no permanent solution of the problem. A broad, comprehensive, and practical solution is imperative, and it will require the highest experience and statesmanship to devise a remedy which may cure the disease, which is growing year by year and deepening in its intensity. I entreat you all to reflect on this grave situation, for, to my mind, the greatest danger to our country, in the near future, is what may arise from agrarian agitation. There is nothing like the rebellion of the belly. Government has been for years most unwisely spending millions against the so-called external danger. The expenditure is said to be an insurance against invasions, and yet we have a terrible invasion arising from hunger within the country itself, while there is no serious effort yet made to build an insurance against such internal danger. This must be, to all of us, a matter of the deepest regret. Let it be our endeavour, to the best of our power and ability, to assist the Government in its arduous task by suggesting suitable remedies. Two years ago, Sir Antony Macdonnell, as the Home Secretary of the Government of India, informed the public, from his place in the Supreme Legislative Council, that Government had on the anvil such a broad and comprehensive solution of the agrarian difficulty. Let us hope that, as soon as the hands of the Government are free from famine, it may devote all its ability and energy on this important topic. Let it be the good fortune of our present Viceroy, the liberal and sympathetic Earl of Elgin to inaugurate such a practical agricultural reform as may restore agricultural

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Royal Commission on Expenditure.

The next subject of importance is that of the growing expenditure of the Administration, both in its Civil and Military branch.

The famine has conclusively demonstrated, beyond all other facts and all other statistics, the existence of the poverty of India to which our patriotic Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has been persistently drawing the serious attention of our rulers. That one main source of that poverty is the annual drain of millions of the national wealth, is now admitted everywhere. None can deny the fact, however plausibly it may be explained away. When we come to analyse the cause of that drain, we are confronted with the enormous expenditure incurred in England on civil and military Pensions, India Office establishments, and what are generally called Home charges. More or less they are undoubtedly the outcome of the costly foreign agency in the administration—a subject on which the Congress has continued to express its emphatic opinion from time to time during the twelve years of its existence. I do not propose to enter here into the details of this grave economic phenomenon. But to us it is a matter of some satisfaction to know that, in respect to the costliness of the administration, there is now sitting a Royal Commission to investigate the whole subject, a Commission which is the direct fruit of the agitation by this Congress, and by none more than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn. None can deny that, but for their strenuous exertions in Parliament to have this Commission appointed, India to-day would have been still without any inquiry. The last one was in 1874. But the Fawcett Committee, as it was called, concluded its sittings without a report. This Commission, however, has had now thirty sittings and has already recorded the evidence of expert officials, both in active employ and in retirement. Among the latter are two distinguished *ex-Finance* Ministers, Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin; and Captain Hext. It is a gratification to see from their evidence that they have made out a strong case for greater control over the expenditure of the Government of India, specially military and naval; the two *ex-Finance* ministers, are of opinion that, with a *pro-military* Viceroy, the chances of his dominating his whole Council and incurring any amount of military expenditure of an irresponsible character, in league with the military element in the Executive Council, are many, which can be hardly said to be conducive to the interests of the already overburdened tax-payers. These retired officials have also given their opinion that the limits of taxation have been already strained, and pointed out the danger of further taxation. Sir David Barbour, again, has admitted that Parliamentary control over all expenditure, as wisely suggested by Sir William Wedderburn, is expedient. He will not, however, give

his unqualified concurrence to the scheme which requires modification. So far, it may be observed that the evidence is satisfactory and in the very direction the Congress has for years been pointing out. Again, it must be said that the evidence of Sir Edwin Collen has completely established the contention of the Congress regarding the appalling growth of military expenditure, even after making all allowances for necessary and unavoidable increases. Mr. Stephen Jacob, too, whose evidence was exhaustive, has made out a case as to the unfair character of expenditure which the Home Office foists on India. You are aware that the Congress, as well as the Government of India, are at one on the question of the apportionment of Home Charges. And Mr. Jacob's evidence is therefore eminently satisfactory in this respect. Let us, Gentlemen, do all in our power to further strengthen the hands of our Indian Government by once more placing on record our opinion regarding the financial injustice from which India has been suffering for many years past. If the Royal Commission does nothing else but recommends a fair apportionment of the charges to be borne by India and England respectively, it will have rendered the greatest service to this country and justified its appointment. Lastly, it is a pleasure to notice that, thanks to the persistent efforts of the representatives on behalf of India—Sir W. Wedderburn and Messrs. Dadabhai Naoroji and Caine—the Commission has at last allowed reporters to attend its sittings. Publicity adds to the value of public enquiry. The Congress owes a deep debt of gratitude to these gentlemen for their disinterested exertions throughout in this matter. Let me add here that my indefatigable friend Mr. D. E. Wacha has been elected by the Bombay Presidency Association to proceed to England and to give his evidence before the Royal Commission, and I have no doubt whatever that zealous and hard-working as he has been throughout his life in the cause of our country and a master as he is of the facts and figures regarding Indian finance, his evidence will be of very great use to us and assist the Commission in coming to the right conclusion.

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Further Reform in our Legislative Councils.

I will now proceed to another important topic on which not only the Congress has expressed its own views but every Provincial Conference in the country has done the same. I mean the reform, which is absolutely necessary and expedient, in connection with the discussion of Imperial and Provincial Budgets. Though we all appreciate the privilege conferred on the expanded Legislative Councils to discuss the budget, there is no power to move amendments and vote on it. So far all life is taken out of these budget debates. And for all practical purposes, the discussion is purely academic. Though this is the fourth year of the expanded Councils, the most pungent criticism on the budget in the Imperial Council makes no difference whatever and has no practical effect. Though the representatives of the public give voice to public opinion in the Council Chamber, their utterances go unheeded. This is not a satisfactory state of matters. If budgets are to be popular and if the

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people and the press are to influence these for good, it is essential that the budgets should be voted upon. Otherwise, budget discussions will remain the farces that they are, and it is to be earnestly hoped that our rulers will see their way to instituting an early reform in this matter. The fear that the Government may be over-ridden is groundless. There is not a Council in the empire in which the official element does not preponderate, and it is absurd to expect that Government could at all be swamped. It is a curious anomaly that, though in Local Self-Government the representatives of the people can discuss their civic finances, and divide on them, they cannot do so on the larger subject of the finances of the province and the whole empire. I repeat, therefore, the hope I have already expressed that the Government, will at an early day, see the reasonableness, aye, the justice of our demand and grant us the same as conducive to the greater welfare and contentment of the people.

Death of Mr. Manomohun Ghose.

Since our last sitting (at Poona) the cruel hand of death has deprived us of several of our most energetic workers, friends and sympathisers. Foremost among them stands the name of the late Mr. Manomohun Ghose, an enthusiastic and steady worker from the early years of this movement. His great abilities and rare legal acumen, his special study of Indian questions, especially the urgent need of the separation of judicial from executive functions, his untiring zeal and moderation, his great powers and readiness in debate and wide-spread influence combined to make him best fitted to espouse his country's cause. His sudden and untimely removal from our midst leaves a blank which it will be hard to fill, but his services to the Congress will keep his memory always green in the annals of this movement. In the death of Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva of Gujrat, a scholar of European reputation, who represented H. H. the Gaekwar at the Norway and Sweden Oriental Congress, our movement loses another worker, whose zeal and enthusiasm for the Congress knew no bounds; he went from village to village pleading the Congress-cause, and spared neither time nor money in its advocacy. He was a District Judge on our side of the country, but as soon as he was freed from the trammels of office, the first thing he did was to attend the Karachi Provincial Conference in the scorching heat of May last, and died within a fortnight of his return from that place. Western India, especially Gujrat, will long mourn his loss. By the death of Mr. C. Narayan Swami Naidu of Nagpore, the Congress has lost another staunch supporter to whose enthusiasm the entire success, which attended the Nagpore Congress was due.

The ensuing 60 years' Jubilee of the Queen's reign.

You are all aware that the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress of India has recently exceeded in duration that of any of Her Most Excellent Majesty's predecessors, (Cheers) and that this auspicious event

is to be celebrated in or about June next. Whatever may be the differences between the different races inhabiting this vast country on political or other grounds, the whole of India is unanimous in the opinion that Her Majesty has throughout her reign been ever anxious for the welfare of all her Indian subjects and has ever treated them with the same kindness and with the same solicitude with which she has treated all her other subjects. To Her Majesty all her subjects are equal without any distinction of caste, creed, race or color. She is the ever-affectionate mother of all her subjects, and all her subjects, whether near her or far away from her, are to her, her children. (Cheers) Whatever might be the political views of Her Majesty's ministers for the time being, whoever might be in authority under Her Majesty in India, Her Majesty has throughout thrown the great weight of her high authority in favour of equal treatment of all her subjects alike. You are all aware of the great Proclamation from Her Majesty to the people of the country, and which Proclamation is rightly regarded by the people of this country as their great Charter and cherished accordingly. You are all aware that Her Majesty issued the said Proclamation unasked, and thus did an act of a signal, illustrious, very rare and unrivalled magnanimity, an act fraught with seeds of deep and abiding value. That she, the august sovereign of an Empire, over which the sun never sets; that she, the constitutional ruler of a country that leads the advanced guard in the march of liberty and of civilization, should deign to look over and care for us, who have fallen back amongst stragglers in the rear, is in itself a proof of her high generosity. It is not for us and in this place to pass in review the important incidents of her long, glorious and illustrious reign. Suffice it to say that the Victorian era will be ever remembered throughout the British Empire with deep feelings of pride and pleasure, and in the rest of the world with those of wonder and admiration. Let, therefore, this Congress of delegates from all parts of India humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress on her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, exceeding in length of time the reign of any of her predecessors, and heartily wish her many more and happy years of rule over the great British Empire. Let us all fervently pray that benign and merciful Providence may shower over her its choicest blessings, and guide her in future, as it has guided her in the past, in the path of duty and of righteousness, and that she may be enabled to complete her glorious work in India by bestowing on her grateful Indian subjects the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by her British subjects, by removing all disabilities which still cling to us, notwithstanding Her Royal Mandate to the contrary. By conferring on us the boon we ask for, in fulfilment of her own gracious proclamation, Her Majesty will not only command the prayers of her Indian subjects, but also secure the sympathies of the whole civilized world. Her sagacious clemency will ever live in the hearts of her Indian subjects, and will indeed assure the prosperity, as well as the continued and devoted loyalty, of India. The English nation is well known for its manliness, and manliness is associated with love of justice, generosity and intellect. It is the force of character, as also the

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force of circumstances, that have given Englishmen their present power. In fact, they are masterful men, and we trust they will therefore join with us in our prayers to our and their Sovereign on this auspicious occasion, and thus assist in inaugurating a truly liberal measure of reform, and thereby earn credit and achieve a reputation of which all manly hearts ought to be proud.

It now remains for me to say that in the discussion of the several important matters that will be placed before you for your consideration, you will show the same moderation, both of language and thought, as you have hitherto displayed. May merciful Providence guide us all, both you and myself, in the discharge of our duties on this important occasion, and may our deliberations contribute to the benefit of all concerned.—(Loud and prolonged cheering).

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Election of
a Subjects
Committee.

The President:—The next business I have to do is to call upon you to appoint your Subjects Committee.

The delegates representing each of the Congress Circles then handed in slips bearing the names of the delegates chosen by them to represent their respective circles on the Subjects Committee.

The President: I call upon Mr. J. Ghosal to read the names of members of the Subjects Committee.

Mr. J. Ghosal (Calcutta, No. 2, on the list) then said:—Gentlemen, the following are the names of the Delegates proposed to serve on the Subjects Committee:—

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS.	1	HON'BLE R. M. SAYANI (President)...	No. 702	(Bombay)
	2	MR. DINSHA EDULJI WACHA (Joint General Secretary)	" 715	do.
		HON'BLE RAJ BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLY VINAYANODE (Standing Counsel, Madras)	" 759	(Madras)
		MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (Standing Counsel, Bengal)	" 37	(Calcutta)
		DR. RASH-BEHARI GHOSE, C.I.E. Acting Chairman, Reception Committee)	" 40	do.
		RAJAH BINAYA KRISHNA DEB BAHADUR (Treasurer & Secretary, Reception Committee)	"	do.
		MR. J. GHOSAL (Secretary, Reception Committee)	"	do.
		MR. K. S. BONNERJEE (do.)	" 42	do.
		BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE (do.)	" 42	do.
		HON'BLE GURU PRASAD SEN (do.)	" 38	do.
		BABU BAJKUNTHA NATH SEN (do.)	" 40	(Berhampore)
		BABU ANBIKA CH. MOZUMDAR (do.)	" 46	(Faridpur)

CALCUTTA CIRCLE.
(Includes the Presidency, Burdwan, & Chittagong Divisions [Except the Murshidabad District] Assam and Orissa.)

No.	Name	No.	Location
1	MR. LAL MOHAN GHOSE	7,	(Calcutta.)
2	HON'BLE SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE	8,	do.
3	" " A. M. BOSE	11,	do.
4	MR. KALI CHARAN BANERJEE	26,	do.
5	BABU SARODA CHARAN MITTER	233,	do.
6	" " SALIGRAM SINGH	3,	do.
7	MR. S. P. SINHA	232,	do.
8	BABU BASANTA KUMAR BOSE	59,	do.
9	" " NALIN BEHARI SIRCAR	212,	do.
10	" " MOTI LAL GHOSE	17,	do.
11	" " NORENDRA NATH SEN	39,	do.
12	" " CHAROO CHANDER MITTER	65,	do.
13	DOCTOR NILRATAN SIRCAR	139,	do.
14	" " M. M. BOSE	10,	do.
15	BABU DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARI	12,	do.
16	" " JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE	6,	do.
17	MR. R. D. MEHTA	9,	do.
18	BABU ATUL CHANDRA GHOSE	13,	do.
19	DR. S. P. SARVADHIKARI	135,	do.
20	DR. R. G. KER	44,	do.
21	MR. N. N. GHOSE	128,	do.
22	BABU GOBINDA CHANDRA DASS	239,	do.
23	" " DEBENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE	86,	do.
24	" " AKSHAY KUMAR BOSE	180,	do.
25	" " TRIGUNA CHARAN SEN	108,	do.
26	" " SATYA NANDA BOSE	83,	do.
27	" " PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAI	47,	do.
28	" " HERAMBA CHANDRA MOITRA	143,	do.
29	MR. A. CHOUDHURY	101,	do.
30	MOHARAJAH BAHADUR JOGODINDRA NATH ROY OF NATORE	235,	do.
31	RAY YATINDRA NATH CHOUDHURY M.A. B.L.	258,	(24 Pergunnas.)
32	BABU BISHNU PADO CHATTERJEE	303,	(Hooghly.)
33	" " KISHORI LAL GOSWAMI	234,	do.
34	MOULVI MAZHAR-ULANWAR	309,	do.
35	BABU TARA PROSONNO MUKERJEE	314,	(Burdwan.)
36	" " KALI PROSONNO KAVYABISHARAD	254,	do.
37	" " PROMOTHO NATH CHATTERJEE	91,	(Birbhoom)
38	" " KARTIC CHANDRA MITTER	329,	(Midnapur.)
39	" " PROSONNO KUMAR BOSE	339,	(Krishnagur.)
40	" " HARI PRASAD CHATTERJEE	338,	do.
41	" " TARA PADO BANERJEE	336,	do.
42	" " UMESH CHANDRA GHOSE	375,	(Jessore.)
43	" " JOGENDRA NATH SEN	71,	do.
44	" " BRAJENDRA LAL MITTER	95,	do.
45	" " VENI BHUSHAN ROY	386,	(Kbulna.)
46	" " SRIDHAR SEN	387,	do.
47	" " KAMALA KANTA SEN	394,	(Chittagong.)
48	" " JATRA MOHAN SEN	395,	do.
49	" " ROJONI NATH NANDI	397,	(Comilla.)
50	DR. GOLAB CHANDRA BEZBOROOAH	36,	(Assam.)
51	BABU JOY GOVIND SHOME	25,	do.
52	" " BEPIN CHANDRA PAL	34,	do.
1	BABU HEMENDRA NATH SEN	415,	MURSHIDABAD.
2	" " TARAK CHANDRA CHAKRAVERTY	407,	do.

BERHAMPUR CIRCLE.
(Includes the District of Murshidabad.)

First Day.
Election of a Subjects Committee.

First Day.
Election of
a Subjects
Committee.

DACCA CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Dacca.)	1	BABU MOHENDRA KUMAR GHOSE ...	No. 426,	(Dacca.)
	2	" SARAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVERTY ...	" 424,	do.
	3	" RATNESHWAR SEN ...	" 433,	(Munshiganj.)
	4	MR. S. R. DASS ...	" 430,	do.
	5	BABU DWARKA NATH GANGULI ...	" 14,	(Calcutta.)
MYMENSING CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Mymensing.)	1	" JOGENDRA NARAYAN ACHARYA CHOWDHURY ...	" 442,	(Mymensing.)
	2	" BROJO NATH BISWAS ...	" 444,	do.
	3	" SRI KANTO SEN ...	" 446,	do.
	4	" KRISHNA KUMAR MITTER ...	" 455,	(Tangail.)
	5	MR. A. H. GHAZNAVI ...	" 453,	do.
	6	RAI RAJENDRA KUMAR MOZUMDAR ...	" 237,	(Calcutta.)
FARIDPORE CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Faridpore.)	1	BABU PURNA CHANDRA MOITRA ...	" 465,	(Faridpore.)
	2	" MATHURA NATH MOITRA ...	" 479,	do.
	3	" KISHORI LAL SIRCAR ...	" 480,	do.
BARISAL CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Barisal.)	1	" KAILASH CHANDRA SEN ...	" 491,	(Barisal.)
	2	" NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS ...	" 494,	(Bakerganj.)
	3	" HARA NATH GHOSE ...	" 495,	do.
DINAJPORE CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Dinajpore.)	1	" BISHNU PODO SEN ...	" 506,	(Dinajpore.)
	2	" MADHAB CHANDRA CHATTERJEE ...	" 511,	do.
	3	MOULVI YAQUNUDDEN AHMED ...	" 505,	do.
PUBNA CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Pubna.)	1	BABU MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRAVERTY ...	" 513,	(Pubna.)
JALPAIGURI CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Jalpaiguri.)	1	" UMA GATI ROY ...	" 517,	(Jalpaiguri.)
RAJSHAHY CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Rajshahy.)	1	" AKSHAY KUMAR MOITRA ...	" 530,	(Rampur-Beauleah.)
	2	" KISHORI MOHAN CHOWDHURY ...	" 523,	do.
	3	RAJAH ROMONI KANTO ROY ...	" 527,	do.
BEHAR CIRCLE. (Includes the Patna Division except the Districts of Mozaffarpur and Gaya.)	1	BABU GAJADHAR PRASAD ...	" 540,	(Patna.)
	2	" BANWARI LAL ...	" 539,	do.
	3	" NARAYAN PRASAD ...	" 537,	do.
	4	" BRAJENDRA MOHUN DASS ...	" 544,	do.
	5	" BISSESSUR SINGH ...	" 542,	do.
	6	" RAGHUBANS SAHAI ...	" 555,	(Chhupra.)
MOZAFFARPUR CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Mozaffarpur.)	1	" PURNESHWAR NARAIN MAHTA ...	" 585,	(Mozaffarpur.)
GAYA CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Gaya.)	1	" UPENDRA CHANDRA MITRA ...	" 590	Gaya
BHAGALPUR CIRCLE. (Includes the Bhagalpur Division, except the District of Purneah.)	1	" SURESH CHANDRA ROY ...	" 562,	(Bhagulpore.)
	2	" SANKATA CHARAN MITRA ...	" 573,	do.
	3	" TARINI PRASAD ...	" 571,	do.
	4	" SURJA PRASAD ...	" 565,	do.
PURNEAH CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Purneah.)	1	" PARBATI CHARAN DASS ...	" 577,	(Purneah.)
	2	" NANNEH PRASAD ...	" 580,	do.
CHHOTA NAGPUR CIRCLE. (Includes the entire Chhota Nagpur Division.)	1	RAI JODU N. MUKERJEE BAHADUR ...	" 593,	(Hazaribagh.)
	2	BABU DHARANIDHAR BANERJEE ...	" 600,	(Giridih.)
	3	" ROJONI KANT SIRCAR ...	" 597,	(Purulia.)
	4	" SARAT CHANDRA SEN ...	" 598,	do.
N.-W. PROVINCES CIRCLE. (Includes the whole of the N.-W. Provinces.)	1	HON'BLE PANDIT BISHUMBHAR NATH..	" 606,	(Allahabad.)
	2	" RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH ...	" 607,	do.
	3	BABU DURGA CHARAN BANERJEE ...	" 609,	do.

N. W. PROVINCES CIRCLE						First Day.	
(Includes the whole of the N. W. Provinces).		No.				Election of a Subjects Committee.	
4	PANDIT MADAN MOHUN MALAVYA	603,	(Allahabad).				
5	MUNSHI JAGADAMBA PRASAD	612,	(Mirzapur).				
6	RAI KASINATH BISWAS BAHADUR	626,	(Benares).				
7	PANDIT CHANNOO LAL	627,	do.				
8	MR. ALFRED NUNDY	634,	(Gorakhpur).				
9	HAFIZ ABDUR RAHEEM	639,	(Aligurb).				
10	PANDIT BADRI DUTT JOSHI	641,	(Almorah).				
11	BABU SHIVA PODO GHOSE	645,	(Jhansi).				
12	PANDIT PRIYTHI NATH	653,	(Cawnpore).				
13	DR. MOHENDRA NATH GANGULY	648,	do.				
OUDH CIRCLE.							
(Includes the entire Province of Oudh).							
1	MUNSHI GANGA PRASAD VARMA	654,	(Lucknow).				
2	SYED HASSAN JAFFAR	660,	do.				
3	MUNSHI CHHAIL BEHARI LAL	659,	do.				
4	BABU BHUBUN MOHUN ROY	656,	do.				
5	PRINCE ZAIGAMUDDQWLA NAWAB BAHADUR	661,	do.				
PUNJAB CIRCLE,							
(Includes the whole Province of the Punjab).							
1	BAKSHI JA'SHIRAM	663,	(Lahore).				
2	LALA SANGAM LAL	664,	do.				
3	BABU JOGENDRA CHANDRA ROSE	665,	do.				
4	LALA HARA KISSEN DASS	666,	do.				
5	" SHIB DASS	667,	do.				
6	MR. THOMAS CARR MORTON	668,	(Delhi).				
BERAR CIRCLE,							
(Includes the whole of Berar).							
1	MR. MORO VISHWA NATH JOSHI	673,	(Amraoti).				
2	MR. RAGHU NATH NARASINGHA MUDHOLKAR	674,	do.				
3	MR. RAM CHANDRA VISHNU MAHAJANI	675,	(Akola).				
NAGPUR CIRCLE,							
(Includes the whole of the Central Provinces).							
1	MR. R. S. KASHINATH RAO VAIDYA	677,	(NAGPUR)				
2	" MADHAVA KRISHNA PADHYE	678,	do.				
3	" KESAVA GOPAL TAMHAN	679,	do.				
4	" C. V. NAYADU	680,	do.				
5	" SADASHIVA JAIRAM	681,	do.				
6	PANDIT GONESE KASHINATH KHARE	682,	(Rajnandgaon).				
7	" SHANKAR PRASAD PANDAY	683,	do.				
8	MR. BHAGIRATH PRASAD	684,	(Bilaspur).				
9	" H. MITRA	685,	(Nimar).				
10	" J. P. GOODRIDGE, C. S.	689,	(Jubbulpore).				
11	PANDIT DHARANIDHUR MISSIR	691,	(Sambulpore).				
12	MR. VISHNU-DAMODUR SHENDER-NIKAR	699,	(Harda).				
13	" KRISHNAJI NARAYAN DESHMUKH	694,	(Wardha).				
14	MR. HARI VAMAN KELKAR	696,	do.				
15	BABU DEBENDRA NATH MITRA	697,	(Raipur).				
SHOLAPORE CIRCLE,							
(Includes the District of Sholapore.)							
1	MR. VINAYEK SHIWAJI JOGI	750	Pandharpur.				
POONA CIRCLE,							
(Includes the Districts of Poona, Nasik and Khandesh, except Bhusawal.)							
1	MR. VAJNATE KASHINATH RAJWADE	722,	Poona.				
2	MR. PRABHAKAR LAXMAN NAGPURKAR	725,	do.				
3	MR. MOTI BILASA	726,	do.				
4	" GOPALA KRISHNA GOKHALE	729,	do.				
5	" RAGHUNATH DAJI NAGARKATI	730,	do.				
6	RAO BAHADUR VISHNU MORESHWAR BHIDE	731,	do.				

First Day.
Election of
a Subjects
Committee.

POONA CIRCLE. (Includes the Districts of Poona, Nasik and Khandesh, except Bhusawal.)	7	MR. SHIVARAM MOHADEVA PRANJAPI	No. 734,	do.	
	8	HON'BLE BALGANGADHUR TILAK ...	" 734,	do.	
	9	SIRDAR SKIMANT SRI VASUDEVARAO HARIHAR PANDIT ...	" 735,	do.	
	10	MR. VASUDEO SADASHIVA BAPAT ...	" 736,	do.	
	11	" WAMAN SAKHARAM KHARE ...	" 737,	(Nasik.)	
	12	" PURSHOTTAM BALWANT BHAG- WAT ...	" 741,	do.	
	13	" NARAYAN VINAYEK GOLE ...	" 742,	do.	
	SATARA CIRCLE, (Includes the District of Satara.)	1	MR. DATTATRAY BALAWANT PARA- SINS ...	" 747,	(Satara.)
		1	MR. ANUPRAM MITHA LAL DINBAN- DHU ...	" 748,	(Surat.)
	SURAT CIRCLE, (Includes the Districts of Surat and Broach with Baroda.)	1	MR. TALAK CHAND, TARA CHAND...	" 700,	(Broach.)
		2	" SEWAK LAL KURSUM DASS ...	" 701,	do.
		3	" DAYALJI LALLUBHAI ...	" 702,	do.
		4	" JIWAN DASS DAYAL ...	" 703,	do.
5		SETH GOVARDHAN DASS GOKULDAS TEJPAL ...	" 704,	do.	
6		MR. VENKATARAO AMBA LAL DESAI ...	" 708,	do.	
7		" KRISHNARAO AMBA LAL DESAI ...	" 709,	do.	
8		" D. G. PADHYE ...	" 710,	do.	
9		" N. M. SAMARTH ...	" 711,	do.	
10		" RANCHHOR DASS TRIBHUBAN DASS ...	" 712,	do.	
11		" SHAPAR SHAH H. HODI WALA ...	" 716,	do.	
12		" DHARAMSI MORARJI GOKUL DAS ...	" 780,	do.	
MADRAS CIRCLE, (Includes the Town of Madras and the Districts of Chingleput, North and South Arcot, Nellore & Native States).	1	MR. G. SUBRAMANIA AYER ...	" 752,	(Madras.)	
	2	" C. V. KUMARA SWAMI SHASTRIAR ...	" 753,	do.	
	3	" M. VENKUTARAMIAH CHETTY ...	" 754,	do.	
	4	" G. PARAMESWARAM PILLAY ...	" 757,	do.	
	5	" T. RANCACHARIAR ...	" 758,	do.	
	6	" A. C. PARTHA SARATHI NAYADU ...	" 759,	do.	
	7	Moulvi MOHMED YASIN SAHEB ...	" 763,	do.	
	8	MR. SRINI VASU AYER ...	" 766,	(Trichenopoly.)	
	9	" ALI MOHMED BHIMJI ...	" 778,	(Secundrabad.)	
	10	MR. S. RAMASWAMI GUPTA ...	" 770,	(Guntoor.)	
SALEM CIRCLE, (Includes the District of Salem)	1	" C. VENKATACHARIAR ...	" 768,	(Salem.)	
	2	HON'BLE C. VIJIARAGHAVA CHARIAR ...	" 769,	do.	
MADURA CIRCLE, (Includes the Districts of Madura and Tinne- veli)	1	MR. M. NAGA SWAMY AYER ...	" 771,	(Siva Ganga.)	
GANJAM CIRCLE (Includes Ganjam, Viza- gapatam, Godaveri and Krishna Districts).	1	BIJAY NAR SINHESWARA SARMA ...	" 775,	(Vizagapatam.)	
	2	MR. ATI APPADU PANTULA ...	" 776,	do.	
	3	UPADRASHTA V. JAGANADHA SASHTRI ...	" 777,	do.	
BRITISH COMMITTEE	1	MR. W. S. CAINE ...	" 779,	do.	

THE PRESIDENT :—You have heard the names of the gentlemen proposed, read to you, do you approve of them as read?

The names of members of the Subjects Committee were approved unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—The Subjects Committee will meet here in half-an-hour whilst this assembly adjourns until to-morrow (Tuesday) at 11-30 A. M.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, 29th December 1896.

Second Day

THE Congress re-assembled at 11-30 a. m.

The President called upon MAHARAJA BAHADUR JAGADINDRA NATH RAI of Natore, Bengal, to propose the First Resolution which was as follows:—

Resolution I.
Congratulation
to Her Majesty
on the sixtieth
year of Her
reign.

That this Congress desires to place on record its humble congratulations on Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, having attained the sixtieth year of her reign, the longest and the most beneficent in the annals of the Empire,—a reign associated with the most important advances in human happiness and civilization. The Congress expresses the hope that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over her people.

MAHARAJA JAGADINDRA NATH, RAI BAHADUR (Calcutta, No. 235 on the list), who on rising was received with applause, said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I consider myself highly honoured that you have entrusted to me the First Resolution of this great National Congress and especially a resolution associated with the name of Her Gracious Majesty. (Cheers). It is not necessary for me to say anything to induce you to adopt this Resolution which I am just going to read to you, as Her Gracious Majesty's name is dear to every Indian heart, and the history of Her glorious reign is familiar to us all. (Cheers). So without detaining you any further I now do myself the distinguished honour of moving that this Congress do place on record its heart-felt congratulations on Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress having attained the sixtieth year of Her reign, the longest and most beneficent in the Annals of the Empire,—a reign associated with the most important advances in human happiness and civilization. The Congress expresses the hope that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over Her people. (Cheers)

PRINCE ZAIGAM-UD-DOWLAH, NAWAB BAHADUR (Lucknow, No. 661 on the list), in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I cannot adequately thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to speak to the Resolution so warmly moved by the first speaker. The Annals of the Victorian era are full of measures of progress, prosperity, advancement, and in fact every thing that is good for the millions of the subject-races over whom Providence has placed the Queen Empress. (Cheers). It will be impossible for me during the short space of time allotted to me to enumerate the different measures in detail. I, as a loyal subject, on behalf of my co-religionists and on my own behalf, most cheerfully second this Resolution. (Loud applause)

SARDAR SRI MANT SRI VASUDEO RAO HARIHUR PUNDIT (Poona, No. 735 on the list), in supporting the Resolution, said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in supporting the Resolution so ably moved by my friend the Maharaja of Natore. It is a proposition which requires very few words from me to commend it to your acceptance. Her Majesty's birth coincides with the extension of British Empire in Western India, and since then India has experienced peace and prosperity never before enjoyed by the people of the country. (Cheers). Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was right when he declared from this platform that a Congress was possible only under the benign rule of Her Majesty. (Cheers). Her Majesty's reign has been thus remarkable not only in the history of England but also in the history of India. Never before was there a Sovereign so kind

and constitutional as Her Majesty, and we have the latest instance of her kindness in the message which she has sent to the Viceroy regarding the famine. I need not remind you that it is Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 which forms the basis of our rights and privileges, and it will be no wonder if every loyal subject wish Her long life and prosperity in grateful remembrance of Her singularly peaceful and progressive rule over this country. (Cheers). With these words I beg to support the proposition and trust that you will carry it by acclamation. (Cheers)

Second Day.

Resolution I.

Congratulation to Her Majesty on the sixteenth year of Her reign.

The President then put the Resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

MR. ALI MUHAMAD BHIMJI (Secunderabad, No. 778 on the list), proposed the second Resolution and said :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have a pleasing duty to perform but I wish that that duty had been entrusted to abler and younger hands. I am getting old ; I cannot speak very loudly, and furthermore this Resolution I am going to put before you is like a message from you. It is an expression of thanks from the whole Congress. The mouthpiece of this Congress ought to be more worthy than I am, and ought to have a better command of the English language than I possess, but since your choice has fallen upon me I must do what I can. The Resolution runs thus :—

Resolution II.

Thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart, M. P. and the British Committee, and welcome to Mr. W. S. Caine.

That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of Indian Political Advancement and accords its hearty welcome to Mr. W. S. Caine as the Delegate of the British Committee to this Congress.

I do not think you require any phrases from me to recommend to you this Resolution, because we are all acquainted with the services rendered to our national cause, to our fatherland, by those devoted Englishmen who form the British Committee. (Cheers). Although so many execrations have been hurled at them,—they have been called disloyal, unpatriotic and many other things,—despite all these execrations, I say, they have stood firm like true Englishmen (Applause). I should like to take this opportunity of explaining to my Mahomedan brethren,—I you all know that I am a Mahomedan. (Laughter).—I should like to explain a few facts to my Mahomedan brethren who have been deluded by the idea that this Congress is a Hindu Congress. (Cries of no, no). But that is what they say, that this Congress has been started by Hindus, that its object is that Hindus should drive Englishmen away from India, take the British Raj from Englishmen into their own hands, and then grind down the Mahomedans under their feet. (Loud laughter). Now I want you to bear with me while I put one or two questions. The first charge against us is that the aim and object of this Congress is to drive away the English people from this country. (Cries of no, no). Such is not the case. I know my friends, but I put this question to those who have been deluding my co-religionists. I say, if the aim and object of this Congress is to drive away the English people from India, how is it that there are members of the British Committee who are Englishmen? How is it that these true and loyal Britons assist in such a traitorous act as driving away the English power from India? Would they come forward and assist the Hindus? Most certainly they would not. Very well, then, cannot you make use of your common sense and think that Englishmen are sufficiently strong to take care of India and the British Raj and not to allow the Mahomedans to be trampled under foot by the Hindus? (Cheers). With these observations I shall leave this Resolution to you with perfect confidence. I will remind you that Mr. Caine has visited India several times, at great expense to himself ; he comes to assist us for no profit, and no gain. Such is the character of Englishmen ; they come forward when they see that you are in earnest over what you ask for, and put their shoulder to your shoulder, and say, we not only wish you God-speed, but will assist you with our might, and, with our whole hearts. (Applause). Therefore it is desirable that this Congress should convey to Sir William Wedderburn, and

Second Day.
Resolution II.

Thanks to Sir W.
Wedderburn,
Bart, M. P. and
the British
Committee, and
welcome to
Mr. W. S. Caine.

the other members of British Committee its most grateful thanks. In conclusion, Gentlemen, I only say that I trust you will carry this Resolution by acclamation. (Loud cheers)

MR. R. D. MEHTA (Calcutta, No. 9 on the list), in seconding the Resolution said :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in seconding the Resolution so ably moved by my friend Mr. Ali Mubamad Bhimji of Secundarabad. The work I have to do in this connection seems to me to be a work of supererogation. I believe, no words of mine are necessary to commend this Resolution to your warm and ready acceptance. It seems to me to be a formal business to thank the British Committee, simply for their disinterested and indefatigable labours. Thanks to the British Committee indeed! Why they have earned a secure place in the inmost recesses of our hearts! They have placed us under an immense debt of endless gratitude. Language fails to express my strong and deep feelings in this matter. Suffice it to say, Gentlemen, that the success that has attended the labours of the Congress is largely due to the influence and untiring efforts of this noble band of English philanthropists headed by Sir William Wedderburn, Baronet, M. P. (Loud cheers). As for Mr. Caine, I don't know how best to express my deep respect for him. He is my personal friend and I am proud of the fact. But if he is my friend, he is the friend of you all too. For has he not said on more than one occasion that he loves the Indians, and what Indian is there who does not feel in the profoundest depths of his heart that he has spoken nothing but the truth? (Cheers). But his love for us gives him much tiresome work, for which the only reward that he can expect next to the satisfaction of having done his brethren permanent good, is a nation's gratitude. That gratitude I want you now to express by carrying this Resolution unanimously. (Loud cheers)

MR. A. APADU PANTALU (Madras, No. 776 on the list), in supporting the Resolution said :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not come to this platform because I have any thing new to add to what has already been so well said, but because it is only right that a Delegate from Madras should join in thanking Sir William Wedderburn and the British Committee. In fact, Gentlemen, no written resolution was necessary to add to what we have already been doing. We have been thanking the British Committee and Sir William Wedderburn from the bottom of our hearts since the time when we read in the newspapers that Mr. Caine was coming to India to attend the Congress. (Loud cheers). A Resolution in writing, Gentlemen, was therefore only necessary to record that fact in Congress literature. The British Committee are doing work which is most essential. (Applause). We may hold a hundred Congresses; we may make a thousand speeches, but all this work will be of little avail if proper representation be not made in England. (Hear, hear). The English people are quite willing to do us justice if only our wants and grievances are properly represented to them, and to do that good work we have got the British Congress Committee, and we cannot sufficiently thank that Committee and its able Chairman, Sir William Wedderburn. (Loud cheers). With these words I beg to support the Resolution on behalf of Madras. (Cheers)

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. W. S.
Caine's reply to
the Resolution
offering thanks.

Mr. W. S. Caine (British Committee, No. 779 on the list), in rising to reply was received with loud and prolonged cheering. He said :—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—Any resolution of thanks to the British Committee is quite unnecessary for the simple reason that it is an integral part of the Indian National Congress itself. Indeed it would be quite as fitting for the British Committee to record upon its proceedings a vote of thanks to the Indian National Congress meeting in Calcutta, as it is for you to thank us for our services in England. But as you have been good enough to do so, I as a representative of the British Committee return to you our cordial thanks for your kindness and your appreciation of our services. With regard to your kind reception of myself, I can only thank you from the bottom of my heart, assuring you of the

brotherly sympathy and affection which, not only I, but the whole of the British Committee, entertain towards our Indian brethren. (Cheers). Now, Sir, I said just now that we were an integral part of the Indian National Congress; your operations are, and always must be carried upon two separate fields of battle,—India and Great Britain. In Great Britain your work is conducted by two bodies; not merely the British Committee but the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which is in close accordance with, and working practically under the direction of, the British Committee of the National Congress, both bodies being directed by one general,—Sir William Wedderburn, (loud cheers) to whose name you have so justly given a generous response to-day. Now, Sir, I will commence by giving you a little information about the Indian Parliamentary Committee. It was organised in July 1893 as the result of a small dinner party given by Sir William Wedderburn and myself in the House of Commons to eighteen of our brother-members of Parliament whom we knew to be keenly interested in Indian questions and Indian affairs. (Cheers.) They met us and we proposed the formation of a special Committee of Members of Parliament whose business and duty it should be to watch over the interests of the great Indian people in that Parliament which is supreme over their destinies. All the friends invited joined the Committee and in a very short time it reached over a hundred. The election of last year was a disastrous one for the Liberal party as you all know, and it disorganised the Indian Parliamentary Committee very seriously. However it was reformed, although a Liberal majority of 30 had been converted by the election into a Conservative majority of 140. Of the eighteen members originally forming the Committee in 1893, no less than nine had lost their seats; those gaps have since been filled up and in spite of all these difficulties we have now within the House of Commons 120 earnest, determined men banded together in the interests of the Indian people. (Cheers). This body has an inner Committee consisting of Mr. T. E. Ellis; Mr. Swift McNeil; Mr. C. E. Schwann; Mr. Samuel Smith; Mr. H. J. Wilson; with Sir William Wedderburn as Chairman, and Mr. Herbert Roberts as Secretary. All these gentlemen have an intimate acquaintance with India and are well qualified to conduct the executive affairs of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. This Committee is in close and constant touch with the British Committee of Congress, because Sir William Wedderburn is Chairman of both. This inner Parliamentary body is the recognised body through which your British Committee makes its representations to the India Office. The work of the two Committees,—the British Committee and the Parliamentary Committee,—so constantly overlaps that having simply told you of the constitution of both I must now treat them as a whole, without any way distinguishing between them. There has of course been a great deal of criticism with regard to these 120 Members of Parliament who are banded together in the interests of India. Critics are constantly telling us that it is a mere party move because these 120 members happen all to belong to the Liberal party, and mostly to the advanced Liberal party. We are constantly urged to secure the co-operation of members of the Conservative party. Well, Mr. President, we have tried over and over again to get the co-operation of members of the Conservative party in carrying out the work of the Indian National Congress, but hitherto we have utterly failed. The only products of the Conservative party are men like Mr. Bhowmagri. (A few hisses). Mr. Bhowmagri is an Indian and for that reason I am glad he has been returned to Parliament, especially as he has been returned by a Tory constituency, and if a Tory constituency is able to return an Indian I think that is an indication of a growth of public opinion upon which we may congratulate ourselves. Not that I expect for one moment that Mr. Bhowmagri being a Conservative can render any very solid services to the people of this country. Now, Gentlemen, I want you to realise that the Congress movement must look, and can only look to the great Liberal party, the progressive party in the United Kingdom, for any real and practical help. You, assembled in this great hall in such large numbers, constitute the Liberal party of India. (Cheers). You have been described as such by your last Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, who in 1891 in a letter on the subject of the Congress declared that “the Government of India

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recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinion which marches side by side with it." (Cheers). Give up, Gentlemen hoping for anything from the Tory party of England; they are, on the side of vested interests; they are on the side of swollen Military armaments; they are upon all questions on the side that bars progress and blocks the way of the people. The Liberal party on the other hand are on the side of freedom and on the side of democracy. The Congress movement in India and the Liberal party in England are brothers, having similar aims and objects, and they must work together. To mix up this Congress movement with the Tory party is like mixing oil and water: they will not blend. (Laughter). You must depend upon the Liberal party. Now I would like, Sir, with your permission to give some brief account of the sort of work that has been done by your British wing. In a single session of Parliament we have done very much. In the first place we are educating the Liberal leaders. There are some people who are very much depressed when the Liberal party are thrown out of office. I am never depressed because in Opposition we are able to make more progress than we do in office. We have now to criticise and attack a Conservative administration; when we attacked their Indian administration we were constantly assisted by such men as Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley and Mr. Asquith, the leaders of the Liberal party, and you may depend upon it that when the permanent Officials at the India Office see men like these committed to these reforms for India they take a note of it. Now during the last session of Parliament, the only practical session of the new Parliament there has been, a great deal of valuable work was done, whereas in the old days if we got anything like a debate on the last days of the session on the Indian Budget, it was as much as we could possibly expect. Now, however, owing to the existence of this Parliamentary Committee stimulated by your British wing we have had no less than five debates of first-class importance.

In the debate on the Queen's Speech, as you know, Sir William Wedderburn moved an important amendment on the Annexation of Chitral. You know very well the importance of the debate and of the division that followed. Then there was a debate on the cotton duties. Sir Henry Fowler was extremely anxious that the debate on the cotton duties should be connected with the Indian Budget, but we insisted that the debate should be held on a day given by the Government for the purpose. The whole policy of which the cotton duties formed a part was iniquitous, I mean the policy of putting an excise duty upon an Indian industry. I want each of you in your individual capacity to encourage Indian industries; if you encourage your own industries then you may expect the Government to do the same. Then Mr. Herbert Roberts, under circumstances of great difficulty, moved the adjournment of the House to secure a debate on the deposition of the Maharaja of Jhullawar. He expressed no opinion and his resolution expressed no opinion on the justice or otherwise of the Maharaja's deposition, but an enquiry was necessary as the thing had been done in the usual hole-and-corner manner in which the Indian Government deal with Native Princes; a debate of the highest importance was held and a division taken. Then there was the debate on the employment of the troops in the Soudan. There we had a capital illustration of the way in which Liberal Cabinet ministers in opposition carry out liberal principles with regard to India. Never again will India be charged with troops used by the United Kingdom for imperial purposes in other countries. Mr. John Morley led the debate and we were only too thankful to make way for him. The result of that debate was to reduce the Tory majority of 140 to only 85, no less than 60 Members of Parliament on the Tory side refusing to vote for such an iniquity as the proposed expenditure. Then there was a debate upon the Budget also initiated by your Committee. Sir William Wedderburn moved that a Committee should be appointed to examine into Indian Finances, and report upon the Indian Budget to the House. This is

a most important reform and one for which we shall continue to press. In their evidence before the Royal Commission both Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour approved of the principle of this Parliamentary control over the finances of India, and until the time shall come—and I hope I shall live to see it—when the people of India shall control their own finances, it is better for you to have a strong Committee in the House of Commons to look after your financial affairs. Well this is simply a little sketch of the Parliamentary work that has been accomplished by your British wing, but perhaps the most important piece of work which has been accomplished by the British Committee has been the appointment of the Royal Commission to consider the finances of the Indian Empire. I am sorry to find that here and there some of the papers in India devoted to the Congress movement have been belittling this Commission. That is a great mistake; it is a fair, a just and a well-proportioned Commission; the British Treasury, the British War Office, the India Office and the Indian people have all their representatives upon that Commission, together with a certain number of distinguished statesmen notable for their impartiality and justice. It is a sound Commission. Now how was it obtained? It was the earliest action of that Parliamentary Committee which I told you was formed by Sir William Wedderburn and myself in 1893. In August 1894 we determined, if we possibly could, to secure a Commission of enquiry into Indian finances and expenditure. It is not always easy to get a night for a debate in the House of Commons. There are about 200 Members of Parliament balloting for places, indeed the desire to speak in the National Congress is not to be compared for one moment to the eagerness of the Members of the House of Commons for making speeches. (Laughter). We obtained a day in August 1894 through Mr. Samuel Smith—a true friend of India (cheers)—and he brought forward a resolution which had been prepared by the British Committee asking for a “full and independent Parliamentary enquiry into the condition and wants of the Indian people; their ability to bear existing financial burdens; the nature of the Revenue system and the possibility of reduction in expenditure; also the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom and generally the system of Government in India.” That is what we may call an enquiry with a good wide scope. We are practical politicians on the British Committee; we always ask for what we want, and then we take what we can get. (Cheers). It is a great mistake for any creditor to ask for 10 shillings in the pound. Well, Sir Henry Fowler gave a sympathetic reply, and promised that we should have a Commission of some sort and he gave us a Commission to “enquire into the administration and management of the Military and Civil expenditure incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, and the apportionment of the charges between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of India for purposes in which both are interested.” That you see was about five shillings in the pound of what we asked, but still we thought it a good dividend and we took it as a payment on account, and hoped to do better some other time. (Laughter). Well, Gentlemen, already our Commission has published a volume consisting of 900 pages of evidence; it has examined 19 witnesses, only one of whom—Dr. Bahadurji—has been an unofficial witness. Our Commission is so important that no less than three ex-Viceroy are desirous of giving evidence; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is also going to give evidence, and the Commission has, through the medium of the India Office, requested the Bombay Presidency Association to nominate a witness to speak on behalf of the Congress and the choice of the Presidency Association has very wisely fallen upon Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, your able Joint-General Secretary. (Loud cheers). You are quite right in giving Mr. Wacha’s name so hearty a welcome, and I hope you will welcome him with equal heartiness after he has been turned inside out by the representatives of the India Office on the Commission. I fancy, however, he will be more than able, as on previous occasions, to hold his own. (Cheers). Now, as I have said, most of the witnesses we have had have been officials from India. No one has ever heard me speak slightly of the Civil Service of India; I believe it to be the finest Civil Service in the world, and if it goes

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wrong: it is not the fault of the men, but of the methods and system of Government they are called upon to administer, for in all my experience of Commissions extending over fifteen years I have never known any witness give his evidence with such statesmanlike clearness as did Mr. Stephen Jacob, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of the Indian Government. He showed himself a financier fit to be compared with any Chancellor of the Exchequer the United Kingdom has ever had; all through his evidence was on the side of the Indian people as against the British Treasury. I cannot also refrain from saying how much I admired the evidence given by Captain Hext, the head of the Indian Marine, all through his evidence there was a fine appreciation of the workmanlike qualities of the people of India; he spoke against the British Treasury, and against the British Admiralty on behalf of the Indian mechanic in a manner that did credit both to his head and his heart. But I must not dwell upon his evidence. It is not for me to anticipate the report, nor have I any right to speak for my colleagues except perhaps Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who, with myself, have been sent to represent these Annual Meetings of the Congress. But I have no hesitation in declaring my own personal conviction, upon the evidence we have heard, that if justice be done the Report should result in a saving to the over-burdened resources of India of at least one-and-a-half crores of Rupees every year. I will, if you will bear with me for a very short time, go on to justify that contention. I will give you some of the evidence which has been given before us in which the methods are made clear by which the British Treasury for many long years past have exploited and swindled the Indian Treasury.

I will take first of all the greatest of all your expenditure,—Military expenditure. The one thing that is eating into the vitals of all civilised nations is the Military spirit. I had a very good instance of the hold the Military spirit has got even in this country amongst some classes by taking up a copy of the *Englishman* this morning, I found four columns devoted to essays on the need of increasing the British army. The same paper devoted a column to an account of a children's fancy dress ball, and half a column to a Meeting of Delegates from every part of India to represent the Indian people. This is the hold militarism has got upon the *Englishman* at any rate. It is the most terrible burden India has to bear. Twenty years ago you spent 12 crores of rupees upon your army, 10 years ago you spent 17 crores, and last year you spent 24 crores of rupees upon your army. Taking the last 20 years there has been a decrease on Famine Relief of 15,00,000 Rs; on Public Works of 33,50,000 Rs; and on Post Office and Telegraphs of 5,50,000 Rs. All these are being starved while militarism is fattening. You have 74,000 British troops and 146,000 Native troops, being a total of 220,000 troops. This army costs about £110 per head and is the costliest army in the world. Its costliness is entirely due, as you all know, to the European element, which is not only disproportionate, but throws upon India burdens which ought justly to be borne by the British Treasury. The Indian Government through its witnesses, especially Mr. Stephen Jacob, have made a large claim for reduction in the apportionment charges with a case which seems to be incontrovertible, and which if granted will mean a reduction of 30 lakhs a year without diminishing the Indian army by a single man. I cannot go into detail—time does not permit—but I think the official evidence alone proves that 120 lakhs of rupees would be a fair amount of reduction if strict justice were done even on the present basis of the army. But the real crux of Indian Expenditure has not been touched by the Commission, owing to the exclusion from the Commission of all matters that affect policy. All through the evidence I have been watching very carefully for some decent justification for an army on a peace footing of 220,000 men. I have altogether failed to find any. In 1875 you had 60,000 British troops; in 1895 you have 74,000. In 1875 you had 130,000 Indian troops; now you have 146,000. Of the 24 crores this army costs, 8 crores are spent in England. The question this Congress ought to ask is, Why are these 74,000 British troops in India? We know that question

will be answered by the old cry "Hands off, Civilians; leave these matters to Military Experts." Well, the Military Experts forget we have to pay for it, and those who pay the piper have a right to call the tune. (Cheers). I contend, and I have contended for years, that 50,000 British troops are more than enough for every requirement the Indian people are ever likely to have, and it is perfectly clear to me that the treasury maintains 24,000 troops in India at India's expense simply as a reserve force, and because they can make India pay for that reserve force. My contention is that at least 24,000 British troops are unneeded for India, and if they are kept here for Military purposes, they ought to be paid for from the Imperial Treasury as a reserve force. The contention of the supporters of this great armament is that these 74,000 British soldiers would not be needed in the British army at all if it were not for India. If every British soldier were withdrawn from India to-morrow, I am sure the British army would not be reduced by 10,000 men. But there is another side as well. The native army in India is a reserve force for Imperial purposes, and we draw upon it for Malta, Egypt, Soudan and other places as well. The British army apart from the Indian contingent would have to be increased. As a matter of fact we pick both the trouser pockets of India at once, and a just apportionment of expenditure would involve a large grant from the British Treasury in recognition of the Imperial reserve force furnished by the native army which we should use without scruple if we were at war with any European power. Well, if you withdraw these 24,000 British troops, Indian finances could at once be strengthened by at least 5 crores of rupees every year. Now, Sir, let us compare for one moment this vast Military expenditure with the money spent in India on the development of national resources and the social well-being of the people. You spent twenty-four crores of rupees on the Indian army last year; and you spent 1½ crores on education (shame); in other words, you spent sixteen times as much on the army as you spent on education. The army absorbed thirty times as much as was set aside for famine relief and insurance. War, pestilence and famine are the three great curses of the human race, and India, the prey of all three in times past, can now only spend upon the two latter a thirtieth part of the amount she spends upon war. You spent 3 crores last year upon irrigation and 24 crores on the army. On roads you spent 5 crores; you spent nearly five times as much upon the army as upon roads which are for the permanent benefit of the agricultural portion of the community. Every department whose object is for the advantage and prosperity of the people is miserably starved in order to fatten these bloated and unnecessary armaments to annex one hornet's nest after another to British India. (Cheers). Well, Gentlemen, do not be too sanguine about this Royal Commission, but you may be hopeful. I do not know how far we shall get, but we shall get some money for India I have no doubt. There are three men on that Commission who stand for the people of India. At the beginning they were alone; they are now no longer alone, Mr. President. Now, it is not only in the army that the British Treasury milks the Indian cow; it is the same in the navy. India is charged with the cost of operations in the Persian Gulf. The Admiralty keeps a number of ships of war in Indian seas for Imperial purposes for which India pays £100,000. Now, if you take Mauritius for instance, it is also in the Indian Seas, but the people of Mauritius contribute nothing; Zanzibar contributes nothing, Ceylon nothing, but poor India has to pay the whole. (Shame). India has to pay, besides all this, large sums for dockyard improvements, all of which are not in the interests of the Indian Marine but in the interests of the British Navy. Then, there is the Aden swindle. Aden a part of India! Why, there is only one object in making Aden a part of India that India may be cheated out of a payment for a naval and coaling station of Imperial importance. Aden is no portion of India at all by any argument; Aden is an Imperial route to every Eastern British possession. The Red Sea route takes all British trade to Zanzibar, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-kong, China, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The trade of every one of these great commercial depôts is guarded by Aden, and the perishing ryots of Jubbulpore must pay for,

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its protection; and rich Britain throws on poor India the entire cost of protecting the Eastern Seas. There is another little affair, that I think ought to be put right. 185,000 tens of Rupees were charged on the Indian finances under the head of ecclesiastical expenses. If you go next Sunday to St. Paul's Cathedral you will see a large and fashionable congregation. If I wished to take any one to see the finest equipages in Calcutta I would take them to the Cathedral on a Sunday morning. You have to pay for that; why should not these wealthy people who go to the Cathedral pay for the Bishop? Then there is the Zanzibar and Mauritius cable. I do not know if you are all aware that you have to pay £10,000 a year for the up-keep of a cable between Zanzibar and the Mauritius. We are told that it is for strategic purposes. Well it is payable for 20 years more, and taking all the charges together, India will have paid close upon half a million sterling for it, or—in the words of Sir Ralph Knox—"for the privilege of being able to summon the fleet of the Empire to the assistance of India in the case of general confusion." What general confusion? I suppose in case tree-smearing commenced again; then you will be able to telegraph to Zanzibar, and then to England to send for the fleet to put an end to tree-smearing! (Laughter). Then you have to pay for diplomatic charges in Persia; you might as well pay for diplomatic charges in Venezuela. India contributes £30,000 a year to defray these diplomatic charges or in other words three quarters of the whole. It also pays £3,000 a year to encourage trade on the Euphrates and the Tigris. That is the way in which Indian interests are dealt with. India pays £12,500 a year to maintain the China Consulates and she is used to pay double that amount. The total payment for the cost of the China Consulates has been close upon half a million sterling. Then there is another trumpery affair. You have to pay £1,000 a year to that fraud, the Imperial Institute, which is supposed to look after India's interests in Art matters! Well, Mr. President, justice demands the restitution of 80 or 40 crores of rupees from the British Exchequer to the Indian Exchequer. It also demands a reduction of at least 5 crores in your Army Expenditure if these reforms are carried out. But do not think you are going to get it. I am here to say it and I believe it that there is an earnest and honest desire on the part of the English people that India should be generously and justly dealt with, but the English people cannot follow the intricacies of Indian Finance. I do trust that one important outcome of the Commission will be the appointment of a permanent, impartial and judicial tribunal of arbitration, constituted by Act of Parliament, with clear, specific powers, to which all questions of apportionment in dispute between the two Governments could be referred, and whose decisions could not be upset by the executive Government of the day, but only by a direct resolution of the House of Commons. But, Gentlemen, if Indian Finance is to be relieved from its present congestion and become once more elastic, the battle must be fought not in India, but in Britain. The whole thing consists in convincing Britons that India must be governed not as a possession to be squeezed dry by the British Treasury, or to be exploited by the British army and a British Civil Service; but rather to be treated on colonial lines, entrusted with the settling and administering of her own expenditure, regardless of anything but the welfare of the Indian people and the development of Indian resources. (Cheers). This, Gentlemen, can only be brought about within the doors of the House of Commons. To this end Members of that House must be gradually educated, and the schools where that education must be carried on, are the constituencies which return them. This is no easy task to accomplish. It devolves entirely on your British Committee. I have told you what has been done in the past. It is a good record of honest work, accomplished and realized. All that is asked by the British Committee is that the modest contribution now guaranteed by the Indian National Congress should be paid promptly and regularly. This should not be difficult as the British Committee furnish 10,000 copies of "India" in exchange, and if these are sold and subscribed for by the various Congress centres the whole contribution will be secured. Now, Sir, the British Committee consists of busy, active men, in high positions

in their various walks of life, who give gratuitous service. We have lost more than one distinguished member of our executive, solely because they would not continue on a committee whose finances were administered in such a slipshod happy-go-lucky fashion. Some useful comment has been made in the Indian Press generally on the message delivered from Mr. Hume the day I landed at Bombay. Lunching with Mr. Hume the day before I left I said, "What is your last message to the Congress centres, Mr. Hume?" (Loud cheers). Well, it is very kind of you to give Mr. Hume's name so hearty a welcome. I only hope you will cheer his message with equal vigour. I said to him—"What is your last message," and he replied, "Tell the beggars to pay up." Well, Mr. President, we, on the British Committee, know that the money is safe enough, that it comes in eventually, but it comes in so slowly that the Committee have over and over again been compelled to advance large sums out of their own pockets to prevent financial collapse, and lately the Committee has only been kept together by the existence of the permanent fund, now sadly depleted. Well, it is very painful for me to have to bring this message. This sort of message unhappily causes the enemy to blaspheme, but we cannot help that. The standing Congress Committee is always some £3,000 or 4,000 in arrears with the British Committee. I want you to clear this off and to try to be more punctual in future. The Congress, I believe, has a brilliant and useful future before it. But if it is to be secured it will be by personal self-denial and self-sacrifice on the part of every individual member. I am here to-day, Mr. President, to pledge the British Committee to this, and our past justifies the pledge. It is for you to do your part bravely and fearlessly. In your hands rests the future happiness and well-being of 300 millions of people. May God be your strength and your guide. (Loud and prolonged applause).

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Resolution II.

MR. J. P. GOODRIDGE, C. S. (Central Provinces, Jubbulpore, No. 689 on the list) said:—
Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has been placed in my hands runs thus:—

Resolution III.
—
Separation of
Judicial and
Executive
Functions.
—

That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India which, the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. In this connection the Congress desires to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. Manomohan Ghose who made this question the subject of his special study.

I will preface the remarks I have to make by saying how small I feel in comparison with our late lamented friend who brought this subject before you last year. You all know that Mr. Manomohan Ghose devoted years of study to this subject, and he has, I think, by his writings and speeches convinced all educated and unbiased persons, that the system which exists at present or rather the remnant of the old combination of Magisterial and police powers which has not yet been dissolved, has no foundation in reason and is pernicious in practice. Gentlemen, the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose had been known to me for the last 20 years. I made his acquaintance at University College, London, in 1864 and I then formed a very high estimate of his abilities and patriotism. (Cheers).

Sir, Mr. Manomohan Ghose has, I think, left us a legacy. He has shown us the value of persistent effort and what can be done by devoting ourselves unselfishly to a public cause. Notwithstanding the various stratagems and changes of front which were adopted by his political opponents and the opposition he met with from the official classes of this country, he never faltered in his course. He worked at this question here in India and he went to England and brought the matter before leading men there and I think I may say that he converted all intelligent and unprejudiced minds to his view that the last link which joins

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tions.

Now, Sir, during a controversy like this we must expect, and it is a very sad thing to reflect upon, to lose from time to time some of our most efficient leaders, but let us remember that they have taught us how we should fight if we would be successful, and let us show how greatly we venerate them and how we value what they have done for us by following in their footsteps. I do not think we could have a leader who could set us a nobler example than Mr. Manmohan Ghose by his courage, his sagacity, and, above all, by his persistency. We cannot hope for success in our political campaign unless we are constant and persistent and hold on in our righteous course through good report and evil report, ever working for the attainment of the object in view. And mark my words, gentlemen, that when the British people come to know what India needs in this and other matters which affect her so intimately they will see that she gets it. It is only a question of time. If we are persistent and if we convince the British people that we mean to attain our end by constitutional methods, that we are practical and moderate in our demands, we shall get all we want. The very manner in which we plead for our rights and place before them our feelings, and views will in itself be an object lesson to the great British people and will convince them that a nation that can be reasonable and practical in their demands and constitutional in their methods are capable of sharing in the management of their own affairs. (Cheers).

Well, Sir, we have studied the literature on this subject prepared for us by our late friend. It seemed at one time as if every body of any distinction, or to whose opinion any weight was to be attached, had come over to his view. Lords Cross and Kimberley from their places in the House of Lords had said that the present position was indefensible and that now the only question was:—Had we the money to carry out the separation? But, Gentlemen, I had my suspicions that there were still even at this time of day persons, Anglo-Indian Officials in high places, who would oppose to the last gasp any sort of reform from whatever quarter it came, and however much it might be deserved by the Indian Community, if it did not square with the principles on which they desired to govern this country. Well, Sir, I expressed this scepticism in the columns of the "Times" and shortly afterwards an article appeared in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" by your late Lieutenant-Governor. Now Sir C. Elliott has had very little if indeed any experience in District Work since he was an Assistant Commissioner in Oudh 35 years ago. Most of his service has been passed as you know in the Secretariat of the N.-W. P., with the Government of India, and in special Departments such as the Settlement. But he is unquestionably a clever and accomplished writer and if any one knows what can best be said on any side of a question and the best way to say it, then no cause could have a better champion than Sir C. Elliott. Yet I cannot refrain from saying that after reading that article I was astonished to find that so little could be said for the present system by so skilful an advocate. He does nothing but reiterate the old threadbare arguments founded on prestige. Well, Sir, what was the position taken up in that article? Were we carried forward at all in this discussion, was any new light thrown on the question? Were Mr. Ghose's contentions fairly met and refuted? Nothing of the sort. For although Sir Charles Elliott says "I will have nothing to do with a vague term like *prestige*" yet he brings back the whole idea in disguise. For if this be not so I should like to know what he means by saying that all power should be collected in the hands of a single Official who is the eye and ear of Government and is regarded by the people as all-powerful. Is not this the old belief that the District Officer is to be regarded as a superhuman being, a kind of incarnation of the Deity, if I may say so. What is the meaning of the word *prestige*? It comes from the Latin word *prestigium*. Etymologically, it is a conjuring trick; actually a sham. The idea is that this Officer gathers up all the threads of administration in his hand, is the autocrat of the District and can do any and everything in fact with an unlimited power

which he really does not possess, and thus imposes on the world. Is it possible that there can be any thing really valuable in a sham? Will not the people see through it as well as yourself. The prestige argument in its naked form is one which has latterly been so ridiculed and discredited that I think we shall not hear any thing more of it in the old form, but the danger is that it may be revived in disguise. It is now said: "Don't let us concern ourselves with the question whether the District Magistrate is presented to the people of this country as omnipotent; what we want is a strong executive." By all means, I say, let us have a strong District Officer. I do not for a moment desire to advocate anything which would weaken the position of the District Officer. I think his position and responsibility should be maintained to the uttermost and his hands strengthened. (Hear, hear). But I fear he has lost part of his capacity for doing his duty, and I will show you presently how I think it may be restored to him. But, Sir, the District Officer should not in my opinion have anything to do with this conjuring trick. He should have real power; he should not be merely a wooden gun trotted out occasionally but he should be a valuable weapon in our arsenal. The belief that the people of an advanced and educated country like Bengal regard the District Officer in the light of an all-powerful official is absurd. It may be so in places where the people are very backward, as in some remote tracts that I have known and where they venerate their rulers as Gods. But in the civilized parts of India the powers of a District Officer and the limitations of those powers are well known to most persons and it is useless to attempt to endow him with powers that he does not and cannot possess. Sir in olden times the District Officer exercised considerable Police powers that have now passed away from him. And what I say is that instead of retaining with all its concomitant evils this remnant of the Judicial powers still left to him, in the belief that it strengthens his position, I would restore to him full Police powers and take care that they are fully exercised. At present he is neither the real head of the Police nor the head of the Judiciary. He cannot take a close and intimate part in Police investigations since he may be the Judge in the Court of first instance or in appeal. He cannot be efficient as a Judicial Officer because he cannot fail to be biased in the trial of a case in which he has been intimately concerned either directly or through his Police subordinates. I would, therefore, separate these functions. The history of all civilized countries shows that they cannot be combined without many and serious evils which deprive the administration of justice, of fairness and impartiality. Though I would take away from the District Officer this remnant of Magisterial power I would restore to him full Police powers. When I entered the service more than 27 years ago the part the District Officer took in the Police work of a District was real and close. The Police *Roznamcha* or Diary was read to him daily and he passed his orders on every important item that it contained. This I believe I am correct in saying is not done now in any part of India (I speak of course with special reference to the Central Provinces) and instead when it is submitted to him it is not for his orders on cases, but chiefly for him to decide what are practically unimportant matters such as whether any particular case should or should not be struck off the Criminal Register as false or as not having occurred. During the last few years the Indian Police has, as we know, been censured in the most unequivocal terms for all sorts of crimes and omissions. And to what cause is this state of things attributed? To the fact that the District Officer has not exercised the power which he ought to have exercised over the Police. In the latest Police Administration Reports of Bengal, of the Punjab, of Burma and of Madras, you will find the same complaints, and everywhere there is the old refrain,—the District Officer has not done his duty. And until he has the Police power restored on its former basis, and really exercises it there can be no improvement. The chief object of the Police Act of 1861 was no doubt a good one. It was to effect a separation of Police and Magisterial functions and to make the Police more efficient. But it made two mistakes, namely (1) Retaining the link that connected the Magistracy with the Police, and (2) Setting up the Inspector-General of Police, with his District Superin-

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tendent's Police Circulars, in place of the District Officer. The result is that the Police are directed by a separate body of men *quasi-military* (if I may so style them) who are practically independent of the District Officer. It is all very well to talk of the "general supervision" which a District Officer is supposed to exercise over the Police, but as a matter of fact his authority has passed to others, and he rarely interferes in the actual working of the Police and then chiefly in the very class of cases regarding which there is so much complaint. I wish to make this point clear that nobody desires to weaken the District Officer. What we wish to do is to increase his power of directing and controlling the Police. Sir J. Strachey in his book on "India" has observed that though the law gives to the District Officer a general power over the Police of the District yet the interference which he practically exercises varies in different Provinces and that in some Provinces his powers have been so strictly limited that the Police has become virtually a separate department administered by the District Superintendent under the orders of the Inspector-General of Police at the head-quarters of Government, and that as the people for the most part will not protect themselves, but have been accustomed from time immemorial to submit unresistingly to all official action under such circumstances, it has always been difficult to guard against abuses. Sir John Strachey adds to these remarks the opinion of Sir James Stephen that no part of the institutions by which India is governed requires more careful watching than the Police in order to prevent that body which is designed for the protection of the people from becoming a means of petty oppression. Now, Sir, I think all present here will agree with Sir John Strachey and Sir James Stephen, and it is for this very reason that we should like to see the District Officer restored to his former place, the real head of the Police taking an active part in the investigation of important crime and in the working of the Police force generally. But as he cannot be at the same time an active and zealous Police Officer and an unbiased Magistrate, let him be relieved of the latter office. Sir C. Elliott lays stress on the fact that the Subordinate Magistrates need instructions and constant inspection to keep them right. But then comes the question whether the control and supervision could not be more effectively exercised by District Judges. The objections of Sir C. Elliott, so far as I remember them, do not carry any weight, while there are many advantages in the proposed changes. The District Judge would be free from the Executive bias and it is much easier for him than for the District Magistrate to form a correct opinion as to the defects and shortcomings of the Subordinate Magistrates having first class powers (by whom the bulk of the criminal work of the country is done) in as much as their work comes before him constantly in appeal and revision and in the ordinary course of his duty. And, as he is more of a specialist than the District Officer in matters of law and procedure he ought to be better able to advise and correct than the District Magistrate. As regards the exercise of Judicial functions in the shape of trying cases by the District Officers themselves there is this to be remembered that their decisions are subject to reversal on appeal by the District Judge. The power of exercising those functions and himself punishing delinquents, on which Sir James Stephen has laid stress, is really important for maintaining their authority or prestige or whatever else it may be called, and as a matter of fact District Officers generally avoid trying cases. Sir C. Elliott has on this subject invoked the authority of Sir John Strachey who in the 2nd edition of his work "India" has remarked that the demands for a complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions in India are based on the assumption that because this is good for England it must be good for India also. As a matter of fact there are some principles of government applicable to all civilized people, and I think it may be said with perfect truth that if this separation of the functions of a Policeman and Magistrate on account of the frailty of mankind is necessary in England it is doubly so in India where there are more powerful agencies at work to obstruct the course of justice than in England. Sir, the power of the District Officer is not derived from the fact that he can try certain cases if he desires to do so or transfer them to another Magistrate, but flows from his authority as Collector and from the exercise of all the other miscellaneous functions. In a footnote to the passage

which Sir C. Elliott has extracted, Sir J. Strachey shows clearly that he is himself conscious of the fact that Magisterial and Police functions cannot be properly combined, for he adds, "It must be understood that these remarks regarding Executive and Judicial functions are only intended to refer to the powers of District Officers in Regulation Provinces. In the Non-Regulation Provinces with some exceptions the Deputy Commissioner is not only a Magistrate and Collector but a Chief Judge also. This is undoubtedly objectionable and there are no reasons for maintaining the system except reasons of economy. Now, Sir, the whole of my service has been passed in a Non-Regulation Province of the class to which Sir J. Strachey refers, and I can assure him that he is quite mistaken in supposing that the position of a Deputy Commissioner in these provinces differs from that of a Magistrate and Collector as regards his jurisdiction generally (with a trivial exception to which I shall refer later on) and his authority over the Subordinate Magistracy. The term "Chief Judge" which Sir J. Strachey uses is ambiguous. No Officer, so far as my knowledge extends, is referred to in the Codes under that title. If it is intended to mean that he is also the Sessions Judge of the Regulation Provinces it is to be remarked that no Deputy Commissioner has any powers corresponding to those of Sessions Judges referred to in the Code. These functions in Non-Regulation Provinces are discharged by the Commissioner who is the Sessions Judge and by the Additional Sessions Judges, but nowhere do Deputy Commissioners exercise any such functions. The slight difference between the Jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of a Non-Regulation Province and that of a Magistrate of a District in a Regulation Province to which I have referred, is simply this, that under Section 30 of the Code of Criminal Procedure a Deputy Commissioner may be specially empowered to try certain Sessions cases not punishable with death as a Magistrate and according to the procedure laid down for Magistrates, but not as a Sessions Judge. It follows from this that there is no material difference in Jurisdiction between a District Magistrate and a Deputy Commissioner, and if it is objectionable for a Deputy Commissioner to combine the powers of a Policeman and Magistrate in the Non-Regulation Provinces it is equally objectionable for him to combine those functions in the Regulation Provinces. It is to be regretted that this footnote escaped Sir C. Elliott's notice. He would scarcely have cited Sir J. Strachey as an authority for maintaining a combination of Police and Magisterial functions. Sir, this is a wide subject and I will not detain you longer, but if any one desires to see a careful analysis of the criticisms to which Sir C. Elliott subjected the cases collected by Mr. Manomohan Ghose he cannot do better than read Mr. Reynolds' and Sir John Phear's replies in the November number of "India." These gentlemen who have held high offices in this country, one in the Executive and the other in the Judicial departments and whose names command respect, have shown conclusively how Mr. Ghose's remarks were fully justified by the cases collected by him. There is only one other remark I should like to make on this question. Our present Finance Minister, Sir James Westland has said in one of his earlier reports to Government that the people of this country can see no reason whatever why the same officer should not combine both these functions. It is now some years since these remarks were made, and I cannot say how far they express Sir James Westland's present view of the question, but as Sir Charles Elliott has also expressed the same idea it should not be passed over unnoticed. He says, "Why should not the same officer try the case who had investigated it? To say that an officer continuing a trial as a Magistrate should be in any way so possessed by the passion of the hunter as to be incapable of listening fairly to any evidence in favour of the hunted is an hypothesis unqualified by general experience or by knowledge of any but the worst sides of human nature." But, Sir, this argument, if it is worth anything, proves too much, for it proves that every thing done in England and on the continent of Europe to sever these functions of Policeman and Magistrate as incompatible, proceeds on a mistaken view of human nature and is not justified by general experience or by knowledge of any but the worst sides of human nature. Would Sir Charles Elliott address such an argument to educated Englishmen, or are the worst sides of human character

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to be sought for in England only? If not, how can it be contended that what is found a necessary safeguard in England is not equally essential to the administration of justice in India. This argument may possibly have some force with the superior minds of the Executive Officers having the best sides of human nature, but will not, I take it, carry conviction to persons of ordinary experience. Has Sir Charles Elliott never heard of "unconscious] bias"? He must be a very simple person indeed who thinks that the ordinary Magistrate can always take a dispassionate view, as a Judge, of a case that he has investigated as a Policeman. In England it has long since been held that the combination is impracticable with a due regard to the fairness of trial. In India where the Subordinate Magistrates are so susceptible to intimidation and are often lacking in the moral hardihood which would enable them to resist pressure, the reasons for a separation are of threefold force. Now, I think there is not a single person in this assembly who would support the idea that these duties can be combined with advantage. Where the people are educated and enlightened, what they most value in British rule is the fair and impartial administration of justice. If time allowed I could give many cases quite as scandalous as those referred to by Mr. Ghose. As Mr. Ghose said, the cases brought to light do not represent a hundredth part of the cases which have occurred and I feel sure that the experience of other District Officers is similar to mine. Now, Gentlemen, I beg to ask you to support this Resolution and to show by your action that it still remains a "burning question" as it has been called, and is one of the chief planks of our platform and that we are as agreed now as we ever were of getting this question settled as soon as practicable. Now that both parties in Parliament have taken our view and as one of our advocates in the House of Commons belongs to the party now in office I think we have a better chance of carrying our point than ever. The separation would of course necessitate a slight recasting of the Criminal Code but I think our present Law Member who has had considerable experience and much success in drafting, would not find this a difficult task. With these remarks, Gentlemen, I beg to lay this Resolution before you for adoption. (Cheers).

Mr. N. N. GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 128 on the list) in seconding the Resolution said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In seconding this Resolution I feel that I am laying before you for your kind acceptance a legacy consecrated by the memory of one of our most distinguished friends and one of our most distinguished leaders, Mr. Manomohan Ghose. (Hear, hear, loud and prolonged applause) If ever in these matters of constitutional agitation we were justified in speaking of a battle "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son," I feel that I should be warranted in using that language on the present occasion. Mr. Manomohan Ghose took up this battle and fought valiantly, and having regard to the circumstances under which his melancholy death happened, I might almost be justified in saying that he died a martyr to this cause. (Hear, hear). The excitement produced in his mind and upon his sensitive nature by a trenchant if somewhat ill-natured attack in the columns of an English magazine possibly contributed to the disruption of his material frame. But though he is gone, the cause, let us hope, remains. Therefore it has become specially the duty of the Congress, not only to have the Resolution discussed and passed this year, but to continue to keep it on the programme until we have succeeded in attaining all that we want. (Hear, hear). I think you will at once agree with me that there could not be a safer topic of agitation; no subject which could be said to have become more ripe for reform. It has been before the public for many years. It has been considered from every point of view, national and official, English and Indian, and I believe that it is practically settled that there cannot be any difference of opinion as to the principle at any rate. Whatever may be the differences of opinion as to details, the principle of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions stands unimpeached. Well, Gentlemen, what can be a more elementary principle of the administration of justice

than this, that the judge and the prosecutor shall not be one and the same person (Hear, hear). The Executive Officer is practically not only a ruler, but he is also, or may be in many cases, a prosecutor, and there may be circumstances under which he may come practically to have control over decisions in cases in which he has himself initiated the prosecution. I take it to be also an elementary and well-recognised principle that the qualifications of a Judicial Officer are not the same as those of an Executive Officer. The work of a Judicial Officer is of a highly technical character, he has to acquire a legal training, he is required to have some experience of legal practice, to have moved in the atmosphere of the courts, to have imbibed, let us speak plainly, some of the legal prejudices, and to have developed in him what may be called judicial instincts. The Executive Officer on the contrary may often be required by the conditions of the problems he has to solve, to ride rough-shod over technicalities and to despise forms, to be prompt to plan and quick to execute. You have specimens of Executive Officers not only in Magistrates but in the Police and in the Military. They are the typical Executive Officers in any country, but you would not desire a Cromwell to sit on the wool-sack, any more than you would require a gouty and corpulent Lord Chancellor to quell a mutiny or clear the House of Commons of its *effete* survivals. Each is great in his own sphere, each requires to have his own special qualifications, to act according to the rules of his own profession. Now, where are we to find a man sufficiently versatile to be equally competent in Judicial and Executive work at one and the same moment? It therefore stands to reason, not only that this small measure of reform that we demand should be passed, but also that a complete severance should be effected between the Executive and Judicial services, there being in fact no reason why the two departments should be recruited from one and the same class of men and be subject to the same control. I say one would be justified in conceiving such a reform to be reasonable, and for my own part I fancy that sooner or later you will yourselves all come to recognize the smallness of the measure about which we are now conducting this agitation. This reform, I feel sure, will prove eventually only a small contribution to a much larger reform which some day is destined to come; namely, the reconstitution of the Indian Civil Service. The country has already out-grown the conditions under which the Civil Service was considered to be the fittest ruling body in India, and some re-adjustment of its functions, some reconstitution of the service itself and its internal arrangements, would be sure to be felt to be a necessity sooner or later, and I believe very much sooner than most of us possibly expect. We are in the meantime demanding a very small instalment of reform. The Resolution of this year is practically in the same terms as the Resolution passed by last year's Congress, namely, that something ought to be done. We do not care to indicate in the Resolution any particular change, but we say only that something ought to be done by the Government of India to separate the Judicial from the Executive functions. But though the Resolution is not specific as to details I believe it is pretty well known that the particular reform which Mr. Manomohan Ghose pressed alike on the attention of last year's Congress and also at a meeting of the East India Association in London, was that the decisions of second and third class Magistrates should be appealable not to District Magistrates, but to District Judges. If that is the only innovation that we want, I do not see how any man who calls himself a practical statesman can oppose this Resolution on the ground of the downfall of prestige, or even on the ground of financial difficulties. In fact, as the Resolution says, public opinion has almost formed itself alike in England and in India on the desirability of the change that is now pressed upon your attention. If not the solitary opponent of the measure, certainly the protagonist in the opposite camp, is Sir Charles Elliott, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But there are reasons to fear that that gentleman has not really mastered the issues of this great controversy. It is not possible for me to lay before you and certainly not possible to discuss the many declarations which he

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Second Day. has made upon this subject. But I may be excused if I read out a few lines of what he
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“The question of the separation of the Judicial and Executive has been the subject of correspondence between us and the Government of India, and till their decision is announced, I am not at liberty to divulge the details of the proposals; but this much I can say, without a breach of confidence, that our object has been to do away with the difficulty that has arisen from the want of seniority of the men approved to be judges, and also the inconvenience and annoyance that is likely to spring from the fact of men who have been made judges for six months having to revert to be Joint-Magistrates, and often placed under the very men whose superiors they had been when Judges. Whatever merits the system of the two separate branches may have, it is accompanied by the serious drawback of the tendency it creates to destroy the homogeneity of the service, and encourages a spirit of antagonism, so that the Executive resents the interference and control of the Judicial, and the Judicial thinks the Executive yearns to be independent of the law, and requires sharp correction, and I trust that it will not be futile to appeal to the good feeling of the service at large not to increase this antagonism of feeling wherever it happens to exist.”

Well, Gentlemen, I shall not inflict upon you a longer quotation, but in the same speech the Lieutenant-Governor went on to say that he considered it a great misfortune that the Munsiffs stationed at a place did not think it their duty to call on Magistrates, and that Deputy Magistrates in like manner did not consider it their duty to call upon the District Judges. Therefore he thought it was desirable not merely to retain the present system but to bring about a greater fusion than even now exists, so that a man might be a Judge to-day and a Magistrate to-morrow. His recent article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* bristles with ideas of a still more strange character. For instance one of the things which he does not so much lay down as assume, is this that even if men are recklessly prosecuted and kept in jail for a long time but if eventually they are acquitted, no harm is done to them although they may be innocent. Of Sir Charles Elliott's notions we have a great many that have become historic, including the famous “no conviction, no promotion;” that there must not be adjournments of cases under any circumstances; that somebody must be punished for the day's work; that it is a magistrate's duty not merely to base his decision on the evidence placed before him but also sometimes to hunt up evidence. I doubt if ideas like these are entertained even by many laymen, but any young man receiving the elements of a legal training has certainly to dismiss them from his mind within a few weeks of the commencement of his studies, if he ever cherished them. (Cheers). But after all, I think Sir Charles Elliott ought not to give us much trouble in answering him. He is a living answer to his own arguments. (Cheers). He has been an Executive Officer of undoubted ability and energy. He has done good service to the country in his own way, but when we find that a gentleman with such a long executive experience has such erratic notions on the administration of justice what are we to think of the system which he is prepared to defend? How is it possible for any Executive Officer of lesser ability and lesser experience to have strict judicial notions when Sir Charles Elliott himself has exhibited the want of them? (Cheers). Well, Gentlemen, for the purpose of agitating this cause I do not think it is necessary for us to take much trouble. The abstract principles on which we rely will not be disputed in any quarter entitled to command attention. Mr. Manomohan Ghose pointed out that since the days of Lord Cornwallis downwards, administrator after administrator had recognised the necessity of the reform, and a writer in one of the English Journals, *India*, points out very clearly that up to 1858, the system was practically of the kind we now desire, that the evil is a recent one, and that the reform we want is really the resuscitation of old principles. It is nothing revolutionary that we are now seeking. One of the most valuable services Mr. Manomohan Ghose rendered to this cause was the illustration

that he gave of the practical evils of the system. Many of us may feel equally confident with him as to the principles of the reform, but it is not every one who has at his command such a number of well-selected cases which actually illustrate the evils of the system, and an exposition of those practical evils is one of the things which are wanted to convince the English public, because the English mind is so constituted that it will not change anything simply because it is in principle an anomaly. In conclusion, I will only say that the system as it at present exists, stands condemned not only by every consideration of principle, by the weight of opinion and by the express authority of many a ruler and statesman, but also by the manner in which it has interfered with the due administration of justice. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

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BABU TARAPADA BANNERJEE (Nadia, Krishnaghur, No. 336, on the list.) said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Resolution which I have been asked to support is of peculiar interest to me as with it is associated the name of the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose. (Loud cheers). whom I had the proud privilege of reckoning as one of my friends and patrons. It is very properly said in this Resolution that Mr. Ghose had made the subject of Judicial and Executive functions his special study. We are all aware, Gentlemen, that shortly before his death he issued two pamphlets, one containing the opinions of eminent men on the subject and the other an outline of cases illustrating the evils and the abuses of the present system. It is not necessary for me to say anything to show that the present system is productive of miscarriage of justice in the majority of cases. Let me only say in this connection that so far back as 1874 the Government of India asked Sir James Stephen to say whether the union of Judicial and Executive functions was productive of any abuse or not. Sir James Stephen collected the opinions of almost all the Executive Officers of the different districts and provinces and distinctly expressed his opinion that this union of Judicial and Executive functions was productive of serious evils and that a reform in this connection was absolutely necessary. I might tell you, Gentlemen, that on many occasions I consulted my friends who are in the service, that is, many Deputy Magistrates, and they distinctly told me one and all, to separate the two functions and then (they said) if you see miscarriage of justice you may blame us for it. In one case in which I was engaged, I asked the Deputy Magistrate to discharge my client as the case for the prosecution had completely broken down. The Deputy Magistrate said, "My dear friend, you ask me to discharge your client but I have the orders of my superior to see that the culprits are punished. How can I let them go. I am not to be guided by the evidence alone. I must see that I do not lose my bread." Be it said to the credit of the Deputy Magistrate that he eventually let my clients off. In conclusion, Gentlemen, I can only say that I wish some one with the requisite time and skill, would collect the facts and figures necessary, as Mr. Ghose would have done had he lived, to answer the ill-natured article by the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to which reference has been made by the proposer and seconder of this Resolution. I am sure you will carry the Resolution with acclamation. (Cheers).

MR. HARI VAMAN KELKAR (Wardha, No. 696 on the list.) said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is the first time that I have spoken before so large an assembly as this and therefore if I fail, I pray you will be indulgent to me and excuse me. I appear before you to-day to represent and to express the deep sense of regret we all feel for the death of one so honoured as the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose. (Cheers). I have not had the advantage of being personally acquainted with him, but I stand here to-day to represent the feelings of those who were acquainted with him only through his writings, and as such it is necessary for me to tell you what the impressions of such persons are with regard to him. Well, Gentlemen, the proposition has just been moved by Mr. Goodridge, a Delegate from the Central Provinces from where I also come. The

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tions.

Central Provinces have a Government of which probably you have no idea and it was just now very truly remarked by a gentleman sitting near that the Chief Magistrate there is also the Chief Judge. The Deputy Commissioner there exercises almost identical powers with those of a District Magistrate in a Regulation Province, he is in fact the head of all the various departments of the administration ; he is the Inspector-General of Police, of Registration and Education, and in short whatever power he wishes to wield he can exercise. It is not necessary for me to say much to support this proposal after the eloquent and impressive speeches to which you have listened. Many of you here belong to the legal profession and almost every member of that profession could without difficulty bring forward half a dozen instances of oppression resulting from the existing combination of these two functions. With these words, Gentlemen, I beg to support the Resolution.

MR. C. V. KUMARASWAMI SHASTRIAR (Madras, No. 753, on the list,) said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposition which I have the honor to support is fortunately one which requires few words to commend itself to you. The principle which you are called to support is sanctioned by the authority of jurisprudence and confirmed by the results of experience. Natural justice requires that the hand which holds the scales of justice shall not be influenced by the various motives and passions which must necessarily influence persons who have deemed it necessary to bring those whom they suppose to be offenders against public laws to justice. Varied experience has shown to us that the combination of Judicial and Executive functions has been the cause of repeated failures of justice. (Hear, hear). The position we take is both in practice and theory indisputable, and has been recognised by various rulers for over two centuries. (Cheers). The learned mover of the proposition has referred to the various frivolous excuses which have been urged against the putting into practice of a universally admitted theory. Amongst those excuses the one most frequently urged is that of the loss of prestige of the District Officer. Gentlemen, it is difficult to see wherein there is any loss of prestige. I think on the contrary the officers will gain in prestige when the people see that in obedience to public sentiment, in obedience to the common laws of justice and humanity they have voluntarily resigned a portion of their functions so manifestly inconsistent with the due and proper discharge of the remainder of their varied duties. (Cheers). No Government can lose any prestige by doing what is right. (Cheers). Gentlemen, our request is a moderate one. We ask the Government to put an end to an anomaly the existence of which has been admitted by the Government for over two centuries.

~~We ask the Government to prevent the prosecutor or one interested in the prosecution from having anything to do with the determination of the guilt of the accused.~~ In fact we ask the Government to place justice (the due administration of which is the surest foundation of all Governments) above even a shadow of suspicion. (Cheers). We are surely not asking too much. The measure has been tried in Madras and no complaints have reached the public ; on the contrary opinion and experience are in its favour. I fail to see how a change founded upon such plain principles of justice can fail to work well if introduced into every portion of the Empire. Gentlemen, the measure, important in itself, has acquired a melancholy interest by its association with the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose. (Cheers). His dying lips have charged us with the carrying out of the measure and we can testify our appreciation of the nobleness of his life's work in no better manner than carrying the most cherished object of his life by acclamation. (Loud cheers)

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

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THE HON'BLE BAL GANGADHUR TILAK (Poona, No. 734, on the list,) proposed the IV Resolution which was as follows :—

“ Considering that the Local Governments are entrusted with all branches of administration, excepting Army expenditure, superior supervision and control here and in England, and the payment of interest on debt, this Congress is of opinion that the allotments made to the Provincial Government

on what is called the provincial adjustments are inadequate, and that in view of the revision of the Quinquennial Provincial Contract, which is to take place in 1897, the time has arrived when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralization, by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different Provinces principally to the Local Governments; the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract, so as to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty and that advantage arising from the normal expansion of the revenues which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and the satisfactory administration of the different provinces."

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He said :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Resolution which has been entrusted to me is now put upon the Congress programme for the first time. It ought to have been there long ago, but the reason seems to be that the attention of the Congress leaders was not directed to this point until after the Provincial budgets were openly discussed in the Legislative Councils, and after the expansion of the Councils. I propose to go briefly into the question and state its exact position now. It is a finance subject and you may probably be expecting from me a speech full of figures and facts. I don't mean, however, to tire your patience by dry figures but shall confine myself mainly to the question of principles and a brief history of the subject. It is a subject wherein we have to consider the question of the relation between the Imperial and the Local Governments and it differs from other subjects in this that whereas our Resolutions are generally opposed to the wishes of the Executive, here at least we have the support of the Local Governments as against the Government of India. The different Governments are themselves divided on the point and we support those that best represent our interests.

I said that this is a question of the relation of the Imperial and Provincial Governments. The Government of India regards itself as the master of all the Indian revenues and claims for itself the right of controlling the foreign policy, of carrying war not only on the frontier, but beyond it, and that too without the previous sanction of Parliament; of paying pensions and exchange compensation allowances; and of spending money on frontier defences while all internal administration is left to Local Governments. For this purpose the Government of India must have money and we would willingly grant it, had it not been for the irresponsible way in which it is spent. Now, money is also required for internal administration, and according to the system in force before 1870, the Government of India had full control of the Local, the Provincial and the Imperial revenue and expenditure. If a well was to be sunk in Bombay or a bridge to be built in Calcutta, the sanction of the Government of India was required for the purpose. It was soon found, however, that the system was unworkable, for the Local Governments always tried to obtain as much money as possible from the Imperial Government, without being in any way responsible for finding out the ways and means to meet the expenditure. Lord Mayo's Government therefore first introduced in 1871 what is known as the provincial contract system. (Cheers). It has been now contended on behalf of Government that the contract is no contract in the legal sense of the term, or that it is only a "so-called" contract or an arrangement depending upon the sweet will of the Imperial Government. I shall refer to it later on; but by whatever name we may call it, there can be no doubt that an agreement between the Local and the Imperial Governments was entered into at the time,—an agreement, which, had it been entered into by private parties, would have been certainly enforced in a court of law. The arrangement was that certain heads of expenditure were to be provincialised and given over completely to the charge of the Local Governments. If there was any saving under those heads, it was to go towards any improvement to be effected therein. It was also settled that so far as those departments were concerned the Local Governments should make no call on

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the Imperial Government. After an experience of five years it was found that the system worked very well—of course, for the Government of India—and Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey, though they were not quite favorable to the financial independence of the Local Governments, extended it by provincialising more heads of expenditure and also this time a few heads of revenue. There were, however, new limitations imposed upon the powers of the Local Government, which was not allowed to incur certain expenditure without the previous sanction of the Government of India. Lord Ripon, (applause) as you all know, took a further step in 1882 and 1884. Local Governments were now asked to assign over to the municipal and local bodies made really representative for the first time, municipal and local revenues in the same way as the Imperial Government had previously assigned the provincial revenues to Local Governments. In Lord Lansdowne's time the contracts were again revised and it was distinctly stated the Local Governments were not to regard themselves as exempted from any call upon their revenues by the Imperial Government. In other words, whenever owing to its extravagant expenditure, the Imperial Government found itself embarrassed, it claimed for itself the right of founcing upon the Local Governments, leaving the latter to manage their affairs as best as they could with the revenues left to them. In fact it was supposed to be an arrangement similar to that between the master of a house and the house-wife, (laughter) the husband claiming for himself the right of indulging in all sorts of intemperate habits and then asking the wife to surrender all her savings. (Cheers). It is against this iniquitous claim that we have to raise our protest, and I am glad that in this we have the full support of the Lieutenant-Governor of this province. Sir A. Mackenzie in reply to the criticism of Sir J. Westland is reported to have said in his Budget speech; "I must say I deprecate the way in which these quinquennial revisions have too frequently been carried out. The provincial sheep is summarily thrown on its back, close clipped and shorn of its wool, and turned out to shiver till its fleece grows again. The normal history of a provincial contract is this:—two years of screwing and saving and postponement of works, two years of resumed energy of normal scale, and one year of dissipation of balances in the fear that, if not spent, they will be annexed by the Government of India." In other words Sir Alexander Mackenzie calls them quinquennial fleecing contracts. (Cheers). We have also the testimony for Sir A. MacDonnell (applause) that it has become impossible to carry on the administration of the N.-W. Provinces with the revenue placed at the disposal of the N.-W. P. Government by the last Provincial Contract. The view of the Local Governments is, therefore, as clear as it could be, and we have to support their claims against the Government of India which setting aside its previous promises, is disposed to regard itself as the master of all Indian revenue and as such possessing the right of requiring the Local Governments to surrender the provincialised revenue for Imperial purposes. Briefly stated the Government of India believes that it has the first claims on all Indian revenue, without any obligation to administer well the internal affairs of the country, and that the Local Governments, instead of complaining, ought to be thankful to the Imperial Government for the small mercies shown to them. Gentlemen, you will all admit that this a very dangerous position for the Imperial Government to take and I trust that my friend, Mr. Wacha, who has been deputed by the Presidency Association to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Expenditure in England, will place the whole question before the Commission with his usual force and clearness. (Cheers). The Government of India means to play the part of an insolvent partner in the administration (cheers) and it is our duty to prevent it from doing so by all the means in our power. Of course, when we succeed in placing a limitation upon the power of the Government of India, it will be necessary to curtail also the powers of the Local Government over provincialised revenues, in some such way as has been done in the case of municipal and local revenues, by allowing a voice to the representatives of the people in controlling the provincial expenditure. However, as this is the first time that we have taken up the subject we confine ourselves to the main principle involved in the case and I have no doubt that you will accord your sanction to it in the usual way. (Loud cheers).

Rai Yatindranath Chowdhury, M. A., B. L. (Baranagar, No. 258, on the list), in seconding the Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Resolution which has just now been so ably moved by my learned predecessor divides itself into the following Prayers to the Supreme Government :—

(1) We urge upon the attention of the Government of India on behalf of the Local Governments that the allotments made by the former to the latter on what is called the Provincial adjustments are inadequate ; (2) We want that a further step be taken in the matter of financial decentralization in order to secure to the Local Governments the elements of fiscal certainty which was advanced in 1870 as one of the main objects of decentralization ; (3) We want that the Supreme Government should only receive a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle ; and (4) We further pray that the principle once fixed should not be disturbed during the currency of the contract. Now all these point to some of the legitimate and crying grievances from which all the Local Governments suffer. I shall confine my remarks to the state of things which obtain in Bengal only, leaving the case of the other Local Governments to be brought forward by the speakers from the respective provinces.

Under the present rules, the Imperial Government takes a three-fourth share of the entire receipts under Land Revenue and Excise ; the remaining one-fourth is allotted to the Local Government. Out of the Stamp Revenue one-fourth is credited to Imperial and three-fourths to Provincial. Revenue derived from Income-tax, Forests and Registration is divided equally between the Imperial and Provincial Governments. Revenues derived from opium, salt, customs and post offices are entirely applied to meet the Imperial expenditure. A very small portion of the receipts under these heads, such as rents of warehouses, wharfs, etc., is credited to the Provincial Government. Besides these, receipts from Provincial rates, law, justice, courts of Law and Jails, police, marine, education and medicine are wholly Provincial. The receipts under Interest, receipts in aid of superannuation and pension, Stationery and Printing are not shared between the Imperial and Provincial Governments. The actual figures of the revenue as stated above amount to (I quote from the Budget for 1896-97) Rs. 14,09,52,000 for Imperial and Rs. 3,85,63,000 for Provincial, which in other words, means that about three fourths of the entire revenue derived from Bengal are taken by the Imperial Government. But this is not all. During the time of the adjustment of the revenue which takes place every five years, the Imperial Government lays its hands on any surplus which the Bengal Government may secure by an efficient and economic management of the revenue ordinarily allotted to it by the terms of the preceding contract and by the natural expansion of these revenues. This state of things clearly shows that the Provincial wants are not adequately met and the Provincial works of utility are therefore somewhat indefinitely postponed. (Cheers).

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from his place in the Supreme Legislative Council during the last Budget debate put the question of these Provincial Contracts in a nut-shell. His Honor on that occasion said : "The normal history of a Provincial Contract is this—two years of screwing and saving and postponement of works ; two years of resumed energy on a normal scale, and one year of dissipation of balances, in the fear that if not spent by will be annexed by the Supreme Government directly and indirectly at the time of revision." Now, Gentlemen, this is a state of things which is seriously detrimental to the interests and the requirements of the Local Governments, and I take it, to those of the Imperial Government as well. (Cheers).

In this connection we must take into account that Bengal had to contribute within the last 5 or 6 years no less than Rs. 67,46,000 to meet the necessities of the Empire over and above the heads of receipts ordinarily classed as Imperial (*Vide* Resolution of Sir Charles

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Elliott, dated 6th November 1895). This shows that our Provincial Revenue is not safe from the encroachment of the Imperial Government even within the term of the contract. Our position has now become much more serious and critical since the time when Sir James Westland laid down the doctrine that all Indian finances or rather all revenues belong to the Government of India, out of which a certain portion is kept for the administration of the Provinces. This is putting back the country by at least a quarter of a century, that is, before the decentralization scheme introduced by Lord Mayo. (Applause). If the Government of India seriously mean to say that the entire revenue belongs to them they should also take into account the magnitude of the provincial needs and wants and allot the provincial share of this revenue accordingly. If the Government of India do not act according to the suggestion contained in the Resolution, many works of public utility in the provinces will have to be postponed till dooms day, or further taxation on the already overburdened people will have to be imposed, and we do not know in that case where and when the taxation and along with it our misery will end. What we want is that there should be some sort of definite and equitable principle by which the contribution to the Imperial Government is to be made at the time of the renewal of the contract. And I may add here that by adopting this Resolution we shall be strengthening the hands of the Local Governments which are quite at one with us in this respect and which feel as strongly as we do on the present question. With these words, Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding this Resolution. (Loud applause).

Mr. G. PARAMESWARAM PILLAI (Madras, No. 757, on the list,) supported the Resolution. In doing so, he said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Previous speakers on the Provincial Contract have emphasized the necessity of taking a further step in the matter of financial decentralization, so that Provincial Governments may have greater control on the disbursement of revenues collected by them. In this matter, Gentlemen, luckily we do not stand alone, for we are supported by the high authority of at least two gentlemen who have been financial members of the Council of the Government of India,—Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin. Sir David Barbour has declared that Provincial Governments should be placed in a position of financial independence and that they should be assigned permanently a reasonable share of their revenues; and Sir Auckland Colvin has advocated the claims of Provincial Governments to greater control on their income. Gentlemen, the liberty of Local Governments to spend the income they derive from various sources is interfered with by the Government of India in two ways, first by the reservation to themselves of the right of revising the contract under which they allow Local Governments to spend the revenue they collect, and secondly, by forcing Local Governments to contribute to the Imperial Exchequer whenever the Government of India think or feel that their position is embarrassing. It is necessary, Gentlemen, in the interests of good government, that the authority possessed by the Government of India in these two respects, should be curbed considerably. It is necessary that the Government of India should have no authority to call upon Local Governments once every five years to surrender all their hard-earned surplus cash and impose upon them the necessity of giving up a large portion of the income they may derive from any prolific source of revenue. On the other hand, the proportion of income to which the Government of India may be entitled ought to be unalterably and irrevocably fixed. It is also necessary that the Government of India should be prevented from compelling Local Governments to contribute large sums of money on the ground of financial exigency. Since, the system of Provincial Contracts came into force, there have been not less than four occasions when the Supreme Government have levied such a contribution, first in 1879-80 and 1880-81 on the plea of the Afghan war, secondly in 1886-87 on the ground of deficit owing to fall in Exchange and Military operations in Upper Burmah, again in 1890-91 on similar grounds, and lastly in 1894-95 owing to heavy fall in Exchange. If on any and every occasion the Government of India

feel, that their Exchequer is not full, they are allowed the privilege of plundering the Provincial treasuries, I don't think any Local Government will be safe; and it is, therefore, imperative to pin the Government of India down to the words of their own Resolution, dated 30th December 1891—a Resolution the effect of which has been nullified by the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Hartington—namely, that “except in the case of disaster so abnormal as to exhaust the Imperial reserves and resources and to necessitate a suspension of the entire machinery of public improvement throughout the Empire,” the Imperial Government would make no demand on the Provincial Governments. Both these things, gentlemen, ought to be done in the interests of good government and with a view to secure that fiscal certainty without which no Government can prosper. (Cheers).

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At the same time, Gentlemen, it strikes me that while we advocate the claims of Provincial Governments to greater liberty in the management of their finances, we ought in justice to ourselves to insist upon the public being allowed greater opportunity of discussing the disbursement of Provincial Revenue—in fact, a voice in the provincial administration of the different provinces. There is no doubt, gentlemen, one effect of our agitation, if successful will be—in fact, one effect of the enforcement of the Provincial Contract has been—to enable the Local Governments to spend a large portion of their revenue in their own provinces. Beneficial as this in itself is to the different provinces, it is desirable that the public should have a voice in the disposal of this revenue. So long as the Government of India exercised the rights that they now possess, they will have some manner of control over provincial expenditure; but once that control is removed, at least the public of the provinces respectively concerned should be allowed the liberty of expressing their views on the best manner in which the money at the disposal of the Provincial Government is expended. Since 1877 when Local Governments began to derive a direct benefit from careful collection of revenue, the Madras Government for instance, have been able to expend about 450 lakhs of Rupees in the Presidency with little or no control from the Government of India and without the views of the public of that Presidency being elicited as to the manner in which all that money was to be spent. It will be worse indeed when Local Governments obtain greater freedom in financial administration without a corresponding, if somewhat weaker, control from the public. There is one remarkable fact, Gentlemen, connected with Madras, and that is, that it has only been since 1877, that remarkable year in which the financial independence of the Local Government had been at least partially recognised that the Madras Government have been revising the settlement of various districts breaking all their repeated pledges and trying to increase their revenues. Till then minutes after minutes, memoranda after memoranda have been written by different officials of Government to show that the settlement in the Presidency was permanent, was fixed irrevocably but the moment the Local Government became directly interested in the realisation of their revenue, all was changed. (Shame). No settlement was permanent; and the taxation in different districts was increased. It must, therefore, be remembered, that the system of Provincial Contracts is not an unmixed blessing, gentlemen, and that while we are required to swell the Government Revenue by increased payment in the shape of taxes and other means we should at the same time claim a voice in the management of the funds we contribute. In fact, that was one of the objects contemplated by the excellent Lord Mayo so far back as in 1871 when he inaugurated the system of grants, which has developed into the present system of Provincial Contract. I would therefore, suggest, gentlemen, that all matters involving a considerable outlay of money ought to be brought before the Members of the Legislative Council in the different provinces in some shape or other, that all reports on financial matters by Boards of Revenue and other similar subordinate bodies should be placed at the disposal of the press and the public for criticism before orders are finally passed by the Provincial Government, and that the discussion of the Provincial budgets should be arranged to take place in the local Legislative Councils before they are forwarded for orders to the Government of India. These are but a few of

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the ways in which the public may be allowed some sort of control on provincial financial administration and I trust the concession we ask on behalf of Local Governments will be coupled with a concession to the public. With these few words, Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition. (Loud cheers).

the Resolution said that the Government of India (No. 602, on the list) in supporting:

Mr. President and Gentlemen.—The history of the scheme of provincial decentralisation has already been told you by my Hon. friend Mr. Liak in a very lucid speech. I will not therefore repeat it; from the time the idea was first put forward by Mr. Liak in his Financial Statement for 1862-63, the main objects held in view were to secure certainty to the financial arrangements of the Government, and to give Local Governments the power and the responsibility of managing their own local affairs. Let us see how far these objects have been gained. As the system has been worked, it has no doubt secured certainty to the financial arrangements of the Government of India, in the sense that having made what are called the Provincial Contracts the Government of India is secure during the period of the said contracts against any demands from the Local Administrations, beyond those provided for by the contracts. But the element of certainty may be said to be wholly absent under it so far as the finances of the Local Governments are concerned. The Imperial Government binds the Provincial Governments to the terms of the contracts, but does not consider itself bound by them in the same manner. Being the supreme power it thinks it has a right to levy contributions, as it has done more than once, during the term of the said contracts, over and above the amount stipulated for in them, and to require the Provincial Governments to hand over the balances in their hands at the end of the period of the contracts or at any time when its extravagance may lead to a fresh demand for funds. This does not however seem to be what the authors of the scheme or those who developed it in its different stages contemplated. What seems to have been intended was that except on occasions of extraordinary emergency, the Local Governments also should be secure against any demands from the Imperial Government beyond those provided for in the contracts, and that they should be allowed to retain for provincial expenditure, any sums which they may have saved during the term of the contracts, in addition to a fair proportion of the increased revenues of their respective provinces at the renewal of the contract. As regards the other object, it is loudly complained that while the Government of India has made Provincial Governments responsible for carrying out all the necessary internal reforms and improvements in administration, it does not leave them sufficient power, which here of course means money, to enable them to discharge their duties properly. We have seen such a high official as His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal complaining that the provincial sheep is shorn too close at each renewal and is left to shiver till the fleece grows again. Now, it is hardly necessary to say that this requires to be remedied. The system as it is worked causes much dissatisfaction, and has been condemned by several high and responsible officials of Government. It is extremely desirable that the whole question should be reconsidered, and the system placed on a sound and satisfactory footing. The solution, it seems to me, will depend upon a true appreciation and proper recognition of the relative extent and importance of the duties and responsibilities of the Provincial Governments on the one hand and of the Supreme Government on the other. Broadly speaking, it may be said that while the Imperial Government is responsible for maintaining peace in the country, and for safeguarding it against aggression from outside, the responsibility of carrying out all domestic reforms and improvements upon which depends the progress of the people in prosperity and civilisation, and which constitute the truest test of the success or failure of a civilised administration, has been laid wholly upon the Provincial Governments. They must, therefore, be

placed in possession of adequate means to discharge their duties properly. I have no quarrel with those who assert that the Provincial Governments are as much interested in the expenditure directly controlled by the Imperial Government as the Imperial Government itself. Nor would I quarrel with the view that the Imperial Government should be regarded as the master of all the revenues raised in the country and that it should be considered as making "assignments" to Provincial Governments for "Provincial uses" rather than as receiving "contributions" from them for "Imperial" purposes. I am quite willing to adopt the homely metaphor used by my friend Mr. Tilak and to regard the Provincial Government as house-wives and the Imperial Government as the master of the house. But will the Government of India, which is so jealous to retain all power in its hands, also recognise the responsibility which goes along with that power? (Hear, hear). Will it recognise that it is responsible for the welfare and progress of the vast population of the various Provinces of India? Will it provide the mistress of the house to whom it must be supposed under this view, to have delegated the care and custody of the children, with adequate funds to enable her to bring them up in the standard of a civilised man properly supplied with the necessaries of life, their minds illumined with the light of knowledge, their surroundings made healthy and clean, and the ordinary comforts and conveniences of civilised life brought within their reach? (Hear, hear). Or will it leave her with a mere subsistence allowance barely sufficient to keep them in existence, and allow them to grow in ignorance, with its companion misery and crime, an easy prey to oppression and a disgrace to their guardian? Gentlemen, I am sorry to say it, but it does seem to me, that the Government of India deals with the peoples of the various provinces in this matter, more like a rack-renting landlord, who leaves just enough to its tenant as would enable him to keep himself and his family alive, and to toil on to raise the revenue for his master, than like a guardian of the people, solicitous to advance their happiness and prosperity. (Cheers). His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal speaking with the responsibility attaching to his high position was constrained to observe the other day: "It has at times appeared to me that the Supreme Government did not always realise that it has as great a responsibility for local administration as the Local Government itself. I have seen or seemed to see a tendency on the part of that Government to wash its hands off this responsibility as regards finance." And in view of the revision of Provincial Contracts Sir Alexander Mackenzie deemed it his duty to exhort the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, "to enter upon the revision in full consciousness of the fact that the Imperial Government is as much interested in the development and improvement of Provincial Administration as the Provincial Governments themselves, and that any check on them is a check to the whole Imperial machine." I venture to hope that it will not be necessary for any one to repeat this protest and advice and that the Government of India will so deal with the matter as to remove all just causes of complaint. (Cheers).

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Gentlemen, I will now try briefly to show you how ungenerously my provinces have been treated in the matter of these Provincial allotments. Among the many defects of the existing system, the inequality of the assignments made to the different Provinces is not the least objectionable. There is no rule or principle underlying the distribution. The original grants were based on the then existing actual expenditure in each Province. The Provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, which having come earlier under the British rule, had made comparatively greater progress and were spending much more in various useful directions than the other provinces, received much larger grants than these latter. And as each succeeding contract was based on the ascertained average expenditure of each Province during the period of the preceding contract, the inequality has been maintained to this day. Its injustice however has become more glaring. A few figures will illustrate what I mean.

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I cull these from Annexure B to the Financial statement for 1896-97. The total revenue and expenditure for each province are given there as follows:—

	Total Revenue.	Total Expenditure.	Net Revenue.	Percentage of expenditure to revenue.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Central Provinces	1,464,172	1,012,410	451,762	69
Burma	4,576,838	3,184,757	1,392,081	69
Assam	1,171,685	784,122	387,563	66
Bengal	9,554,370	5,076,070	4,478,300	53
N.-W. P. & Oudh	9,567,512	4,013,841	5,554,171	41
Punjab	4,589,809	2,775,986	1,813,323	60
Madras	9,596,739	4,674,084	4,922,655	48
Bombay	7,977,549	5,265,262	2,712,287	66

You will see from this that, with the exception of Madras, which shows a slightly larger figure, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh contribute the largest amount of Revenue, larger than that of rich Bengal and larger still than that of Bombay. And yet the percentage of our Revenue allotted to us to provide for all internal progress and administrative improvements in these vast Provinces, is smaller than that allowed to any other Province in India, being only 41 per cent. of our total Revenue, while Madras receives 48 per cent., Bengal, 53, Bombay, 66, the Punjab, 60, and the Central Provinces, 69 per cent. of the total Revenues of their respective Provinces. You may remember that the Hon'ble Mr Bhuskate, who made a vigorous protest against the existing system of Provincial Contracts in the Supreme Legislative Council last year, prepared a table shewing the incidence of taxation per head in the different provinces. From that table it would appear that we of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh pay Rs. 2-0-7 per head of our population, while Bengal pays only Re. 1-5-5. Even if the measure of our contribution did not entitle us to a more liberal allotment, our needs at any rate do. (Hear, hear). There is no province of India which has suffered more by reason of these small assignments and which stands in need of more liberal grants than the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The allowance we have been receiving has sufficed to keep us alive. But it has not been sufficient to provide us with education, with an efficient Police and with other necessary instruments of civilisation. In fact we have suffered a double wrong. We have not been given sufficient means and opportunities to improve. And we have been condemned for our backwardness. Alike during the Hindu and the Mahomedan regime, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh constituted the most civilised part of India. They were the home of learning and refinement. But during the British rule, with a special department of public instruction to promote education my Provinces have had the misfortune of being left behind every other Province in the race of education. We have to bear the reproach of being the most backward Province in India, more backward than even the Central Provinces, the percentage of the total number of scholars to the total population of school-going age, as shewn in the last Quinquennial Review, being only 4 for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, while it is 6 for the Central Provinces, 8 for the Punjab, 12.9 for Madras, 14 for Bengal, and 15 for Bombay. Apart from some mistakes of policy

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into which this is neither the time nor the occasion to enter, I think our backwardness is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that while in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras the total expenditure from all sources on education in the year 1894-95 was 98; 66; and 66 lakhs respectively, it was only 36 lakhs in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Towards this expenditure, the public funds (Provincial and Local) contributed about 20 lakhs only in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, while they contributed 28 lakhs in Madras, 30 lakhs in Bombay, and 33 lakhs in Bengal (I have left the fractions out). I think you will have the charity to admit that if the Government had spent more on our education, we should probably have shewn better results. (Yes, yes and cheers). I do not wish it to be understood that the entire blame in this connection lies upon the Government of India alone. The North-Western Provinces Government have also been much to blame for not having given sufficient weight for a long time past to the claims of education. ... But the past is past. And the present Government of the United Provinces, presided over by that liberal-minded and far-sighted statesman, Sir Antony MacDonnell, (cheers) is fully alive to its duty in the matter of education, and is, I believe, anxious to promote it to the best of its power! (Cheers). In reviewing the last Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Sir Antony MacDonnell expressed his regret at the backward condition of education in those Provinces, and took the opportunity to declare that "the claims of education are substantial and must not be overlooked" even in the then existing unfavourable state of Provincial Finance. His Honor desired to make an additional grant for the furtherance of primary education, but, as his Financial Secretary explained, owing to the paucity of funds at the disposal of the Government, the proposed grant had to be curtailed and limited to the small sum of Rs. 75,000! Similarly we require more money for reforms in the Police department. There are loud complaints heard against the Police in all parts of the country. But I doubt if that body is half so bad in any other Province as it is in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Appointed as the guardians of the public peace, to prevent crime and to bring offenders to justice, the police have in too many places come to be a standing source of terror and oppression to peaceful citizens more than to evil-doers. By their acts of omission and commission they are bringing a great deal of discredit upon the administration. Speaking on this subject, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has observed that "in regard to Police expenditure, from my experience of the Province, I think there is no department of the Public Service which calls for the expenditure of Public funds more than this department. In the interest of pure and efficient control in our Police Stations we must not only appoint a class of officers qualified by their education to fill such positions, but we must pay them sufficiently to remove them from the temptations to which they are exposed." And his Honor expressed the hope that in the new Provincial Contract he would be allowed adequate funds to carry out the policy of his predecessors in this respect. Our whole case was set forth admirably by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor in his speech on the occasion of the consideration of our last Budget. And I cannot do better than quote here the concluding remarks of that speech in which the case has been summed up. Said Sir Antony MacDonnell: "Briefly put, the result of our financial experiences is that, we cannot administer this Province for 320 lakhs. The bargain made on the last occasion was no doubt fair and equitable under the circumstances of that time, but the province has advanced since then with rapid strides; it requires a better judicial establishment, a better-paid police, a more liberal expenditure on the educational programme, and a fuller measure of Local Government. There is no department of our Government at the present time which does not suffer from want of money and which would not be improved by an improvement in the finances. Without encroaching upon the assistance of the Supreme Government, we have faced our difficulties and striven hard to help ourselves. That being so, I am in hopes that when next March the Provincial Contract comes to be revised by the distinguished financier who controls the finances of the State, it will be recognised, that we

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have done as much as could be done with our means, and that unless further means are placed at our disposal, the future of the Province will not be safeguarded." With this declaration from the responsible ruler of our Provinces before the Government of India, we do hope that at the next revision of the Provincial Contracts an allotment sufficient to meet our various needs will be made to the united Provinces, to enable them to make a healthy advance and to come nearer their more fortunate sister provinces as regards progress and enlightenment. (Loud cheers).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

Resolution V.
Simultaneous Examinations.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA AYER (Madras, No. 752, on the list), in proposing the Fifth Resolution said:—

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

Well, Gentlemen, this is a very old Resolution. Year after year from this platform this Resolution has been proposed and commended for your acceptance, and in fact the subject to which it relates is very familiar, not only to the members of the Congress, but to the public at large, for, I think over 30 years this question has been agitated in this country; in fact our Government have often betrayed a consciousness of the injustice involved in their policy in regard to this question. Times without number have promises been given, have assurances been made that full justice would be done to the claims of the people of this country for employment in the higher branch of the Civil Service. As a matter of fact however these promises and assurances have been cast to the winds, and we are now no better off than we were perhaps 30 or 40 years ago. On the other hand, Gentlemen, at present our feeling is one of deep regret and dissatisfaction because at the time when the Public Service Commission was appointed after a good deal of public agitation, we were led to hope and expect that some measure of justice would be done to the claims of the people of this country. But what is the result? About ten or twelve years have elapsed since the Commission published their Report, high expectations were raised in the public mind that some justice would be done to us, but nothing has been done. (Shame). In fact we are much worse off than we were before the Public Service Commission was appointed, and there seems now to be an attempt to explain away the pledges and promises given. Most of us read with very great regret an attempt made by Lord Lansdowne's Government to explain away the distinct assurances and pledges made in Her Majesty's Proclamation. In fact it was attempted to be shown that no pledge whatever was given. Well, that is the state of things now; and there can be no doubt that until and unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons passed on the 2nd June 1893 no justice will be done to the claims of the people of this country. You all remember what Resolution it was that was passed in the House of Commons; it was to the effect that for employment in the different branches of the Civil Service, examinations must be held in India and in England simultaneously. Well you know what took place after the passing of this

Resolution. The authorities in this country and the authorities in England have done their best to explain it away. It is impossible that any argument, any considerations urged by Government would convince the people of this country that the present state of things does justice to them. One great argument against the employment of natives in the Civil Service has relation to the conditions of British rule in this country. But consider how far that argument holds good with regard to the employment of natives in other branches of the Civil Service. Not only are our claims ignored in regard to the more important posts in the country but the claims are similarly ignored in those branches of the service where no such argument as that relating to the conditions of British rule holds good. The Public Service Commission seems to have had this singular effect that apart from any more extensive scope being given to the employment of the people of the country greater encouragement is given to people other than the natives. In fact the latest Despatch from the Secretary of State has reference to more advantageous terms for Europeans employed in those services, and, Gentlemen, there will be presented to you in the course of the sittings of the Congress a Resolution dealing with the employment of the Indians in the Educational Service. Certainly, Gentlemen, the employment of the natives of the country in that service implies no political considerations (Cheers). A similar consideration holds good with regard to our employment in the other services. The few experiments that have been made have proved successful. There has not been a single instance of a trained native gentleman employed in a post who has been declared unfit for that service. If these pledges and assurances are to be thrown away and disregarded altogether, well, our rulers cannot blame us for expressions of or discontent from time to time in various parts of the country. The Resolution winds up by requesting Her Majesty's Government that effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons to which I have referred. Nothing can be more just, or more reasonable than the recommendation contained in that Resolution. There will ever be signs of discontent in this country so long as no effect is given to that Resolution. It embodies a very reasonable demand; a demand to which countenance has been given from the early years of British administration in this country, and it does not embody a scheme which involves any revolutionary principle. With these few words, Gentlemen, I commend the Resolution to you (Cheers).

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PROFESSOR D. G. PADHYE (Bombay, No. 710, on the list) in seconding the Resolution said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Intrinsically important as the Resolution I am seconding is, it involves the still more important question of having for us, free and unblocked, the only way in which we can obtain the redress of our grievances. You know, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the question of simultaneous examinations was taken up by the House of Commons and a Resolution adopted therein in favour of the reform we have been for years asking for. The House of Commons is the ruling body in the British Empire and its resolutions are, I believe, binding on the Executive. Her Majesty's Government however chose to ignore the resolution of the House on this question on the ground that it was the result of a "snatch vote" and therefore did not truly represent the deliberate opinion of the majority of a full House. This however was only a pretext. The Government knew well that a large majority of the House was really in favour of the reform. At any rate, they were afraid that the House, left free to itself, would again pronounce in favour of simultaneous examinations, and so when our staunch friends of the Indian Parliamentary Committee proposed to have the views of the Commons ascertained once more; Her Majesty's ministers threatened to make it a party question of "Confidence or no Confidence" and leave no alternative to

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the majority of their followers, but to vote as the official whips directed. Our friends therefore saw no hope and did not press for a second division on the question. Thus it was that the free and independent judgment of the House was set aside out of deference to the views, not of her Majesty's Government in England, be it remembered, but of the unprogressive and narrow-minded Indian bureaucracy. It was a Liberal Government at the time and doubly strange it was therefore that it should thus have slavishly adopted the views of the Government of India, that is, of the official bigots here, who reign supreme over the minds and convictions of our Viceroy, unless they be, as so seldom happens, men of rare ability, and exceptional strength of will. (Hear, hear). It is a pity, Gentlemen, that even such liberal and able statesman as Sir Henry Fowler should thus allow themselves to be led by the nose by the official bureaucracy of India,—should so closely identify themselves with their clannish and retrograde views, as to suppress and set aside, by constitutional or unconstitutional means the honest convictions of a free House of Commons. (Cheers). Our ultimate appeal can lie only to the British Public which alone can influence the Executive through their representatives in Parliament. (Applause). If the views of Parliament are to be set aside at the dictates of the Indian bureaucracy, then the only legitimate way, in which we can possibly get our grievances redressed, will be closed to us, and I do not know whence possibly we can obtain salvation. It is of the utmost importance to us, Gentlemen, that this royal road to progress should remain free, that our ultimate arbiter—the House of Commons—should be left free from bias, free from the vicious restraints of "Confidence or no Confidence" votes, free to judge between us and the Indian officials and then to decide on whose side truth and justice lie. (Cheers). We had been promised much as the result of the Public Service Commission. Far from gaining anything we have really lost much by its recommendations. The changes that have been made give decidedly lesser opportunities to Indian talent. They have in no way put an end to the regime of favouritism and patronage. They have neither given a larger number of appointments to natives, nor have they made their prospects in the different services better. The new Provincial Service marks a distinction fatal to the aspirations of Indians, proclaiming from the house-tops as it were, that we, even the best of us, can be fit only for an inferior grade of the Public Service. The evil can be remedied only by simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service here and in England. (Cheers). The present arrangement gives a decided advantage to the natives of the British Isles. Amongst Indian competitors again, examinations in England alone cannot possibly secure the best talents available here. No doubt the young gentlemen who go to England, stay there and pass the Civil Service Examination, must be men of great talents. But they must also have money. Without riches, the best talents in India are practically excluded from the competition. The present age—the age we are living in,—is an age in which, it is considered that talent and talent alone should be the passport to places of responsibility, to places of honor and distinction. (Applause). Under the present arrangement of examinations in England alone, however, it is not only pluck and talent, but also property combined with them, which are the qualifications required of the Indian competitor. This can hardly be considered a satisfactory state of things. No nation can prosper unless it affords a free scope to the rise of the best talents it produces. The question of simultaneous examinations has also an economical aspect. We know, Gentlemen, that the financial difficulties of India mainly arise from the constant drain of money from her—the ever-swelling and swollen "Home charges." An important item of these consists of the pensions to the Indian Services. If there be more Indians in the service they will after retiring remain in India, and the "Home charges" will be proportionally reduced. The only serious objection raised against the proposal for simultaneous examinations is that the effect of its adoption would very likely be to eliminate the European element altogether from the Civil Service and to make it some day consist almost exclusively of natives. I will gladly own, Gentlemen, that the ruling race has reasons to look askance at a prospect

ke this. I will go further and admit that British prestige and the efficacy of British supremacy and administration, require that there must always be some appreciable proportion of Europeans in our higher services. (Cheers). The difficulty can however be easily overcome by reserving a fixed proportion of the annual appointments to be recruited by men born in the British Isles only, or better still, by providing that a fixed proportion shall be recruited from amongst the competitors in England alone. All just apprehensions will thus be allayed and even if there be reasons to entertain them, I for my own part have a higher opinion of the ability of the British-born subject of Her Majesty specially with the facilities for study that exist there, than our opponents seem to have. But even granting that these apprehensions are well founded, I see an easy way out of the difficulty in this matter as in all others that where there is a will there is a way. (Loud cheers).

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Resolution V.

LALA HAR KISHAN DASS (Lahore, No. 666 on the list), supported the motion and said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As it has been said that this subject is an old one and that it has been before the Congress and the people for over 10 years I do not think I can throw much light upon it. From my point of view, that is from the Punjab point of view, I think we should be heartily glad if this Resolution were accepted by the Government of India and by the Home Government. So far the Punjab has been able only to pass two students in the Civil Service Examinations and those two students were enabled to do so by securing Government Scholarships. That shows that in the Punjab we are not in a position to pay for an English education unless we are supported by the Government, and that being the case, I think if simultaneous examinations are held, certainly so far as the Punjabis are concerned they will be much better off than in the past. In the Medical Examinations we in the Punjab have only been able to pass two candidates, and these were similarly helped. This will show that we are helpless, and we cannot pass students in the way the other Provinces have been doing. Gentlemen, as I am not given to public speaking you must not expect a long speech from me, but all I can say is that I heartily support this Resolution. (Cheers).

DR. GOLAB CHANDRA BEZ BAROOAH (Calcutta, No. 36 on the list) said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I stand here as a representative of Assam in this great National Congress of India, which is recognised now all over the world, and I take this opportunity to say how my country appreciates the honour you have done her in asking me to speak to-day. As time is so limited I only wish to say one or two words as to the reason why education is not advancing in this country. It is principally because we receive no adequate encouragement from the Government. (Hear hear). Speaking for my own country I must say that education has suffered there since the separation of Assam from Bengal. Before the separation we could say that we were prospering, but we cannot say so now. I wish to say a few words to you about the grievances of our country, in regard to educational matters. As probably most of you are already aware we have no College or High School in Assam; and in consequence all our young men who wish to obtain a good education have to come down to Calcutta under great disadvantages. (Shame). I want to ask the assistance of this great Congress to remedy this evil. We have asked the Government in various ways but a deaf ear has always been turned to our appeals. I hope the Congress will assist us in obtaining the advantages of that education which is enjoyed by the people of Bengal. With these remarks, Gentlemen, I beg to support this Resolution. (Cheers).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

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Resolution VI,

Re-organization
of the Educa-
tional Service.

The Hon'ble A. M. Bose (Calcutta, No. 11 on the list), proposed the Sixth Resolution which was in the following terms :—

"That this Congress hereby records its protest against the scheme re-organising the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted; for in the words of the Resolution;—'In future Natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service.' The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service."

In putting it to the Meeting, Mr. Bose spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—If the preceding Resolution, as mentioned by its mover, was a very old one, the present at any rate is brand-new. I regret therefore all the more that recruited last night in my absence and without my knowledge, I find myself, by a change made since I entered the Hall, in the position of being the mover of this Resolution. But, Sir, your mandate must be obeyed, and I must accept the situation with all the philosophy I can command. Brother delegates, before addressing myself to the one feature of the many-featured scheme which is specially referred to in our resolution—the feature namely of extending and perpetuating the area of exclusion in regard to our countrymen in the Educational Service—permit me to make one observation in reference to another feature of that Resolution of the Government of India. By that Resolution, amongst many changes, an important improvement is effected in the position and pay of many European members of the Educational Service; and I beg to say a word in regard to it in order to prevent any possible misapprehension of our attitude. I rejoice, Sir, that that has been done, because I look upon that improvement as an important recognition of the practical value to the country of the great Educational Service, of the work of those who are engaged in the task of furthering and fostering the cause of educational progress. And I rejoice also, Sir, because on this platform we know no distinction of race, colour, or creed. (Cheers). We welcome an act of justice though it is done to our European fellow-subjects; we welcome it as an act of justice, and this enables us to emphasize our position in the face of the world that what we contend and strive for in the Congress is not the granting of privileges to any particular sect, race or creed, but the recognition of merit wherever it may be found, of service rendered in the cause of the country, by whomsoever it may be rendered. (Applause).

Coming now, Gentlemen, to the Resolution before us, the text on which I have to speak is set out in the words of the sentence which is quoted in it. They are: "In future Natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service." Mark the words "Provincial Service" and all that they necessarily involve, and mark also the words "in future." And the question, brother delegates, that I put to you is this: Is the cause of progress not only not to advance, but to be put back? Is the future to be worse than the past? Is the hand to be set back on the dial? Is retrogression to mark the onward march of time, because that is what the Resolution of the Government of India contemplates, what it proposes to carry out? (Cheers). It will be necessary, the subject being new, to place before you and explain in the fewest words I can; the particular portion of the Re-organization scheme which bears on the Resolution before the Meeting. What the scheme proposes is now for the first time to introduce two distinct divisions or branches in the superior Educational Service of the country, the higher branch to be called the Indian Educational Service and to be filled by persons

to be filled, by reason I presume of the inferiority of its position, by recruitment in India. Let us for a moment examine what are the results that follow from these two different methods of recruitment. Let me say once again, I do not grudge the better terms of what I have called the higher branch. What we regret and what adds to the keenness and bitterness of that regret, is that while there has been this recognition of the claims of education in regard to the European members of the Service, as regards the people of India justice has not been done—justice has been denied to us. (Hear, hear). In what I have called the higher branch they begin on a pay of Rs. 500 a month; as regards the lower branch, the branch for natives of India, there is no knowing on what pay they will begin. Let me give you one or two facts, only premising that the figures and dates which will be mentioned by me relate specially to Bengal. Previous to the year 1880 the higher branch was open to natives of India, and open on exactly the same pay as to a European member; and, as a matter of fact, it actually comprised several Indian gentlemen. There was neither a bar to admission, nor a difference in the scale of pay. But about that year began the downward march, and it was declared that natives of India taken into the higher service should begin on Rs. 333, or two-thirds of Rs. 500, the pay of the European member. I will not pause to consider the invidious and the retrograde character of this distinction then introduced for the first time, or the heart-burning and the sense of injustice and degradation it was likely to cause. But, Gentlemen, bad as this was, things did not stop here. The scale of 333 went on, until in 1889, the pay was further reduced for Indian graduates of the highest English Universities to Rs. 250; and we do not know, Sir, how far that progress may now go on, and what further reduction may yet be carried out. Not only is there no guarantee in this respect, no word of hope, in the Government Resolution now before us; but so far as it is concerned, the commencing pay may be so low as Rs. 150. So far then with reference to the initial salary. As regards the other, the maximum limit of pay, we have more light thrown by the terms of the Resolution. A native of India, however high his education may have been in the Universities of Europe, however exalted the position he may have taken in the highest competitions in England, can at the end of his life in the Provincial Service expect to rise only to Rs. 700; possibly after 25 or more years of service—service reckoned not only by length of years, but it may be by important researches, by unique discoveries, by valuable and note-worthy work in advancing the cause of education (shame), whereas in the higher branch which is open only to Europeans, at the end of 10 years alone the salary shall be Rs. 1000. Or, look at the matter in another way. A European member of the Education Department will get Rs. 700 a month—and he will not stop there at the end of four years of service; while an Indian member who may have taken the same or a higher degree, will at the end of his life draw no more than that amount of Rs. 700, and, will probably enjoy the further honor, of being the subordinate of the former. (Shame). This then is the difference in the position as regards these two, sanctioned and introduced by this wonderful Re-organization Scheme. What I have said applies also, if not wholly, to our countrymen not educated in English Universities, many of them, men of brilliant abilities and rare talent, who would have entered the Educational Service of the country and proved its ornaments and its most useful members, but for the poor prospects held out to them and the invidious distinction drawn between the positions of the Indian and the European members of that Service. (Hear, hear). To them in days gone by, so far back as 1866, if not earlier, were open the highest ranks of the Service, and on terms which recognized no difference between the European and the Indian. And they filled those ranks with distinction to themselves, and advantage to the country. But, Sir, we have advanced, we are progressing, and those happy times have, in this age of enlightenment, gone away, apparently for ever. (Shame).

Let me now point out how we have been actually going backwards not only in regard to the matter of pay, but in another most important respect by the provisions of this

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Resolution, the result of more than five years' incubation and of numerous despatches passing between India and England; how for the first time the principle of exclusion, of reservation, in regard to educational appointments, has been introduced against our countrymen. Up to now, to give an instance, there was nothing to exclude an Indian member of the Service from becoming the Principal of the highest College in this country. But under the terms of the Resolution you will find given in an Appendix the list of appointments open respectively to the Indian Educational Service and to the lower Provincial Service. In the former, speaking for Bengal, there are five Principalships of Colleges, which are thus specially reserved for members of the higher service which no native of India may enter, and I presume these five must include the Presidency College. At the present time an Indian Professor in the Presidency College, and I know some most distinguished ones there, may become, in course of time and by virtue of seniority, the Principal of that college. There is absolutely nothing to prevent it. But under the new scheme we are excluded, we are debarred, from looking forward to that state of things. In Bombay and Madras, every one of the Principalships is reserved for members of the higher branch and not one left for the Provincial Service, or in other words, for the natives of the country. In the place of the old idea of an open service—open to all whether European or Indian, and on the ground of merit alone—we have now brought in by the new scheme the unhappy and harmful idea of certain appointments being reserved for the European members of the service. Is this right? Are we going onwards or backwards? Is that, Gentlemen, to be the fruit of the awakening of the great, social, moral, and intellectual forces that are now dominating the face of this continent? (Hear, hear). Is that indeed to be the result of the onward march, of the vaunted progress and enlightenment of the country? Is a new preserve to be created for the European members of the higher service? Is the area of exclusion for the people of the soil to be further and further extended? From equality in the earlier years to inequality in 1880, and now in the closing years of the century to still further and grosser inequality, is that to be the order of things, the destined course of progress under the enlightened administration of England for this great and ancient land? (Loud cheers). At any rate by our voice and effort, we shall do, I trust, all we can to prevent that state of things and to bring home to the minds and consciences of our rulers, and of the justice-loving people of England, the injustice that has been done. (Applause).

And, Sir, let me tell the authors of this Scheme that as regards the inauguration of this backward policy in the great Educational Service of the country, they have selected a very inopportune moment indeed. Why Sir, I should have thought that if the gracious words of Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation, which is the Charter of our rights, are to be belittled, if those solemn words still ringing in our ears which granted equal rights and equal privileges to all classes of Her subjects, irrespective of race, colour or creed, are to be violated and to be departed from, then the task would be attempted not in the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign which we in India are preparing to celebrate, and the coming of which has filled with joy and rejoicing the minds of all Her subjects in the vast Indian Empire. (Applause). Let them not select this present year of Her Majesty's beneficent and benignant rule for initiating this retrograde policy. There is, Sir, another reason also which emboldens me to say that they have been specially unhappy in the selection of their time. Why Sir, we know the *London Times* has only the other day borne testimony to the fact the year 1896 is an epoch-making year as regards the intellectual advance of India. We know that the grand researches of an Indian Professor in the field of invisible light, in the sublime and giddy heights of ethereal vibration, have led to discoveries which have filled the mind of Lord Kelvin, the highest authority which England has produced, (loud cheers) literally with wonder and admiration. We have heard of the great and wonderful feat that another countryman of ours has achieved in the last great competition for the Indian Civil Service. (Hear, hear): We know of the discoveries which also in the present year of grace have

rewarded the genius and the patient toils of another countryman of ours in the realm of chemical research. (Hear, hear). The present year then, when India has shown that she has not forgotten the traditions of her glorious past, when the Indian mind has awakened to the consciousness of the great destiny before it, and not only awakened to that consciousness but has taken the first practical steps towards obtaining its recognition from the generous scholars of the West, surely is not the time or the season for ushering into existence a policy of this retrograde character. (Cheers). We shall not so far as in us lies, permit without protest at any rate, the inauguration of such a policy. It is, Gentlemen, rather late in the day for this unhappy policy, for this creation of a new crime of colour, for this infringement of the gracious words of Her Majesty's Proclamation. (Cheers).

Gentlemen, there is one other observation I have to make and that is this. If I have dwelt on the nature of this policy on what I may venture to describe with all respect as its audaciously retrograde and un-English character, if I have dwelt upon that it is only right that I should draw your attention to a small word that occurs in the sentence I have placed before you. That sentence, as you know, is "in future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service." Perhaps the framers of the Resolution thought that there was a great deal of virtue in that saying clause "usually." But I will venture to prophesy. I will undertake to say, what the result of that "usually" will be. Not that the mantle of prophecy has fallen upon me or that the gift of the seer has been vouchsafed to me. But, Gentlemen, the past is a guide to the future and lightens up the dark places of much that is yet to be. (Hear, hear). Let us consult that guide. As I have said, my facts specially refer to Bengal, and this is what we find in that Province at the present time. I will not attempt to carry the meeting back with me to distant days. But confining our view to the time which has elapsed since the birth of the Congress what I find is this, that within the last twelve years there have been six appointments of Indian gentlemen educated in England, and educated most successfully so far as all the tests there are concerned. These six gentlemen who have been appointed to the Education Department in these years, have *all* of them been appointed in India. Not that they did not try to get appointed in England. No, Gentlemen, after taking their degrees in the great English and Scotch Universities, after having won all their high distinctions—distinctions not less high than those of their English brethren in the Service, in some cases perhaps even higher—they tried their very best, they made what I may almost describe as frantic efforts at the India Office to get an appointment from England. But all their efforts were in vain. After waiting and waiting, and after heart-rending suspense they were told that they must ship themselves off as soon as they could to India for the Government to appoint them there. Therefore, although there is that phrase "usually," you may take it that that will happen in the future which has in these years happened in the past; and happened too, so far as we are aware, in the absence of this retrograde clause now authoritatively laid down in the Resolution. For all practical purposes, you may take it, Gentlemen, that "usually" in the sentence means "invariably." (Hear, hear).

I cannot venture to detain the Meeting any further, I have already passed my allotted limit of time. I will therefore conclude with only one more remark. There is no cause which can be dearer to the Members of the Congress than the cause of education. (Hear, hear.) You, Gentlemen, are the fruits of that education, of that great awakening of the national mind to which I have referred. And can it possibly be that you will for a moment neglect to do all that you can, all that lies in your power—with the help of our friends in England and in India, with the help of all those, wherever they may be, who look forward to human progress as a thing to be wished for, as a thing to be fought for,—to see that your children are not ostracised from those higher branches of the service with their higher

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Second Day. opportunities of educational work and educational progress, to which, up to now they have been appointed. (Hear, hear). There are no considerations such as those which are sometimes supposed, be it rightly or be it wrongly, to apply to appointments in the Indian Civil Service, which can have any application to those in the Educational Service of the country. What possible shadow of a shade of justification can there then be for this enlarged and expanded edition of the policy of exclusion? (Cheers). Gentlemen, I believe in the intellect of India. I believe the fire that burned so bright centuries ago, has not wholly died out. I believe there are sparks, yes more than sparks, that still exist, and only require the gentle breeze of sympathetic help, of judicious organisation and kindly care, to burst forth once again into that glorious fire which in the past illumined, not only this great continent, but shed its lustre over other lands—into that intellectual life which achieved wonders in the field of literature and arts, in the field of mathematics and philosophy, which produced works which are even now the admiration and the wonder of the world. Fight with redoubled vigour in that cause, and then we may depend upon it that by the Providence of God, righteousness and justice shall triumph, and this attempt to fix on the brows of the people of this ancient land a new stigma and a new disability shall fail as it deserves to fail. (Loud and prolonged cheering).

The Hon'ble RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU VIDYA Binode (Madras, No. 756, on the list), in seconding the Resolution said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am quite sure the best thing I can do is not to disturb the impression left upon your minds by the great speech to which we have just listened. I will therefore content myself with doing the formal duty of seconding the proposition and commending it to your consideration. (Cheers).

Mr. SHOPAN SHAH H. HADIWALA (Bombay, No. 716, on the list), supported the Resolution. In doing so he said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the remarkable speech, vivified by facts no less than by eloquence, in which the Hon'ble. Mr. Bose proposed this Resolution, I would have preferred to follow the example of Mr. Ananda Charlu, and formally support this proposition. But I am well aware that such a proceeding is not possible a second time. This question of the reorganization of the Educational Service, or as Mr. Bose termed it, "this retrograde measure for perpetuating the area of exclusion" has been before the Government for more than five years. The Public Service Commission has recorded a quantity of evidence upon the subject; the European members of the graded Educational Service have sent in a Memorial to the Secretary of State (complaining of the block in their promotion; and of the long interval that elapsed before a man rose from the fourth grade to the third. The natives have also preferred their claims; many of them have in emergencies been appointed acting Professors in Government Colleges; they have lectured on the most abstruse subjects to large bodies of admiring pupils, and the undoubted zeal and ability of many of them have commanded the admiration of many European educationists of distinction. (Applause). But they have been used merely as stop-gaps and thrown away when the need for their services ceased to exist. (Shame). On the other hand the Europeans have had their grievances redressed; the Secretary of State has ameliorated their condition, and given them privileges which they have not hitherto enjoyed. Unfortunately with the natives of the country it is quite different. They have hitherto had half a loaf, and they have complained that it was by no means enough for them. Like Oliver Twist they have asked for more, but, Gentlemen, the only answer they have received is that in future instead of half a loaf they are to have but a quarter. (Shame). The half-loaf has been pared down here, it has been cut down there, and it has been made so beautifully small because they have had the hardihood to ask for their rights. (Shame). Gentlemen, I will ask you to compare for a moment the Resolution of the Government of India against which we are now protesting, with the great

despatch on the subject of 1854. I say that such a comparison must fill us all with humiliation. Compare the broad-minded principles of the one with the narrow anti-Indian spirit of the other; the liberal policy of the East India Directors with the cheese-paring scheme of the Secretary of State. Gentlemen, after such a comparison no native of India can be filled with anything but commiseration for the moral degeneration which has come over his rulers. The Hon'ble Mr. Bose has referred to the disingenuous use of the word "usually" in the clause devised for ostracising the natives. The same Jesuitical spirit inspired our rulers when they termed the European branch of the superior Educational Service "Indian." It was called "Indian," Gentlemen, because none of its members were to be appointed in India; because the Indian was distinctly told he must not dream of entering it, and because in short it was not Indian at all. An Indian Service indeed! Why, Sir, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" in a series of vigorous articles on the subject has said with truth that the Secretary of State has only thus "gilded the bitter pill" which he proposed to make the Indians swallow for being imprudent enough to complain of these unrighteous inequalities. (Cheers). Then, Gentlemen, there is another point which deserves to be noticed. According to this wretched and retrograde measure the native is sometimes to be appointed a Professor, but he can only be trusted to lecture on the Asiatic classics and mathematics. He is unworthy to teach History, or Political Economy, that dismal science; he is incompetent to lecture on Logic or Moral Philosophy; he is likewise debarred from handling Physical Science and English Literature. As for English Literature it is perhaps possible to understand that Englishmen alone can teach it properly, although many Englishmen speak and write their mother-tongue infamously. (Laughter). It may be true that the Englishman "sucks in the idiom of his language with his mother's milk" but I am not aware that he does the same with Logic or History, or Economics. (Laughter). And why should the native of India be debarred from expounding these subjects? Is it that he is incapable of understanding or assimilating them? Is it that the genius of his race is opposed to these studies? Is it not on the contrary true that the facts are the very reverse? Has any country produced a more profound or more remarkable system of Logic than the Nyaya of Jaimini?

Is there anything in the Scholastic Logic or in any system of dialectics surpassing the marvellous labours of the Nuddea School? Is there a system of philosophy in Europe, or for the matter of that, in the world, which is not represented in some *Sutra* or other of the six great schools of Indian Metaphysics? Is it not admitted on all hands that the most recent advancement in German speculation—the systems of Schelling and Schopenhauer are in fact due to a study of these oriental systems? (Loud applause). Why is it that the men who interpret these systems, who have written and still write numberless commentaries and glossaries upon them, why is it that they are deemed incapable of expounding the works of Locke and of Reid, of Hume and of Kant? Why again should another slur be cast upon the Indian and he be declared incapable of instructing his fellows even in the facts of History? If Bengal can produce men like Ashutosh Mukerji, the great mathematician, if she can give us chemists of European reputation like Mr. J. C. Bose and Mr. P. C. Roy, if Dr. P. K. Roy is capable of writing an admirable book on Logic, if Madras can produce many men like Ramaswami Mudaliar, why should we have thrust upon us in this year of 1896 of all others, a shamefully retrograde measure of this character? (Loud applause). Gentlemen, the last point I will touch upon deals with Bengal. Why is it that in Bengal, the province which has done the most for higher education, whose graduates are just as good as, if not superior to, those of other universities, why is it I say that in Bengal the commencing pay in the lowest grade of the Educational Service is only Rs. 150? In all the other Presidencies (for the solitary example of the Punjab can mislead only the incautious) the lowest grade begins with Rs. 200. So, why is it that in Bengal the pay is only Rs. 150? The untenable pretext is that efficient men can be had for the lower rate, but this is only a

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subterfuge. It is really a defiance on the part of Government ; it is the penalty Bengal is made to pay for its progressive policy ; for its courageous advocacy of the national cause. (Loud cheers). The Government is always anxious to run the Education Department on the cheapest lines ; the native is always to be treated to the miserable doctrine of supply and demand ; it is always thrust in his face, but it is never thought of when the filling of the already full pockets of its European servants are concerned. With these remarks I beg to support this Resolution. (Loud applause).

BABU JOGENDRA NATH SEN M.A. B.L., (Calcutta, No. 71 on the list), in supporting the Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not without a great deal of hesitation that I have ventured in response to the call from the chair to speak a few words on this important occasion. In this august and imposing assembly, where the talent and patriotism of united India have gathered together for solemn deliberation on topics affecting our best interests, one can hardly screw up one's courage to the sticking point and stand up with a view to give expression to a few thoughts and sentiments that may chance to rise uppermost in one's mind. But, sir, while thus free to confess that I feel so diffident, I feel also that I shall be false to myself if I do not at the same time assert that I yield perhaps to few of my countrymen and leaders in my deep loyalty to a movement which bids fair to open a new and glorious era in the annals of India. (Applause). I confess that I feel my heart beat high within me as I look upon this grand national assembly, the like of which India has not witnessed for centuries and ages. (Cheers). It is a spectacle which is eminently calculated to make the milk of universal brotherhood flow profuse, and to stir to its lowest depths the very fountain of patriotism. (Applause). We gather together in this Congress to establish the kingdom of peace and fraternity here in India and to join, as it were, in a solemn league and covenant to which we must subscribe with our heart's blood, to make a grand, persistent, and united effort to bring back life and light among us, and, under the beneficent rule of England, to regain our place in the scale of nations. (Cheers). It is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and I hope this Twelfth Indian National Congress will be a step in advance towards the realisation of our object.

Pardon me, Gentlemen, for the digression. I now hasten to address myself to the Resolution. Gentlemen, it seems to me that the mode in which the Education Service is proposed to be reconstituted is an unmerited slur upon our countrymen. (Hear, hear). It is a mere revival of the old question of race distinction, that hydra-headed monster which is sure to arise again as often as you kill it. Gentlemen, the Government Resolution runs thus :—“In future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service.” You all know what in the dictionary of our rulers the word “usually” will mean. It will mean the virtual exclusion of the children of the soil from the superior grade of the Education Service. And why? Are the educated classes of India, intellectually speaking, unfit to hold appointments in the higher grades of the Education Service? Am I to understand that the countrymen of Professors Surendranath Banerjee, Jagdish Chunder Bose, P. K. Roy and Dadabhai Naoroji (who was once an eminent professor) are unfit to be placed in the same class with those indifferent graduates turned out by English Universities who, finding the soil of England too churlish for them, come out to India in search of “fresh fields and pastures new?” At a time when the researches of an eminent Indian scientist has been eliciting the admiration of the entire scientific world from the President of the Royal Society downwards, it will hardly be contended that that is the reason. (Applause). No, Gentlemen, the Government Resolution does not say so. The question then lies in a nutshell. It comes to this: Are we to be excluded on account of the old crime of colour? Well, Gentlemen, if you put the

question in this shape, there can be but one answer. I have abundant faith in the noble and generous instincts of the British race. I refuse to believe that the descendants of Wilberforce and Clarkson—of those gallant Englishmen who spent millions sterling to emancipate the slaves of distant Africa—will not wipe away this fresh brand of race distinction if the matter be properly represented to them. (Cheers)

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Gentlemen, the great Anglo-Saxon race was the first to take up the torch of liberty and freedom from the hands of ancient Greece and Rome by whom its flame was first fed, and its sacred beam now illumines every region over which the Anglo-Saxon race has spread. (Applause). England has carried this sacred torch of liberty across the Atlantic to regions the existence of which was not dreamed of by Elizabeth. All her important Colonies and possessions are free. Are we, the people of India, who can boast of an ancient and time-honoured civilization alone to continue to wear this invidious badge? Well, Gentlemen, such a state of things can never exist in these days when centralisation, despotism and tyranny are in their last gasp. Gentlemen, during the ascendancy of Rome the rights and liberties of Roman citizenship were freely extended to every region over which the Roman eagle flew. We too are subjects of a race not less glorious than the Romans. (Loud cheers)

MR. BHAGIRATH PRASAD (Central Provinces, No. 684, on the list) also supported the Resolution and said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry that in some way or other a mistake has been made. I am not Bhagbat Prasad but I am poor Bhagirath Prasad of the Central Provinces. However as I have been connected with the private Educational Department for more than 11 years I may tell you at once that the natives of the country are better able to conduct the Educational Department than Europeans. I know from personal experience and personal knowledge that the Educational Department of the Central Provinces often condescends to take advice from Indians on many important Educational matters. If you take into account the failures and successes of students in the University Examinations, I challenge any European Professor to obtain better results than those obtained by Native Professors, at least in the Central Provinces. I will go further and say that as regards moral culture and formation of character it is acknowledged that we do not fall behind the European Professors. At least that is the opinion of Mr. Fraser, the present Commissioner of Nagpore. He was fully satisfied with the moral courage, and strong character of all the students he took into the Government Service. In the Central Provinces moral text books did not exist before the year 1885. The students had entirely to look to the native professors, without any of those moral text books that the Government of India has now introduced with a view to forming the character of the students. Well, all those students are now in Government Service in the Central Provinces, and I am perfectly sure that Mr. Goodridge will bear me out in saying that all those in Government Service as well as the young members of the Bar he has met he has found to be men of strong moral character, and quite capable of doing any public work that may be required of them. That being the case it is certainly a wonder to me that we Indians should be excluded from the higher services. There is also another aspect of the question and that is that every foreigner serving in the country means so much money taken away from you. If the services are filled with the natives of the country the money they get will be circulated in the country. This foreign service we have in India is as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has on several occasions pointed out one of the causes of the poverty of India. It is therefore an additional reason why we should ask Government to reconsider this Resolution. With these words, Gentlemen, I beg to support the Resolution.

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

BABU HEM CHUNDER RAI (Calcutta, No. 104 on the list) in proposing the VII Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposition which, with your leave and in obedience to the call from the chair I will lay before this Congress refers to

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Extension of
Trial by Jury.

Second Day, the extension of the system of trial by jury to those parts of India where it does not now obtain
 Resolution VII. and about which we have practically arrived at such an uniformity of opinion that a lengthy
 Extension of speech in its commendation is scarcely needed. The terms of the Resolution entrusted to me are
 Trial by Jury. as follows:—

That this Congress having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of Trial by jury, and to the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, and concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that Trial by Jury should be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that the verdict should be final.

Brother Delegates, it seems to me that when we come to view this question of the extension of trial by jury, a question in which educated India naturally feels greatly interested, a privilege which in the words of one of the past rulers of Bengal has a great effect on the political feelings of the people, and which we therefore greatly prize, when we come to examine somewhat minutely its meaning, and enquire into the history of the successive stages of its progress we shall find that here too we have to contend against a powerful opposition from the official hierarchy; that here too a great body of executive officials impede the development of this system, that here too we have to overcome official opposition which swayed by the unwholesome principle of official prestige and unwilling to submit to the slightest curtailment of its power has succeeded in retarding its further development, if not bringing about its complete extinction. What is the history of trial by jury in this province? We know that the system was introduced into Bengal by Sir John P. Grant in 1862. Seven districts were fixed in which this mode of trial was to be adopted. After thirty years we find that not only has no progress been made in the direction of extending and improving it but attempts have actually been made to whittle down the system we already have. We knew that Sir James Stephen wished to abolish trial by jury altogether although not a single complaint had been received that the system was a failure. Sir James Stephen failed to carry out his intentions as he found the feeling of the country too strong for him. In the 1862 scheme the verdict of the jury was final but ceased to be so under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code of 1882, although these were years of admitted progress. This was done in the face of official acknowledgment of its success and in the teeth of the authoritatively declared opinion of Sir Cecil Beadon, who, in February 1867, before severing his connexion with the Government of Bengal, recorded his deliberate and mature conviction, founded on long experience and observation, and especially on the results of the system in the Lower Provinces "that the trial of all offences before the Courts of Session in all parts of these Provinces ought to be by jury and that the system might be universally adopted not only without prejudice to the administration of Criminal Justice but with decided benefit to the Courts and with increased confidence on the part of the public in their judgment." Now bear in mind, Gentlemen, that this is not the opinion of a blatant Bengali Babu, nor of a seditious Congressman, but of a responsible ruler of Bengal. Three years afterwards Sir Rivers Thompson recommended that at least six more districts should be given this privilege, but this also was not to be. Just thirty years after its introduction we in Bengal were startled to find one morning that the fiat had gone forth that this privilege of being tried by one's own peers was to be crippled because forsooth the erratic ruler of this province had taken it into his head that there were more acquittals than were desirable. (Shame). Now, Gentlemen, I will not tire your patience by a recital of the details which led to the publication of the infamous jury notification of Sir Charles Elliott. Suffice it to say that the subsequent appointment of the jury Commission led to Sir Charles Elliott's eating humble pie. (Cheers). With your leave I will place before you two brief extracts from the Report of that Commission. The first extract is as follows:— "The statistics do not show that there has been any larger

number of such cases than might have been reasonably expected, and they certainly do not indicate any break-down of the system." The second runs: "After the fullest consideration of the very abundant materials before us we cannot come to the conclusion that the jury system in its present shape has proved a failure in Bengal. Our general conclusion is the same as that arrived at by the Local Government in 1884 namely, that the system has worked fairly well in the more advanced districts to which it has been applied."

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Now, upon this authoritative expression of opinion we take our stand, upon the strength of it we respectfully ask our rulers to make some concession to the public demand in this matter, about the justice of which there can be no difference of opinion. If they are reasonable men I trust they will endeavour no longer to delay the further extension of this system; if they are chivalrous men I trust they will endeavour to wipe away the stain of this treatment of India; if they are compassionate men I trust they will listen to the humble solicitation and prayer which will go forth from this assembly and try to erase from our memory this rooted sorrow. But however that may be, our course is clear; we shall go on manfully in the path of justice and truth. Gentlemen, with these words, I beg to ask you to accept this Resolution. (Loud cheers).

MR. RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARBANDIKAR (Satara, No. 746, on the list) seconded the Resolution and said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It is not necessary for me to make a speech in order to commend this Resolution to you. After the British Conquest the British Government for some reason or other does not seem to have adopted the system for a good long time, for it was not until the year 1861 by the Code of Criminal Procedure that trial by jury was granted to this country, and luckily for us the verdicts of the jury were also declared to be final. For some reason it is impossible for the nation fully to divine, Sir James Stephen in 1872 disapproved of the verdicts of juries and their authority. Matters went on in the same manner until 1892 when suddenly, as the proposer of this Resolution has said, Sir Charles Elliott opposed the policy of the jury system; but for that we should not have had a Commission which after much deliberation distinctively declared that we were entitled not only to it in the disposal of cases but also to the extension of it to the parts of the country and the classes of offences to which the jury system was not then applicable. It is often said that in the parts where it does not apply, it ought not to be applied at all, because people there are not sufficiently educated. With regard to the first part of the suggestion it requires no answer at all, considering the schools and colleges established all over the country and the improvement we have made in education. With regard to the second part, suffice it to say that the statistics show that the verdicts of juries are not quite so often found wrong as those of judges not restrained by verdicts of juries and those of Magistrates who are unaided by juries. It is therefore, Gentlemen, in these days of high culture and education, useless to say anything as to the objection to the extension of this system, and with these words I beg to second the Resolution.

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

MR. R. D. NAGARKAR, (Poona, No. 730, on the list) proposed the VIII Resolution. In doing so, he said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The Resolution that I am called upon to propose runs as follows:—

That this Congress once again places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of all-tax imposes upon the poorest classes of the country, a hardship

Reduction of
Salt-tax.

part by second
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which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to the level of 1868.

Gentlemen, our respected Chairman of the Reception Committee was at some pains yesterday to prove that no one would be better able to represent the interests of the uneducated classes of the country than their educated brethren. Although some of our Anglo-Indian critics will not allow that claim I think that even the most nervous critics will be ready to admit that the resolution which has been entrusted to me deals with a question which is essentially a question for the masses of the people. (Cheers). The dearness of salt occasioned by the heavy duty has made it absolutely impossible for the poor people of India to obtain even the very small supply which is absolutely necessary to purify and strengthen their constitutions even in ordinary times. When a famine such as this comes upon them their emaciated and starved systems are unable to endure the hardships of such a calamity and they succumb to the first attacks of those disorders to which poor food at the Relief Works, and the hard tasks they are called upon to perform there, have exposed them. Most of the delegates who were present at the last Session of the Congress at Poona may remember that this very Resolution was in charge of Professor Gokhale, and he then accorded on behalf of us all a vote of thanks to the Secretary of State for India for the pledge which was given us that when the Indian Exchequer advocated such a step being taken, the earliest possible opportunity would be taken to reduce the taxation on salt to a reasonably low level. That opportunity very soon presented itself and the millions of the Indian nation looked forward with a longing eye and hope that the Secretary of State would now come forward and extend a helping hand and reduce the duty on salt and thus redeem his pledge. But, Gentlemen, all this was a vain hope because certain loyal subjects of Her Majesty complained that their hardships would probably be harder to bear than those of the people of India, and they claimed priority. The interests of the Indian nation had practically to be sacrificed to meet the preferential claim of these people. Gentlemen, you will be anxious to know who these poor people were, and you will be perfectly justified in making that enquiry, because I know it is your firm conviction that no nation on the surface of the earth can possibly compete with the Indian nation in poverty and wretchedness. I may at once tell you that these gentlemen were no other than the mill-owners of Lancashire, and the Secretary of State had no alternative but to grant them the relief which was promised to the people of India. (Shame). What a magnificent specimen of unalloyed justice and equity! All I can say in this connexion is that the terrible sufferings which thousands of our poor countrymen are undergoing at this terrible hour will constitute in one sense an effective though a melancholy protest against the injustice of the policy pursued by the Secretary of State for India. As regards the reduction of salt taxation I need not enter into an elaborate discussion, because, Gentlemen, from this very platform we have been, year after year, advocating the cause of our poor Indian brethren. Year after year we have been appealing to the good sense and humanity of the Indian Government and the Secretary of State to reduce this burden. There was a time, Gentlemen, when salt taxation or a policy as regards salt taxation was neither formed nor formulated. There have been those who condemned *in toto* this policy as being suited more for intoxicating liquors and drugs, and they maintained that a more humane and just policy must be pursued with respect to the necessaries of life and the policy of a lower rate of taxation was recommended and the same policy was maintained during the administration of our beloved Viceroy Lord Ripon, but even he was not able to do all that was expected of him; he only reduced the salt tax from Rs. 2 As. 8 to Rs. 2 per maund but he thought that in the course of time an opportunity might be found when the taxation would be reduced to a still lower level. The policy laid down by Lord Ripon was not unfortunately continued by his successor; so far from reducing the salt tax Lord Dufferin actually raised it to Rs. 2 As. 8. Well, Gentlemen, you can well imagine what terrible pressure such a tax puts upon the people of India when the cost of manufacturing that amount of salt costs

between one and two annas and the same amount has to pay duty to the extent of Rs. 2 As. 8. That is a rate of nearly 3,000 per cent. on the cost. These are figures one need not explain and it is only to be hoped that in the not remote future the Government of India will find their finances in such a state as will enable them to relieve the people of India of this most iniquitous and terrible tax of which they have been complaining from the time when it was first imposed. (Cheers). With these brief remarks I beg to lay this Resolution before you for your acceptance. (Cheers).

MR. S. RAMASWAMY GUPTA (Madras, No. 770 on the list), seconded the Resolution. In doing so he said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure to second this Resolution, asking for the reduction of a tax which the people of this country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, have from the day of its imposition devoutly wished might be abolished. (Cheers). It is not necessary for me to lay before the Congress any statistics upon this question. From the time of the introduction of the salt tax the poorer classes of the Indian people have been growing weaker and weaker both mentally and physically. The high, almost famine rate, at which salt is sold is a perpetual burden upon the poor, many of whom get daily wages of no more than two annas. The ryots are also punished in another way; if they wish to produce good crops they must use salt with which to manure their fields; they are generally overwhelmed with heavy debts, and how can they, with a duty of Rs. 2 As. 8 on every maund of salt, buy sufficient for this purpose? If the duty is reduced the Government will not be losers but gainers, sales will increase in number and many more thousands of rupees will go into their coffers. We are known to be loyal to the British Government, we only appeal for a concession the granting of which will place us under an obligation to that Government. With these few words, Gentlemen, I beg to commend this Resolution to you for your unanimous acceptance. (Cheers)

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

The President—I now adjourn this Congress till 11-30 to-morrow morning.

Third Day's Proceedings.

Wednesday, 30th December 1896.

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

The President after announcing the receipt of the message of sympathy from the Second Prince of Parlakemedi, Secretary to the Venkatagiri Town Hall Committee, and Mr. Nand Kishore Lal of Gaya, read the following telegrams received from Rajah of Ramnad and President, Alibag Famine Committee respectively :—

THIRD DAY.

(1) FROM SRIMAT SETUPATI RAJAH OF RAMNAD TO THE HON'BLE SURENDRA NATH BANNERJEA, CALCUTTA,—

Pray convey to our brethren in Congress assembled my steadfast loyalty to our national assembly and my prayer as Setupati to Sree Setuv andha Rameshwar for the prosperity and longevity of the only assembly fraught with unspeakable blessings to the millions, to the voiceless, and to the oppressed in India. Pray convey to the people's Indian Parliament the sympathy and support of Her Majesty's subjects in Ramnad who, through me, have sent Mr. Parthasarathy Naidu of Madras to represent this ancient and historically sacred land. Our hearts beat with patriotic zeal and loyalty. God save Queen-Empress, Congress, and all true lovers of humanity in general, and India in particular our united thanks to all who have worked and still work for India, both in India and in England. Pray bring to the notice of Congress the tyranny practised in collecting income-tax and the oppression of the poor in that connection our deep regret at national loss by Mana Mohan Ghose's lamentable death; our unanimous approval of the vote of congratulations to our Most Beloved Sovereign on the sixtieth year of unparalleled and illustrious reign; our sympathy movement separation judicial from Executive. (Loud cheers).

(2) FROM PRESIDENT, FAMINE COMMITTEE, ALIBAG TO THE PRESIDENT, 13TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, CALCUTTA,—

Alibag taluka sympathizes with Congress, requests resolution revenue remission famine. (Cheers).

The President then called upon Mr. G. Parameswaram Pillai (Madras No. 757 on the list) to move the Ninth Resolution.

Mr. Pillai said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first proposition to which your attention is invited to-day refers to the treatment of our countrymen in South Africa, and I have much pleasure in moving that proposition which runs :

"That this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interest of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected."

Gentlemen; there are many colonies in South Africa in which the Indians have settled in large numbers, but those with which we are now concerned, those with the administration of which Her Majesty's Government have a right to interfere directly or indirectly at least in the matter of legislation with reference to Her Majesty's Indian subjects,—are Natal, the Cape of Good Hope, Zululand and the Transvaal.

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THIRD DAY. In the Cape Colony, the Cape Legislature has empowered the Chief Municipality in that colony to compel Indians to reside in certain locations which are generally parts of the town meant to deposit its refuse. In the Crown Colony of Zululand the regulations of some of the townships prevent the Indians from owning or acquiring land in that colony. In the Transvaal, where Her Majesty's Government have a right to interfere in the matter of legislation regarding Her Majesty's subjects, under a Convention the Indians cannot own landed property and are ordered to reside in locations. They are prevented from travelling first or second class on railways and are compelled to carry a travelling pass with them wherever they go. Last but most important from the Indian standpoint, in Natal, which has an Indian population of more than 50,000, our countrymen to add to their numerous disabilities, have lately been condemned to perpetual bondage. (Shame). For according to a Bill—which has now become an Act—passed by the Natal Legislature, the Indians who go to Natal under indenture for a period of five years are compelled to remain under indenture for ever, the agreement being renewed at the end of every five years, or, if unwilling to be re-indentured, to pay an annual tax of nearly one-half of their earnings for the year. Gentlemen, I have not heard of anything more monstrous than this piece of legislation, anything more obnoxious, anything more unjust to a class of people whose industry and whose handicraft have contributed in no small measure to the progress and prosperity of the colony of Natal. (Cheers). The more you think of it, gentlemen, I have no doubt, the more indignant you will grow, for not only is re-indenture altogether unknown in the annals of emigration but our own Government, the Government of India, has been a party to this monstrous measure—a measure which must eventually result in converting a useful and industrious class of people into generations of hereditary bondsmen! In Natal itself, they were aware of the unjust and mischievous character of the proposal and entertained very grave doubts whether the Government of India would accede to it. The Attorney General of the colony spoke against the measure and one of the two Commissioners whom they deputed to India and who eventually succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Viceroy, declared in the most emphatic terms that it was altogether impossible to get the Government of India to agree to the passing of the measure. (Cheers). And that the Commissioners should entertain such a view was but natural! For, can there be a single Government in the world which does not care for the well-being of its own subject population? The answer to that question has been "no" hitherto, but hereafter let no man venture to assert that there is no Government on the face of the earth which is not interested in the welfare of its own subjects.

Gentlemen, how strange and singular is our position! In India, we are permitted to become members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In England even the doors of that august assembly, the House of Commons, are open to us. But in South Africa, we are not permitted to travel without a pass, we are not allowed to walk about in the night, we are consigned to locations, we are denied admission to the first and second classes on railways, we are driven out of tramcars, we are pushed off footpaths, we are kept out of hotels, we are refused the benefit of the public paths, we are spat upon, we are hissed, we are cursed, we are hated, we are abused, and we are subjected to a variety of other indignities which no human being can patiently endure. (Hear, hear).

Gentlemen, you will remember the great interest Her Majesty's Government took in the matter of the execution of an Englishman, Stokes, in the Congo. The British authorities compelled the Government of Belgium to institute a thorough enquiry into the mat-

ter ; they insisted upon a Commission being appointed and they even claimed indemnity from that Government. But some time ago, the news reached us in Southern India, that not one, but four and twenty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects were hanged in German East Africa and a member of Parliament was induced to put a question in the House of Commons, but the only answer he elicited from the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies was the laconic reply that he had no information! It is a matter for congratulation to learn that after all the Indians were not hanged and the report was not correct, but it was not till after the report was repeated in the columns of the *Times* by Sir William Hunter that we were able to obtain any further information and that from whom—not from Her Majesty's Government, but from a German officer, Major Von Weissman! (Shame). Gentlemen, the report of the execution of a single white subject of Her Majesty was enough to call forth the ire of Her Majesty's Government on Belgium, but the report of the execution of four and twenty of Her Majesty's black subjects did not shake a single nerve of the British authorities—no inquiry was instituted by them with a view to ascertain the truth! This invidious distinction, gentlemen, between the white and the coloured subjects of Her Majesty is certainly not calculated to contribute to the strength or glory of Her Majesty's Empire. Gentlemen, we are accused of being a stay-at-home population and are also told that we will never prosper as a nation as long as we do not pay sufficient attention to foreign trade. But this is the treatment accorded to us when we emigrate to places like South Africa either as labourers or as traders. The doctrine of *Civis Romanus Sum* of Lord Palmerston may not find favour with many Englishmen at the present day ; nevertheless we the Indian subjects of Her Majesty, like her European subjects, are entitled to the support of the strong arm of the British wherever we are, in whatever part of the world. The treatment that is now accorded to us in South Africa, particularly in Natal, is indeed invidious and humiliating, and we are bound to protest against it—protest against it most solemnly and in the most emphatic manner possible—protest against it on the platform and in the press—protest against it by means of leaflets and pamphlets—protest against it from one end of the country to the other till our voice rouses the sense of justice and fair play of the Government of India and Her Majesty's Government, and still if they remain obdurate, heedless of our cries, we must make up our mind once and for ever, never to leave our hearths and homes but continue to live here and multiply, our industry unknown in other lands, our enterprise unappreciated,—aye, live and multiply and carry on a half-starved existence till the merciful hand of pestilence or famine relieves an overburdened empire of its surplus population. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

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Mr. V. N. Apte (Poona, No. 728 on the list) in seconding the resolution said :—
Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—After the exhaustive manner in which the resolution has been already placed before you, it is not necessary for me to say much to commend it to you. When the Congress took up this subject last year at Poona, the general public did not possess that acquaintance with it which has now become possible owing to the tour of Mr. Gandhi. (Cheers). We had a meeting the other day in Poona in this connection, just as they had meetings at Bombay and Madras, and Mr. Gandhi gave us at that meeting a most distressing description of the disabilities under which our countrymen in South Africa are at present made to suffer. Gentlemen, it is a great shame that in these days at the end of the nineteenth century such an attempt to degrade their fellow-subjects to the lowest level should be made by men calling themselves English and boasting of the English love of liberty and English love of fair-play. Gentlemen, we are told that England spent millions freely to

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emancipate the slaves; one is almost inclined to doubt this testimony of history after what is taking place in South Africa. We are often told that it is England's special mission to raise all fallen or down-trodden races. Who will allow a particle of this claim after the shame with which the English settlers in South Africa are covering their mother country? Or is it the fact that while Englishmen are generous and magnanimous and all that sort of thing when other people's interests are concerned, they turn their backs on all their professions and descend to the level of the most tyrannical and the most selfish when their own interests are concerned? This, perhaps, is the only possible explanation of the incredible indignities to which our countrymen are being at present subjected in South Africa. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, the resolution before you states that the Government of India does not watch our interests in South Africa in the same manner in which it watches the interests of British settlers. Did not our Government go to war with Burma simply because a few English merchants fancied that they had a grievance against poor Thebaw? And was not Burma conquered and annexed and the people of a whole province deprived of their independence as a result? And yet how calmly is this Indian Government looking on while our own people are being insulted and ill-treated in an English colony itself? If the Indian Government had really cared for the interests of these poor Indian settlers it would never have approved of the Indian Immigration Act which has been recently passed in Natal and which imposes a most invidious poll-tax on Indians in that colony. (Shame). But, gentlemen, after all there must always be a difference between children and step-children. However, let us hope that wiser counsels will yet prevail and that the Indian Government and the English Government will realise the impolicy and unwisdom of so completely violating the most solemn pledges about equality of treatment that have been given to the people of this country and that have been so often and so strongly repeated. With these remarks I gladly second the proposition. (Loud applause).

Mr. R. D. Mehta (Calcutta, No. 9, on the list) in supporting the Resolution said:—
 Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My able friend Mr. Pillai has very exhaustively enlarged on the disabilities under which our countrymen have been suffering for years in South Africa. These disabilities have so often been described at length not only in the entire press of India—Anglo-Indian and Indian—but even in the English press, that it is superfluous to enumerate them, especially as they have again been described by Mr. Pillai. No newspaper has rendered greater service to our countrymen in this respect than the *London Times*, for which service, gentlemen, we must take this opportunity to acknowledge our warmest gratitude. (Cheers). The *Calcutta Englishman* has also done us good service in this connection by its many sympathetic articles, and to that paper also our best thanks are due. You remember, gentlemen, that Mr. Gandhi a little time back addressed large public meetings in Bombay and Madras on the subject, and gave quite a catalogue of these hardships and disabilities from his personal experience. The subject has now been threshed out, and we have only to affirm our last year's resolution. Equality and justice, gentlemen, are the watchwords of the generous and freedom-loving British. (Cheers). And we may be quite sure that if the agitation be kept alive our countrymen in Natal will soon get their grievances redressed. (Cheers). Let us hope that the Queen's Jubilee may bring those glad tidings to them, and shed greater lustre on her long and glorious reign. With these words I beg to support the resolution (Loud applause).

The President:—I simply wish to point out, gentlemen, to my Mussulman co-religionists that they have a lesson to learn from this resolution. The people for whom this

resolution has now been moved, seconded and supported, or at any rate the majority of them are my co-religionists, and that shows that in all matters affecting India all races must join together. If they divide then they will never get their rights. (Cheers). I now beg to put the resolution.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Dr. Nilratan Sirkar (Calcutta, No. 139, on the list) in proposing the tenth Resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. The resolution I have to submit for your acceptance is as follows:—

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

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

This resolution should have been moved by that astute, intelligent and laborious worker in the field of politics as well as science—Dr. Bahadurji of Bombay—whose marvellous grasp of facts and figures in this connection, coupled with his persuasive eloquence, could alone have created an interest here on this unattractive yet important subject. It is only loyalty to the cause which he has taken up as the mission of his life that has kept him away, and in his absence I will do my best for the cause of medical education and reform in this country. (Cheers). Now, gentlemen, there are misconceptions in certain quarters that the question of Medical Service reform affects only a small section of the Indian people—the medical men—and that the general public have nothing whatever to do with it. In this connexion I should like to point out that reduction of expenditure, and arrangements for efficiency of service, and good management in the departments of education, science and sanitation are subjects that affect the interests of the general public as much as the interests of the Medical profession. (Hear, hear). Sir, we are trying our best to facilitate the access of our young men to the Indian Civil Service. There are 600 good appointments in that service. In the Indian Medical Service—the Civil Branch—there are 380 well-paid appointments, with salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 per month, that are all closed to the children of the soil by a secret order from the India Office. (Shame). Are these posts not worth fighting for? The fact that the preliminary education required for the Civil Service is not the same as that for the Medical Service does not make any difference so far as the desirability

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Resolution X.

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Resolution X.

Reconstitution of the Civil and Military Medical Service.

Open Enquiry into the Grievances of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants.

of securing such appointments for our countrymen is concerned. Now, gentlemen, to turn to the subject itself. The anomaly of the existence of two superior Military Medical Services has been so thoroughly discussed and exposed by my friend Dr. Bahadurji from this platform during the last three sessions of the Congress, that it is almost unnecessary for me to dwell at any length upon this matter. I shall therefore confine my remarks within very narrow limits. There are, as you all know, two superior Military Medical Services in India, *viz.*, the Army Medical Service and the Indian Medical Service. Both are essentially Military, the Army Medical Service being open to Her Majesty's European subjects only, and the Indian Medical Service to all Her Majesty's subjects, European or other; further, the Army Medical Service is a pure Military Service, whereas the Indian Medical Service, though essentially a Military Service, has yet a Civil branch—a huge and somewhat disproportionate branch, about one and a half times as big as the trunk itself, fed by innumerable adventitious roots driven home into the heart of the civil population and which draw away all the sap that ought to nourish the tender planting of indigenous talent. (Cheers). The departments of education, science and sanitation are equally manned by members of this Service—often with very little regard for the qualifications. Whenever a post falls vacant in any of these departments, the recruit must come from the Indian Medical Service, and the field of choice being so narrow, the efficiency of the service is bound to suffer. This is not the opinion of congressmen only, but of no less an authority than Mr. Ernest Hart, the Editor of the *British Medical Journal*. (Cheers). There might have been some justification for the retention of this double system, if it had been economically sound. But as my friend Dr. Bahadurji has pointed out in his evidence before the Welby Commission, the system is economically most unsound, and a clear saving of 22 lakhs a year may be made by adopting our suggestion and uniting the Army Medical Service and the Indian Medical Service, in which case the staff can be reduced by about 200 well-paid officers. (Cheers). Nor is the existing system without its inconvenience in practice. We all know how a doctor is often made a football of between the camp on the one side and the civil station on the other. Is there any man who can devote himself to the study of science under such conditions? The true culture of science requires for its growth the calm and serene atmosphere of civil life, entirely free from the din and dust and uncertainties of a military career. (Applause). Thus the system is economically unsound, practically inconvenient, and often leads to inefficiency of service. These are some of the evils. But the greatest evil—I use the word "greatest" advisedly, as it affects us most—yet remains to be mentioned. I mean its exclusiveness, which in the language of one of the Local Governments "renders it impossible to admit a native of India into the higher ranks of the Medical Service." (Shame). It is this exclusiveness which has operated most injuriously upon the minds of the people as well as the profession, for no matter how high the position of a medical man may be in his own country, he has no chance of getting himself admitted into any appointment except in a subordinate capacity. (Shame). The loaves and fishes are all reserved for a so-called superior class under whom he is destined to be a subordinate. When he compares his own lot with that of his brothers in other professions, he cannot but regret his choice of a profession. There are in Calcutta three Indian Judges in the High Court out of a set of twelve, but is there a single countryman of Chuckerbutty or Chandra who holds a single appointment out of about two dozen in this city in the higher Medical Department? It is ridiculous to say that there is not a single Indian worthy to fill any one of these appointments. The peculiar way in which these civil appointments are filled up has also a most prejudicial effect on the mind of the public, who naturally look upon the local profession as un-

equal to the task. I put it to you, gentlemen, whether you should allow this state of things to continue, for it means the degradation of your countrymen in this profession and also a descent for you in the scale of nations. The rules of the Indian Medical Service do not foster the growth of a superior indigenous Medical profession. Medicine, like the allied sciences, requires for its study practical work in properly fitted up institutions. You have all heard of the brilliant successes of Dr. J. C. Bose in Physical Science. (Loud cheers). Many of you, I daresay, have also heard of the recent achievements of my chemist friend Dr. P. C. Roy, who in the course of the last twelve months has discovered not less than twelve new compounds of Mercury,—a record unparalleled in the annals of science in India. (Loud cheers). The successes of these gentlemen have given the lie direct to the opinion held in some quarters that the Indian mind is not suited to scientific research. But I ask where would they have been if they had not had access to the laboratories of the Presidency College? Yes, gentlemen, so long as the higher appointments to the colleges and hospitals are not open to the Indians, there is absolutely no prospect for them of any scientific distinction. One word more about the Assistant Surgeons and I have done. A worthier class of public servants subjected to greater injustice it is simply impossible to imagine. (Hear, hear). The Assistant Surgeon is, as has been repeatedly admitted by the Government, as thoroughly educated as his superior, the Civil Surgeon. The greatest injustice is in the scale of salaries. The Assistant Surgeon commences with the stepmother's slice of Rs. 50 a month and ends with Rs. 200, and many retire with the magnificent pension of Rs. 100; whereas the Civil Surgeon commences with Rs. 500 and enjoys Rs. 2,000 and over at the end of his career and may retire with an adequate pension. Then as to the work done, the Assistant Surgeon is *de facto* in Medical charge of the district, his superior being too busy with the Jail, District Board, Municipality and private practice, not to speak of his pigsticking, shooting, polo and tennis parties, to look to the strictly professional part of the work. And then what about his prospects of promotion? Why, then, he is to be superseded by those worthy members of another body, who the other day, by a stroke of the Surgeon-General's pen, were transformed from Apothecaries into Military Assistant Surgeons. (Laughter). Our scheme of reform is a simple one. It lays down, as you will find in the Resolution itself, that the two Military Services should be combined into one Military Service, and that the purely Civil Medical Service should be reconstituted. The already-existing Uncovenanted Service may be utilised as the new class for the purpose. That service was originally created to give greater scope to "indigenous talent," but you all know how much indigenous talent is represented there at present. (Laughter). Most of the appointments are smuggled for the reserve of the Indian Medical Service, while the remaining few are given away to those pets of the Government, the Military Assistant Surgeons. In order to represent these grievances in England, we sent there our energetic friend Dr. Bahadurji last year, and I am glad to say that his mission has met with unqualified success, not only in the shape of cordial support from friends, but also in the shape of active opposition from some of our opponents. The very fact that Dr. McLeod, late of this city, and my own professor, who is still dependent upon the Indian tax-payer for his fat pay and high pension, with the characteristic consistency peculiar to some of our Anglo-Indian friends, thought it fit to lay at our door the charge of "ingratitude" for joining this movement, shows that the time is not far away when we may expect the realisation of our object. Ingratitude to complain against these wrongs intentionally inflicted upon us! (Applause). Is there a heart in the whole of India that does not smart under a sense of the wrongs done to the Assistant Surgeons and other members of the medical profession? Why, it is a sheer struggle

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Resolution X.

Reconstitution of the Civil and Military Medical Service.

Open enquiry into the grievances of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants.

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for existence that has goaded us to join this agitation, for under the tender care of our Military Medical guardians, we, as a respectable profession, are on the point of extinction. (Loud applause.)

Dr. Golab Chandra Bez Baruah (Calcutta, No. 36 on the list) in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to second the resolution just read and proposed by Dr. Nilratan Sarkar in an able and elaborate speech. It requires no further light to be thrown upon the resolution to make it more clear. I fully concur in all that he said. I can add but little. What I say is that the constitution of the higher Medical Service in India is a most mischievous and injurious one—nay, it is very costly. It is so anomalous, that it should no longer exist in India. The time has come when the Medical Service of India should be revised and reconstituted. It must be made an independent service altogether, wholly detached and separate from the Military Medical Service. The Military Medical Service must be purely for medical purposes, for army, battlefields, for soldiers, sailors, etc., and not for any civil functions. Military Medical men coming out from England should, on no account, be placed or posted to any civil district or stations, or be given civil appointments. They are specially trained for and adapted only to Military Medical Service. In other civilised countries and the colonies the Medical Service is purely a civil one, thrown open to all classes alike belonging to the profession. It embraces several departments of education, sanitary, special medical work, expert duty, and of analytical chemistry, etc. For these, men specially trained and qualified only are selected. From my own personal knowledge and experience and my connection as a District Medical Officer in the Colonial Service for many years, I tell you, gentlemen, you will not find an iota of military talent. All the districts are assigned to medical men who are purely civilians. They are selected by the Secretary of State and also by the Local Government, of course, on merit. All the medical officers are civilians, even the very head of the Medical Service, the Surgeon-General. Gentlemen, now, under the generous British Government, India can boast that she can produce, and has produced men eminent in the service, in letters, and in the Medical Service and the art of healing. Our universities can supply more than enough. There would be no difficulty whatever in finding competent and skilful men for the service. In conclusion, gentlemen, we ask to abolish the old Medical Service of monopoly in India and to make the higher Medical Service of India an independent one, as I said at the beginning. Do away with the Military connections with the Service. This will be an advantage to the profession, the people and the country, and there will be a great saving to the Government. You know, gentlemen, the great discontentment that is now prevailing throughout India will also be removed. I sincerely hope the Indian National Congress will achieve this success, and I ask you, gentlemen, earnestly to support me and pass the resolution. (Cheers.)

Dr. P. C. Nundi (Calcutta, No. 24 on the list) in supporting the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to support this Resolution, I do so with great pleasure, but I wish it had been entrusted to a better hand. The economic bearing of the question I do not feel myself competent to deal with, and I wish very much that Dr. Bahadurji (cheers), who has made this aspect of the question his special study, were here this day to do it full justice. Yet I cannot altogether pass over the fact which must be self-evident to all of us, that if indigenous talent be utilised in the manner contemplated by this Resolution, economy in the administra-

tion is sure to follow. (Applause). In these days of specialisation it is sheer waste of time, energy and public money to educate our public servants in a fashion which has no bearing on their future career. Under this combined system the members of the Indian Medical Service are specially trained at Netley Hospital for the Military Service and made to acquire military experience with the army, or in some Military Hospital. Now, sir, have not the Indian public a right to expect that this process of specialisation, costing so much time and money, would be further and permanently taken advantage of? But no, in utter disregard of Indian public interests under the pretence of those officers' chance of returning to the Military Service (a chance quite problematical) at some unknown future emergency, they are transferred to the Civil Department. Can any one conceive of a more wanton waste of public energy? Men are educated and trained in one fashion and then made to do altogether a different duty, for which to be efficiently done, much has to be unlearned. When this process of unlearning has gone on for a pretty long time they are suddenly called to a duty for which they were trained some 15 or 20 years before and which they were made to unlearn in the meanwhile. Yet this is but a negative evil of this pernicious system which the public have to complain of.

The public have to deal directly and intimately with these men of the Indian Medical Service when they are transferred to the Civil Department. It is now that the public suffer most. These officers with their acquired military instincts and perhaps having much to do with cases of malingering, have not that broad sympathy with the sick which is almost the *sine qua non* of a medical attendant. (Applause). Moreover, their want of experience in the common diseases of the country is a distinct and serious disadvantage to the public in their new relations with them. (Hear, hear). In the next place medical education suffers very much from this arrangement. The professors of the several Medical Colleges are recruited with no reference to their special merit. They are, with rare exceptions, for the first few years almost on the same footing with the students they are appointed to teach. And when after some years they acquire some special knowledge of their respective subjects, and have just made themselves fit for the posts they occupy, they are most wantonly transferred to some other appointments or to teach some other often not allied subjects. Thus a vicious cycle is repeated to the great and permanent detriment of the teaching value of the institution. Now, sir, as regards the grievances of the Civil Assistant Surgeons, they have become proverbial. It would require no effort of mine to convince you of their reality. (Hear, hear). The tale has simply to be told to carry conviction. After passing one of the most difficult of University examinations, these Assistant Surgeons begin their career on a miserable pittance of Rs. 50 a month, and after being knocked about often over the worst parts of the country for a period of 14 years, and having in the meantime been made to pass two not very easy examinations, they rise to the highest grade of Rs. 200. It is no wonder the Service has no attractions for the best men. In fact, it has become a reproach, at least in Bengal, to belong to this wretched service. With these few inadequate remarks I beg to support the Resolution. (Applause).

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Resolution X.

Reconstitution of the Civil and Military Medical Service.

Open enquiry into the grievances of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants.

The President then put the Resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

THIRD DAY.

Resolution XI
Omnibus Resolution.

Excise policy of the Government of India.

Privilege of the accused persons in warrant cases to be tried at the Court of Sessions instead of at the Magistrates' Court.

Modification of the Rules under the Arms Act.

Establishment of Military Colleges.

Authorising of a widespread system of Volunteering amongst the people of India.

Exchange Compensation Allowance.

Abolition of the Secretary of States' Council.

Establishment of a High Court and a Legislative Council in the Punjab.

Gagging the Press in Native States.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji (Secundrabad, No. 778 on the list) to propose the XIth—the Omnibus—Resolution and announced that the following resolution passed at the Poona Congress as Resolution XI had been added to it:—

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

Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentleman,—The Resolution that I have to put before you is as follows:—

That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- (a) *Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the "Gazette of India" of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option;*
- (b) *The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;*
- (c) *A modification of the Rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, caste or color; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;*
- (d) *The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat Natives of India as defined by State, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army;*
- (e) *The authorising and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India;*
- (f) *The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government;*
- (g) *The abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;*
- (h) *The establishment of a High Court of Judicature and a Provincial Legislative Council in the Punjab;*
- (i) *The withdrawal of the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British*

Administration in Native States, as being retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people.

Gentlemen, the Resolution embraces nine resolutions passed at previous congresses, and these resolutions are measures which the Congress has thought would tend to relieve the poverty of the people. (Cheers). The aims and objects of the Congress are these, that the British Government in India is the best of all governments, but the government is carried on upon a very extravagant scale. There is no comparison between the high salaries and the most extravagant Home Charges that this impoverished country has to bear, and the average annual income per head of the population which is, as shown by the official figures, about £2. I am only quoting this to show you how poor the people are and yet higher salaries are paid in this country than in any other. Now this state of things cannot go on, and those who want to keep the British Raj in this country have thought that the best way to do it, is to show them how to carry on the Government in an economical and efficient way, so that the people of the country may become contented and loyal and not merely remain passive because they are afraid of the Government. (Hear, hear). The direction of every resolution that has been placed before the Congress since its commencement in 1885 has been upon these lines. I merely preface what I am going to say with these few remarks, because there are some of my co-religionists who think that this Congress is working for the benefit of some community or some portion of the country. Such is not the case. (Loud cheers). I declare most solemnly from this platform and without fear of contradiction that such is not the case. Such has not been the aim and object of this Congress since its commencement. Having made this preface I shall simply bring to your notice the old passengers travelling by this omnibus. You know every one of them. You do not require any introduction and you know the time allowed me is very short. The first passage runs thus :—

That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the "Gazette of India" of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option.

In this connection I cannot help saying one word, which I hope you will allow me, and that is this. The Excise policy of the Indian Government has had attention, drawn to it by those indefatigable workers in England, the Temperance party, and in India by your worthy Joint General Secretary, Mr. D. E. Wacha. (Cheers). He has worked very laboriously and he has shown to you how this Excise policy is working harm to the people. The next passages are marked (b), (c) and run as follows :—

(b) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions.*

(c) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating a modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all*

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licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.

You know very well that we do not want arms to go and cut each other's throats with; that is not the object. There are Native States in India where the people carry arms always. I have been in Indore, in Mysore and in Udaipur, but whenever the people in those Provinces have quarrels they use their fists, but never take to arms. We ask for arms for the protection of the cultivators whose crops are destroyed, and who, not being allowed to carry arms, are unable to protect themselves against the ravages of animals upon their crops.

The next Resolutions are marked (d) and (e) and are:—

(d) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating the establishment of Military Colleges in India whereat natives of India as defined by Statute may be educated and trained for a Military career and Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers, (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army.*

(e) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating the authorising and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.*

Well, in asking for volunteering we are asking only for privileges that are granted by Her Majesty's Government in their own country. You know the military charges are very great, and you also know that in Europe the continental powers are keeping very large standing armies that cost a great deal. England, on the other hand, relies upon her volunteer force; England does not keep any large standing army, because her own subjects are all armed. We are her subjects; we want to arm ourselves; we want to defend our own homes and hearths. We want to defend the country against the enemies of England. (Cheers). What more can they require of us? Are they suspicious of us? Do they think we are not loyal? Do they think if we are disciplined our arms will be turned against them? I say no, a thousand times no. There has been a book published entitled "India surrounded on two sides." I say India is surrounded on all sides. If we had volunteers here these fortifications would not have cost the country a cent. Why, because those who want to take India would have seen from this very fact that the ruled are with the rulers; that they are not two, but that they are one. We want to close the door of disunion. Let us think this is really our mother country and let us defend it. (Cheers). The next Resolution runs as follows:—

(f) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating the discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government.*

Gentlemen, you know all about this matter. Our Famine Relief Fund has been taken away from us; extra taxes have been imposed upon us. Why? In order to give compensation to officials. Why should they be compensated? They came here with their eyes open; their salaries are in rupees, and if the rupee is low in value the

country suffers. Why make it suffer doubly? Therefore we are asking that this compensation should be abolished altogether: (Cheers). The seventh Resolution is:—

(g) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.*

This was the very first resolution passed in Bombay in 1885. This Council of India is utterly useless; it does harm to the country. It was established to assist the Secretary of State for India in his deliberations as regards India. Has it ever done so, or has the Secretary of State ever taken its advice and acted upon it? I say in not one single instance, therefore the sooner it is abolished the better. (Cheers). The next Resolution runs as follows:—

(h) *That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating the establishment of a High Court of Judicature and a Provincial Legislative Council in the Punjab.*

This is a very burning public question. All the other Provinces have been granted High Courts; even in Burma, there has been a talk of establishing a High Court, and also that Burma should be given a Legislative Council. Why the Punjab should not be given a High Court I do not understand. It is one of those things that Lord Dunderary said, "No fellah can understand." Now there is, as the President has announced to you, a new passenger on my already overloaded omnibus. This new resolution runs as follows:—

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

This is the last passenger on our omnibus and I commend him to you, gentlemen, for your acceptance. I think I have now done my duty in laying these resolutions before you and I hope you will pass them all with acclamation. (Cheers.)

Babu Nibaran Chundar Das (Bengal, Backergunj, No. 494, on the list) in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—You know very well how one behaves when one gets into a carriage which is full of passengers. He takes a rapid survey of the faces, and then sits down beside one whose face takes his fancy or appears to be familiar. (Laughter). This omnibus is full of passengers, the subjects are various, all important and interesting. I pick up the one which appeals most strongly to my sympathy. You must have noticed in some of the Calcutta papers how a whole district has been disarmed by a single stroke of the pen of the ruler of this province. Not because we, the people of Backergunge, were contemplating an armed rebellion, but because gun-shot murders are more numerous in our district than elsewhere. All the licenses hitherto granted to respectable peace-loving people have been cancelled, and their valuable guns snatched away to rust in a godown attached to the police office. Nobody deplores more than we do the increase of crime in Backergunge, but the instincts of the criminal classes are not to be put down by wholesale disarmament by a Government resolution, however carefully penned or elegantly drafted. (Hear, hear). We fail to see the wisdom of the policy that because murders are committed with unlicensed guns, no more

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licenses are to be granted. That is queer logic. (Laughter). We submitted a memorial to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, but the Government has summarily disposed of it. In the resolution you complain of the invidious distinction which the Arms Act maintains. We complain of the absolute disregard of the principle that arms are to be used for defensive purposes. The other day I received a letter from a friend of mine in which a very important fact was mentioned, and that was that since the issue of the disarmament circular, wild boars, which would be scared away from paddy fields by the report of guns, are now roving about freely, even in the daytime, doing immense mischief to the crops. It is said that the circular was issued because guns were generally used for killing men, but only in one case in the course of the year has a murder been committed with a licensed gun. This was admitted in the circular which was published in the Official Gazette. But is that any reason why peace-loving people should be deprived of their weapons of defence? With these remarks, Gentlemen, I beg to second this resolution (Cheers.)

Mr. Bijay Narsinheswara Sarma (Madras, No. 775 on the list) in supporting the Resolutions aid:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subjects contained in these resolutions have passed beyond the bounds of controversy and discussion, and it requires not arguments of mine to commend them to you for your acceptance. The blessings of British rule have been acknowledged on all sides, and if we pass to the darker side of the picture and trace some of the disastrous effects of British rule caused by the military policy pursued, surely no one will consider it to arise from a disloyal or seditious spirit. We wish for the permanence of British rule, and the permanence of that rule can only be assured by a united, loyal and strong India. (Cheers). Now passing to that side of the picture, Gentlemen, what has been the effect of the Military policy of the Government in regard to the admission of Indians into the higher branches of the Military service? It is acknowledged on all sides that, other things being equal, physical force must govern the world, but what has been and what will be the effects of the continuance of the present Military policy of the Government? The nation has become unused to arms, therefore unfit to bear arms, for a long disuse of any faculty will in course of time end in the loss of that faculty. Now at the present moment any army, be it foreign or Indian, can pass from one end of the country to the other without any opposition whatever from the people. The people may be ever so loyal and may wish to support the Government against this invading army, but they are unable to do so; they are not in a position to do any work whatever in support of the British Government. I would ask the Government, Is it a wise and farseeing policy to deprive the whole nation—a nation acknowledged to be loyal by statesmen who are responsible for the administration of the country, is it a wise or statesmanlike policy to prevent them from entering the higher ranks of the Military service? (Hear, hear.) I submit that the Military policy will have to be altered if you want to strengthen the nation. Of course, there are other causes tending to the weakening of our race, but I assert that this is one of the greatest causes. I was myself once a volunteer for some time; the Eurasians in the regiment, however, opposed our admission into their ranks, although a certain generous spirited gentleman tried to introduce the Indian element into the regiment. The attempt, however, was only partially successful; the Eurasians threatened to leave in a body if the Indians were admitted, and the result was we were only permitted to enter under restrictions that it was impossible to continue under. (Shame). With these few words, gentlemen, I beg to ask you to accept this resolution. (Cheers).

Seth Ram Narayn Amarchand (Poona, No. 723 on the list) then addressed the Congress very eloquently in Hindi in support of the resolution.

BABU BISHNUPADA CHATTERJEE (Hooghly, No. 303, on the list) said:—Gentlemen,—Beware of the omnibus. In the Lord Mayor's show this year in London there were two unique representations, one was an old-fashioned carriage of 1796 and the other a motor car of 1896. The Congress omnibus ran for the first time in the eighties. It has now attained the efficiency of a motor omnibus. The steam or the motive power is the accumulated force of the affirmation and reaffirmation of the last decade. The motor omnibus will run on the road of common sense. (Cheers)

That there is nothing new under the sun is a remark of the wise Solomon. It is true, with one exception, namely, the driver of the omnibus. You no longer see the familiar face of Babu Kali Charan Banerji, and the dicky again is in my possession. It is for me to warn the *samnewallaks*. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I say the omnibus is a *killing* resolution. The speaker is killed with the anxiety of doing justice to eight or ten propositions within the narrow compass of five minutes. (Laughter.)

In the year 1878 the Arms Act was passed. The number of heads of cattle killed by wild animals, officially that year, was 32,000. In 1887 the number swelled to 52,000. Gentlemen, what do you think of the rulers of a country whose inhabitants, practically disarmed, are having their cattle killed by thousands and tens of thousands, simply from the attacks of wild animals?

The people here see that their demands are just and still their cries are unheeded, and they do not understand this, knowing fully well, as they do, the national virtues of the British people.

"Out of the fulness of the heart the tongue speaketh," we therefore affirm and re-affirm our resolutions. (Loud cheers).

MOULVI MUHAMUD YASIN, (Madras, No. 763 on the list) said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with feelings of the highest pleasure that I rise to support the Resolution with special reference to the establishment of Military Colleges in India; but before I proceed to address myself to the subject, permit me to ask your indulgence for some general remarks on the position delegated to me and the state of Mussalman opinion in that part of India whence I come. In respect of the first, I would say that my being present here is due to the suffrages of a Hindu Electorate—a subject to which I shall fevert by and bye; and as to the second, the Muhammadan community of Southern India is perhaps the most backward of all others in the Indian Empire. But in this desert there is an oasis—a small educated class within which are embraced all our leading—which is being convinced that no sufficient reason can be shown by Musalmans for their opposition to the Congress propaganda. It is the feelings and sentiments of this class that I am privileged to voice to-day. All outside this circle may be said to be stagnation; and endeavours are being made to stir the waters; and I may safely venture to say that the Mussalmans of Southern India will, as a body, declare for the Congress. This hope is strengthened all the more by the circumstance that the opposition I find existing in my parts is very feeble when compared with what we find prevailing in Northern India, which may be explained on the ground that the latter is within nearer reach of the commanding influence exercised by the Dictator of Aligarh, who, despite the splendid work achieved by him for the amelioration of his community, unhappily holds and proclaims views in politics which it is now high time for us to abandon once for all.

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I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the community has been repelled from the Congress by mere bogies—the one that the Congress is essentially disloyal, the other that the advantages it seeks to secure are against the interest of Indian Mussalmans.

I have thought over these propositions, honestly endeavouring to discover if any reason can be found for their maintenance; but to own frankly, I have found up till now absolutely none. To re-capitulate the so-called arguments in favour of the first postulate would simply weary you, and, moreover, it is unnecessary, the leaders of thought among our community evincing an inclination to give up the first position, as is evidenced by the letter of the Hon'ble Haji Ismail Khan, addressed to Mr. Sayani and to that section of the Moslem Press, which has now adopted a pro-Congress attitude.

The other proposition deserves some notice. Interest is a broad term, and it must be asked what those interests are to which the Congress movement is likely to prove injurious. Well, I may be told by way of illustration, there is that matter of the simultaneous examinations; but I must say in reply that no illustration can be unhappier, which, of course, I urge as a personal view, I being rather in favour of the simultaneous examinations question. The illustration at once discloses an underlying misconception—a most disastrous misconception which may be traced lower down to that root—that poisonous root that India is made up of divers and diverse sections, the interests of each one of which are irreconcilable with those of all the rest. This misconception should have dealt to it a lethal blow, if India is to progress at all and its place taken by the vital truth that the people of India are, one. It cannot but be, for it is indeed in the nature of things, that boons whatever their complexion, cannot have an even incidence; in other words, there should always be something like inequality; and I, for one, would rather suffer from such an inequality than hurl it as a reason for arresting the general progress. But in dealing with the matter cited, I would point out that this arises out of a transitory condition of things—our educational backwardness. Remove this and the benefit will be as much ours as that of any other section of the Indian people. From this it will be seen that the opposition of Mussalmans in this regard, as well as other respects, amounts simply to this; stop the running of the coach, gentlemen, because we cannot afford the fare; or, to put it another way, don't begin until we are prepared to share at once in the business with you.

This is very like the logic, the barbarous logic of the English hand-loom spinners, who rioted when machinery was substituted in place of their antiquated contrivances. As in the case of the cotton spinners, whose view obscured by personal privation did not enable them to realise the prospective increase in national wealth, so in our case, our people, anticipating little advantage for themselves in the present, deny the immense advantage to India at large. But to continue the parallel, as the cotton industry governed by the inexorable law of economic revolution weighted itself to the benefit of all, so will it be with our people in the matter of the simultaneous examinations.

How be it, methinks I see a turning in the line near. Questions are being asked sufficiently indicating that Mussalmans are, as a body, disposed to consider their attitude towards the Congress. A very re-assuring sign this! The process of introspection, we are told, gentlemen, precedes that condition of mind known as conversion. The thick mist, however, has not yet been quite dispelled, although the illuminating sun has reached very far above the horizon. The chilling presence of this dense vapour makes

itself felt in the shape of demands and guarantees from the Congress that the representation on Municipal Boards and in the Legislative Councils should be equally apportioned between Hindus and Muhammadans. Such a guarantee can scarcely be given for more reasons than one. What can be achieved, however, is a proportionate representation by a political coalescence between the two communities.

It has been asserted *ad nauseam* that a Muhammadan has not the ghost of a chance at the hands of Hindu electors. Had this expression of opinion come from an unworthy source, I should have passed it by without contempt; but emanating as it does from Sir Syed Ahmad, whose word with the Mussulmans of India at any rate passes for gospel truth, I feel called upon to combat it. What better illustration can be afforded I say to testify the falsity of this assertion than that the distinguished Muhammadan gentleman who now so worthily occupies the presidential chair of this national gathering, has been placed there by the Hindu voice, and that the same voice had delegated him as a representative to the Imperial Council Chamber?

The Congress has made every concession that can be expected of it in reason. Long, long ago, the likelihood of propositions being moved, which might not be acceptable to this or that section of the people represented in the Congress, was grasped, and, as a consequence, a rule was formulated that such should be excluded by mutual consent, the hedge thus thrown up should be considered amply sufficient, for all practical purposes, and I have no doubt, gentlemen, it will be recognized to be such in the near and not far distant by and by. However, I must warn you, gentlemen, that there are one or two points which stand in the way of most Mussalman even of my Presidency joining the Congress; and for this reason that though generally recognizing the usefulness of the propaganda, the fear that the qualifying clause attaching to the resolution referred to makes the objections having a retrospective bearing inadmissible, causes them to hold aloof from a movement which they would share with open arms. I merely mention the difficulty without pretending to solve it, and hope that a revision of the clause under reference be effected, if it is possible for the Congress Committee to do so.

Turn where we may in quest of arguments against our enlisting under the Congress flag, we fail to find them. On the other hand, if we address ourselves honestly and fearlessly to efficient reasons for adopting the contrary course, they are to be found in great plenty. Fixed pre-dispositions are hard to remove. They get so entangled, so to speak, in the brain that to tear them asunder causes an acute sense of pain. Hence it is that errors die so hard. But we have the consolation of knowing that die they must in the end. A hopeful sign of the times is a recrudescence of discussion on Congress problems. An exchange of views is ever healthy, and it would be to despair for the powers of human reason to assert that now India will never strike its flag to the persistent assaults of truth.

A name and a reputation often exercises a very powerful influence. Hence the saying of the Duke of Wellington that the presence of Napoleon on the battle-field was equal to the addition of a hundred thousand men to the fighting strength of the French Army. So far as we are concerned, the name that charms and holds, holds unhappily to error, is that of Sir Syed Ahmad, of whom, though disposed to speak in terms of immeasurable respect I would say that no more mistaken opponent of the Congress propaganda could ever be found did we search all India through. His learning and his experience I respect, equally do I respect the apprehensions he entertains—though I have no faith in them—that the Congress will serve as a fire-brand to kindle a conflagration, involving his community and India in ruin. This, I may say, is another logic used to scare our people from the movement, need I say that it is possessed of

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no more substance than the one used to lull a nursery to sleep. It is on record, gentlemen, that the Government does not see in the Congress a peril to its stability. Outside that Government, we may point to a large and growing section of liberal politicians in England, who, believing that they would do no harm to their patriotism as Englishmen by championing the cause of India, stand up in the public eye as the advocates of her legitimate rights. With such re-assuring signs before him, no Mussalman should hesitate as to the course he should pursue.

The Indian National Congress is an accomplished fact. It lives and must go on living. It is essential to our country. It is the natural outcome of the training which we have received at the hands of our rulers. The Congress whatever may be said to the contrary, will not only help the Indian people but the Government itself. An instrument of sedition, I emphatically declare, it is not—indeed, it cannot be, unless we are brought to believe that India will be the assassin of her own interests which are intimately bound up with the stability of the British raj. Such is the light, gentlemen, in which the Congress is looked upon by the Mussalman Community of Southern India which earnestly desires to see a perfect harmony effected between itself and its sister community of the Hindus; for it is perfectly aware that disunion means disaster; union, peace, prosperity and progress, the bounds of which it is almost impossible to define at present. To return to the resolution which reads as follows I feel, gentlemen, I stand upon very ticklish ground. Year after year speeches have been delivered from the Congress platform, drawing the attention of the Government to give a speedy effect to this resolution; but the fact that the authorities have not accorded their sanction seems to be purely due to the spectre of mistrust haunting the British that the subject population of India is not loyal, that Indians are only biding their time to tear the English flag, if not drive our rulers altogether from the land. Such are the views that have possessed the Anglo-Indian mind; and, in attempting to exorcise them, I am likely to be pounced upon by every Anglo-Indian newspaper hack. The incidents of 1857 are green in their memory and they will dance with joy by referring to them as a disproof of Indian, or to speak, with more exactitude, *Mohammedan* loyalty. But, gentlemen, we will prove more than their equal on the present occasion. That terrible disaster which befell India was not, in the least, a national upheaval. It was, as we all understand, an outcome of religious fanaticism, rightly or wrongly awakened in some Hindus and some Mahommedans. We know full well the sympathy evinced on behalf of the rulers by enlightened sons of India. Meetings, I suppose, were held all over the Indian Empire denouncing the rebels in most unmeasured terms; and prayers, I am certain, were addressed by Hindus and Mahommedans alike for the stability of the British rule. Nay more, educated Indians joined in rendering what assistance they could to the *Sircar* and adopted means for the overthrow of the rebels. Is this not, gentlemen, proof of the loyalty of educated India? Does not this plainly indicate that the Indians look upon the permanence of British rule as essential to the promotion of their interests? Gentlemen, discontent, in rulers we all know breeds discontent in the ruled, and confidence in its turn leads to confidence and is the best guarantee for winning over the affections and the good-will of the subject population. I must now apologize to you, gentlemen, for introducing a lot of matter not essential to the subject. I retire now with the consciousness of having performed my part very awkwardly indeed but with full confidence in your generosity, and I am sure you will be pleased to pardon my drawbacks and accord your full sanction to the resolution which I have the honour of supporting. (Cheers). The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

The Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjea (Calcutta, No. 8, on the list) who rose amidst loud cheers spoke as follows:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the honor to move the 12th resolution, which runs in these terms:—

That this Congress deplores the out-break of famine, in a more or less acute form throughout India, and holds that this and other famines which have occurred in recent years are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the Civil and the Military Departments, which has, so far, impoverished the people, that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy, which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished and help for the introduction of modern arts and industries.

In the meantime the Congress would remind the Government of its solemn duty to save human life and mitigate human suffering, (the provisions of the existing Famine Code being, in the opinion of the Congress, inadequate as regards wages and rations, and oppressive as regards task work,) and would appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund (keeping a separate account of it) to its original footing, and to apply it more largely to its original purpose, viz. the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people.

That in view of the fact that private charity in England is ready to flow freely into this country at this awful juncture, and considering that large classes of sufferers can only be reached by private charity, this Congress desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the manner in which the Government of India is at present blocking the way, and this Congress humbly ventures to express the hope that the disastrous mistake committed by Lord Lytton's Government in the matter will not be repeated on this occasion.

I desire to accord to you my most grateful acknowledgments for the cordial welcome which you have given me. I need all the sympathy and support of this great Congress to enable me to perform the mournful task which has devolved upon me—the saddest which has ever fallen to the lot of any man. (Cheers). To-day we meet under the shadow of a great—I will not say—an unprecedented calamity—for unfortunately our history is full of it—but a calamity which has not overtaken us since the birth of the Congress. I do not wish it to be understood for one moment that there is any necessary connection between the Congress and the famine. But this I do mean to urge both on your behalf, and I may add on my own behalf, that if the Government had accepted the policy which has been formulated from this platform—which has been enunciated times without number—a policy of justice and beneficence, tempered by economy—these famines would have become matters of ancient history, and the world would have been spared the perusal of those harrowing tales of starvation, if not of death, which constitute a discredit to any civilised administration. (Loud cheers). A great French authority, the father of modern Zoology, the illustrious Cuvier, has somewhere remarked in his works that famines are impossible in this age. So they are in European countries; but not in this fabled land of wealth, the gorgeous Ind of the poet, possessed of the fatal gift of beauty and of wealth, the granary of the East, the garden of Asia. (Cheers). Here famines are matters of every-

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day incident—they are permanent factors in our history which the Government of the country is bound to take note of. They occur with the periodicity of the seasons, and when they occur my countrymen perish by millions. The history of British India is the history of famines. Rejecting for a moment all considerations of ancient history and coming down to more modern times, we find there was a famine in 1866, a famine in 1873-74, a famine in 1877-78, and last, but not least, the famine of 1896. Unlike the famine of 1866, which was confined to Orissa, unlike the famine of 1873-74 which was confined to Behar, unlike the famine of 1877-78 which decimated Madras, the famine of 1896 is universal, all-embracing, holding in its deathgrip the vast Indian continent with its multitudinous population. (Loud cheers). It may vary in different parts of the country in the measure of its intensity, but it is felt all over the Indian continent. Perhaps it is most severely felt in the Central Provinces—perhaps in the Central Provinces the arrangements to meet it are the most defective. An English writer—a spectator—a disinterested non-official Englishman—to whom we owe the tribute of our gratitude (hear, hear)—an English eye-witness writing in the columns of the *Pioneer*, and describing the famine of the Central Provinces has used language which fills me with unutterable pain. People starving—the miserable wretches dropping on the roadside, dropping in the jungles, in their homes, in the poor houses, dying by hundreds, dying by thousands—these are the words of that witness. Yet Lord Elgin was able to felicitate himself upon the prosperous condition of the Central Provinces up to the gates of Jabulpur (cries of Shame, shame) and to observe that there was only the probability of a famine occurring in a portion of that Province. I think I speak the sense of this great Congress when I say that we all here—Congressmen or no Congressmen—we are all animated by a common sentiment of dutiful allegiance to the honoured head of the Government of India. As the representative of our Sovereign we owe him the homage of our hearts. But we owe him even a higher homage—the homage of truth—the obligation—the paramount obligation—imposed upon us by every consideration of duty and sentiment alike; when we approach the footstep of the Viceregal throne—to lay before His Excellency the truth—the whole truth and nothing but the truth. (Loud cheers). The simple, plain, unvarnished, unalloyed truth compels us to say that His Excellency has made a deplorable blunder in the view he has taken—that his optimistic view of the situation may be fruitful of the most disastrous results. I am not going to pit the opinion of anyone, however high and distinguished he may be, against the authority of the Viceroy of India. The opinion of Lord Elgin must override all conflicting views; but I hold in my hand a statement, for which I am indebted to the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, which has done admirable service in this connection, which tells its own eloquent tale upon the state of things as they prevail in the Central Provinces. From opinion then let us pass on to facts—and what is the testimony of facts? I want your undivided attention for a moment as I go through this dreadful record of suffering and mortality. In January 1894 the death-rate at Jabulpur per thousand was 25·07—that is the normal rate. In September 1896, two years later, what do you think was the death-rate? It was 97·38, four times the death rate of January 1894. That is as regards Jabulpur. Let us travel onwards—let us come to Saugor. At Saugor the death-rate was 48·69 per thousand in 1894. In September last what do you think was the death-rate? 96·93. Just double of what it was in 1894. At Damoh in September 1894 the rate was 44·40. In September 1896 what do you think was the mortality? 138·07. (Shame, shame.) Shame is not the word. It is a matter of grave discredit that these deaths should take place, and yet any ruler with any sense of responsibility should congratulate himself upon the prosperous condition of the country which reveals this frightful record. At Seoni the rate was 25·44 in August 1894, but in August 1896 the death-rate was 88·1; and now I come to the last of the

districts mentioned in that article of my friend to which I have referred. At Mandla the death-rate was 36·56 in August 1894 and 140·30 in August last—that is to say more than four times what it was in the same month in 1894. I ask could there be a sadder or a more striking refutation of the optimistic view taken by His Excellency the Viceroy, or a more complete vindication of the position taken up by the independent eyewitness to whom I have referred? I have yet more convincing proofs than what are furnished by the inexorable logic of figures. I have got before me a packet which was handed to me by my friend, the Editor of the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, just as I entered this room—a packet giving photographs of the emaciated, death-stricken figures starving in the poor-houses of Jabulpur. I dare not open this packet for your inspection. The very sight of these photographs would convince you of the gravity of the situation. (The speaker then handed some of the photographs to the delegates). That is the state of things in the Central Provinces. What has been the result of the optimistic view which the Viceroy has taken in regard to the state of affairs in the Central Provinces and generally in regard to the whole question of famine? The Secretary of State at the instance of the Government of India will not accept the offers of help which have been made by the Lord Mayor of London and also by the manufacturers of Lancashire, to whom the grateful acknowledgments of the Congress and of the nation are due for this proffered help at this time of our sorest need. (Loud cheers). People are dropping on the roadside, in the jungles, in their homes, in the poor-houses, dying by hundreds and by thousands. The Government will not save them, nor will it accept the proffered hand of help that is outstretched to save them. Is it because if the English people found that their pockets were touched, they would like to know the reason why? Is it because if the English people had to pay, they would make enquiries—unpleasant enquiries—with regard to the condition of the people and the circumstances of the Government? Is it because the English people would ask why in this country, more than in any other, these famines so frequently occurred? Very unpleasant questions these, Mr. Chairman, and the local authorities would naturally be anxious that they should not be asked by the real masters of India. In Bengal, we are also suffering from the pinch of famine. In Behar the scarcity is most severely felt, but there the Government has got the help of the great territorial magnates, the foremost of whom is His Highness the Maharajah of Darbhanga. (Three cheers for the Maharajah of Darbhanga). I think I express the sense of this meeting when I say that we all rejoice that His Highness is better, and we all hope that he may long be spared to carry on his patriotic labours and set an example of patriotic duty to the aristocracy of Bengal. (Loud cheers). Ladies and gentlemen, the situation in Bengal is somewhat complicated by another consideration. We are suffering from scarcity of water. We suffered from it last year and we shall be confronted with that calamity in an acuter form in the year to come. Of course, the Government is prepared with a remedy. The Government is ready with a Bill which is the usual remedy in such cases. We have a Bill in this connection, and what does that Bill provide? A new tax; but the pill is gilded for us. It is to be a permissive measure of taxation. Not only that, it is to be associated with a further expansion of the principle of Local Self-Government. The power of taxation is to be entrusted to village unions—the primary centres of Local Self-Government. Might I be permitted to ask the Government—I am full of gratitude to the Government for its sympathy with Local Self-Government—whether it might not extend the principle in relation to the existing forms of taxation, and why it should be necessary to impose a new tax to initiate us still further into the mysteries of Local Self-Government? At any rate our countrymen have a legitimate grievance in this matter. They say—and the newspapers echo the sentiment—we pay the road-cess, the road-cess should be devoted to the purposes of tank-digging; why should we be burdened with another tax when

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the Government has frittered away the proceeds of the road-tax? Be that as it may the Government of Sir Alexander Mackenzie is fully alive to the gravity of the situation. Relief-works have been started at some places; a complete system of relief organisation has also been sketched out. For all this, we are grateful to the Government of Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

You say in your Resolution that the provisions of the Famine Code are inadequate as regards wages and as regards the relief afforded, and oppressive as regards the measure of the task-work exacted from the people. Well, gentlemen, some of you may have studied the Code. There is a remarkable provision in that Code. A full-time labourer, working with his system reduced by starvation, is to get—how much do you think? Six pice, not even two annas. He may get another pice if the Commissioner of the Division should recommend it. (Shame). I really think it is a matter of shame. What do our prisoners get? I was in prison myself on one occasion, and I know something about it, although I confess I was not subjected to prison diet. (Loud laughter). My personal experience will not indeed help me, but as a visitor of the most important prison in this province, I know something about prison diet. The prisoner's diet would come up to about two annas per-day; the famine stricken-labourer gets only six pice. If I had to make a choice I would go and steal and get myself locked up in prison in order that I might get more food than what is available at the relief works; and I must say that the Government offers by such a provision as this a powerful incentive to the commission of crime. That of course is a matter with which the Local Government cannot deal; that is a matter in regard to which this Congress may express its opinion, but it is only the Government of India which can apply the remedy. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the triumphs of famine organisation are to be found in the North-Western Provinces, and I think I express the sense of this Congress when I say that our most grateful acknowledgments are due to Sir Antony MacDonnell for his sympathetic policy in relation to the famine. (Loud cheers). The blessings of Heaven will descend upon a ruler who has been instrumental in saving the lives of his subjects (Loud cheers.) It is to be hoped that other local Governments will imitate the example set by Sir Antony MacDonnell, and I may be permitted also to express a further hope that the Government of India may have its views largely leavened by the beneficent policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. (Cheers).

Sir, you express in this Resolution your great concern at the outbreak of famine.

Well, Sir, a great authority, no less a personage than the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, has told us that famines are visitations of Providence—they are the judgments of the Almighty. That, indeed, is a mere truism; it is a safe pronouncement to make; it does not exhibit much wisdom on the part of the individual who makes it, nor does he incur the risk of losing the reputation for wisdom if he ever possessed any. (Laughter). But I think we might ask the Chief Commissioner to climb down a little from the region of mysticism to the region of pure knowledge; we might ask him to descend from those ethereal heights where we move under the uncertain inspiration of faith to mundane concerns where reason is our guide, and we might be permitted to ask him the question why in India, more than in any other country, famines occur, these visitations of Providence take place? Is it because the sins of our people have so accumulated that they appeal trumpet-tongued to the Almighty for vengeance—or is it because the blunders of our rulers have become so great and so pressing, that the Divine mandate working through the sure and unerring processes of nature visits us with these punishments? I know not what may be the solution of this mystery, but this I do affirm on your behalf that we ascribe this famine and similar

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famines to the great and deplorable poverty of our people, a poverty accentuated by over-taxation and over-assessment, and brought on by the extravagance of one of the most reckless Governments that the world has ever seen. I will not enter into the question of Indian poverty; I went into it very fully last year. You know perfectly well that fully 40 millions of our people live upon one meal a day; you know also that we have to pay an exorbitant rate of taxation upon our small incomes, the Indian tax-payer paying a tax of eight per cent. upon an average income per head of Rs. 27 a year, while the English tax-payer pays a tax of 7 per cent. upon an average income per head of £33 a year. I find it has been denied that the position of the peasantry has distinctly deteriorated under British rule. It is said that the wages of labour have risen enormously, and that this rise represents a corresponding measure of increase in the happiness of the people. I dispute that proposition altogether. My contention is that, notwithstanding the abnormal rise in the wages of labour, the condition of the labourer at the present moment is much worse than it was in the time of Akbar, and I am prepared with facts and figures to support the view I hold. The facts which I am about to lay before you are taken from Mr. P. N. Bose's admirable work on Hindu Civilisation.

The following table gives the wages of some labourers during the reign of Akbar:—

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Carpenters	0	2	9½	to	0	0	9½
Bricklayers	0	1	4½	to	0	1	2½
Bamboo-cutters	0	0	9½				
Thatchers	0	1	2½				
Water-carriers	0	1	2½	to	0	0	9½

The following are the average prices of some of the commonest articles of consumption during the same reign:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Wheat per maund	0	4	9½
Lentils	0	4	9½
Barley	0	3	2½
Millet	0	2	4½
Sathi rice	0	8	0
Zirhi rice	1	0	0
Moth Dal	0	4	9½
Wheat flour (coarse)	0	6	0
Mung Dal	0	7	2½
Ghee	2	10	0
Oil	2	0	0
Milk	0	10	0
Brown Sugar	1	6	4
Salt	0	6	4½
Onions	0	2	4½
Turmeric	0	4	0
Silahati cloth, per yard	0	1	7½
Blankets, coarse per piece	0	4	0

The monthly dietetic requirements of a flour-eating average adult labourer would be:—

	Seers	Price in Akbar's time.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Flour	25	0	3	9
Dal	5	0	0	7½
Ghee	1	0	1	0½
Salt	1	0	0	2½
Total		0	5	7½

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Upon this table Mr. Bose makes the following pertinent observations:—

“ Making allowance for condiments and other little things, an adult labourer could live comfortably during the reign of Akbar on six annas per month. Taking his family to consist of five members (himself, his wife and three children) he alone being the earning member, we may take one rupee and four annas to cover his monthly expenses on account of food for the whole family. An average unskilled labourer, like a water-carrier, in Akbar's time, would earn one rupee and fourteen annas per month. Thus he would have left a margin of ten annas to spend on clothing and luxuries—a large amount considering the purchasing power of the rupee at the time.”

Now I put it to you, gentlemen, is it possible for an ordinary labourer in this nineteenth century, under the protection of British rule and enjoying the blessings of British administration, is it possible for him to lay by even ten annas of the present currency as a reserve against bad times? And yet the British Government plumes itself upon being the champion of the interests of the toiling masses of India, and will not allow us to represent them or say one word on their behalf. What becomes of this boasted vaunt by the light of the facts which I have laid before you? This poverty was inevitable, for we know that our industries have all been extinguished. We are told sometimes by sympathising friends in a somewhat patronising way that ours is an agricultural country. I should like to ask our friends this question—did the English and the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese come here in the last century for our raw produce or for our manufactured goods—our silks, our muslins, our shawls, our brass utensils? What has become of them? Vanished into the inane—they have disappeared into thin air. England has done great things for India, England has conferred upon us inestimable blessings, for which we are truly grateful; but England is directly responsible for the collapse of our industries. England has made us industrially helpless. (Cheers). Our rulers profess to be free-traders. It is free trade when it suits their interests. It is protection when it benefits them. You know we export large quantities of our gold and silver manufactured articles to England. They levy a heavy duty upon the importation of those articles into England. Is this free trade? I think not. But when England exports the self-same articles into India, no import duties are levied upon them! I am myself a free trader. The Liberal party, I believe, are wedded to the principles of free trade. There never was a greater advocate of the doctrines of free trade than John Stuart Mill; and what does he say with reference to the development of the nascent industries of a country? He lays down the principle that the infant industries of a country must be safeguarded by protective duties. Of course you pay a great deal for the time being, but the prosperity and material wealth which follow in the train of industries thus fostered and developed will more than compensate for any temporary loss you might thus incur. If India were a self-governing country, I have not the slightest doubt that we should have imposed heavy duties for the protection of our infant industries.

Gentlemen, I do not know that I should be justified in taking up more of your time. You say in this Resolution—and I re-echo your sentiments—that the Government should husband the resources of the country. Economy and retrenchment have been the watchwords of the Congress; but hitherto ours has been a voice crying in the wilderness. It is now to be hoped—thanks to the labours of the Royal Commission—that economy will form a prominent feature of the administration. I desire to remind the Government, in the presence of this great famine, of its supreme duty to husband the resources of the country. It is a serious obligation imposed upon the Government—an

obligation rendered paramount by the consideration that these famines are due to the policy of extravagance followed by the Government in the past. No Government, not even the strongest or the most omnipotent, can, for any length of time, defy or break with impunity the moral and economic laws that govern human affairs. Injustice never wanders far, but comes home to the perpetrators thereof. But I must say, I have great confidence in the Government of India; in its wisdom and in its sense of justice. The Government is slow to move, but when it does move, it moves along the lines of beneficence and progress. You know the difficulties of the Irish problem; you know how those difficulties arose. The words "too late" are written upon every line of England's policy in relation to Ireland. Let not those words be inscribed on the portals of Government House in Calcutta. These famines are the reminders of nature to warn Governments to mend their ways. If they do not mend, direful must be the consequences. Bankruptcy, financial ruin, irretrievable collapse and all their attendant evils must follow. We in Congress are the unofficial advisers of the Government. We appeal to the Government to protect our industries, husband our resources, so that these famines may become matters of the past, and a new era of plenty and prosperity may dawn upon this land. A Government which helps to produce a consummation so devoutly to be wished for will be entitled to the blessings of God and the gratitude of a nation. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu Vidya Binode (Madras, No. 756 on the list) in rising to second the resolution, was greeted with loud cheers. He said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope you are no longer spell-bound. Before you left this hall I was absolutely certain you were all of you spell-bound; if my predecessor had only closed his address ten minutes earlier I should have been very angry with him, because the impression he made upon your minds was an impression which would resist every other kind of impression. I am glad, therefore, that he was kind to me by being so good as to take up the earlier part of the day. I am also thankful to the Committee that instead of calling upon me ~~then and there to address you~~, a brief recess was allowed me. I come forward to second this proposition. Yesterday I came after an illustrious speaker, and, as I had to come immediately after him, I was tongue-tied. To-day this little interruption has happened, and it has put a little more pluck in me, there are some facts which I should like to place before you. In the large and wide area there are two points which have not been touched upon. I should like to place before you some remarks in connection with them. I will not read to you this lengthy resolution again, I will only call your attention to the part upon which I desire to touch. You will find in the latter part of the second paragraph that this Congress is to appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund to its original footing. Now it is very doubtful whether the authorities would admit that it was ever set on foot at all; on the contrary, it has been denied only as recently as in the first quarter of this year that there was any obligation to sustain a fund of that sort. What I propose to do is just to read to you three passages from which I think the conclusion is irresistible, that there was a fund of that description created and supported by pledges and obligations. Since the Fund was created, clouds have gathered round it; it has been ignored for many years; it was denied on certain occasions and, finally, it met that fate which Lord Lytton himself feared it might share. I will read to you the words of Lord Lytton as to how this particular Fund might be lost sight of. Lord Lytton says the current claims upon the activities and resources of the Government of India are so numerous, so pressing, so important, imperial

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funds so necessarily limited, that when once the daily, hourly strain of a great famine has been removed from a weary administration and an impoverished treasury, its fearful warnings are soon forgotten, its disquieting ghosts are quickly exorcised, its better memories decently interred beneath the thick cover of a blue book, and for all practical purposes there is an end of the matter. Now, was not that the end of this matter, until some few years ago that great champion of ours, Charles Bradlaugh, exhumed it? But nevertheless in the first quarter of this year we have been told in so many words that I for one and many others whom I consulted were under a misapprehension. I will now read to you what was the proposal made by the Finance Minister, and how his statement was received by the non-official press, and how ultimately the matter was set at rest by Lord Ripon, the representative of the Government of the day. The Finance Minister of the time was Sir John Strachey; he said this:—

“It is the firm intention of the present Government to apply the funds now raised for a special purpose strictly to the exclusive objects which it was designed to benefit but nothing we can now say or do will prevent the application of this Fund to other purposes.”

I will not read the remainder of the passage; by and bye you will find the whole in the report; there was a sound of alarm; there was an indication so far as the Finance Minister was concerned, that he was not prepared to create a fund devoted for ever for this purpose. Now, gentlemen, our noble countryman Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore, who was an ornament of the Legislative Council at that time, was immediately on his legs, and he insisted upon a fund being distinctly created, kept separate, utilised separately, and so forth. The whole discussion was closed and the final word was spoken by Lord Lytton in these terms: “The sole justification for the increase of a tax which has just been imposed upon the people of India for the purpose of ensuring the multitude against the worse calamities of future famines, so far as insurance can be practically provided, is the pledge we have given that a sum not less than a million and a half, which exceeds the amount of the additional contribution obtained from the people of this country, shall be annually applied to it. We have explained to the people of this country that additional revenue by the new taxes is required not for the luxuries, but for the necessities of the State,” and he goes on further and states distinctly that not a rupee of this sum shall be applied to any other purpose.

Now, gentlemen, having these passages before you and reading them together, is it possible to entertain any doubt that originally a fund of the description I have referred to was brought into existence, that it has been lost sight of, as Lord Lytton himself predicted it would be lost sight of. Now it has been said recently that all that could be done, has been done. Now if everything that could be done to ensure the country against famine has been done, how comes it, I ask, that in this year the failure of a single monsoon has thrown almost the whole country into a state of helpless starvation? Much may have been done; be it so, but that a great deal more remains to be done is put beyond the possibility of doubt by the stern facts of the present year. Gentlemen, that is all I mean to say with regard to that part of the resolution; but I think I have shown that we are justified in putting down in the resolution that we call upon the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Fund to its original footing. If I am not late already I should like to call attention to one single fact, which is a matter of life and death at the present moment, in connection with a provision in the Famine Code. Gentlemen, there is a class of persons absolutely and completely unprovided

for by that Code. That class is made up of the female relations of able-bodied labourers ; it is laid down in the Code that the female relations of able-bodied labourers shall not be thrown on the State. Quite right, on the principle that an able-bodied man is the bread-winner of his family and ought to support his kith and kin ; but where the able-bodied labourer, ready to work, finds no work and therefore goes to the relief works, to tell him he will receive only as much as a non-able-bodied man, that he will get only a famine payment, is to say to him " You are able-bodied ; you are unable to satisfy those duties and those expectations. The fact of your being able-bodied enables us to entertain your services, but we will not take care of your wife and daughters, you cannot, but we do not care." Is it not deplorable, is it not at the present moment absolutely necessary that even when an able-bodied labourer goes on the relief works he should earn the full return for his labour ? If it is so, I think this Congress is perfectly justified in saying that in regard to wages there is an inadequacy. With these words, gentlemen, I commend the resolution to you. (Cheers.)

MR. GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE (Poona, No. 729 on the list) in supporting the Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the exhaustive speeches to which you have already listened, I am quite sure that you would feel grateful to me if I were to support this Resolution in the fewest words possible, and I can assure you that I have no desire whatever to take up a single unnecessary moment of your time. I will, therefore, proceed at once to the subject. My first point, gentlemen, is this, that the responsibility that now rests upon the Government of India to administer famine relief is not merely a moral obligation, but is a legal obligation also. There was a time when Government held that it was no part of its duty to bring relief to the distressed people, and that the Government would leave the natural economic laws to work out their own relief ; happily, however, that time has long past, and the Government has now made the fullest and amplest admission of its responsibilities. But, gentlemen, we do not take our stand upon the Famine Code alone. There is a Famine Insurance Fund, and that, in my opinion, constitutes another and, if possible, a stronger claim on the relief of Government. But the gentleman who just preceded me has taken you into an elaborate history of this Famine Insurance Fund. I will, therefore, confine myself only to one or two observations on this subject. The first thing I want to say is that during better years we have paid to Government as Famine Insurance a sum equal to 25 crores of rupees. It is no business of ours to consider how this sum has been spent. We know that the greater part of it has been mis-applied. We know that from 4 to 6 crores have been mis-appropriated into the general exchequer of the nation. Our contention is, that we have paid this money in order to be insured against famine. But, gentlemen, I am very sorry to say that this contention does not seem to be adequately realised by the Government of India, and by some of the provincial Governments. We have, in the first place, a Viceroy who is, I might say, almost irritatingly optimistic, and there are some of the Local Governments, notably the Government of the Central Provinces, that have been practically slumbering up to the present moment. Speaking for the Bombay Presidency, I must say our Government is not so bad as the Government of the Central Provinces. The ruler of the Bombay Presidency—Lord Sandhurst—is personally a very sympathetic and well-meaning ruler, but I am afraid I cannot say exactly the same thing of some of his advisers. The result is that the measures of relief fall far short of the requirements of the situation. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea who moved this Resolution told you how entirely inadequate the rations

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were and how oppressive the task-work was of these famine-stricken labourers. I will give you one instance of this which will illustrate the whole matter. Recently the Political Association at Poona has been in correspondence with Government in regard to relief work, and I must tell you that the relief work is mismanaged in the most shameful manner possible. About five or six weeks back there were about 1,800 labourers; no sheds had been provided for them, and they had to sleep in the open fields at night. Then, gentlemen, the sanitary arrangements provided for them are woefully defective. Then the work expected from these poor people is too much; the men are starving, and the result is, they are unable to do the quantity of work expected from them. The hours of work are also far too long, the roll-call is sounded at 6 in the morning and the work goes on till 6 in the evening, with an interval of about an hour at noon. All these points of mismanagement were recently placed before the Government of Bombay, but the Government of Bombay replied in rather a curt manner, that if there was an aggrieved party it was open to that party to lay a complaint before the Govern- ment. These poor creatures who have fled from starvation and death; these poor creatures are starved also on the relief works, and when complaints of their treatment are made to the Government, they are coolly told that if they are not satisfied they may complain to their superior officer, or if they prefer it leave the work. Every possible care is taken to put the best appearance on the works when the superior officers visit and inspect them. The result is that there is practically no appeal, and these poor people have to suffer. Now what have been the consequences of all this mismanagement? One result has been that large numbers of those who resorted to these relief works have left them in search of food elsewhere. (Shame.) Gentlemen, the hon'ble proposer of this Resolution has already told you that the wages paid to these poor creatures are less than those paid to convicted criminals in jail in ordinary times. We all know that it is perfectly demoralising for able-bodied people to receive gratuitous relief, but at the same time why should these poor creatures who through no fault of their own are suffering from famine be called upon to break stones for twelve hours a day, and be paid at a lower rate than criminals in jail? Well, there is another point upon which I wish to say a few words. Speaking for my own Presidency, I will tell you that the feeling in official circles is that, as far as possible, no remission should be granted with respect to Government revenue. The argument seems to be something like this, namely, that the people are already exposed to so much distress and suffering that it will do them no harm to bear a little more on account of Government revenue. It is, I think, perfectly shameful that the Government should take up an attitude like that. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade at Bombay the other day gave a vivid picture of famine; he said that the fearful mortality was not the only evil famine brought in its train; the highest impulses in the human heart are dried up and the progress of the people retarded by a generation; for during the time the famine lasts the people are swayed by one appetite only. We are appealing from this platform to Government not to stand in the way of English charity, and I have no doubt Government will have to appeal to English charity just as in 1877, and I am sure when that appeal is made English charity will freely flow into the country. We know that about a crore of rupees came into this country from England at that time, and I am quite sure that England is likely to prove more generous even now than it did then. But then the fact that we are appealing from this platform to English charity I say enforces upon us also a great responsibility. It is not sufficient that we should appeal to the charity of the ruling nation alone; we should also send out an appeal from ourselves to ourselves. Much greater is the necessity of our own people coming forward, in order that as much relief as possible may be brought to these famine-stricken people.

On my side of India there are some very bright examples of private charity. At such a terrible crisis as this the rich and the poor, the high and low, should come forward to bring help and consolation in order that as many lives as possible should be saved, and in order that the evil effects of the famine should be averted as far as possible. We must remember, therefore, that it is not sufficient to appeal only for English charity. Help may be rendered in many other ways; visits should be made to relief works in order that it might be discovered exactly how it is the poor starving people do not get the things promised to them by Government. I know Government will not like that sort of thing, but that is no concern of ours. The voice of duty is there—it is giving the word of command—let us see how we can obey that voice and rise equal to the occasion. (Loud cheers).

MR. J. P. GOODRIDGE, C. S. (Central Provinces, No. 689 on the list) said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall not detain you long as I think the principal propositions laid down in this Resolution have been pretty well threshed out by the speeches we have heard, and there are two or three other gentlemen from other provinces who will say a few words as to what is going on in their part of the country in this eventful year. I will confine myself principally to the state of the Central Provinces, which I know best, and more particularly to the question of an immediate appeal to the generous British public for aid. Now, Sir, it is a most extraordinary thing to us who live in the Central Provinces, or have recently visited the part of that country and who have discussed the situation with our friends, there both official and non-official, European and Indian, that such an optimistic view should be taken by His Excellency the Viceroy and by official circles generally, as to the present condition of the Central Provinces and the extent of the distress prevailing in them. It is really astonishing to us that they should be unable to see what is going on around them, and should feel justified in congratulating the Province on its prosperous state. It is not only a question of vital statistics (which they ought to have been studying day and night for the last year or more), but they have before them the indispensable evidence of thousands of people in an emaciated condition, aimlessly wandering about the northern districts of the Central Provinces in search of food, collecting in the towns, and dying by thousands on the road side and in the jungles. To us who know the Provinces well, it seems incomprehensible that the present state of affairs was not long ago foreseen and properly provided for. We have the Government announcing in its Gazette that the last rainy season crops did not yield anywhere more than a six anna (and in some places much less) out-turn of an ordinary crop, and, furthermore, that the coarse grains generally consumed by the poorer classes are those crops which have failed most completely. They admit this, and they also say that owing to the early cessation of the rains the ryots have not been able to sow more than from a third to two-thirds of the ordinary area to be sown for the spring crop, and a portion of that has not germinated at all, or has since withered from lack of moisture, and yet in spite of all of these things the local authorities advised the Viceroy to congratulate the Provinces on their prosperous condition and to say that there is only a *probability* of distress in some parts of the Province. Why, at the very time the Viceroy was delivering that speech, there were thousands of people dying in the Central Provinces of starvation and of its immediate and remote effects. One cannot comprehend why Government should even now persist in holding the view there is nothing but scarcity and that the Christmas rains may set everything right. The true explanation is this, Sir, "no famine" was the order of the day. The Central Provinces Administration held back

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Deploring the outbreak of famine due to the poverty of the people brought on by the continuous drain of the wealth out of the country and appealing to the Government to apply the Famine Insurance Fund more largely to the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people and protesting against Government's blocking the way of the free flow of England's private charity into this country.

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to the very last, hoping against hope, that the autumn rains would restore things to the normal condition of many of the peasantry of that part of the country, and that the semi-starvation of the poorer classes in ordinary years would not deepen into actual famine. Now, Sir, I think there can be no doubt whatever that there were not wanting signs and unmistakable signs of famine, yet the Central Province Administration sat still for months with hands closed, doing nothing and tempting Providence. The death-rate was appalling. In one of the districts, north of Jubbulpore (in an ordinarily healthy year), it rose as high as 225 per thousand per annum. Now this is the condition of things, and I certainly think we should make an effort to meet it, notwithstanding the extraordinary apathy of the local authorities. Government, we know, has laid down the principle that it is responsible for saving life. It says we need no assistance for this purpose, and adds that it is better prepared to discharge that duty now than ever. But, as a matter of fact, they do not meet that position at all. There have been no special relief works of any consequence, or even test-works of importance in progress which would furnish the people with employment during the cessation of field work, except the ordinary earthwork on a railway, which is quite unsuited for famine relief. Then, again, they say we won't go to the British public for help; we can and will do everything that is needed, but how does this tally with the constant appeals that are made in the Central Provinces and elsewhere at public meetings for funds to keep up the famine houses and to supply their inmates with blankets and clothing? To collect funds at public meetings called by officials is quite incompatible with the policy of the Supreme Government. If things are in such a bad way as we know them to be, and if there is clearly the most pressing need for collection of funds in India, what must we think of the Government's declaration that it cannot be decided till after the Christmas rains; whether or not there should be an appeal to the British public?

We who live in Jubbulpore know how necessary it is that help of many kinds should be afforded to the people, and that without delay. Why, sir, as far back as in 1895, I subscribed to a Famine House in Saugor opened to feed over three hundred people who were even then starving and emaciated. It was only recently that Government took the maintenance of famine houses over from the hands of private individuals, when they found they must be doing something. Only the other day a friend came to me and said: "Will you give us a few rupees for the blanket fund, because there are not sufficient blankets in the poor house." I will tell you what that means—it means that these poor people, reduced by starvation to the lowest stage of existence even in the Government Famine House, left without sufficient clothing in a country where at this season the thermometer sometimes falls below freezing point. The Government have been hoping that first the October rains and afterwards the Christmas rains would put things right, and even now they are still relying upon certain other rains of which there is very little chance of their coming so late in the season. We were told the other day that the Viceroy had withheld all applications for aid to the Secretary of State, and that the Secretary of State had withheld them from the Lord Mayor, until the Christmas rains had declared themselves. But, Sir, what can the Christmas rains do in those parts of the Central Provinces of which I am now speaking? They may do a little to improve the crops on the ground, but it is certain from the area cropped that it cannot make any material difference, for on one-half of the fields usually cultivated there are no crops to be benefited. The Famine Commissioners have said in their Report that whenever the crops fall below 25 per cent. of an ordinary crop, intense famine may be expected. Now after three continuous years of short crops, we have had an autumn crop which yielded about a quarter of an average crop and on

the ground of spring crop which cannot on the whole be much better than 25 per cent. of an ordinary crop. We have then both crops not much more than 25 per cent. of an ordinary outturn, and we have it on record also in the *Central Provinces Gazette* that the rain of which so much has been made, had come too late to materially affect or ameliorate the crops, yet we are told that the Supreme Government are still waiting to decide whether there is going to be a famine or not, and rather than admit their fallibility decline to advise the Secretary of State to appeal to the British public. Now, Sir, I think the time has arrived when an appeal to the generous British public should no longer be deferred whether the Government of India approve of the appeal or not. Their aid is most urgently needed and they are most willing to come forward and help us. They were generous on the former occasion of the Madras Famine in 1877-78, when they subscribed over £770,000 for the purpose of feeding the starving. They will make a liberal response now. Even the Conservative newspapers such as the *St. James' Gazette* say that this obstinate holding back by the Government of India and Secretary of State is unwise. Therefore, Sir, I think that this assembly should express its opinion that an urgent appeal for help, both in money and workers, be made to England. That such immediate appeal is necessary is clear from what is now and what has been going on in the Central Provinces for months. Not a day passes in these Provinces in which an appeal is not made to persons charitably disposed.

What has been the result of leaving this matter to Government? It is that at the present moment thousands of people are dying in the Central Provinces, and unless some means are adopted to deal more effectively with the famine, the present very heavy mortality will increase and not abate. Now, gentlemen, I will conclude by expressing a fervent hope that every person present here to-day will not rest until proper relief is brought to the people who are now dying of starvation in the Central Provinces. (Loud cheers).

Mr. Krishnaji Narayan Deshmukh (Central Provinces, No. 694, on the list) next supported the resolution. He said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. The question before us is—Are we most loyal and law-abiding Indian subjects, to die and die for want of food in the 60th year of the glorious reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria? It is a question which causes very great anxiety not only to the people of India but even to the Government. At such a critical time the only thing that sustains our hope for preservation of life, the only thing that gladdens our hearts is—that we are the subjects of the British Government. (Applause).

India is essentially a country of agriculturists. Of the vast population of India 80 per cent belong to the agricultural classes. The agricultural population does not know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied during the good seasons. Gentlemen, the aspect of the Central Provinces is more gloomy and miserable. Famine, in my province, has become four years old. The disease has not only become chronic but has taken a very dangerous and precarious turn. It is true that poor-houses are started, relief works are opened, but they are very limited and not sufficient to meet the wants of all classes of people. They are few and far between compared to the enormous number of the poverty-stricken people. People are dying by hundreds and thousands for want of food. Private charity is not adequate to save their lives. Many village communities have left their villages and have gone in several directions in search of food. Parents have parted with their affectionate children and feely handed them over for few pice in order to satisfy their hunger.

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Deploing the outbreak of famine due to the poverty of the people brought on by the continuous drain of the wealth out of the country and appealing to the Government to apply the Famine Insurance Fund more largely to the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people and protesting against Government's blocking the way of the free flow of England's private charity into this country.

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In 1894-95 about 2,500 decrees for arrears of rent were passed. In 1895 about 1,400 tenants were ejected from their holdings. Lord George Hamilton said:—"We are prompted by a belief that wherever the British flag floats, there the condition of the people under it improves. It is our belief that this fact—more than our fighting power—constitutes the strength and solidarity of the British empire."

If so, gentlemen, is it not matter to be deeply regretted that this year with the prospect of famine ahead the budget of 1896-97 should allot only one crore to this purpose and 24 crores for the army? This is not the time for the Government to make only solemn promises. Any number of solemn promises cannot satisfy our hunger, cannot quench our thirst. It is time for the Government to come forward in right earnest and extend their strong helping hand to save the precious lives of the loyal and law-abiding Indian subjects of Her Majesty. (Applause).

With these few remarks I beg to commend this proposition for your unanimous acceptance.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (N. W. Provinces, No. 603, on the list) then said:—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates—The resolution has been spoken to by several gentlemen and the various parts of it have been ably dealt with by them. I would only ask your attention to certain points connected with the subject which I think would bear further consideration.

Gentlemen, we have now been under the benign rule of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress for a very long period: and we have been under the rule of England for a much longer period still. We are governed by what is admitted by all impartial critics to be on the whole the best Civil Service in the world. In addition to all that, you will remember that our country is not poor in its natural resources. With all our ample resources, with such an excellent Civil Service to govern us, why is it that we, of all people on earth, should be liable to suffer so fearfully from these periodically recurring famines? Why, I ask, there is not something very wrong in the present system of Government? My friend, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, has said truly that if the reforms, which have so long and so strongly been advocated by the National Congress, had been accepted and carried out by Government, these dreaded famines would have become matters of past history. (Hear, hear). I invite your attention to the first portion of the resolution wherein we say that it is our firm conviction "that the outbreak of famine, in a more or less acute form throughout India at present, and the other famines which have occurred in recent years, are due to the great impoverishment of the people, brought on by excessive taxation, consequent on the policy of extravagance followed by the Government, both in civil and military expenditure, and that system has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and begin to perish unless they are fed by the State." Gentlemen, as has been happily expressed by our poet Kalidas, taxation is like the moisture absorbed by the rays of the sun,—absorbed that it may descend in a thousand-fold measure to fertilise the land from which it has been drawn. But unfortunately for us, a very large portion of the moisture thus absorbed descends not at all here but falls in heavy refreshing showers upon more fortunate lands which stand not much in need of it. In the Civil Service of this country, for instance, nearly six crores of rupees are spent annually upon the salaries of its European members, who are not residents of this country. Of the twenty-four crores spent every year upon the military department, nearly two-thirds of the amount paid as salary goes

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towards the pay of Europeans and only one-third towards that of the natives of the country. Add to this the large amount that we have to remit every year to England in the shape of Home charges. When such vast sums of money are drawn away year after year from the country, can you wonder that it should grow poorer and poorer and that the people should become less able to bear the ordinary burdens of life, and much less able to meet the calamity of a famine when it should come upon them? That, however, is not all. Look at the condition of our arts and industries. A time there was when the people of England were supplied with Indian cloth to such an extent that Daniel Defoe, writing to an English Magazine, bitterly complained that the English weavers had thereby been thrown completely out of work. The nation was roused to a sense of its duty to its weavers. Parliament came to their rescue, and adopted measures to put down the extensive use of the products of Indian looms in England. The times have changed. Now in India we are surrounded on all sides with products of English and other foreign mills and manufactories. Even the little pins we use we have to get from England. This influx of foreign manufactures has killed our indigenous arts and industries, and has taken the bread away from millions of our people. What they used to earn in the shape of wages goes now to enrich the foreigner, and leaves India the poorer for its loss. And yet little is being done to remedy this deplorable state of things here. Gentlemen, England would not have occupied the position that she does in the world if the English Government had not sedulously fostered the arts and industries of England. Why should not Indian industries be fostered in the same way as those of England and other western countries have been? If the Indian Government had done what it should have done to promote technical education and to develop and encourage arts and industries in this country; if the Government had utilised and encouraged native talent and native industry, instead of foreign talent and ability, the country would not have been so miserably poor as it is at this moment; and if famine came, the people would have been able to bear its rigours without resort to Government or appeal to foreign nations for help. (Cheers). But this extinction of native arts and industries, and the exclusion of the children of the soil from the vast majority of the more lucrative appointments in the public service, have reduced the country to its present state of abject poverty. Our national average income is but £2 a year per head of the population, half of that of even Turkey, said to be the most mis-governed country in Europe. Out of this low income, we are forced to contribute largely to maintain the costliest system of administration known to the civilised world; and the bulk of the higher appointments in that administration being filled with foreigners, much of what we thus contribute is drained out of the country, never to return to it again. It was inevitable that such a state of things, so long continued, should bring the people to their present pitiable condition, when forty millions of them are believed to be living constantly on the verge of starvation, and when the failure of a single harvest brings millions to the door of death, and would make them perish unless the State intervened in time to help them. (Hear, hear.) This is not a view which we Indians alone entertain, but it is also held by more than one eminent English statesman. I will quote to you the opinion of two of them only which must carry great weight with them. John Bright (cheers), speaking in 1877 said:—"I say that a Government put over 250,000,000 of people which has levied taxes till it can levy no more, which spends all that it can levy, and which has borrowed 100,000,000 more than all that it can levy—I say a Government like that has some fatal defect which, at some not distant time, must bring disaster and humiliation to the Government and to the people on whose behalf it rules." Another eminent English

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man, Sir George Wingate, says :—" Taxes spent in the country in which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. In the former case the taxes collected from the population are again returned to the industrious classes. But the case is wholly different when the taxes are not spent in the country from which they are raised. They constitute an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India. From this explanation some faint conception may be formed of the cruel, crushing effect of the tribute upon India. The Indian tribute whether weighed in the scales of justice, or viewed in the light of our own interest will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense, and the maxims of economic science." (Hear, hear). It is unnecessary for me to dilate any further on this point. I think I have said enough to justify our belief that unless the Government introduces changes in the administration to make it less costly than it is at present, and thereby reduces the burden of taxation, unless it utilises native talent and promotes native arts and industries, and minimises the drain of the country's wealth to other lands, our liability to suffer from these dreaded famines will not cease; and, as has been observed by Sir George Chesney: "till the danger of famine has been guarded against to the fullest extent, the English in India may replace anarchy by peace, and may distribute equal justice, and remove ignorance, but it cannot be said that they have fulfilled their whole duty by the people of the country." (Cheers).

Gentlemen, having made these few observations with regard to the first paragraph of the resolution, I will ask you to bear with me for a few minutes more, while I say something of the state of affairs in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Times have been hard with us in the North-Western Provinces for the last three years. We have had a succession of bad seasons, and the people have been less and less able to bear the severity of the present season. The distress that is now prevailing in my part of the country is widespread and intense. But fortunately for us, we have at the head of affairs in our provinces, a ruler with a large, sympathetic heart (Cheers,) clear foresight, and a statesman-like determination to do all that can be done by his Government to prevent death by starvation. You have rightly and justly made your acknowledgments to Sir Antony Macdonnell. (Cheers). Were it not for his presence in my provinces, you might have had to hear at this moment that scores of thousands of people had died from starvation in the Bundelkhand and Allahabad divisions alone. I believe all that can be done by the head of the Administration at a time like this is being done by Sir Antony Macdonnell. It is due to His Honor's prudent forecast of the coming calamity, and the timely arrangements he made to cope with it, that you find nearly three lakhs of persons in receipt of state relief at this moment in my provinces. (Hear, hear). The distress however, as I have said, is very widespread and is deepening every day. The measures of relief require to be extended and supplemented. The number of persons employed on relief works is but an index of the suffering which the people generally are undergoing; and even such as it is, it will multiply itself fast and frequently during the months that lie between us and the next spring harvest.

Besides, beyond the circle of those who resort to relief works, is a vast number of *pardanashin* women and the respectable middle class poor who are keenly feeling the pressure of the prevailing high prices. They, too, badly need relief. The Government of Sir Antony Macdonnell has been good enough to place Rs. 15,000

a month at the disposal of the Relief Fund Committee at Lucknow for help to *pardanashins* and the middle class poor. I am told it is proposed to distribute relief at the rate of Rs. 2 per head, which I think would be too small. But even at that rate, the sum would reach help to 7,500 persons only. The Government has granted Rs. 5,000 a month for similar distribution at Allahabad. This with the addition of a small contribution from the fund raised by the people would only suffice to bring help to say three thousand persons of the respectable middle class. But the number of persons who need relief is very much larger in both these populous cities. And the number will be daily on the increase for some time. Then there are *pardanashin ladies* and the respectable poor in other districts of the United Provinces, people with small incomes and large families, who find it increasingly difficult to make the two ends meet during the present hard times. They cannot, owing to various social considerations resort to relief works. Many of them would seem not to require help. But they stand sorely in need of it, and they would welcome it, if it is given to them in a manner to make it acceptable and effective. Gentlemen, many relief committees are being formed in different places in my provinces. And I hope they will bring much relief to the people. But I must say, I fear, with all that the people will have to undergo a great deal of privation and suffering until the existing condition of things changes for the better. That change cannot, under the most hopeful view, come about until the spring crops have been harvested. For the next three months, therefore, the people of my provinces will, I am sorry to think, require help in a very large and daily increasing measure. And if any help is to come to us, either from this country or from other countries, this is the time when it should come in. And no one who has any spark of human sympathy or any sense of responsibility left in him should stand in the way of that help, if he cannot actively assist in bringing it. (Cheers).

One word more, gentlemen, and I have done, and that is about the rations and wages allowed under the Famine Code. I am sorry to find that the rations prescribed in the code are smaller in quantity than those prescribed for prisoners in jails. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Tilak has been good enough to place in my hand a table which he has himself prepared, from which it seems that persons who are sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour, are allowed 24 ounces of flour with 5 of *dal* every day in the Bombay Presidency; 25 ounces of flour with 4 of *dal* in Madras; 28 of flour with 2 of *dal* in the N.W.P.; and 22 of flour with 6 of *dal* in Bengal. But under the Famine Code the maximum ration prescribed as sufficient to maintain able-bodied relief workers in health and strength is only 24 ounces of flour with 4 of *dal* every day! In the case of persons sentenced to simple imprisonment without labour, every adult male gets 20 ounces of flour with 4 of *dal* in Bombay; 21 of flour with 4 of *dal* in Madras; 20 of flour with 2 of *dal* in the N.W.P.; and 18 of rice with 4 of *dal* in Bengal. But only 16 ounces of flour with 2 of *dal* are allowed under the Famine Code to the inmates of the poor-house and to other persons who are unable to work. The rations prescribed for the different classes of prisoners were fixed as the result of a long and careful enquiry by the medical officers of Government, and may safely be taken to be the right measure of food that is needed to keep prisoners in health and strength. To allow less than that quantity to persons whom calamity and not crime has brought to depend on the State for food, is to say the least of it, unbecoming and unjust. (Cheers). If they are to be saved from death by starvation, they should certainly be given enough of food to be able to keep up their health and working strength. Then again there is no provi-

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sion for supplying the necessary clothing to the poor in the Famine Code. The Code requires to be amended in these respects. And I hope the amendments will be soon made. In the matter of tasks, it was recommended by the Famine Commission that not more than 75 per cent of the work done by an ordinary labourer should be imposed upon relief workers, but the complaint comes from many parts of the country that the full amount of work is exacted from people who go to the relief works, and, perhaps, this combined with the rather short wages given, forms the reason why people keep away from relief works as long as they can. These are matters which call for the urgent consideration of Government. The Famine Code, admirable in other respects, requires to be amended in regard to the matters noted above. To illustrate the necessity of an early amendment, I will quote to you but one instance. There is no better poor-house on my side, so far as I know, than the one at Lucknow. Mr. Gray, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, had at first ordered that every adult male should receive the 16 ounces of flour laid down in the Famine Code. But finding that that did not satisfy the hunger of the people, he directed that 18 ounces per day should be given to each of them. Three months later, he was told that he could only allow 16 ounces per day, and he had to go down, against his own better judgement, to the standard prescribed in the Code. I earnestly hope the Government will soon revise the Code, or issue instructions to its officers to give as much food as is necessary to those who come to relief works or poor-houses to maintain them in health and strength. I also hope that the Government will take immediate measures to bring in all the help possible, not merely from its own coffers, but also from England, to the rescue of the people, before it has become too late, before they have been so far weakened and emaciated, so much broken down by suffering, as to be unable any longer to maintain the struggle for existence, when no help which the Government might bring them would avail to save them from the jaws of death. (Loud cheers).

Babu Banwari Lal (Patna, No. 539, on the list) said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposition before you has been so ably handled by an array of able and distinguished orators, that it would be quite foolish on my part to go over the same ground again. But it has been the wisdom of the Subjects Committee to have an individual from every part of India, expecting that such persons would say a few words with regard to their particular districts. Gentlemen, the Hon'ble Surendranath Bannerjea has very ably pointed out to you how the country is impoverished, by quoting extracts from Mr. Bose's Book, showing the condition of the people during the time of Akbar. I may say that he is fully supported in this argument by this Book I am holding in my hand, which is published under the authority of the Government of Bengal, and is sealed as being "forwarded by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal." Now it relates to the statistics of 1781-82, and the prices of food grains during that period are put down at a figure which would appear quite startling. Gentlemen, I shall quote only a few figures and show how vast the difference is from the present time :—

	Sr. ch.	Sr. ch.
1. Rice (Basmutty) from	31 8	44 8
2. Rice (common) from	55 0	67 8
3. Wheat from	56 12	64 8
4. Barley from	125 12	133 4
5. Gram from	72 4	104 0

Gentlemen, I can, with advantage quote other instances, as prices of almost all sorts of grains, pulses and oil seeds are given, but I am not going to overtax your

patience. Now, gentlemen, those that say that the country has prospered, have to show that if the prices of food-grains have increased, at least the wages have proportionately increased. But it can hardly be said that this has been in the same ratio. Gentlemen, it is very inconsistent on the part of Government to say that the time has not come yet to ask for private charity, when from their records themselves it appears that this is so. In the supplement of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th December 1896, in a resolution on the subject of famine in the Patna Division, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal says:—"It appears that the rice crop is very seriously short and in some tracts almost a total failure." The area of the affected tracts is shown at 6,484 square miles and the population of the same 4,849,308. Gentlemen, even the present measures for relief on behalf of the Government are quite inadequate. If you pay a man, woman and child only 6 pice a day and take full work, it is quite certain they cannot subsist upon that. I have the authority of a friend of mine, on whom I can very well rely, that this was the case in the Arrah District, and ultimately the people had to leave the works. Nor is the system of paying the wages in money to be approved. Those that are acquainted with rural life will quite agree with me that in small villages there are no *bunniah* shops, and generally agriculturists store a quantity of grain, just sufficient to support them during the year. So in the case of a failure they cannot fall back upon any sufficient reserve. Gentlemen, without saying a word against the policy of the Government not to enter into the market and compete with private enterprise, I only say that if a village comes to the verge of starvation, when there are no food-grains available at hand, no amount of money or organisation would be sufficient to avert the calamity.

Dr. B. Lachhman Das (Rajputana, No. 670, on the list) said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In supporting this resolution so ably and enthusiastically moved by my worthy and esteemed friend the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjea, I feel it my duty to lay before you the horrible state of things in the Provinces I represent. Gentlemen, I am a delegate from Rajputana, a territory which, within my remembrance, has never remained unaffected year after year. Gentlemen, I have passed the best portion of my life in the Rajputana states; I have travelled throughout their length and breadth, and I think I may say truthfully that I am thoroughly acquainted with their every nook and corner. Conversant as I am with the conditions of the people in those Provinces, I feel it to be only my duty to lay before this Congress the hardships and suffering my countrymen have now to endure by reason of this terrible famine. Gentlemen, I have visited several places where the people are actually dying of starvation, and I have met woe-begone and famine-stricken creatures who receive, some of them, but a single meal in the 24 hours, and others who will even subsist for 48 hours upon a similar amount of food. Even this they obtain with the utmost difficulty, and consider themselves fortunate at being able to get a meal at all to keep themselves alive for a few days longer. This is the condition of the poor labourers who are taking help from the relief works. But the condition of the poorer middle class population, and the *purdanashin* ladies who think it nothing short of death to go on to the relief works, is still more miserable. The struggles of these starving people are heart-rending, relief operations do not appear to benefit them in the least degree, and one shudders to imagine the terrible position in which they are placed. But, gentlemen, notwithstanding the overwhelming evidence of starvation all around and within the limits of Rajputana, the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, in his recent dinner speeches most solemnly declared that the accounts of famine found in the newspapers were exaggerated and the state of things not so ominous as they appeared at

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first sight. His Excellency has refused the lakh of rupees so generously offered by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to the Famine Relief Fund. Gentlemen, we have repeatedly criticised His Excellency's remarks in our *Rajputana Malwa Times*, and have shown, beyond doubt, that his assertions are contrary to facts. We strongly protested against such unwarranted statements on the part of a representative of the Supreme Government; but, gentlemen, our cries, like those of other influential newspapers, have remained unheeded. Gentlemen, I feel that I am encroaching too much upon your time, as others worthier and abler than myself will enlighten you upon the subject. But this much I wish to say, that this resolution deals with the most pressing need of our country at the present moment. Gentlemen, the present is the time for the people of India to unite their forces and to approach the Government in a solid phalanx for the purpose of asking them to restore the Famine Insurance Fund to the purpose for which it was originally intended. This is a matter of urgent necessity, and I think this opportunity to put pressure upon the Government to restore the fund should not be lost. With these remarks I beg to support the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. Moro Vishwa Nath Joshi (Berar, No. 673 on the list) said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think you will all agree with me if I say that this resolution is the most important for 1896, and I further believe that you will agree with me in thinking that if it were only for this one resolution that we had gathered in this Congress, our gathering would have been perfectly justified. Gentlemen, I am very glad to find that all of you in this Congress have realised the importance of expressing your deliberate opinion to the responsible Government of this country, and you could not have done it in clearer or more unmistakable terms. I come from a province which is, comparatively speaking, a very fertile province, in fact, one of the most fertile provinces of India. I will give you a few facts and figures which will show you the condition of Berar, which, as I have said, is one of the most fertile provinces in India, where certain enquiries were recently instituted in connection with the famine. The famine in Berar has not reached the point it has reached in the North-Western Provinces, nor is it so keen as in the Central Provinces, but nevertheless the distress is very acute, and you cannot imagine the extent of it. Prices have risen at least 100 or 150 per cent since the enquiries were instituted. In thirty villages in the affected part we find that—

Out of 1,059 acres under Cotton, 352 yielded an 8as. crop, 420 yielded a 4as. crop, 194 yielded a 2as. crop and 93 yielded no crop whatever.

Out of 853 under Javari, 141 yielded an 8as. crop, 214 yielded a 4as. crop, 182 yielded a 2as. crop and 316 yielded nothing.

Of 537 acres under rabi crops, only 119 are likely to yield anything, and from the rest nothing will be obtained. Now just fancy for a moment that this is the condition of a most fertile tract of country. You can then easily imagine what must be the state of the North-Western Provinces, or of the Central Provinces. Well, gentlemen, although Berar is one of the most fertile tracts of land in the country, you can readily understand what its condition now is. I have said there is great scarcity; there is also excessive taxation by which the effects of scarcity are greatly intensified. With these few remarks, gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Babu Hari Prasad Chatterjee (Nadia, Bengal, No. 338, on the list) said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Time is very short and there is but little more to be said on the proposition which has been so ably

and eloquently placed before you by the speakers who have preceded me. But in obedience to the call from the chair, I shall say a word or two upon the subject. The district which I have the honour to represent—the district of Nadia—as some of you doubtless know, has been affected by the present distress, in some parts very acutely, and in others less so. Do you know, gentlemen, what the authorities are trying to do in my district? True it is that the District Board have opened relief works in some parts, but the Commissioner of the Division wants the Board to stop its grant to the secondary schools and other important works, to enable it to spend money on relief works. I now ask you, brother delegates, if it is fair and proper for the Government to deprive the people of the benefits of education in order to be able to afford some sort of relief to the famished poor of the country? We cannot afford to under-rate the value of education; you are, I see, the fruits of that education, and but for that education, we would not, perhaps, have been here to ventilate our grievances. The Government of India wants to persist in the stolid attitude it has thought fit to assume, and will not accept help so generously offered by the British public. It is therefore necessary that we should pass this resolution, and I have much pleasure in commending it to your acceptance. (Cheers).

BABU KAILASH CHUNDER SEN (Barisal, No. 491, on the list) said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After so many speakers have spoken on this most important subject I have very little to say. I have come from Eastern Bengal, and it is necessary for me to place before you the state of things there. I am a delegate of the district of Backergunge, which is the granary of Bengal. There has been in some parts of that district a crop of 12 annas and in some parts 6 annas only. But I have seen boat after boat exporting rice from the district. If rice be taken away at this rate we shall suffer from the effects of scarcity and famine ere long. There is another important matter in this connection which I wish to draw your attention to. It is the conduct of Government which underlies its policy in connection with famine. The Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee has said that our Viceroy was taking an optimistic view of the distress in Central India. I make bold to say that such a view proceeding from the Viceroy has had a demoralising effect on the whole official body regarding matters in connection with famine. Whenever there are deaths from sheer starvation, attempts are made on the part of officials to attribute them to other causes.

Some of you from Eastern Bengal know very well that the former Mahomedan Deputy Magistrate of Madaripore ignored all scarcity and you know equally well how he was praised by the Divisional Commissioner. When during the administration of Sir Cecil Beadon signs of scarcity made their first appearance in Orissa, the Lieutenant-Governor did not prepare himself by means and appliances at his disposal to put a stop to it. When, however, the danger assumed a disproportionate feature, all means, all appliances, nay all the resources Government could command were insufficient to stop the ravages of famine, and one-fourth of the whole population of Orissa died. Gentlemen, it is time that at the outset of the distress Government should be asked to devise means for arresting the progress of the scarcity which will soon assume the proportions of a dire famine. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the charge of protecting the rights of the masses has been committed to your care. And I trust and earnestly hope that you will keep this painful subject before you for days and months and years. I have confidence and venture to hope that you will keep the subject as one of earnest thought and consideration for sometime to come (Cheers).

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Moulvi Muhammad Badi-ul Alam (Calcutta, No. 218, on the list) said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I believe I form the rear-guard of the army of supporters of this important resolution, so ably moved by the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee. I am aware of the lateness of the hour and the natural impatience of the audience, so I will at once come to the point on which I wish to make a few observations. The present famine can by no means be called the effect of one cause only, and that cause the failure of the crops in the current year; but it is the effect of various causes. One of those causes, gentlemen, is the incidence of land revenue. Gentlemen, in the early stage of my life I was appointed Manager of the Government Estates, known as Khas Mahals in the district of Noakhali. On taking over charge of my office I found a demand for arrears of Government rent to the amount of 2 lakhs of rupees. On enquiry I found that these arrears could not be recovered, as the holdings of ryots were diluviated by the sea four or five years before the year for which they were shown to be due in the papers, and many holdings were actually surrendered by the ryots long before the rents were demanded of them. But, gentlemen, there was the Certificate Act by means of which Government decrees were executed against the helpless ryots; and there is not a heart, be it of a Hindu, a Mussalman, a Parsee, or a Christian, that would not bleed at the ghastly spectacle of hundreds of ryots leaving their parental homes for ever, after their houses, cattle and household articles had all been sold to satisfy the demands of Government. (Cheers).

Gentlemen, after I realised almost half the arrears in that way, it became simply intolerable for me to proceed any further, and I laid the darkest part of the whole affair before my official superiors. Gentlemen, I must express my deep gratitude to two distinguished members of the Civil Service—I mean the late Mr. Ananda Ram Barua and Mr. G. E. Manisty. I recommended all these arrears for remission. These two gentlemen supported me. But ultimately many of these recommendations did not meet with the approval of the higher authorities. Fortunately for Mr. Barua he escaped by death, and Mr. Manisty, being an English Civilian, also escaped; I, being a poor native official, had to bear the brunt of the wrath of the higher authorities. I was hauled up before Government, and after a long but unequal combat with the Divisional Commissioner, I gained a moral victory from the Government of Sir Steuart Bayley. I was reinstated after a suspension of one year. But, gentlemen, my post was no longer a bed of roses, and after serving for six months I resigned. I do not know whether that event was a fortunate or unfortunate turn in my life; but so far I can tell you, that but for that incident you would not have found me to-day on this platform. I will now take you to another phase of the land revenue. Since the year 1878 settlement operations are in progress in the district of Chittagong, to which I belong. In 1878 the revenue demanded was Rs. 1,21,000 from the Khas Mahals; in 1888 it was increased to Rs. 3,85,000. Again in one taluk in the Island of Kutubdia the rent was Rs. 111; by settlement this rent was increased to Rs. 1,300. This is the way in which Government revenue was increased in my district, and which has contributed, I am constrained to observe, to a considerable degree to the general poverty of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. E. Howard (N.-W. Provinces, No. 610 on the list) said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am the last speaker this afternoon I believe, and therefore I would ask you in all humility to bear patiently with me for the few minutes I shall occupy of your time. I have come quite by accident

and it is some years since I last addressed a National Congress, but I wish to explain that it is only a resolution such as this, which would have induced me to stand on my legs. Mr. President and gentlemen, you have heard from different parts of this great Empire of the distress which prevails. You have heard in the most magnificent opening of the proposer of this resolution certain broad features which ought to have been impressed deeply on your minds, but there is something underlying all this, a great imperial question which will demand, not only your most careful attention, but your most persistent energies for an indefinite period of time.

Mr. President, delegates and gentlemen, this warfare you have undertaken is not the warfare of a week or a month, or a year or a decade, or even of one generation—it is a warfare you must wage steadily and carry through to a successful issue, even if it takes a century to accomplish. I say deliberately with all the responsibility of addressing this vast audience of reasonably cultivated and intelligent men, I say deliberately before this Congress that the system upon which the Government of India is conducted is one which if it had been deliberately framed to produce these results, could not have been more successful. I say gentlemen, and I am prepared to establish the proposition by demonstration, that it is a midsummer night's madness; it is a system which seems to have been invented without the slightest forethought of the consequences, and without the slightest regard to the results which it might bring about. Am I using extravagant, fantastical and hyperbolic language? I will ask you three or four questions and you shall answer for yourselves. In that great uprising of 1857, which was the last great awakening of the English people, what did they say when they awoke to the iniquities which the then system of Government presented to them? They said: This must all be changed; it must vanish like a hideous dream; we must have a new order—and what was that new order? The new order was this, that there should be a Secretary of State for India and that he should have a body of permanent councillors, who were acquainted with the interests, the welfare and the needs of this great country. With their aid he was to govern wisely and well, and with that sublime consistency which distinguishes the English people, they made the authority of the Council of no avail by declaring by a statute that the Secretary of State should, by his veto ignore the whole of their opinions. What happens? The Secretary of State for India is not permitted to inaugurate any settled policy, or any continuous line of development. Unlike all the other great colonies of this great English nation, it is only this country of nearly 300 millions of people which is subjected to the political vicissitudes of the change of party Government.

The Secretary of State is by law an absolute despot in all the measures he may carry out. He may be there only for a year or six months. As soon as his party goes out of power he vanishes also from the scene. Now let us, gentlemen, take the next step in the order of things in importance of the great system of Government of this immense and mighty dependency. We have then a Viceroy and we have a body of Councillors—and what do they do? This great Viceroy of India is supposed to be responsible for the welfare of 300 millions of human beings. Has he even the power of a Prime Minister in any one of the colonies? No. Has he the opportunity to adopt anything like a fruitful policy and carry it to as successful results by the system of patronage by which this great office is filled? What is the result? The result is this, that a man comes with full knowledge that he has but five years in which to inaugurate a policy; and not only to inaugurate it, but to carry it through successfully. Gentlemen, am I wrong in saying that this is a midsummer night's mad-

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Deploring the outbreak of famine due to the poverty of the people brought on by the continuous drain of the wealth out of the country and appealing to the Government to apply the Famine Insurance Fund more largely to the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people and protesting against Government's blocking the way of the free flow of England's private charity into this country.

ness—am I right in saying that if you were to appoint a bailiff of 1,000 acres of land; and if you said to him Mr. So-and-so, here is your tenure of office for five years; is it in human nature, is it within the bounds of possibility that that man, knowing his term of office was but for five years, would take the slightest interest in the welfare of that 1,000 acres, or do anything successfully? Mr. President and gentlemen I was here during the great uprising of 1857 and I represent 40 years' experience of this great country and what do I find?

Formerly, before the Suez Canal was open, men came from England; made this country their home and studied the welfare of the people by prolonged residence here. What do we find now? Growing with the years during which I have practised as an advocate of the North-Western Provinces, we find this system of devolution of responsibility delegated to persons who are called Collectors and Magistrates of Districts, who represent the interests of a million of people, perhaps half a million, and what do we find this accursed system does? It makes it the direct system of Government never to allow these Collectors and Magistrates to take root in any station, and the changes are continuous. So that in Allahabad we have had in five or six years as many Magistrates and Collectors. Is it reasonable to expect that a man who holds office for so short a time can possibly carry anything to a successful issue or feel any personal interest in the work he is engaged in? Gentlemen, this great Empire, although it is said to rest upon bayonets, is a paper administration, and I say to you that before we get the human heart in touch with the needs of these people you must alter the whole system. Gentlemen, it is for you to consider whether this great famine which is being treated now as though it had been an unexpected calamity, coming like a bolt from the blue heavens, is so or not? Do we not know that famines have affected India since 1770, that great famines carried off one-third of the population of India. Why it is a matter of historical knowledge that we are subject to the recurrence of these famines. A great French philosopher summed up the situation in three or four words; he said:—"It is for the purpose of controlling events that we have the opportunity of knowing." Now, gentlemen, what has the Government of India done during these three years, when famine has been looming in the distance over this great land? What have they done during these three years to avert this calamity?

Now, gentlemen, I ask you another question. For forty years since that great uprising of 1857 has this new system been tried and will you tell me if during that time it has been distinguished for the internal development of this country? I think echo and history will answer again No. What is this but a midsummer night's madness? I say it is such an obnoxious system, that until it is uprooted, root and branch, there is no hope for the averting of the great calamity. Gentlemen, I speak not unadvisedly, and with the weight of 60 years on my shoulders, I say deliberately and advisedly that if this great Government comes out of this calamity with an expenditure of less than seven millions sterling and with less than a million of lives lost, I say that history will say I have falsely prophesied, and my words ought not to have any weight with you at all. We are dealing with a land that has been impoverished for a whole decade and yet there are men who will not open their eyes to see things that are, but who send telegrams for the purpose of staying the hand of generosity and for the purpose of stilling the pulse of that great English heart, which is always ready to beat for the people of this country. Gentlemen, it is not the men I complain of; it is not the change of men, or the change of their ways or their minds to which we must look for any hopeful amelioration of, a permanent character.

It is a change of system under which that has been going on for the last forty years must absolutely cease and must be supplanted. I say, gentlemen, therefore in conclusion, that you must put your shoulders to the wheel; you must look at the real root of the evil and, although we may see these millions perish, we may see hundreds of thousands crippled for life, who do not even die but drag on a miserable existence, we must feel this as our compensation, that we have not laboured in vain, we have laboured for generations to come. We are not labouring for ourselves but for the dumb millions who cannot speak, who have not the intelligence to make known their demands, I say, gentlemen, it behoves us to idealise the position and to realise the extent of the calamity for the purpose of nerving us to efforts which will not cease with this Congress, but will abide with time. Mr. President, I support this resolution with the greatest fervour and with the heartiest hope that it will in time bear fruit, and if it produces the result which I hope it will produce, we shall find our labours have not been in vain. The whole history of the nineteenth century bears witness that the righteous judgment of God is upon the nations, and if nations cease to do right, they will continue to suffer, and suffer in proportion to the wrong they do. Am I speaking idly, gentlemen? I will give you illustrations. Look at what happened in France in 1870. What happened then, happened also across the Atlantic in the United States eighty years after the declaration of Independence. That wrong perpetuated in slavery was wiped out eighty years afterwards. The original slave population was half a million; they cost ten million dollars at that time. Eighty years afterwards they had to be emancipated at a cost of 800 millions of dollars. In France, in 1870, that paper administration which had lasted nearly twenty years disappeared as one of your flags would be rent through by a human hand. What happened also in Germany? History attests all these things in letters of blood, and I say as the opening speaker of this resolution said, God grant that the good intentions of that warm-hearted English people may not be frustrated by means of this accursed system. (Loud cheer).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Ranganath Narasingha Mudholkar (Berar No. 674, on the list) in proposing the thirteenth Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. The resolution I have to submit to you runs thus :—

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

(1) *That the Permanent Settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist at the present time, and restrictions be put on over assessments in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the Permanent Settlement at the present time, so as to leave the Ryots sufficient to maintain themselves.*

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

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

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Resolution
XIIA

Deploing the outbreak of famine due to the poverty of the people brought on by the continuous drain of the wealth out of the country and appealing to the Government to apply the Famine Insurance Fund more largely to the immediate relief of the famine stricken people and protesting against Government's blocking the way of the free flow of England's private charity into this country.

Resolution
XIII.

Poverty of
India.

Extension of the Permanent Settlement to parts where it at present does not exist.

Establishment of Agricultural Banks.

Income Tax.
Establishment of Technical Schools.

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(4) That technical schools be established and local and indigenous manufactures fostered.

There is a peculiar appropriateness in this proposition following the last. Some years ago an eminent officer in the service of the Government of India said that full forty millions of the people of India live on the verge of starvation. The fears to which this statement gave expression have now been turned to stern reality. Gentlemen at this time hundreds of thousands of people are starving, thousands are dying of starvation or of diseases which spring from insufficiency of food. Men, women and children who are mere skeletons encased as it were in bags of skin drag themselves with difficulty to the poor houses or to the houses of the villages only to drop down and die. This heart-rending state of things was in a manner foreseen. The condition to which the masses of this country have been reduced has been admitted to be exceedingly pitiable and fraught with serious danger to the community. The statement of Sir Charles Elliott the late Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces that half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied is well known, as is also Sir William Hunter's statement that forty millions of people go through life on insufficient food. These are the opinions not of the irresponsible spouters of the Congress, of the "microscopic minority" of Lord Dufferin, but of two of the most trusted and eminent officers of Government. (Cheers). The Duke of Argyll, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1883 said:—"We have indeed poverty and destitution more or less numerous in European countries, but of chronic poverty and of permanent reduction to the lowest level of subsistence such as prevail only too widely among the vast population of rural India we have no example in the Western world." Opinions like these of eminent British Statesmen or of Anglo-Indian Officers can be quoted to any extent. But as it is growing late, and the shades of evening are already upon us I will only give you one quotation more. It is the celebrated resolution of Lord Dufferin of the 24th October 1888, on the condition of the masses. Say the Government of India in that resolution:—

"It may be stated briefly that over the greater part of India the condition of the lower classes of the agricultural population is not one which need cause any great anxiety at present. The circumstances of these classes are such as to secure in normal seasons physical efficiency for the performances of agricultural work, though in the tracts classed as insecure there is always a risk in the event of a failure of the rains that the more indigent class of the people may be overtaken by distress in various degrees and forms, and be deprived of the wages ordinarily provided by the agricultural operations on which, in normal seasons they depend for their livelihood. There is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth, is always in debt owing to reckless expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies and in consequence of their indebtedness, and of the fact of their creditors the middlemen intercepting a large proportion of the profits of agriculture, does not save, and has little or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons."

This resolution, gentlemen, is coloured in that rose-coloured tint which was so characteristic of all Lord Dufferin's public declarations. But with all its optimism it contains enough of admissions to warrant the statements which have been made about the condition of the masses of this country. I may state here that Lord Dufferin took a far more sanguine view of matters than he was justified in taking by the mass of opinions of local officers submitted to him. (Hear, hear). But even the view he took

disclosed matters serious and alarming enough in all conscience. It is a fact which cannot be gainsaid that the people of this country are exceedingly poor, that India is a country far poorer than the poorest country in Europe. (Hear, hear). Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer) when he was Finance Minister made an estimate of the income of the people of India on calculations made by Sir David Barbour, and he estimated it to be Rs. 27 per man. Contrast this Rs. 27 or less than £2 with the £33 of Great Britain and Ireland. That income can only give him a diet between a convict's and a camp follower's (cheers) and when we bear in mind that this average figure includes the income of the rich and middle classes, it becomes clear that the vast majority of the population must be living on less—much less—than is given to prisoners in jails. (Hear, hear). This deep-seated and widespread poverty is the result of the utter decadence—almost the total extinction—of our ancient arts and industries. (Hear hear). The land which produced the gossamer fabrics which were the delight and admiration of the Courts of European sovereigns, is now entirely dependent on Manchester for the supply of apparel of every day wear. The raw material, the cotton, the wool is here. The mineral wealth is here. But they are not worked up, not worked up to the extent they should be. (Hear, hear). With the prostration of our industrial system the vast numbers that depended on it were thrown upon the land, and agriculture which was one of the industries of ancient and mediæval India is now practically the only thing on which the masses depend. On the other hand the policy of the Government with regard to land has not been such as to encourage its improvement. (Hear hear). In the second place it has been short-sighted and illiberal. It is impossible to go fully into the history of the question and I will only refer to a few facts. After bitter experience of the mischiefs of temporary settlements the Government of India on the recommendation of the commission of 1859 advocated the grant of a permanent settlement to the whole country. (Cheers). Lord Canning's recommendations were accepted by the Secretary of State in the celebrated despatch of 1862. The death of Lord Canning having given strength to the party opposed to the permanent settlement, pressure was brought to bear upon the Secretary of State and the despatch was modified by restrictions and conditions being imposed. But even the terms of the despatch of 1865 remained a dead letter, and though the conditions laid down in that Despatch were satisfied in the case of many provinces, the Permanent Settlement was not extended to them. Nothing was heard of the matter till 1883, when that good man, Lord Ripon, again took it up. (Cheers). The influences around him were too strong to permit of effect being given to the Despatches of 1862 and 1865; and therefore a middle course was followed. The Government of India declared that a permanent settlement pure and simple like that which exists in the provinces of Bengal and Behar, was out of the question; but they admitted that the existing system of revising the land revenue assessment was very unsettling, and it was laid down that no enhancement should, in the future, be made, except on the ground of a general rise of prices. The principles laid down in the Resolutions of the Government of India were approved by the Secretary of State. In all the temporarily settled tracts the hope was generally entertained that this modified system which gave considerable fixity and removed a great deal of the uncertainty which harassed the people, would loyally be given effect to. But it is the peculiar misfortune of India that measures calculated to diminish the burden of the land-revenue assessment are seldom fully carried out. The party in the administration hostile to all fixity of tenure have again proved so strong that they have nullified all the beneficial provisions laid down by the Government of Lord Ripon, and settlements are made to last only 12 or 14 years. The mischiefs which flow from this policy are very aptly described, by Sir Louis Mallett, for many years Permanent Under

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Secretary at the India Office, than whom a man with a firmer grasp of principles and greater acquaintance with practical details the India Office has not seen. He said :—
“ On the one hand we see a system which sweeps into the coffers of the State 50 per cent. or more of the net produce of the soil, thus diverting a fund, which in countries where private property is absolute, would, to a great extent, find its way back into channels of agricultural improvement. But the amount of produce thus diverted is not only large—it is also uncertain. The percentage itself is uncertain, varying with the views of successive Governments, and the amount actually assessed, even within the prescribed limits, is uncertain, varying with the accidents of seasons, with the character of the cultivators, and with the judgment and knowledge of the settlement service. Whether the Government or the assessor leans to the side of indulgence or to that of severity, all the consequences of uncertainty are equally involved. What those consequences are likely to be it is needless to enumerate. It is enough to say that security and permanence are the essential conditions of productive energy.”

With the decadence of our old industrial system, and the bulk of the population thrown entirely on land, and the policy of the Government with regard to land characterised by uncertain rigidity and oppressive incidence, it is no wonder that there is so much poverty, such an utter want of staying power in the people. (Hear, hear). The Deccan Commission of 1874 say that to the Government's land revenue system the condition of the ryots must, in no small measure, be ascribed. Sir Auckland Colvin, Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Lyon condemned the Bombay land policy in severe terms, and what was said of Bombay can be said of all the temporarily settled tracts. The first and foremost measure is a thorough alteration in the land policy of Government. It requires to be made more sympathetic, and all the present element of uncertainty, rigidity and high incidence require to be weeded out. The great necessity of developing the industrial resources of the country need hardly be pointed out. Technical education is the prime requisite for it. (Applause). As it is already so late, I can only refer in passing to the other parts of the resolution. Our peasantry are immersed in debt, and that condition is, in no small degree, due to money lenders' usury. The utility of Agricultural Banks is universally admitted. Sir William Wedderburn prepared a scheme some years ago. It was approved by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India. But when it went to England to the Secretary of State it was pigeon-holed at the India Office. Lately Mr. Nicholson of Madras has prepared a scheme which is under the consideration of Government. The Land Improvements Loans Acts have from 1871 been enacted for the purpose of making advances to agriculturists. But as the Famine Commission found 17 years ago and as the Deccan Commission of 1891-92 found five years ago sufficient effect is not given to the provisions of these acts. There are other measures also which require to be undertaken. These however, are brought into prominence as the most important. It is first in these matters that Government is asked to move. We appeal to them for the poor starving people in the sacred names of duty, humanity and religion. (Loud applause).

MR. N. M. SAMARTH (Bombay, No. 711, on the list) in seconding the Resolution said :—

M. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—When this time last year, speaking before the Poona Congress, I remarked that poverty of the rural population in India was assuming a threatening aspect from day to day I little thought, and I dare say few of us then knew, that the country had so soon in store for it dire calamity;

which would furnish additional proofs of the prostration, the utter destitution and helplessness of the bulk of the population in this country.

Already there are indications here and there of the masses drifting into a desperate state of mind. Only the other day, at Palghar, not far from Bombay, three to four thousand villagers went to the camp of the Deputy Collector of the District, assailed his office, collected the entire Government records they found there, as also the turbans, umbrellas and other belongings of the frightened clerks, who had taken to their heels at the sight of the infuriated mob, and enjoyed themselves by making a huge bon-fire of the whole collection. But the tale does not end there. They forced the Deputy Collector to give them in writing a guarantee on a stamped paper, the terms of which were that thenceforward rice would be sold to them at the rate of ten rupees per khandy, country liquor at the rate of one anna per seer, salt at the rate of one payli, and further that they were thereby authorised to have unlicensed consumption of toddy, and unrestricted use of the forest around them. Having got this stamped paper, duly signed by that officer, they went about enforcing the terms guaranteed to them whenever they could.

But I forgot to mention to you that some of these men amused themselves with severely belabouring the chief constable and the police patel of the place. The Deputy Collector also had his share of the plum puddings, not quite his fill of them, only just enough to keep a giddy head over his shoulders for a few minutes (laughter). But fun apart, gentlemen you will see that the gravity of the situation, the seriousness of the consequences it portends, over-rides the humour of the incident.

For what does it signify? Why? Little else than this that the patience of the proletariat is stretched almost to the snapping point, that the temper of the people, at any rate in my part of the country is undergoing fast enough in all conscience a change for the worse, that a proverbially peace-loving and law-abiding population is driven by the pinch of hunger and the frenzy, which is born of resourcelessness to make an attempt, an organised attempt mind you,—at defying, and overawing established authority, and it is as plain as a pikestaff to those, who have eyes to see and ears to hear, to those who are in close touch with the stern realities of the situation, that if heroic measures are not soon resorted to by Government for substantially bettering the condition of the agricultural classes in this country, the wheels of British Indian administration will, in all probability, be hopelessly clogged in many directions in the not distant future. (Cheers). Some would, perhaps, fancy that this is an alarming view, but surely not those who have carefully marked the change in the circumstances of the country since the last great famine of 1876-77. And speaking of that change, the one most striking feature, which comes prominently before the mind, is the outburst of grain-riots all over the country at the very first touch of famine this time. Now that shows, if it shows anything at all, that the people have become more resourceless, are less able to cope with high prices, less able to command the means of bare subsistence and consequently more impatient and reckless than they were twenty years ago. (Hear, hear). From those grain-rioters and their painful struggle for existence, let us go to another change for the worse in the circumstances of the country, which is equally noteworthy—I mean the change in the resourcelessness, in the financial embarrassment of the British Indian Government. I should not be surprised if Government has already become uneasy over their tall talk about sparing no efforts to see that no man, woman or child was allowed to die of starvation. So far as my own presidency is concerned, I rejoice to say that we have in Lord Sandhurst a sympathetic and conscientious Governor. (Cheers). But what can a

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sympathetic Governor do with a very nearly empty purse? To look for help to the Government of India, some would say. But we know what a sad tale the treasury of the Supreme Government has to tell. Or, to make use of that happy simile, which was given to us yesterday in a speech, which had a genuine Maratha ring about it, the speech, I mean, of the Hon'ble Mr. Tilak, we all know in what a sad state the pockets of the master of the house are. What else then could the housewife, the Bombay Government do, than appeal publicly for private charity? There was no other way out of the difficulty. Now I do not depreciate private charity in a matter of this kind. Who will in a cause so human? But I do say that a Government, which after wringing out of the people the utmost it could get without immediate danger to itself, which after smothering the rural population under an enormously burdensome system of taxation, has reduced itself to such a perilous plight that it is driven to tap the sources of private charity with a view to afford substantial help to it in a matter which legitimately devolves upon itself, when a Government, so well fed by the people, misconducts itself and asks for alms to keep the business going, we are perfectly justified while heartily extending our right hand of sympathy and support to our starving countrymen, in flaunting in the face of that Government, this humiliating confession of weakness and incapacity on its part. (Cheers). From this cheerless situation, gentlemen, we go to another, which is no less cheerless, namely, that, whereas at the time of the last famine there were many underground food-stores, which could be availed of to supply grain to the famishing population, there has been during these 20 years no grain stored up in that way worth the mention. All the food-stores have been exhausted, and the country, which but yesterday was noted for its supply of food to the world, presents today the sad spectacle of craving for an importation of foreign grains. The Famine Commissioners, gentlemen, took as their basis 586 lbs. as the consumption of food per head of the population in India, and Sir James Caird, as the President has told you in his Address, calculated the total annual export of food to be just enough to feed the entire population for ten days only. Since the date of the Famine Commission Report, that is, since 1880, Upper Burma, a food depot of considerable importance and value, has been added to British India, with the result that, taking even the very low estimate of the Famine Commissioners as to consumption per head of the population, the total export of food-grains annually amounts only to a fortnight's supply. So that even if by any means the total outturn of food during these 20 years had been retained in the country, and no part of it allowed to leave our shores, we could not have had at our disposal at this date a supply, which would serve our purposes for more than nine months. Now that is evidently a very sad state of things, rendered sadder still, when we remember that, whereas the population has increased 21 per cent. during the past 15 years, the increase in the total outturn of food during the same period is represented by 12 per cent. only. The increase in the acreage of cultivated land of all kinds is, I believe, not more than 15 per cent. Land revenue on the other hand has mounted up 217 per cent. And what is still more important and saddening is that if we deduct our annual exports of food-grains from the total outturn and thus find out the quantity consumed in the country, we get at the alarming result that several lakhs of people are not eating any food-grains at all, but keeping their body and soul together by living probably on fish and some wild food-stuffs. For what do we find? We find that only 5 crores and 51 lakhs of tons per annum remain in the country, and are consumed by the people. Now, taking the basis of 586 lbs. as consumption of food per head of population in British India, no less than 5 crores and 79 lakhs of tons are necessary to barely suffice for the entire population. That means then that even the total outturn, which is computed to be 5 crores and 72 lakhs of tons in

the Statistical Atlas of India for 1895, falls short of the necessary quantity by 7 lakhs of tons, and further, that the stock which remains in the country, and which is computed to be 5 crores and 51 lakhs of tons, falls short by 28 lakhs of tons of the quantity which is necessary to barely feed the entire population. This means, further, that nearly 10 lakhs and 80 thousand people are subsisting merely on some wild food-stuffs. Probably the explanation of the fact is that, since prices of grain have risen enormously during the past ten years, rice having risen from 40 to 60 per cent., wheat also to the same extent, and bajra and jowari from 20 to 40 per cent, lakhs of people have to be content with even smaller consumption of food per annum than the 586 lbs. which formed the basis of the Famine Commissioners' calculations. That means, then, that every decade brings with it an alarming addition to the vast mass of population in this country, which lives on insufficient food from year's end to year's end. (Groans, groans). It is this growing poverty, gentlemen, this huge suffering of millions of human beings, dragging out a miserable existence year in and year out, this piteous and multitudinous wailing of the victims of an oppressive fiscal system, as also that tremendous drain upon the resources of the country, which sucks away each year a large portion of the produce of the country without bringing any commercial return whatever,—it is this grave economic situation becoming more and more perilous from day to day, which has been a source of alarm and anxiety to those who sincerely wish for the welfare of the present rulers of the country, and notably among them that political hermit of India, our Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (Cheers). It is this colossal poverty and this terrific drain, which, you may be remembering, called forth from him the remark the other day on the Royal Commission that England had done the greatest possible material injury to India! And you may also be remembering that a certain member of Parliament, who has been making desperate attempts to palm himself off on the British public as a representative of the princes and people of India, and who has been recently busy manufacturing demonstrations in his honour in the Bombay Presidency and getting himself inflated in the columns of friendly sheets, had the audacity to contradict that statement from his place in the House of Commons, not on his own individual capacity, but in the name of the people of India! Now, gentlemen, whether Mr. Bohnugree means by the people of India those starving wretches, those embodiments of poverty in shivering nakedness, that form such a large portion of the rural population of British India, or whether he means by that expression the thinking portion, the educated cream of the Indian people; whether he means the millions of India, or claims to reflect the opinion of the intelligence and culture of India; I have no doubt I am speaking the mind of every one present here when I say that the people of India indignantly repudiate that spurious contradiction, unscrupulously made in their name by that pretentious, *soi-disant* spokesman of theirs in the British House of Commons. (Cheers). I have no doubt I am echoing the opinion of this august assembly, when I remark that the people of India contemptuously discard that tinsel, which has been given currency to by Conservative tacticians with a view to discredit that genuine representative of India's views and aspirations—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (Cheers). Gentlemen, he is no true friend of the people of this country, he is no true friend of the rulers of this country, who blinks at the truth and shuts his eyes to the gravity of the economic situation, the appalling magnitude of the poverty question in British India. Personally, I believe, gentlemen, the responsible authorities are in their heart of hearts fully convinced of the growing danger, but I suspect they are fighting shy of it for fear of having to publicly retrace their steps on some large questions of policy. Let us trust they will soon make up their minds to give up this false position, and, instead of trying palliations with half-measures, courageously grapple with this problem, boldly

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overhaul the ruinous Land Revenue policy, which obtains at present, use by far the greater portion of the empire, and scrupulously utilise the resources of the country for the welfare of the people at large, sympathise with the wants of the people, satisfy their legitimate grievances, and, by liberating the poorer population from those oppressive and vexatious burdens and restrictions which make their life miserable at present bring joy and contentment to every home in this vast and precious possession with which Providence has blessed them. (Loud applause).

BABU DWARKA NATH GANGULY (Bengal No. in the list) rising in the body of the hall, said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I beg to propose an amendment to the resolution which has just been proposed and seconded. I think my amendment will be entitled to your respect if I mention that in the last portion of it I have embodied the words of the late Henry Fawcett, a great authority both on Indian finance and on political economy. My amendment is to substitute the following words for the existing words in section I of the XIIIth Resolution:—

"That long-term settlements be extended to those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not exist, and that the amount of the tax be fixed not at a certain sum of money, but at a certain definite proportion of the value of the land."

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, it appears that the amendment will make a material difference in the Resolution; therefore it is better that we should adjourn till tomorrow. I therefore adjourn this Congress till 11-30 tomorrow.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 31st December 1896.

Fourth Day.

The Congress Reassembled at 11-30 a. m.

Resolution XIV.

Reformation of Universities.

BABU KALI CHARAN BANERJEA (Calcutta, 26 No. on the list), in proposing the Fourteenth Resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The Resolution I am called upon to present for your adoption is in the interest of education as represented by our Universities, and runs as follows:—

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

It is true the problem of University reform has not hitherto found a place in the Congress Programme; but when it is remembered and realised that, that problem has a vital bearing on the development of education in the country, of which the Universities have practically the oversight, and of which the Congress itself is perhaps the brightest trophy, it will be seen that the Congress cannot ignore it with impunity. The Congress Programme, is a programme of development all round, and we cannot afford to overlook any obstacles that may be opposed to the logical development of the intellectual resources of the nation. The Universities regulate the instruction imparted in our Schools and Colleges by prescribing and conducting a graduated system of examinations. In framing their examination scheme they have necessarily to observe certain limits suggested by the receptive capacity of the average student and the communicative capacity of the average School or College. We are not at present concerned with the question. Whether or not this method of control has been effective in safeguarding and promoting the best interests of education in the country? We are concerned now with the question whether the Universities provide facilities for capable students, if so minded, to pursue literary or scientific careers after they leave College, and whether the Universities provide for their instruction in special subjects by eminent experts, under conditions which will bring such instruction within the reach of all. We have constantly to face the reproach that the education of our students comes to an abrupt end when they pass out of College that the degree is in fact the terminus of their education. Let me ask you whether the responsibility of the reproach lies with them altogether? Is it not true that, in some instances at least, they are driven in the sweat of their face to eat bread away from their cherished homes. (*Cheers*). If it—given to us today to rejoice as we think of the post-College achievements of, I do not know which of them to name first, so I shall name them in alphabetical order, Professor J. C. Bose and Dr. Roy—I say if it has come to us to rejoice in their successes, is it not a fact that those successes have been achieved in spite of disabilities and discouragement? The Universities provide no Chairs for lectures on special subjects for which provision could not be expected to be made in the existing Colleges. The Universities have no Fellowships to offer to enable and encourage capable students to go in for original researches. Is it any wonder that we should have under these circumstances a state of things we all mourn over? I believe that as I narrate to you these facts you feel something like indignation. But, Gentlemen, pause. The Universities pass on to their *alumni* the disabilities under which they labour themselves. Speaking for the University of Calcutta I may tell you that, that University has moved in this direction, never suspecting that it was under any disabilities because of the Charter of its constitution. The University has at times

moved in various directions, and then, at the last moment, discovered that it had no authority to go on discharging those functions it would fain discharge. At one time at the instance of one of the Vice Chancellors of the University a proposal was brought forward to edit the earlier Vernacular texts. Progress was made in the direction of carrying out that proposal, when, at the last moment, it was discovered it could not legally go on with such work. After the University made this discovery and others of a similar character, it was left for the Member of the University on the Bengal Council, and I am glad to be able to speak of him as the Member for the University as is done in England, to introduce a resolution into the Senate, and as the outcome of that, Government was moved so to amend the Act of Incorporation of the University as to enable it to go in for the institution of Fellowships and Professorships. Let me tell you that the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.—Acts as old as 1857—constitute the Universities Examining Bodies, and the Universities cannot take up any teaching work, so long as the Acts of Incorporation are not amended. When the University of Calcutta went up to Government for the amendment of the Act of Incorporation, and also with a view to the introduction of the elective system of government into the University—a reform which I hope and trust the Congress will take up some day more explicitly than it does on the present occasion, as certainly called-for by the requirements of the country at the present day, Government was unwilling to amend the Act. With regard to the prayer for the introduction of an elective system, the reply was that a certain form of election had been granted to graduates, and that that experiment would have to be followed up to some of its results before Government could take upon itself to move in a new direction. As regards the prayer for the amendment of the Act with a view to leave room for Professorships and Fellowships, Government was pleased to say that the matter was not very urgent, so would be noted for future consideration. I will tell you in this same connexion that although the Acts of 1857 under which the Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Universities were constituted leave no room for Professorships and Fellowships, in the later Act of Incorporation of the Allahabad University in 1882, and of the Punjab University in 1887, there is provision made for Professorships at any rate. You will see, therefore, that it comes to this that, while Universities of 40 years' standing find their hands tied in the matter of Professorships and Fellowships, Government has thought fit to leave it within the power of the later Universities to have Professorships. In other words the Universities which have the means at their disposal now to carry out the scheme have their hands tied, whereas Universities of a later origin, which may not perhaps have the means at their disposal for carrying out this reform, have the power to institute Professorships and Fellowships. Gentlemen, under these circumstances, it is only befitting that the Indian National Congress should speak, and speak authoritatively upon this subject. I call upon you to declare that the time has come when these Universities should be empowered to go in for Fellowships and Professorships. Government is of opinion that the matter is not urgent; you declare that you have put the matter upon the Peremptory Cause List of the Indian National Congress. Strengthen, I beseech you, the hands of the University, and strengthened them now, because at the present time the brilliant successes of Professor Bose and Dr. Roy have brought about an awakening in the minds of the students. Help the holy contingent by declaring yourselves in favour of this reform. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. SHIVARAM MAHADEVA PRANJAPI (Poona, No. 732, on the list), in seconding the Resolution, said :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I thought my duty was to correct one mistake only, but now I find I have two to correct. The first one is in the Programme. It is stated there that Professor Gokhale would second this resolution. I hope, Gentlemen, no follies of mine will throw discredit upon a name so well known to you as that of Professor Gokhale. (*Cheers*). Now I wish to pass on to the second mistake. It is in regard to the University System. Our Universities are at present, as is stated in the Resolution, only Examining Bodies. We want, in addition, that they should have the power of giving instruction.

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Merely conducting examinations is not sufficient when we look to the present needs. Something more must be done by the bodies responsible for the light that is to be given to us. The Universities are the bodies that are intended for that purpose ; and if any help is required by us, we naturally look up to those bodies which are responsible in this respect. It may naturally appear, at first sight, that this Resolution is only a partial one. It makes reference only to educated men, or to men who have the prospect of being educated. Directly it is so, but, indirectly, it is not so, because the good effect of education is indirectly felt also by the uneducated. For this reason all classes should join in supporting this Resolution. It is upon the education of our people that our future prosperity will solely depend. What is this Congress? It is a Congress of the Educated. Education is the soul of the Congress, and if we do not all join together in supporting the Cause of Education, then, in certain respects, we weaken the hands of the leaders of the Congress. Consequently, it is the primary duty of all of us to unite in this Cause. We want further education for our sons, we want enlightenment ; and, for that purpose, we must fight in order that we may obtain this instruction at the hands of our Universities. With these remarks I beg to second the Resolution.

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

Resolution XV.
—
Repeal of the
Inland Emigra-
tion Act.

BABU JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 238, on the list) said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have been called upon to move the Fifteenth Resolution, the one asking for the repeal of the Inland Emigration Act. It runs as follows:—

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

Never in my life have I felt the want of power in me more keenly than at the present moment. But what I want in power I hope to make up for by the sincerity of my convictions. (Cheers) The miseries of the coolies in the Tea Gardens you have all heard of or read of. I have seen them with my own eyes. I have seen poor men and women jump overboard into the deep waters of the Brahmaputra to escape from lot which is worse than death. (Shame) My feelings on the subject are very keen, but it will serve no good purpose to give vent to them on the present occasion. I will simply tell you a plain unvarnished tale, and shall nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice. I have need to be sober, for the fact I shall lay before you seem, stranger than fiction. I will, therefore, give you the facts as I find them in the Government Reports with but little comment. You know what the penal provisions of the Act we complain of are. They are:—that the labourer, when once he has been registered before a Medical Officer, may be sent to jail if he refuses to execute the Labour Contract ; that the labourer, if he deserts, may be arrested without a warrant by the servants of his employer ; and that he may be sent to jail for desertion or for refusing to work ; and anybody who harbours or abets a deserter may also be put in jail. These are some among the penal provisions of an Act passed for the purpose of facilitating the supply of labourers to the Tea Gardens of Assam. Now, what does the official apologist say as to why the Act is necessary? In the Report on Labour Emigration into Assam for the year 1886, the Chief Commissioner of Assam says "that, though not a few officers consider that special labour laws for Assam are undesirable, and that both Act I of 1882 and Act XIII of 1859 might, with advantage, be at once repealed, it is quite certain that in remote and unhealthy tracts the planters cannot do without a Penal Act." The reason of the law therefore is that on account of the distance and unhealthiness of the tracts where the gardens are situated, no labourer could be made to stay, and risk his health and life unless he be forced to do so by a penal law made in the interests of the planter. Let this be clearly understood, and let no plausible arguments and clouds of words conceal from the view of the public this indisputable fact. (Cheers). Now, let us see what the consequences of the Act have been. One of the consequences of the Act has been the creation of recruiters or

arkatis and giving them a power of mischief which is regretted alike by officials, the planters, and the people of the country. The Official Report says that the abuses of recruitment come under two heads;—(1) forcible kidnapping; (2) recruitment by fraudulent misrepresentation. It will startle many to hear that forcible kidnapping of coolies in large numbers in well-regulated British India is possible. But the decisions of Judicial tribunals will not leave any room for doubt. Two such cases appear in the Official Reports—The Tiphook Case and the Connemara Case. In the Connemara Case a batch of 200 coolies had come from Loharda ga, in the district of Gya, in order to go to Darjeeling for work. It was found by the Magistrate trying the case that these coolies were actually made to go to Assam by force by a gang of recruiters. The last case recorded was one in which the Calcutta High Court affirmed the conviction of a European who, with a number of followers armed with guns and other weapons, in an out-of-the-way jungly place seized a large number of men and women, and carried them off to Assam as coolies. (*Shame*). These cases will show that slave-driving is not quite unknown in British India. "But if cases of force are few, cases of fraud are many according to the Official Report. The wiles of the *Arkati* are well known to all of us, and need not be recapitulated. The Official Report, after dealing with cases of forcible kidnapping, says "that, the Chief Commissioner of Assam is inclined to think that the danger of enticement by fraudulent means is, on the whole, a more serious one." He considers that, it is possible "that, notwithstanding the care taken in the attestation of contracts, a woman may sometimes be got through by being told that the attestation means nothing, and thus being persuaded to give the required answers. It is only when she is put on board the steamer that she is brought to understand what is before her, and the deception comes to light." The Official Report stops here, and does not say what follows. I have seen what follows. At the Dhubri Steamer Ghat, while on board a steamer carrying coolies, I heard shriek after shriek coming from someone among the deck passengers. I went below, and saw a woman jumping overboard, and learned that she was a coolie under contract, and anybody who attempted to rescue her from the fate before her might be sent to jail. I saw another strong man jump overboard during the night and escape. This happened in a single trip. Those coolies I could not help, but I was able in that single trip to get three women out of the toils of the *Arkati* and the meshes of the law. (*Cheers*). On one occasion I met a young woman with a child on board a coolie-steamer, and asked her where she was going. "To Assam," she replied. I asked, "Why?" "Because my husband is there." "Do you know in which district or garden he is?" "No." "Do you know that Assam is a large place, that there are many gardens there?" The poor woman burst into tears. The husband had been decoyed first, and the wife was then being taken to Assam under the deception that she was going to her husband. A sadder spectacle I have never seen. A Brahmin from the Madras Presidency, Narayan Swami by name, in search of employment as clerk in some office, was decoyed into a Tea Garden, and there made to work as a coolie. He managed to send a petition to the Viceroy. An enquiry was ordered in due time, but before help could reach him the man had died. (*Shame*). This I take from the Official Report. Such tales are known to many of us. If a boy or a girl is missing, where do the relatives search for the child? It is to the coolie-depots that they go. The system is a great incubus on the country, and Government has no right to turn a deaf ear to the cries of these poor people, and should remove this frightful monster which is the creation of the law. The Act was amended in 1882, 1889, and 1893, but the evil continues, and nothing short of total repeal will meet the requirements of the case. Once in the Tea Garden, it is very seldom that the coolie gets out. According to the Official Reports, from 2 to 5 per cent. return, and about 3½ per cent. settle in Assam. The rest continue in the Tea Gardens and die there. They are made to renew their contracts—What is easier—and they die there. Who profits by the system? Neither the province from which they are taken, nor the province to which they are taken. It is a handful of planters that profit.

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Now let us see how the coolies are treated in the Tea Gardens. In 1887, the Official Report says, there occurred a case of brutality. A large body of coolies left a garden, and came to the station, complaining of ill-treatment. They stated that both men and women had been flogged;—in the case of women, they had been tied to a post in the porch of the Manager's house, their clothes lifted up to the waist, and had been beaten on the bare buttocks with a stirrup leather. (*Shame*). But this is not all. The Indian Association in a Memorial to the Government in 1888, drew its attention to the existence of dungeons for coolies in some Tea Gardens. The Memorial stated that in a certain case it was reported by the Assistant Commissioner of Sibsagar "that the *fatakabar*, which means dungeon, is a regular institution in the gardens." Then we know that the chastity of women is not safe in the gardens. You all know the Webb case, in which the righteous heart of our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, was moved to indite an indignant minute against the failure of justice in that case. (*Cheers*). Now let us see what wages the coolie gets. From the Special Report of 1889 I find that on the average an Act-coolie gets between 4 and 5 rupees a month. We find further that he gets on the average 1 rupee less than the non-Act coolie. Now you see why the Act is required. Advantage is taken of the Act to get labour cheaper than it *otherwise* could be got. I cannot conceive of a greater meanness. Then they get no holidays: the sabbath is not kept there. Next, as to the mortality in the Tea Gardens. The figures in the same Official Report tell us that the death-rate of Act-coolies, from 1886 to 1888, was, on the average, 60 to 63 per mille. This is a frightfully high mortality, but it does not prove that if the Act were abolished it would be otherwise. We find, however, in the same Report figures which show that, during the same period, death-rate among non-Act coolies was from 25 to 28 per mille. The death-rate among coolies under the Act is therefore more than double that among non-Act coolies. Can there be a stronger condemnation of the Act than this? I have said enough to show the true character of the Act, which, in the words of some English officials, supports a system of *quasi*-slavery. It is the greatest blot on the scutcheon of a people whose greatest glory is that they are the liberators of slaves. (*Cheers*). The Government in England is conscious of this blot, and has repeatedly asked the Government of India to do away with the system. The Government of India has also given repeated pledges that the system shall be abolished, as soon as greater travelling facilities have been afforded, and I must say that the Government has been calling for Special Reports and appointing Commissions to improve the condition of the coolies. Only recently a Commission was appointed, and that Commission has reported that offences of fraudulent recruitment are every year on the increase, and that the Act should be repealed so far as Sylhet and Cachar are concerned. The report also tells us that it is not true that free labour cannot be had for the tea gardens without the Act. The words of the report are these:—"Experience tells us that coolies do not object to go to places merely because they are unhealthy. No difficulty has been found in getting labourers for Chittagong, even though the pay has been reduced from Rs. 12 to 8 a month, or for the Assam Railway, or other unhealthy works, but an inducement of higher pay is needed." So the question is really one of wages. The Act is required for making coolies work on lower wages than they would ordinarily do; in other words, for cheating the coolie. (*Cheers*). If Englishmen in England knew this, the Government of India could not venture to retain the system a moment longer. Now, is it really to the interest of the planter that the Act should be retained? According to the latest official report the planter has to pay Rs. 150 for every coolie to the contractor. Now, if this amount were paid in wages to the coolie, it could increase his wages by at least Rs. 3 a month. And if a planter pays Rs. 3 more than the wages obtainable at Calcutta, they would get more labourers than they could give work to, and get better work. (*Cheers*). It is therefore to the interest of all parties that the present system should be abolished. Railways have been opened in Assam, and there is a splendid steamer service. No time should therefore be lost in repealing the Act, and removing this one great blot on the fair fame of England. (*Loud Cheers*.)

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL (Calcutta, No. 34, on the list), in seconding the Resolution, said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I am exceedingly thankful to my colleagues on the Subjects Committee for placing this Resolution before the Congress, because public feeling, in Assam and Bengal, has been very strong on this subject for many years past. I have not the slightest doubt that if my friends from the other parts of the country had as intimate an acquaintance with the evils that are fostered by the law which is the subject of this Resolution, public feeling in Madras or Bombay would have been as strong as it is in Bengal or Assam. Nor is it a mere matter of feeling with you who come from other parts of the country. The labour population of Assam contains a little over 24 per cent. of labourers imported from the Central Provinces, the North-Western Provinces and the Ganjam Districts of Madras, and their lot is in no way superior to the lot of the labourer imported from Burdwan or Behar. Now, Sir, the evils of the administration of the British Government of India have an epidemic character like the Bubonic plague of Bombay. If there is an evil in Bengal, rest assured, that that evil will work from Bengal to Bombay, to Madras, to Sind. Do you know, Sir, why the Act has been extended to the Central Provinces?—Because I remember to have read about ten years back a Resolution by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces who objected to the introduction of the *Arkati* into his dominions. What is the character of the law which this Resolution asks you to press for repeal? The late Kristo Das Pal characterised it as the Slave Act of India, and we all know that Kristo Das Pal was not the man to utter a harsh word unnecessarily. We also have it on record that a Deputy Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Porteous, in his official report, declared it to be an Act by which the labourers were reduced to a state of *quasi-slavery*. The mover of this Resolution has laid before you a statement of the circumstances under which this Act operates in Assam. I will not travel over the same ground, but this much I may say that, if you have listened to his speech, it must have impressed you with the truth of Kristo Das Pal's statement. Now, gentlemen, it is necessary, if for no other considerations, out of regard for the freedom that is the birth-right of every British subject, and out of regard for the fair fame of England, that this obnoxious Act should be absolutely repealed. But, Sir, I do not stand upon grounds of mere abstract justice or equity. As practical politicians we cannot always mould and shape our actions by abstract principles of justice and equity, and the question here is—Is this Act needed even in the interests of the planters? My friend said that the Act was needed in the interests of the planters. I say it is not. I would do nothing to discourage that one industry which has brought to my province its present prosperity and strength. I want the tea industry to flourish, and if I wanted to destroy or in any way injure the tea industry of Assam, I am sure my respected friend Mr. Caine would not allow me to do so, because if the temperance party succeed in their holy campaign, they will have to substitute tea and coffee for beer and brandy. (*Laughter*). I do not propose to do anything of the kind. I want the Act repealed, because I say it is not needed in the interests of the tea industry in Assam. How do I prove it? I prove it in this way. Mr. Ghose has referred to the statement of the Chief Commissioner of Assam—I believe it was Sir James Fitzpatrick—who said that, according to the opinion of a very large number of District Officials in Assam, this Act was not needed in the interests of the tea gardens, except in two cases. First, in the case of out-of-the-way gardens, and, secondly, in the case of unhealthy gardens. I would ask you, gentlemen, to ponder over the real meaning of this expression. This Act is needed for remote gardens, because the labourer who would go for four or five rupees a month to Sylhet would not go higher up the hills for five or six rupees. That is the real meaning of the clause that the remote gardens cannot do without the Act. (*Shame*). Then, with regard to the unhealthy gardens, the poor coolies have the same feelings as you and I, and as you and I would not like to go to Bombay at this season, so, for the same reason, the poor labourer will not go to places shewing a mortality which in any other part of the country would be considered a frightful epidemic. Can you blame the coolie if he will not go to a garden

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where ten to twentyfour men die out of a hundred every year? You cannot blame the coolie if he will not go under these conditions. One word more, gentlemen, and I have done. My friend the mover of the Resolution has referred to the Report of the Labour Commission. I wish to refer to one matter which has been noticed by the Labour Commissioners. The Sonthals, as you know, form a large proportion of the labour population of Assam, but, of late, emigrations from the Sonthal Perganahs to Assam have practically ceased, for the simple reason that these people have come to know of the lot of those who have been to Assam. I will just read a few lines from the Report of the Labour Commissioners. The Commissioners say that "the Sonthal Perganahs district, in the Bhagulpore Division, had been, for some years the hunting ground of coolie-catchers of all nationalities, and the complaints against them and their rascalities became so bitter, and the feelings of the Sonthals and the Paharies who inhabit the district so strong that, a few years ago, it became almost unsafe for anyone to visit certain parts of the district to recruit coolies. Large numbers of the inhabitants had gone away to Assam, generally stealthily, and even when their departure was known to their relatives, the same complaint was heard, *viz.*, that no one knew what happened to them after their departure." That is the feeling of the Sonthals, and I am sure this feeling will spread to other districts. Where will the coolies come from then? Some knowing planters in Assam have taken time by the forelock, and have sent their agents to the Sonthal Parganahs who have sent some of the Sonthals to Assam to show how the coolies live there, and they have returned satisfied that the Sonthals are better off in Assam than in their own districts. The coolies first are treated well and clothed, and some are then sent back to their own province to show their contrymen their prosperity. I will not detain you, gentlemen, any longer upon this point. I will only press this Resolution for your acceptance, and I hope out of regard for humanity and out of regard for the fair fame of England you will accept it. (*Cheers*).

BABU RAJANI KANTA SARKAR, (Purulia, Bengal, No. 597, on the list), in supporting the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I must join with the Seconder of this Resolution in expressing, on my own behalf and on behalf of the people of the division I represent, our deep sense of gratitude to the Subjects Committee, and I must add also, to the Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerji, for helping us in bringing this proposition to the notice of this Congress. Gentlemen, to me it is a matter of very great surprise that Englishmen who have abolished slavery from every part of the British dominions; that the illustrious race that can claim a Wilberforce and a Clarkson should so long allow this disgraceful Act to disfigure the Indian Statute-Book. As a legal practitioner it has been my lot to conduct many cases under the act in Purulia, and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that more barbarous provisions it will not be possible to find in any Act of this or any other country. Reference has been made by the Mover of this Resolution to that provision in the Act which says that, if an intending emigrant enters into an agreement with an employer and subsequently refuses to proceed to the labour districts without what is termed "reasonable cause," he is liable to conviction and imprisonment for a period of three months. What "reasonable cause" is, the Legislature has nowhere defined. The Mover of the Resolution omitted, however, to refer to another provision which is, if possible, still more barbarous. Do the sufferings of the coolie end, when he has left the prison cell? No, Gentlemen, under this provision he is then made over, body and soul, to the employer, and if he still persists in refusing, he is again put upon his trial and convicted. A Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum once remarked in my hearing, when pressed to make over a convicted coolie to the employer: "Babu, I decline to execute such a barbarous provision." (*Applause*). The real evil, Gentlemen, lies in the system of recruiting. There are two systems, by *Arhaties* and by Garden Sirdars. Who are Garden Sirdars? They are coolies who have

spent some time in Assam, and who are sent out to recruit in their own districts for their contractors. Quite an army of recruiters are let loose upon an ignorant, unwary public, and I assure you that their inroads into the interior create more panic than the incursions of Pindari freebooters in days gone by. The only difference is that, in the one case there is deception and fraud, and in the other there was force. Reference has been made by the Seconder of the Resolution to safeguards. I suppose what is meant are the provisions relating to registration to secure freedom of consent. These provisions are more illusory than real, and, if time permitted, I could give you many instances to prove this. I will give just one typical illustration of the useless character of these provisions. Not very long ago a batch of coolies was being marched from one of the depôts of Puroia to the Railway Station there. One of the coolies rather than go to Assam, under the very nose of the authorities, within a hundred yards of the Deputy Commissioner's house, laid a razor across his throat. What was the result of such an action? The result was that that unfortunate coolie was put upon his trial for attempting to commit suicide! (Shame). As I have said I could, if time permitted, multiply such instances. Public opinion has unmistakably declared itself in favour of the repeal of this Act, and I have not the slightest hesitation in asking you to record a unanimous vote in favour of this Resolution. Gentlemen, at the first sitting of this Congress you passed a Resolution in favour of redressing the grievances of your countrymen in South Africa. I say that the sufferings the coolies have to undergo are ten times greater than those suffered by the Indian settlers in South Africa. I, therefore, beseech you to pass this resolution in the name of the weakest and most helpless of your countrymen. (Cheers)

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

MR. G. PARAMESWARAM PILLAI (MADRAS No. 751, on the list) in proposing the Sixteenth Resolution said:—

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additional
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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Very few words are sufficient from me in support of the proposition which I have now the honour to move, namely, "That 'having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, statesmen from England to the exclusion of the services in India, and in view to the utilisation by those Governors of the power of giving when necessary a casting vote allowed them by law, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three members and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors must be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service, and in view to carry out this object without additional cost, this Congress would suggest that the Officers commanding the forces of those Presidencies be declared members of the respective Councils, as the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay were, before the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of 1898 was passed."

You will remember, gentlemen, that till the year 1898, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Madras and the Bombay Armies had seats on the Executive Councils of the Governors of the respective Presidencies. In that year the status of the Provincial Commanders-in-Chief was lowered, and they were deprived of the independent charge of the military department which they had retained till then. Though this reform was certainly good in itself and was welcomed on all sides, it deprived—quite unintentionally however—the Governors of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay of the privilege of utilising their casting vote. The object with which the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were constituted into Governorships was to give the people of those Presidencies the benefit of the latest development of statesmanship in Europe, and in order that the Governor may not be handicapped in his administration by his two Civilian advisers, a third Councillor was found in the person of the Commander-in-chief, with whose support the Governor can always overrule the decision of his Civilian councillors. The two members of the Civil Service who are provided with seats in the Governor's Council,

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were intended merely as advisers or rather suppliers of information on the basis of local experience, leaving it free to the Governor to arrive at conclusions in the light of his own superior statesmanship and mature wisdom. It was with this object also—lest the Governor himself by long residence in the country imbibed strong prejudices—that the period of administration of Provincial Governors was limited to five years. But all these noble and benevolent objects have been entirely defeated by the removal of the heads of the local armies from the Executive Councils of the Governors.

The Military Officer, who was free from the prejudices of bureaucratic Civilian Officials generally sided with the Governor who, particularly if he happened to be a man with a strong will of his own, full of sympathy for the people committed to his care, was able to do them immense service. There are not wanting instances in which Governors of Madras have exercised their right in this fashion in the teeth of the unmeaning and unreasonable opposition of his Civilian advisers. I shall mention but two. During the regime as Governor of Madras of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who was well-known for his sympathy with the people, a Civilian Sub-Collector had the audacity, under the orders of a Civilian Collector, no less a person than Mr. Thomas of the anti-Ilbert-Bill agitation fame, to compel the people of Negapatam to exhume the body of a Sanyasi who was buried in a particular locality in the town, on so-called sanitary grounds. There was quite a sensation then in the town of Negapatam; and when complaints reached the ears of the Duke from the people whose religious susceptibilities were deeply wounded, His Grace took a very sympathetic view and ordered the punishment of the Civilian Sub-Collector and the reburial of the Sanyasi in the place in which he was originally buried. His Civilian advisers were opposed to him in this matter. Nevertheless the Duke was able to outvote them with the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief. More recently still, during the time of the famine in Ganjam in the Presidency of Madras, Lord Connemara visited that district, and, out of sympathy for the suffering and starving people, telegraphed to the Collector of Cocanada to send a shipload of rice to the people, promising to send the orders of Government later on. But conceive his surprise, gentlemen, when on returning to Madras, he found his two Civilian Councillors dead opposed to the execution of his orders. Lord Connemara, however, was equal to the occasion. He took the Commander-in-Chief into his confidence, and enforced his orders with the help of his casting vote. (*Cheers*). But such a thing has become quite impossible since the deprivation of the Military Officer of his seat in the Council. The result is that a sympathetic Governor is considerably handicapped in the exercise of his authority, and is in fact less able to make himself useful to the people than a Lieutenant-Governor; and it is certainly altogether undesirable that the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, which contribute more towards the maintenance of the Governors and Staff, should be in a more disadvantageous position than the Provinces of Bengal and the North-West Provinces which are governed by Lieutenant-Governors. In fact, gentlemen, Madras has already begun to feel the effects of the nullification of the Governor's casting vote in the Council. Madras has now the satisfaction of being governed by a sympathetic ruler, but his attempts to do good to the people are to no small extent being thwarted by his Senior Councillor, the Hon'ble Mr. Bliss, who was greatly responsible for the misgovernment and mal-administration of Madras by Lord Wenlock, in conjunction with the Junior Councillor, who is a mere puppet in Mr. Bliss's hands. There has been a conflict of opinion between the Governor and his Councillors in several cases in Madras recently, notably in the matter of the creation of a Provident Fund for the Police, and of the right of Village Officers to appeal to Government. There is no doubt that if Sir Arthur Havelock were in the position of the Duke of Buckingham or Lord Connemara, he would have been a much more free agent today than he really is. So far as I am aware, almost the same thing may be said of the Governor of Bombay at present; or if the present Governor

of Bombay is not exactly in the same predicament, what is true of Madras today may become true of Bombay tomorrow.

Of course, if possible, we ought to suggest the appointment of an Indian as the third member of the Executive Council, but that at present cannot be effected without additional expenditure, and is not likely to be sanctioned by Government. It would, therefore, be more satisfactory to put the Lieutenant-General, Commanding the Madras or Bombay Forces as the case may be, back into the place which was occupied by his predecessors, the Commanders-in-Chief.

It may be urged that the Governors of these two Presidencies still retain the right of vetoing the decision of their Councillors; but such a right, if I remember aright, does not exist in all matters—not, I believe, in matters relating to taxation, and perhaps also not in matters judicial—and is meant to and will be exercised only on very rare and extraordinary occasions. For these reasons, I trust, gentlemen, you will carry the proposition which I have placed before you for your kind acceptance. (*Cheers*).

MR. ALI MAHOMED BEHJI, (SECONDRABAD, No. 778, on the list) in seconding the Resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The proposition that has been placed before you by the Mover is a new proposition. We have made progress. We find the Congress moves as it finds there are evils to be remedied, and in the new arrangement that has been arrived at, a source of evil has been detected, and consequently this Resolution has been placed before you to remove that source of evil. You know very well that in the Executive Councils of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors no native of this country is admitted; they are all Europeans. Formerly, the Executive Council consisted of four members; two Civilians the Governor as President, and the Commander-in-chief. At the present time, since the status of the Commander-in-chief has been lowered, he has no longer the power of voting, in the Council, consequently the voting is left between the two Civilian members and the Governor. The Civilian members, if they find that any measure brought before the Executive Council is one in which their colleagues or themselves are interested, combine together, and the Governor is placed in a minority. The casting vote is utterly useless in this instance. The Civil Service of India has been extolled. We have been told that it is the noblest Service in the world, and I endorse that statement. All its members are honourable men; but still they are men, and human nature, whether it be in the most honourable Service or otherwise, is all the same. The Mover has given you instances of the injustice this arrangement gives rise to. In Bombay it is the same thing. At present the Civilians there rule the whole thing. I am not going to give you instances. It is sufficient for me to say that there is the evil. I ask you, gentlemen, therefore to pass this Resolution, for although we shall not succeed, there is no harm in passing the Resolution. (*Cheers*).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

The President then read the Seventeenth Resolution which was as follows:—

That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the policy of Government, in provinces where the Settlement of Land Revenue is periodical, to reduce the duration of the Settlement to shorter periods than had been the case till now, and prays that the Settlement should be guaranteed for long periods, at least for sixty years.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (Madras No. 752, on the list) in seconding this Resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen. You have heard the Resolution read out to you. It deals with the most deplorable policy that is being gradually introduced into the Provinces where Permanent Settlement of land revenue does not obtain. That policy has

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made itself manifest in my Province of Madras, and I understand in the Central Provinces also. Gentlemen, I daresay most of you have interested yourselves in the condition of the agricultural classes, and I have no doubt you are convinced of the great importance of guaranteeing to them some degree of permanance of the settlement of the land revenue. At this Congress, from its very commencement, we have been most earnestly and passionately appealing to the Government to give the ryots the advantages of a Permanent Settlement; and if that were a measure, which was, on considerations that commended themselves to Government, not practicable, we appealed to them to give the ryots long periods of settlement. But these prayers of ours, most moderate and reasonable as they were, have not been heeded. On the other hand, instead of the permanency of settlements, instead of long-term settlements, the tendency is to shorten settlements. For a long time past there has been an assurance that the settlement of land revenue should be at least for 30 years; but on the occasions of recent settlements in the Madras Presidency, this assurance has been most deliberately disregarded. The Government of Madras has refused to guarantee even the duration of 30 years. They have now openly declared that it is impossible to follow any hard and fast rules, and that each case must be determined on its own merits. Gentlemen, in its earlier years the Government was very liberal in its promises. It promised at one time that all over India Permanent Settlement should be introduced, and a gentleman was sent out to India to give effect to this promise. But it was quietly shelved. Some years afterwards, however, after continued agitation, Lord Ripon enunciated a policy of modified permanency of settlement in a Resolution of the Government of India, in which the public were assured that, in all provinces where there was no Permanent Settlement, there should be a modified permanency of settlement, that new settlements would be based only upon prices, and that there would be no re-classification of soils. To the policy thus declared, the Madras Government was agreeable. They said they would embody in their standing orders that in future settlements no re-classification of soils should be attempted, and that the settlements should depend entirely on the change in prices. But, unfortunately, that Resolution went to the Secretary of State, and he declined to uphold the policy embodied in it; and, strange to say, this decision of the Secretary of State was not communicated to the Madras Government for ten years. Meanwhile, the ryots in districts where new settlements were introduced, were assured that the settlements were to be carried out only with regard to changes in prices. But the whole policy was changed soon afterwards, and the old system was re-introduced, subjecting the ryots to sudden and very material increases of revenue. But the worst feature of the new policy is that the whole policy of guaranteeing the settlement for 30 years has been changed. I understand in some Provinces the settlements are to last for only 10 or 12 years, and I do not know that government will not, in future, revise the settlements once in 5 years. Of course the ryot is a most patient beast, that bears on his broad back the most deplorable burdens. I say, Gentlemen, in my province there seems to be no end to the demands the Government makes upon the slender purse of the ryot, and it looks as if the heavier the financial embarrassments of the Government become, the heavier will be the burden put upon the back of the ryot. It has been well said that the ryot is the backbone of the finances of India. But how long can he continue to sustain this burden, if this unfortunate policy is to be continued year after year? I think, in view of the fact that a majority of the people of India rely upon the soil for their maintenance, a protest should be laid before the Government against their most reckless and extravagant policy in military matters. With these words Gentlemen I beg to move this Resolution. (*Cheers*).

MR. J. P. GOODRIDGE c. s. (Jubbulpore, No. 689, on the list) in supporting the Resolution said:—

This Resolution is one which most intimately concerns the Province which I represent at this Congress. I need not say that any subject connected with land is practically the most important that can engage the attention of those who rule this country. The Central

Provinces (as those who have studied these matters know) have not always been prosperous. As regards the system formerly adopted in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories which form the northern portion of the Province, it was remarked by Mr. Martens Bird, a distinguished Revenue Officer in 1833:—"That the demand of a revenue higher than can be realized only during a succession of favourable years leaves every man dependent not on his own skill and industry to create the largest possible surplus for his own use after meeting the demand of the Government, but on the bounty of Government doled out at the discretion of the District Officer, to leave him something out of its demand on which he may subsist. This system, combined with short cases, is of itself sufficient to account for the impoverished and exhausted state of the lands which are ruined by overcropping and want of culture." This shortsighted policy was happily abandoned, and on the occasion of the settlement which took place about 30 years ago, a change was made which yielded the best results. It was introduced during Sir Richard Temple's administration of the C. P. by a capable and experienced Settlement Officer, Sir John Morris, who had come from the Punjab, and had imbibed all the statesmanlike principles of the late Lord Lawrence regarding the Settlement of land. The administration of those days saw that there could be no improvement unless the people had strong inducement to invest their savings in the soil. Sir John Morris often spoke to me on this subject, and of the principles which had always actuated Lord Lawrence as Settlement Officer, of the necessity of very moderate assessments, and of long periods of tenure. Well, the result of this wise policy was that up to about 10 or 15 years ago, a considerable improvement of villages had been effected, and prosperity had followed. But, unfortunately, that policy has now been changed and the pendulum is winging back to the state of things described by Mr. Bird. There has been practically a breach of faith with the landed interest. Sir Richard Temple, in the course of his tour in the Central Provinces in 1862-65, announced that the Settlements were to be for 30 years at least and that there was every hope of their being made permanent in places where cultivation had already reached 80 per cent. of the culturable area. In fact, he, in the recollection of those who heard him and in his Annual Report, held out a distinct promise of a Permanent Settlement, though it is now said that in any cases his action was *ultra vires*. Since then many persons have purchased villages, and spent money in their improvement, hoping that under the British Government there would be permanency of tenure at fair rents. They were encouraged to do so, but now the opposite policy seems to prevail among those who govern the C. P. Instead of this period of 30 years being extended into a much longer, and indeed into a permanent, settlement under certain conditions, as the people were ever led to expect, they have been reduced, and in some cases to 14 and even 12 years. Now I say, Sir, that this policy is retrogressive and shortsighted. It also involves a breach of faith and is economically indefensible. During the 30 years that followed Sir John Morris' Settlement land has been eagerly sought for as a profitable investment, but this is no longer the case, and we are drifting back into the state of things described by Mr. Martens Bird 60 years ago.

I have myself acted for a short time in the capacity of Settlement Commissioner of the C. P., and have studied and have taken a special interest in all Settlement operations; but I was surprised to find that Government has reverted to the old policy of short periods. I feel certain that the older officers of the C. P. Commission, who knew the Provinces when the 30 years Settlement was made, were not consulted. Some have expressed themselves to me very strongly on this subject, and hold that unless proprietors in a Province, subject to many vicissitudes of season, from floods, and droughts, have a settlement of at least 30 years they cannot prosper. Well, Sir, this policy appears to me, as I have said, to have been adopted without consultation with those who are best able to form a judgement on

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this question or without any considerations which are ordinarily considered important in the determination of questions of this sort. The only reasons given by the Government, so far as I am aware, and I have taken some trouble to ascertain the fact, why the periods have been considerably reduced, are contained in the answer given to questions put in the Legislative Council; and you will be surprised to hear what they are. The first is that Government should not allow any considerable time to elapse without sharing in improvements in the land and the rise in the prices of its products such as are created by the construction of a railway. Thirty years is apparently considered too long for Government to wait for a share in such a rise; Then, it is said, that an improved system of Settlement procedure has been introduced which provides for the continuous maintenance of village records of rights, and this dispenses with the remeasurement and revaluation of land at each revision, and that it is a part of the new system that the re-settlement of each district is taken in hand in turn and not of all simultaneously, and that this arrangement can only be brought about by making the settlements now in progress run for different, that is by establishing a proper roster for the future. As regards the first reason assigned, it is to be remembered that the C. P. were supplied 10 years ago with all the railway they are likely to have for years to come. There may in the future be a new link railway here and there, or a feeder line may be opened; but very few villages in the districts of the C. P. will be improved otherwise than by the industry and improvement of the people themselves.

But the real reason is the second which stripped of all its verbiage and platitudes, is this that all other considerations must yield to the convenience of the Settlement Department. The periods adopted for the various districts are so arranged that their Settlement will fall in at the turn most convenient for the Settlement Department to take them up. Was there ever a more naive confession that everything must yield to the convenience of a department of Government? How the Supreme Government could ever have permitted a local administration to make so important a change without adequate discussion, is marvellous. It is admitted that the Government of India are aware that the landowners of the C. P. wish for long-term Settlements, but these wishes have never been duly considered, and there has never been a more cynical disregard of the wishes of the landed classes than this. I need not dwell on the fact that nobody will invest capital in the soil unless he can see a fair prospect of a return sufficient to recoup him for the labour, risks, and the interest on the money invested. This is impossible in a short period of 12 or 14 years. He may have (as past experience proves) bad seasons for the first few years, and then he may come upon a period of good crops for the next few years; and just at the very moment when he hopes to recoup himself and reap the benefits of his enterprise, a new Settlement comes upon him, and his rent is raised, and the very efforts he has made to improve his estate have recoiled upon him. We know there are people in this country who live for the greater part of the year in the hills and other pleasant places, who legislate for those who carry on the work in the plains. They sit for months and months and send down reams of orders. They draw up complex rules and regulations to their own satisfaction so as to prevent improvements being taxed, but when you come to work these rules, you find them impracticable and wholly unsuited to the people of this country. Now, I say that a system of that sort must discourage improvement of that land which has to feed more and more mouths as time passes. We have but few industries worth speaking about. They have long since collapsed in the competition with machine-made goods. If we cannot improve our land, and make them yield more, we shall be in a sorry plight. The old policy laid down by Lord Canning that, after 80 per cent. of the cultivable land had been brought under cultivation, there should be no further assessments, is the only one suited to agriculture. I would therefore ask this Congress to endorse this Principle that, in all cases where it may at present be found impracticable to give a permanent Settlement, the period should be extended to 60 years, or 2 lives, and, further, that all subsequent assessments should not in any way be dependent on the increased productive powers of the soil, or the

construction of Railways, or other permanent public improvements, but should have reference solely to a change in prices, or to matters connected with the Currency. I would also plead for fair and moderate assessments. These alone are practicable in a backward country where the people are poor and have nothing to fall back upon. A single drought or a murrain may cripple their resources and obstruct their cultivation. At the last Settlement of the C. P. 50 per cent. of the rentals was the basis of the Government demand. This has now been raised to a maximum of 65 per cent., and an addition to this of 12 ½ per cent. on the Government rent has been added for cesses in place of the former 4 ½ per cent. It is quite possible that by means of these inordinate assessments what is given with one hand may be taken with the other. Proprietary right may, by over-assessment, be actually destroyed, but, even if the proprietor is reduced to the condition of a mere Collector of rents, it is doubtful whether the percentage now left him will cover the risk and cost of collection. What is needed then is a long settlement with a fair and moderate assessment, and I say that in both respects the present policy of the C. P. is retrogressive. It is economically indefensible, and oppressive in practice. (*Cheers*).

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The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

The President:—Gentlemen, I have to say that so far as Mr. D. N. Ganguly's amendment on the 13th Resolution is concerned, I have explained to him that it consists of two parts. The Congress has often resolved in favour of permanent settlements, which forms the first part. So far as the amendment deprecates short settlements there has been another Resolution—No. 17—now laid before the Congress. So far as payment in kind is concerned, I have referred to that point in my address, and as it is a new point, must necessarily be discussed by the several centres, and then brought on after mature consideration. Mr. Ganguly has therefore kindly consented to withdraw his amendment. (*Cheers*). I shall therefore now put Resolution No. 13 to you, and those in favour will please signify their assent in the usual way.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

MR. S. P. SINHA (Calcutta, No. 232, on the list) in proposing the eighteenth Resolution said:—

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Deposition of
Indian Princes.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The Resolution, which I have the honor to move runs thus:—

That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of malaadministration or misconduct until the fact of such malaadministration or misconduct shall have been Established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

Sir, it might seem at first sight that the subject of this Resolution is somewhat beyond the scope, the sphere, the limits which this Congress has hitherto set to itself. But I venture to think that upon closer inspection it will be found that this view rests upon a misconception. Now, the relations between the Protected States of India and the Paramount British Power are so complex and so delicate, that it is impossible to define or accurately to explain them. But whatever these relations may be, whether that of complete independence or complete subjection; whether it is what Mr. Lee Warner in his recent book calls "one of junior partnership or subordinate union," it is perfectly clear that we, the British Indian subjects of Her Majesty, have a most vital and substantial interest in the preservation of good relations between these Native States and the Paramount Power. If, gentlemen, the relation is one of complete subjection, then, forsooth, these Native States

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are an integral part of British India, and the rulers and subjects of those States are, just as much as ourselves, subjects of Her Majesty. If, on the other hand, the relationship is one of friendship and subordinate union, then I say who are more interested than ourselves in the preservation of good relationship and good feeling, and above all for the preservation of that peace which is vital for the welfare and prosperity of our country? Now, gentlemen, I hope that is sufficient to dispel any doubt that may have arisen in the minds of some of us that we are travelling beyond our legitimate sphere. To proceed to the subject itself,—What is it that we ask for? We do not bring any charge of injustice against the Government of India with regard to any particular instance. Upon this point, gentlemen, I beg not to be misunderstood. That is the position upon which we take our stand. I am here, gentlemen, and we are all here to ask, not that any particular decision already arrived at with reference to any case or any particular Prince or Chief, should be reversed. All that we ask is, that, in future, steps be taken to guarantee that no Prince or Chief should be deposed by the Paramount Power for alleged miscarriage of justice or tyranny without a full and complete public enquiry. (*Cheers*). The Resolution, gentlemen, you will perceive is based upon the assumption that the Government of India has a right, an undoubted right, to depose any of the Protected Princes or Chiefs for mal-administration or misconduct. Now, to those of you who are familiar with the treaties which exist between these States and the British Government, it may seem that I am putting the case too high when I say that it is the undoubted right of the British Government to depose any of these Princes. But, gentlemen this is an unwritten law, a creation of usage and custom which has grown up as an accretion to, nay, in spite of, the treaties which exist between these States and the British Government. True it is that, speaking generally, they are left to deal with their own internal affairs in any way that seems best to them, but whatever views these rulers may hold with regard to the binding character or otherwise of this customary law, we assume in this Congress that they certainly know clearly that it is not for us to question its soundness or its propriety. Every rule or law or practice which has for its object the amelioration of the condition and the redress of the grievances of the masses of the people, whether within British India or without British India, in the Native States, has our warm sympathy and our hearty approval. (*Cheers*). Therefore, Gentlemen, it is that I say we assume, as it is our duty to assume, that the Government of India has a right to depose any Prince or Chief who is guilty of gross misrule or gross misconduct. All that we ask is that, before the Paramount Power so seriously interferes in the internal affairs of any of these States as to depose its ruler, either permanently or for a limited period, there must be a case made out of grave misrule, or misconduct, by clear, direct, and tangible evidence of such misrule or misconduct. How is that misconduct to be brought home to the Prince? Before the Prince or Chief against whom so grave a charge is brought is deposed, should he not be entitled to demand, in common with ordinary citizens, the right to a fair, full, and free enquiry? (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, not even the meanest of the ordinary subjects of Her Majesty is liable to lose a fraction of his liberty without a full enquiry and a fair trial in the ordinary municipal tribunals, conducted openly and publicly, according to well-known rules of law, and according to well-established rules of procedure. Now, there are elaborate rules, so far as ordinary citizens are concerned, for appeal and revision from court to court, so that the errors and irregularities of one tribunal are liable to be corrected by another and a higher tribunal. Why should the Prince not have a similar chance to that the meanest subject has? There is no law defining his duties; there is no procedure by which he may be tried for dereliction of those duties which he does not know; there is no tribunal which has the right to try him for these derelictions. His position, therefore, gentlemen, is a thousand times worse than that of the meanest citizens in this empire. According to well-known principles of law, Princes have no right to go before a municipal tribunal with regard to any act of injustice that they may allege against the

Paramount Power. What safeguard, then, has the Prince against an oppressive Resident? Surely, this is a state of things which calls for redress. Gentlemen there is an impression abroad—an impression due to recent events—that the policy of non-intervention which has hitherto characterised our rulers in their relations with Native States is fast disappearing; that there is a growing desire to exact rigid submission to any and every order of the Political Agent with regard to any and every detail of internal administration, and it appears to many people that the Viceroy is often content to ratify the decisions arrived at by subordinate officers (*a voce*: too often). I do not know what effect this may have upon the minds of our Princes and Chiefs, but it is calculated to create mistrust and suspicion, unrest and disquiet. But whether that is so or not, I know that the British Indian subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty view with alarm a policy which may imperil the peace of this great Empire. It is because we are, above all, deeply and devoutly interested in the preservation of the *Pax Britannia* which has been the greatest blessing the British Government has conferred upon us; it is because we are of all persons the most interested, that we ask today that the Government should not interfere, and interfere so seriously, without an ordinary trial. Gentlemen, the deposition of the Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar will be fresh in the recollection of you all. It is not necessary that I should repeat again that I am not bringing any charge with regard to the Jhallawar, or any other case. The Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar may have been deposed upon grounds which are ample, full, and sufficient. It is not for us to discuss that matter, nor is this the time to go into it. What I wish to point out is that, it was in connexion with the Jhallawar case that the Secretary of State for India in reply to Dr. Clark said that, he considered the House of Commons was not the platform upon which such matters should be discussed, and that the House of Commons should not be asked to consider the Government of India's decision upon such questions. So what does it come to? It comes to this that, a Prince or Chief of a Native State has not only to be content with the decision of the Government of India which is his accuser, but he has not that right of appeal to the House of Commons which is the supreme arbiter of the destinies of the British Indian subjects of Her Majesty. He does not get a trial here; he does not get one in England, and yet we are told that there are ample safeguards against the miscarriage of justice, inasmuch as the public are always taken into the confidence of the Government. This is what Mr. Lee Warner calls "the only safeguard against possible injustice and oppression towards Native Princes." Well, I should like to ask, When is the public taken into this confidence? Is it before the step is taken? Do any of you here know now, nearly a year after the deposition of the Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar, for what precise acts he was deposed and are you not part of the general public? Beyond the bare suggestion and vague rumours of acts of mal-administration, do you know what are the acts for which it was considered fit that the Maharaja should be deposed? You do not. Therefore, it is clear, gentlemen, that we are not taken into the confidence of the Government before the step is taken? Are we taken into their confidence after the step has been taken? Even if we were, gentlemen, it would not be of much avail. For if public opinion declared itself against the decision of the Government, it would be met with a doctrine with which we lawyers are perfectly familiar; the doctrine of *factum valet*; because the first thing we should be asked would be, "What is the use now? We cannot afford to go back upon what we have already done." So that even if we were taken into their confidence afterwards, it would not be of the slightest use. But are we? I say distinctly, no. The correspondence in the Blue Book which was placed before the House of Commons does not allege any specific act of mal-administration. We hear of instances when the Maharaja Rana was foolish enough to ask the Resident to sit on his left hand instead of on his right; we also hear of instances in which the Maharaja Rana did not dispose of the sweetmeats which had accumulated in the palace two days after they had been made. But when we ask—What the precise acts of tyranny, for which he has been deposed are, the Government does not

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mention any specific acts, but speaks of his general mal-administration. That, Gentlemen, is the position. We say we have not been taken into the confidence of the Government, and it is not merely we, it is the British public also. They have a right to know that they have not been taken into the confidence of Government either. Now, all that we ask, gentlemen, is this: that before so serious a step, as deposing a Native Prince or Chief is taken, that Prince or Chief should have a trial before a public tribunal which shall command alike the confidence of the Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs. Gentlemen, there is a precedent for it. You probably remember that in 1875 the Gaekwar of Baroda was charged with attempting to poison Colonel Phayre, the then Resident in the State. Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy at that time, appointed a Commission, consisting of the Maharaja Scindia, of Gwalior, Sir Dinkar Rao, the Maharaja of Jeypore, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Richard Mead and Mr. Philip Melville. So that what we ask for is a thing which the Government of India once thought fit to grant to one of these Princes. All we ask for now is, that in order to ensure the firm and deep-seated loyalty and devotion which has been hitherto, and is now, characteristic of the Princes of India, as it is of the people, the Government should give us an assurance that before taking so serious a step they would give the Prince or Chief charged, a fair hearing and impartial trial. Let them satisfy themselves that before the Prince or Chief is deposed a case has been made out against him. The whole fallacy of the argument the Government of India used in the Jhallawar Case that they were not willing to delegate their functions to any tribunal; the whole fallacy of that rests upon the assumption that they have a right to depose a Native Chief in case of mis-government. Gentlemen, you cannot help seeing that is neither a right nor a privilege: it is a duty cast upon the Government in order to secure good government to take this step. Where then is the difficulty in the Government saying, "Before we are called upon to discharge this duty you must satisfy us that there is a case calling for this duty to be discharged." (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. W. S. CAINE (British Committee, No. 779, on the list) in Supporting the Resolution Said:—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Mr. Sinha has dealt so exhaustively with this important question that there is very little need for me to take up much of your time. You all know quite well that it is as important for the Government of India to be upon good terms with the great native rulers of India, as it is for a man to be on good terms with his mother-in-law. He cannot get rid of her, neither can the Government of India get rid of these great Native Princes. But I am afraid there is little doubt that in the minds of some of our great Native Princes there is an impression growing, with some justification I am afraid, that the Government of India are embarking upon an entirely new policy with regard to the Native Princes, intending, sooner or later, to reduce them to the position of Zemindars. One of the most important steps ever taken by a Viceroy was that taken by Sir John Lawrence at the bidding of Sir Stafford Northcote, then Secretary of State for India, when the great State of Mysore, which had been in the hands of the British Government for many years, was restored to the ruling family. The Princes of Mysore have since amply justified that step. Now, Mr. Sinha has made some reference to the deposition of the Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar. I have read through and through the papers which we managed to extract from the Secretary of State for India, only by moving the adjournment of the House at a most inconvenient period, and insisting upon the production of these papers. The Maharaja Rana was deposed in a most hole and corner fashion, and it was impossible to extract from the Government the real causes why he had been deposed. Well, we got the papers and read them over ourselves, and we saw the whole business narrowed itself down into a petty dispute between a proud and sensitive Prince and an exceedingly foolish Resident. The petty annoyances that were inflicted upon the Prince were useless. Had he been a man of the quality of some of our native rulers, he would probably have met them in a better spirit and disposed of them more easily. I am not here to discuss whether the deposition of the Prince was justified, but I have

no hesitation in saying that, had such a man as Colonel Robertson or Colonel Prideaux been there, the deposition would never have taken place. If there is one department in the Government of India that needs reforming, root and branch, it is their Foreign Office; especially the method by which the various Residents are selected. They are not selected by competitive examination; they are not selected as a rule for any very distinguished services to the State. It is the last rag of patronage which exists in the Government of India. I am a strong advocate for creating a Special Service for the Agents between the Government of India and the Native States, and it does appear to me that, many of the men who have retired from the Dewanships of Native States would be the most suitable men. But under any circumstances let us have men of commonsense, not men whose only experience has been to rise to the rank of Captain in the Indian Army. Now, the smaller States have an inferior class of men put upon them, not men who have been selected for their fitness for the service and sent to these smaller States that they may have some experience under Chiefs, but men picked from the hangers-on of the Court. These are the men who are sent to deal with the most difficult problems with proud and ignorant Chiefs, who hold positions which have come down to them from their fathers. Then, there is the question of an appeal against the decision of the Resident. An appeal, in the first instance, does not lie to the Government of India or to the Secretary of State, but to one of their own class; to some Agent-General who comes down and enquires into the case. We have an old proverb in the English language that it is not fair to try a sheep with a jury of wolves; and it appears to me to be necessary in order to maintain cordial relations between the Government of India and the smaller Native States that there should be some Service created in which the men should be selected for their peculiar fitness for the work, and that it should be a department of as great importance as the Public Works Department, or as the Civil Service itself. Well, the Maharaja of Jhallawar was deposed, and, as I say, we do not question the justice or otherwise of his deposition. What this Resolution asks for is that such action shall not be taken again without there being a public enquiry by which the whole of the people of India may know why a particular Prince or Chief should be deposed. (*Cheers*). I know perfectly well the impression that is going about in the Courts of the Native Princes by this arbitrary deposition of the Maharaja of Jhallawar. There is discontent, suspicion, murmuring exaggeration, and all sorts of things going on from Court to Court all over India by this deposition! And what a deposition it has been. The Maharaja was deposed from an income of 16 lakhs per annum to Rs. 2,500 a month; Even that income has been mortgaged by the law-proceedings he had had to take. I saw him at Benares driving about in a second-class ticca gharry. Well, if he is guilty of treason, then I have no pity for him. The one thing we want in India is publicity. We get that in England. Just consider the Question-list in the House of Commons. There are 80 to 100 questions put down in a single day about the smallest and the most trivial affairs in the United Kingdom, and we want the same thing in India. I do not wish to occupy any more of your time, but the Resolution is one which the Congress is quite justified in bringing forward and carrying. We are interested in everything that affects the welfare of the Indian people. It is absolutely necessary for good government and the preservation of order that Native States, which occupy so much territory, and most of whom govern their people quite equally, so far as the condition of the people is concerned, with the British Raj,—it is absolutely necessary that their relations with the Government of India should be on a most cordial footing. (*Cheers*). Now the Jhallawar case would never have been exposed if it had not been for one agency in this country—the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*—I want to express the admiration which those of us in England, who take an interest in Indian questions, feel for the courage and the fearlessness with which the editors of that paper expose every scandal and injustice which occurs in India. (*Cheers*). Well, we have extorted from the Secretary of State some explanation: we have got a Blue Book; and we have prevented in future any such injustice.

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from taking place again. There is such a thing as vicarious suffering, and the Maharaja Rana of Jhallawar, if he has been unjustly treated, will have this consolation that his case will at any rate, prevent any such case again occurring under the Government of India. I have very great pleasure, Mr. President, in Supporting this Resolution, and I trust, Gentlemen, you will carry it without a dissentient voice. (Cheers).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

The President :—Gentlemen, I beg to propose the nineteenth Resolution which runs thus:—

Resolution. XIX.

Requesting the Government to allow the Central Provinces to have an elected member of the Supreme Legislative Council instead of a nominated member.

That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy of the Government of India, followed last year in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council, without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

MR. BHAGIRATH PRASAD (CENTRAL PROVINCES, No. 684, on the list) in seconding the Resolution said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need not read to you the Resolution again, as the President has already read it. Nor is it necessary for me to remind you of the history of the enactment of the Act concerning the extension of the Indian Legislative Councils. You know perfectly well that through the intervention of that great Liberal party, headed by the Grand Old Man, Mr. Gladstone, and educated by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, a provision was introduced into the Act, embodying the principle of representation. Accordingly, when the Act came out to India, Lord Lansdowne announced that certain Provinces would have the right to send representatives to the Imperial no Legislative Council, but the Central Provinces were not included amongst these. The British Committee interfered, and the Central Provinces got the right, and the then Chief Commissioner announced in open Durbar that to the Central Provinces had been granted the right of representation on the Council. A scheme was submitted with regard to the procedure to be followed in the Provinces, but it is believed that this scheme was not taken into consideration for want of time. After two years, when the time again came round, the people of the Central Provinces again submitted the scheme to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Woodburn, and the President of the Committee, in whose hands the matter was placed, saw Mr. Woodburn, and explained to him the object of the memorial, and also tried to impress upon him the necessity of adopting the scheme. A promise was given that the scheme would be taken into consideration as soon as the Government of India intimated to the Government of the Central Provinces that there was a vacancy. Unfortunately, when the time came, the Government of the Central Provinces had not nominated a gentleman to the Council. They had altogether forgotten that the Government of India had sent out the order that a vacancy was to be filled up, and they only woke up when they received an urgent telegram from the Government of India, asking for the nomination of a member. Now, we have nothing whatever to say against those gentlemen who have been nominated to the Council. What we contend for is the principle of election for which we have been fighting all these years. This right of election has been denied to the Central Provinces. It may next be denied to the North-West Provinces, and then, perhaps, Madras, Bombay, and even Bengal. That is the reason why I trouble you, gentlemen, here, and that was also the reason why the Congress accepted this Resolution at Poona last year. I earnestly hope that you, gentlemen assembled here, will accept this proposition, and I appeal to the Standing Congress Committee of the Central Provinces that it will not sleep, but fight as vigorously as it did in 1893, and make Government grant what it wants. With these words, gentlemen, I commend the Resolution to you. (Cheers).

MR. SHADSHIVA JAYRAM (CENTRAL PROVINCES, No. 681, on the list) in supporting the Resolution said :—

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Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I wish first of all, on behalf of the people of the Province from which I come, to express my warmest gratitude to the President for kindly allowing this Resolution a place on the Congress Programme. It has been ably put before you by my friend, Mr. Bhagirath Prasad. It is of vital importance to the people of the Central Provinces. Mr. Prasad has in a few words ably and emphatically laid before you the manner in which the Central Provinces succeeded in securing the right of returning a representative to the Viceregal Council. In was after a hard fight, lasting some years, and it is due to the recommendation and exertions of Sir Antony McDonnell, who was then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, that the people of those, backward Provinces as they are called, succeeded at last in obtaining that right. I am sure, if this right is to be taken from the people of those Provinces, it will be a very serious matter. The right of returning a representative was given to the Central Provinces in 1893. It was publicly declared in open durbar by the then Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble John Woodburn. It was in exercise of this right that we had the privilege of sending the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnairs to the Viceregal Council. The name of this gentleman is known at least to those gentlemen who are members of the Viceregal Council. This gentleman was elected by the people of the Central Provinces, and also nominated by the Government. He acquitted himself quite creditably, as I am sure you are all aware. His views on the problems taken up for discussion were thoughtful, deliberate, and weighty. It was on account of this that he endeared himself both to the Government and to the people he represented ; but when the term of this representative was over, he was succeeded by another representative of equal ability, Mr. Bhuskute, but he was nominated only by Government. His appointment was not made on the same principle as that of his predecessor. Do not think, gentlemen, that I wish to say anything in any way prejudicial to the reputation of anybody. Mr. Bhuskute is as trustworthy a representative of the Central Provinces as his predecessor, and we congratulate ourselves that, by chance, the Chief Commissioner nominated a gentleman we liked. What I mean to say is that this happy coincidence is not likely to happen year after year. The principle must be laid down on which election must be made ; and if there be no principle of election, and if every thing goes by nomination, there is great risk of a gentleman being nominated by the Government whom the people he is to represent do not like. I appeal to the authorities, therefore, not to allow the principle of election given to the people of the Central Provinces to be taken away from them. I do not think the people of the Central Provinces had committed any blunder, or that there was any reason for the Government to injure them by withdrawing this right. It is not a new thing to give to them. It is, so to speak, a renewal of an old thing given before. With these words, gentlemen, I beg to commend the Resolution to you. (*Cheers*).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

HON'BLE PANDIT BISWAMBHAR NATH (North-Western Provinces No. 606, on the list) in proposing the twentieth Resolution said :—Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The Resolution that I have the honor to move is as follows :—

Resolution XX.

Mr. D. E. Wacha's
delegation
to give
evidence before
the Royal
Commission.

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of satisfaction at the delegation by the Bombay Presidency Association of Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha, Joint General Secretary of the Congress, to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Expenditure, and the Congress was full confidence that Mr. Wacha will give accurate and adequate Expression to its views on the questions which form the subject of enquiry.

I am constrained to break my silence in spite of my feeble health. A vivifying touch has put me on my legs. That touch is the duty cast upon me of paying a merited.

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ompliment to a name which is as familiar to us as a household word. I mean, of course, the name of Mr. Wacha, the Joint Secretary of the Congress. (*Loud Cheers*). Without using any figure of speech, or indulging in oriental hyperbole, I say that he is our Indian Fawcett. More than this I cannot say. It was simply a sense of duty that has brought me before you, and not a wish to figure as an orator. I do not mean to inflict any speech upon you, because, unfortunately, I am physically incapable of doing so. (*Loud Cheers*).

MR. GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE (Pooná No. 729, on the list) in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen;—I deem it a privilege that I should be called upon to second the Resolution which has been moved for your adoption. Gentlemen, in one sense it is a work of supererogation that any words of mine should be necessary to commend a Resolution to you, which, I am sure, when it was simply read over to you, commended itself. However, if I take up your time for a few minutes, it will only be because I am anxious to pay my own humble tribute of and admiration to Mr. Wacha for the splendid work he has been doing for us all these respect years. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, those of you who may have the privilege of knowing Mr. Wacha as intimately as I have known him for the past few years, will bear me out when I say that a nobler, a purer, a simpler, and an honest individual does not exist. (*Cheers*). We all know that at times Mr. Wacha speaks rather too plainly, and rather too straight (*no, no*), and if that be any weakness, I must say that it is a weakness that is essentially due to strength. We are not however here to recognise the private virtues of Mr. Wacha, numerous as they are. The purpose of the Resolution which has already been moved for your adoption is to recognise in a formal manner the public services which Mr. Wacha has been rendering to this Congress and to the Cause of National Progress for so many as the last ten or twelve years. Gentlemen, whether you consider Mr. Wacha as your Joint-General Secretary, or as the active Secretary of the Bombay Congress Committee, or as the active and energetic Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association, as a Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, or as a clever Journalist, who writes here, there, and everywhere, I am quite sure you will be filled with unqualified admiration for his unflagging energy, for the painstaking character of his work, and, above all, for the indomitable courage which always characterises him. (*Loud Cheers*) Well, Gentlemen, what I have said is about work of which you all know something. Besides this, however, Mr. Wacha does a great deal of private work, which is also in the interest of the cause of national reform. I will only mention one or two of these interests. I know for a fact, and I am sure that many of you know also, that Mr. Wacha is the most regular correspondent that the British Committee of the National Congress have in India, and that his letters are always full and exhaustive. I also know for a fact that when humble young persons like myself go to Mr. Wacha for assistance in the study of political questions, Mr. Wacha's services are always freely placed at our disposal. And, gentlemen, we all know that on this Congress platform, next to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Wacha is our principal adviser on questions of Finance and Commerce. We all know that Mr. Wacha, in point of grasp of financial questions and in point of the details of finance, is unrivalled, and that he is one of the foremost financiers we have amongst us. (*applause*) Gentlemen, we rejoice to think that the Presidency Association of Bombay has nominated Mr. Wacha to give evidence before the Royal Commission, because we are convinced our cause could have no better representative. And I know that I am expressing the sense of this Congress when I say that you all have confidence that Mr. Wacha will discharge that trust in a manner worthy of his past reputation. (*Loud Cheers*).

HON'BLE RAJA RAMPAL SING (N.-W. PROVINCES, No. 607, on the list) in supporting the Resolution said:—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The subject I had chosen to speak upon on this occasion was not taken up, and I was thinking that my name would not be connected

with your speakers. But I am very pleased to find that I have another and so agreeable a subject to speak upon. Mr. Wacha is so well known to you that it is not necessary for me to dilate at any length upon his abilities: He is a true Congress supporter. He is also, I am sure, the proper representative of the Congress to give evidence before the Royal Commission: In Mr. Wacha we know that we have a man fully competent to do the work, and I think we should compliment ourselves upon being so fortunate as to be able to nominate a gentleman so thoroughly capable. (*Cheers*).

MR. W. S. CAINE (BRITISH COMMITTEE, No. 779, on the list) said :—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I only want in a single word to support this Resolution on behalf of the British Committee, and take this opportunity of tendering, on behalf of all my colleagues, our most heartfelt thanks to our friend, Mr. Wacha, for all the good advice and good counsel he gives us, for the accurate information with which he keeps us supplied, and for all the services he has rendered to the Cause of Indian Reform. (*Loud Applause*).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (CALCUTTA, No. 37, on the list), in proposing the twentifirst Resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen.—The resolution I have to submit to you runs as follows :—

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

This Resolution was entrusted to me without my consent and in spite of my remonstrances. I believe myself that our Subjects Committee were, at the last moment when they made up their minds to force this upon me, under fatalistic influences. I remember I moved a similar Resolution in the Congress of 1891, which was received as enthusiastically as this has been received by you today. In 1892 there was a General Election in England, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was returned at the head of the poll as member for Central Finsbury. I suppose the Subjects Committee thought that if this Resolution was again brought before you, and brought before you by the same individual who presented it to you in 1891, a similar result might follow. (*Cheers*). At any rate, here is the Resolution, and I can only say that it does not require any words from any one to make it acceptable to you. The example that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has set us all is perfectly unique. Here is an old man, over 70 years of age, working, you may say day and night, night and day, for the benefit of his countrymen. He has had to banish himself from his own country and live in a foreign land, away from his old friends, only for the sake of this country. (*Cheers*). Some little time ago our only Member of Parliament, that is to say the only Indian Gentleman who succeeded in finding a seat at the last election—Mr. Bhownagri—(*Hisses*) came back to this country, and some foolish friends of his wanted to get up a demonstration in his honour to equal the demonstration which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji received when he came to his country to preside over the Lahore Congress. I have no quarrel whatever with Mr. Bhownagri. I am very proud to know that a native of this country is a Member of the House of Commons. You cannot expect everybody to be of the same opinion as yourself. I should have been very pleased if, instead of being a Conservative, Mr. Bhownagri had been a Radical. But then I am sure that if he had been a Radical, he would not have obtained a seat in the House of Commons at the last election. So there is perhaps some advantage in his having been a Conservative. But for any friend of Mr. Bhownagri to consider that he is the Member for India, or that he possesses the confidence of the people of India that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji possesses, is an absurdity. Very few peopl

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have heard of Mr. Bhownagri outside the Bombay Presidency; and although we all rejoice that he is in the House of Commons, and although we all hope that he will be of service there, we cannot but hope and trust that we may find our Dadabhai there before long. (*Cheers*). Nothing will content us but to have the old-man sitting again in the House of Commons doing his duty to his constituents, and doing his work for his country. (*Cheers*). One reason why he failed to secure his seat in the House of Commons this time was that, while he was discharging his duties night after night, his opponent, who has now been successful, was canvassing the constituency, and trying to take away support from him, and obtain it for himself. I hope you will carry the Resolution with acclamation, and carry away a hope that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will soon obtain a seat in the House of Commons. (*Loud Cheers*).

RAJAH BINAYA KRISHNA DEB RAHADUR (Calcutta, No. 1, on the list) in supporting the Resolution said:—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentleman,—The enthusiastic reception you have given to this Resolution shews the respect, esteem, and affection you entertain towards our friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. It is therefore unnecessary for me to mention his unique and unparalleled services to the cause of our country. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, as my honoured countryman Mr. Bonnerjee, has well said, those services do not require any advocacy from anybody. (*Cheers*). With these few words, gentlemen, I beg to support the Resolution, and ask you to carry it with acclamation.

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

Resolution XXII.

Voting a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the Expenses of the British Committee, Joint General Secretary's Office and Cost of "India."

The President:—Gentlemen,—I have to propose the twenty second Resolution. It runs thus:—

That a sum of Rupees Sixty thousand be assigned for the Expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress Publication "India" and also for the joint General Secretary's Office, and that the Several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, here after in Committee, for the year 1897.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution XXIII.

Appointment of Messrs A. O. Hume and D. E. Wacha as General and joint General Secretaries.

The President:—I have now to propose the twenty third Resolution which runs as follows:—

That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. D. Hume to be General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. to be joint General Secretary for the ensuing year.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution XXIV.

Invitation of the Thirteenth I. N. Congress to Amraoti.

MR. RAGHU NATH NARA SINGH MUDHOLKAR (Berar, No. 674, on the list), in proposing the next Resolution said I beg to move the twentyfourth Resolution. It runs thus:—

That the Thirteenth Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day 1897, as may be later determined upon, at Amraoti, Berar.

Brother Delegates,—On behalf of my province and the neighbouring provinces, the Central Provinces, I have very great pleasure in inviting you to meet next year in Berar. Both the Provinces are at present suffering from a severe visitation of famine, and, owing to that difficulty, we may not be able to receive you in the same grand style as the Metropolis of India has. I beg, however, to assure you, on behalf of all my friends in both Provinces and on my own behalf, that though in point of grandeur and display we may not be able to approach Calcutta, in point of the earnestness of our reception we shall not fall behind even Calcutta. (*Cheers*).

The President then put the Resolution which was carried by acclamation.

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The President :—I beg to move that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the Reception Committee. I need not mention the names of all the members of the Committee. I will simply select the name of our friend, Raja Binaya Krishna. (Loud Cheers). Gentlemen, although we are all natives of this country, still when we travel from distant parts we require some friends to look after us, and I have not the slightest doubt, and I am sure you will agree with me, that this Metropolis of India, has given as hearty and as cordial a reception as was possible. (Cheers). Of course we fully expected that this great and wealthy city would give us a very cordial reception, and that reception, as we all know, has been well worthy of the Metropolis of India. Therefore, a cordial vote of thanks is due to the Reception Committee. I take it, that this Resolution is carried by you. (Cheers). The next Resolution is also moved from the Chair, and that Resolution is, that a vote of thanks be accorded to the Volunteers. (Cheers). The Volunteers are not of course real Volunteers, but I have no doubt that in the near future they will become real Volunteers. (Loud Cheers).

The President moves for the Vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and to the Volunteers.

The Resolutions were carried by acclamation.

The President then announced that Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, the Acting Chairman of the Reception Committee, wished to invite the Volunteers to an entertainment on a day which would be subsequently fixed.

DR. RASHBEHARY GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 40, on the list) next called upon Mr. Lalmohan Ghose to move a Vote of thanks to the President.

MR. LAL MOHAN GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 7, on the list) said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, —As illness, I should have much preferred to continue to be a silent listener on this occasion. But as your Committee insisted upon my taking some part in your proceedings, I could not do less than undertake the pleasing duty of moving a Vote of thanks to the Chair. (Cheers). In doing so, however, Gentlemen, I have to throw myself entirely upon your indulgence, for my voice has not yet come back to me, and I fear, I am not yet equal to the task of addressing so large an audience. But, Gentlemen, I have come before you, not for the purpose of making a speech, but merely to assure you, if any such assurance be needed, that whether in good health or in illness, whether able to march abreast with your front ranks or compelled by physical infirmity to linger behind, my zeal for the common cause and my desire to serve our common country will always remain undiminished and unabated. (Cheers).

Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose moves for a Vote of thanks to the President.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I congratulate you upon the splendid success of this the Twelfth Indian National Congress. I congratulate you upon the exemplary and orderly demeanour of this vast gathering; I congratulate you upon the reasonableness of your demands and upon the marked ability, the admirable moderation, and the practical good sense which have characterised the various speakers who have taken part in your deliberations. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I scarcely think that I am guilty of any exaggeration when I say that some of the speeches to which we have had the pleasure of listening would not have failed to command attention even within the walls of the House of Commons. (Cheers). Gentlemen, it has also been a source of very great satisfaction to us to have had in our midst so prominent a member of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, and of the British Congress Committee as our friend Mr. Caine (Cheers), and I am sure you will agree with me that his eloquent and highly instructive speech, in which he gave us a sketch of the excellent work done by these Committees, cannot but cheer, and bring hope, and comfort and encouragement to the most pessimistic individual among us. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I entirely agree with him in thinking that in the work of love that has been so unselfishly and so ungrudgingly taken up by those Committees they will not find it easy to obtain fellow

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 Mr. Lal Mahan
 Ghose moves for
 a Vote of thanks
 to the President.

workers or colleagues from the Tory benches of the House of Commons. Gentlemen, I myself, when you did me the high honour of sending me to England on three different occasions, experienced the same difficulty. My lamented friend, the late Mr. Chesson, than whom India has never had a more sincere friend, (Cheers), Mr. Chesson and myself tried our best on every occasion to secure the co-operation of some Conservative Members of Parliament, but I regret to say that I do not remember that on any single occasion our efforts were crowned with success. Therefore, I have as little faith as our friend Mr. Caine in the Tory Party; and, speaking in his native land and in a different capacity, I have had frequent occasion to use language similar to his and to describe the Tory Party as the defenders of vested interests, as the protectors of privilege, and as the champions of the classes against the masses. (Cheers). But, Ladies and Gentlemen, be that as it may, we shall probably do well to remember that the British Tory, in spite of his evil traditions, has a most wonderful aptitude for sudden conversion. He is very often most vehement in his protests when he is on the point of surrendering some hopelessly untenable position; and, when they find the tide running very strongly against them, you occasionally see the leaders of the Tory party adopting the views, and filching the programme of their political opponents with unblushing coolness and with a delightful forgetfulness of the past. Therefore, Gentlemen, bearing all these things in mind, and remembering that history has a tendency to repeat itself, I should be very sorry, speaking as a member of this Congress, to utter one word that might be calculated to put any difficulty in the way of the conversion of our Tory friends or that might be calculated to alienate any one of them, who might have in a remote corner of his heart, some latent sympathy for us, which he might be disposed to shew on some future occasion, even in a negative manner by abstaining from voting with his party, as was done by those 65 members, referred to by Mr. Caine the other day. Then again, as regards any of our countrymen who may happen to enter St. Stephens through the Tory portals, I see no reason whatever why they should not be just as willing to serve their country on purely Indian questions, as if they had entered the Liberal ranks. Gentlemen, if they do so, I can assure them, on your behalf, that whatever our own predilections may be, we should be prepared to wish them every success in their Parliamentary career. (Cheers). My own position with regard to the two great political parties in England is well known to you, and my views remain unchanged; but I do not think I shall be in the least unfaithful to my party when I say that I cordially welcome the tendency recently shown by the Tories to follow the lead of the Liberal Party, by accepting our countrymen as their Parliamentary candidates, and returning them to the House of Commons. It was once very happily observed by a prominent Liberal of Deptford that the special significance of the contest in that constituency in 1885 lay in this, that the Liberal electors were endeavouring to build a great bridge of love which was to extend right away to India. (Cheers). Gentlemen, as you are aware they did not succeed on that occasion in doing more than laying the foundation-stone of that bridge; and it was not until 7 years later that Central Finsbury completed what Deptford had begun. (Cheers). If it be true that imitation is the most delicate form of flattery, why then it is unquestionable that the Tories of Bethnal Green have paid the highest compliment in their power to the advanced wing of their opponents. Gentlemen, I must not detain you any longer. (Cries of "go on"). I thank you for your kindness. But even if your indulgence be unbounded, my own powers are limited, and I will say only one word more before I conclude. You, Gentlemen, who have come here as delegates from all parts of the country, you are all animated by the same sentiments, you are all filled with the same hopes and aspirations, you are all determined to work unceasingly, to labour steadily and firmly for the furtherance of the common cause, undiscouraged by temporary defeats, or disappointments, undeterred by misrepresentations which you have outlived in the past and which you will brush aside with equal ease in the future; undismayed by official frowns and uninfluenced by any considerations other than those of the public welfare. (Applause). Gentlemen, there are among us here, men who have grown grey in the service

of their country, and also large numbers of youngmen who have still their life, and life's work before them. Let us all remember that we are as yet only on the threshold of our new national life, that we have a great and arduous work before us that we have to bring into line with us all those who are still keeping aloof from a misconception of our objects, that we have not only to tolerate, but to welcome, fair criticism even if it be hostile, and that, above all, we have to convince the governing classes that we seek not to weaken or to sap, but to broaden and to strengthen the foundations of the British Empire. Let the rising generation, of whom Mr. Disraeli once said "they are the trustees of posterity," let our youngmen be content with no lesser ideal. Let every succeeding generation surpass its predecessors in the magnitude of their services to their country. Let them outstrip us in the race of honour. (Cheers). Gentlemen, you agreed with me when I referred to the unqualified success of this Congress, and I feel sure you will also agree with me that success has been due in no small measure to the unwearied labours of our distinguished President and to the united tact, firmness, and forbearance with which he has discharged his onerous duties. (Cheers). We also specially congratulate ourselves upon the fact that this is the second occasion that we have had the honor of having a distinguished member of the Mahomedan community to preside over our deliberations. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I have now much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair, and I hope you will carry it by acclamation. (Loud and prolonged Cheering).

MOULVI ABUL KASIM (Calcutta, No. 226 on the list) in seconding the Vote of thanks, said:—Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with the greatest possible pleasure that I rise to second the proposal which has been so eloquently put before us by our distinguished leader and brilliant orator, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose. (Cheers). Speaking for myself, I deem it a privilege to be permitted to associate with such an interesting duty. The proposal is one which needs no pleadings for your acceptance, no recommendation at my hands. I believe that I echo the sentiments of all educated Indian Mussalmans when I say that to you, Mr. President, is due our deepest gratitude and our sincerest thanks for the able, honest and sincere advice which in your Inaugural Address you have given us. My Mussalman brothers, be they Congress men or no, will do well to study that advice and act upon it. (Cheers). It has been remarked that Mussalmans as a body are an anti-Congress people, but the presence of such a distinguished Mussalman gentleman as our President, negatives that statement. (Applause). It matters not if a certain number of interested people belittle this National Movement, if we have the sympathy and co-operation of intellectual and patriotic Mussalmans. It has also been remarked; Sir, that the Mussalmans do not join the Congress in large numbers. The reason is very simple. It is an universal complaint of my anti-Congress Mussalman brethren that Mussalmans are not well represented in the Public Service, and it has been universally admitted by our rulers that it is because they have not received higher education. The same reason stands in the way of their joining this great National Movement. The number of Mahomedan Volunteers we see around us shows us that young Islam is with us. (Cheers). One word more, gentlemen, and I have done. The gentleman who has occupied the Chair at this Congress, has noted the various objections brought forward by our Mussalman brethren against the Congress, and answered them satisfactorily. One of the strongest reasons why our Mussalman brethren keep aloof from this Congress is that they are led to believe by interested persons that they are not able to meet their Hindu brethren on equal terms. If the Mussalmans have not been able to meet on fair grounds their Hindu brethren, it is not because they are wanting in intellect, but because they are wanting in application and industry. I hope that the bright example set by Mr. Sayani will be followed by many of his patriotic co-religionists, and that in the near future we shall have a large number of his Mahomedan countrymen among our delegates. (Cheers). It has been remarked that the Congress is a good thing in its own way, but that it collides with the interests of the Mahomedans. I say that the best thing for these Mahomedans to do would be to present themselves on this

Moulvi Abul Kasim seconds the vote of thanks to the President.

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platform and state their grievance before assembled India, and I can guarantee that they will have a patient hearing. You should not be afraid, gentlemen, of the large Hindu majority, because justice is not influenced by numbers, and if you have justice on your side, it is sure to succeed. (Cheers). With these words, gentlemen, I second the proposal which has been placed before you, and I have no doubt you will carry it with acclamation (Applause.)

Dr. Rashbehary Ghose put the Vote to the Meeting, and it was carried by acclamation. MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI (Secunderabad No. 778, on the list) then mounted the platform, and said :—

Mr. Ali Mohamed
Bhimji presents a
gold watch and
chain to the
President.

Mr. President, on behalf of the Mahomedan admirers of yourself and sympathisers with this National Movement, I have the great pleasure and honour to offer a token of that deep respect and esteem in which you are held by us for taking this position, and representing the Mahomedan community at this august assembly, which is the National Assembly of India. Sir, it gives me peculiar pleasure, I assure you, to be the mouthpiece of the assembled Mahomedans here, because, I can remember, Sir, that day, now 34 years ago, when a youngman of 25 years of age was then proceeding to England to manage a native firm and a lad of my community of 15 years of age came to that young man and offered his services as assistant to accompany him to England. That lad after the expiration of 34 years now holds a position which any one would be proud to hold. He is a L. L. B. of the Bombay University, a Solicitor of Bombay, and was the first Mahomedan Sheriff of that city, the first Mahomedan President of the Bombay Municipality, Member of the Legislative Council, now Member of the Supreme Council, and last, though by no means the least, President of the National Assembly of India. (Loud Cheers). That lad of 15 you see before you, gentlemen, and that youngman of 25 stands here now an old man. (Cheers). Is it not a proud pleasure for myself to see, what then I did not even for a single moment dream of, that noble youth presiding here over the deliberations of the whole nation. (Loud Cheers). Sir, I have great pleasure in presenting you, on behalf of your co-religionists, with a small token of the regard and esteem in which you are held by those who know that by your presence at this Congress you are furthering the interests and promoting the welfare of the whole Mahomedan Community. (Loud Cheers).

Mr. Bhimji then handed to the President a case containing a handsome gold watch and chain.

The President's
farewell address.

The President:—Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It is now my duty to return thanks. Of all the duties that have ever fallen upon me, and in time I have had to perform both small and large duties. I have never found a duty more troublesome to myself than to reply to a Vote of thanks. At that particular moment when words are most necessary, I have always found it impossible to find words at all suitable to the occasion. I will therefore briefly say that I am very much obliged both to the proposer and the seconder of the Vote of thanks for the very handsome terms in which they proposed that Vote and to you brother delegates for the cordial manner in which you responded to that call. In my humble opinion the Vote of thanks ought to be, not from the delegates to the Chair, but from the Chair to the delegates. (Laughter). Were it not for the cordial co-operation of my friends, I could not possibly have performed the duty in the manner in which it has been done. There is one lesson to be learned from the manner in which Congress work is generally performed, a lesson to be learned not by us but by our rulers. It is often stated and hinted that the people of India ought not to be granted a large share in the administration of the country. If there is one quality which shows conclusively that our people are ready and able to take a very great part in the administration is this, that although there are seven or eight hundred, or even one thousand, delegates assembled here from all parts of the country, the fact that all these delegates willingly obey the Chair, and indeed are anxious to co-operate with the Chair, shews conclusively that you can govern

yourselves. (Cheers). Then gentlemen, another remark I wanted to make was this. It was suggested a few weeks before the Congress met that, on account of the famine, it would not be advisable to have the Congress sittings this year. I am glad that that suggestion was not carried out, and that the Congress has been held. This is the worst year I have seen in all my life. Famine is raging over the whole land, people dying of the plague in Bombay; and if a year like this is not the year to bring you together to contribute your thoughts towards the measures which should be taken for saving life, then I do not know in what year you should be called together. (Cheers). Then again it is very necessary for administrations, however wise, however prudent, however sagacious they may be, to get information from the people of the country they rule as to their wants and wishes. Now, if there is a body in India which can best give this information, it is the National Congress. (Cheers). Therefore it was very proper, nay it was our bounden duty to meet together, and, so far as we possibly could, to inform Government as to what was going on, and as to what measures ought to be adopted. Gentlemen, famine is a very bad thing indeed. Even where there is no famine, I myself have seen people actually starving, and unable to obtain even one meal a day. What do you think must be their condition in a year of famine? No doubt you get statistics that so many people die of starvation and famine; but I assure you that, if you have real statistics, you will find that the number given is not so large as what it really is, that many more people die than those whose deaths are recorded in the statistics. The next thing to which I wished to advert was this. I am very sorry to see that my co-religionists should for some reason or another find it not very agreeable to join the Congress in numbers. I have asked them, and I have advised them in my Address, that even if they do not wish to follow my advice; if they do not wish to follow anyone else's advice; if they do not wish to join the Congress; that they should simply come as visitors, and see for themselves what the Congress is doing. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that if they are present, but for one single day, they will be converted. I have tried that experiment this year myself. I invited several Mussalman friends to come only as visitors even for one day, and, on the evening of the first day, I heard from them that they now began to appreciate the Congress more highly. Well, if that is the case, if our brethren come and join us here and see what is actually being done, I have not the least doubt that they will join and take an active part in these proceedings, and that we shall have in time a large number of Mussalmans, who will consider it the highest honour to preside at the sittings of the Congress. (Cheers). Therefore, if the example of my friend, Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, if the example of the very humble person who now addresses you, can contribute in any small degree to induce Mussalmans to join the Congress, I do not think my coming here will have been in vain. (Cheers). Then, Gentlemen, as to the watch and chain which my co-religionists have been pleased to present to me here, they know very well that from my nature I do not like such demonstrations, but I accept it on this occasion as an exception, to the general rule. I look upon it not merely as a token of love and fellow-feeling towards me, but as an indication of the trend of the Mussalman heart with regard to the Congress. (Cheers). Gentlemen, the last remark I wish to make is this. When one occupies the position of Chairman of such a very large assembly, especially when all the members of that assembly come from different places, are all educated men and all thinkers, it is a very difficult thing to stop them in the limited time of 10 or 5 minutes; and if I have in my duty stopped any brother delegate, I hope he will not take it as part of my nature but as my duty. (Cheers). Then, lastly, Gentlemen, I wish this great Movement every success. Although the Congress has not yet been able to achieve the full measure of the success its originators wanted, still they have achieved in another direction greater success than could ever have been dreamed of. From my own experience I know that these Congress Meetings held in different years in various places in the country, have so stirred up public opinion in these places that hundreds and thousands more people now know what are their rights and

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Gentlemen, now good-bye and farewell. Next year I hope we shall all meet at Amraoti where we shall go with our noble work. (Loud and prolonged Cheering, the audience rising).

The Congress then dissolved (3 P. M.) amid Cheers for the Queen Empress, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the President, and Mr. Surendranath Banerji.