

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ARYA PROVI^{NCIAL} CONFERENCE.

Held at P^{OOONA}

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE SARVAJANIK SABHA.

P^{OOONA}

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1888.

Proceedings.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF 1888

A desire having been generally expressed that it was necessary to hold a Provincial Conference of leading men from all parts of the Presidency, for the consideration of Congress matters, and also of questions of a purely Provincial character, the Sarvajanika Sabha of Poona issued invitations to the members of the various Standing Congress Committees in the Presidency and also to other leading gentlemen sympathising with the aims of the Congress, to meet at Poona on the 2nd November 1888. In response to these invitations, gentlemen from Bombay, Satara, Sholapur, Nassik, Surat, Belgaum, Khandesh, Thana, and one or two other districts, came to Poona for the Conference. The first meeting of the Conference took place in the JOSHI HALL, at 5 P.M. on the 2nd of November. Most of the leading gentlemen of Poona were also present in addition to the gentlemen who had come from outside. The business transacted at this meeting pertained only to Congress matters. The second meeting of the Conference took place on the 4th. Several Provincial questions of importance were considered at this meeting. After entrusting the work of making arrangements for the next year's Conference to the Joint Secretaries, who were asked to work in consultation with the Sarvajanika Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association and other Sabhas and Associations and the various Standing Congress Committees in the Presidency, the Conference dissolved.

First Day's Proceedings.

The proceedings were opened by Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide, as Chairman of the Sarvajanika Sabha under whose auspices the Conference was convened. He said it was gratifying to see that so many gentlemen had attended the Conference, in spite of the very inconvenient time the Sabha had been compelled to choose for the purpose. In the name of the

Sabha he welcomed them all, and he especially thanked the gentlemen who had come from the mofussil with the sole object of attending the Conference. It was clear that many of them must have come to Poona at great personal inconvenience, as it was the time of the Diwali Holidays. Many friends had written to express their regret that they could not attend—the time was so inconvenient and the notice so short—assuring the Sabha at the same time of their deep sympathy with the objects of the Conference. He admitted that the notice was short, and he was sure, if it had been longer, many more would have been able to attend. He also regretted that the Sabha could not choose an earlier day for the Conference. He hoped that those who would have to make arrangements for the next year's Conference would be able to choose a more convenient time. He again thanked the gentlemen assembled for doing honour to the Sabha by kindly responding to its invitation, and asked them to elect their own President and then proceed to business.

It was then proposed by Mr. N. B. Devdhar, seconded by Mr. K. R. Kelkar, and unanimously carried that Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshtar Bhide be requested to assume the office of the President of the Conference.

Mr. Bhide, after thanking the members of the Conference for the distinguished honour done to him, said he had to make a proposal before commencing business. It was desirable that the Conference should have its own Secretaries, and he therefore proposed that Messrs. M. B. Namjoshi and G. K. Gokhale be elected Joint Secretaries to the Conference.

The proposition was seconded by Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, and was carried unanimously.

The President then dwelt at some length on the necessity of holding Provincial Conferences. He wanted distinctly and emphatically to state at the outset that there was not the least antagonism between the National Congress movement and the Provincial Conferences. Indeed the chief value of these Conferences lay in the fact that they would materially tend to strengthen the hands and supplement the efforts of the great National Congress. These Provincial Conferences would be eminently useful for the purpose of formulating the views of each

Province on the various questions to be discussed before the Congress. They would further the interests of the Congress by every year placing before the people of each Province the objects and the doings of that great body and thus bringing the Congress nearer home, so to speak, to the people of the several Provinces. And then they would also offer opportunities for the consideration of questions of a purely Provincial character, questions which, for the simple reason that they concerned only a particular Province, could not come up for discussion before an Assembly which considered the common interests of all Provinces. It was needless for him to say anything more about the importance of these Provincial Conferences. He hoped people would take as great interest in them as they were taking in the grander Assembly of the National Congress. As for the objects with which the Conference, over whose deliberations he had the honour of presiding, was convened, they were clearly set forth in the note of invitation issued by the Sarvajanika Sabha, and he would therefore ask Mr. Gokhale to read that note.

Mr. Gokhale thereupon read the following note :—

Sir—As the time for holding the fourth National Congress is now approaching near, the work of selecting the delegates, and fixing the subjects for discussion must engage at once the attention of the leaders of the movement in the different districts of this Presidency. Steps are being taken by the Sabha to send its agents to the several districts to enlighten public opinion by the distribution of Congress literature, and by public addresses on these matters. The Managing Committee of the Sabha think that it will be very necessary to bring together in a Provincial Conference the representatives of the leading towns and districts of this Presidency to discuss certain points, and lay down common lines of action. We have to settle the draft rules which were proposed for adoption at the last year's Congress, and which will be taken up for final settlement at this year's Congress. We have to settle the method and procedure in respect of the election of delegates. We have also to fix the subjects for discussion at the Congress. Instead of leaving the work to be done piecemeal, it is felt to be of great consequence to bring together the leading spirits from different districts and settle a common line of action on all these points. This work will be facilitated by the holding of a Provincial Conference. Provincial Conferences have also been strongly advocated in some well-informed quarters for the discussion of a certain class of subjects which relate to local grievances and wants and cannot on the account be properly considered at the National Congress. Provincial Conferences are being held in Calcutta and Madras, and it is desirable that Bombay should move in the matter and follow their example. The

proposed Provincial Conference will be turned to account for the discussion of the subjects noted above, as also provincial matters which have a general interest for the people of this Presidency, but which do not similarly concern the people of other Provinces. There are such subjects as the proposed extension of the Relief Act, the Forest Commission's Report, and the complaints about the Abkari administration which we might take up at this Conference with advantage. The attraction of the Exhibition in this city will draw many friends from the mofussil in the Dewali Holidays to Poona, and we request accordingly that you will make it convenient to come to Poona, on the 2nd of November, to meet friends from other parts and join in the discussion of the matter sketched above.

An early reply will oblige.

We beg to remain,
Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servants
Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide

Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Sabha
Shivaram Hari Sathe

Secretary Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

The President then said that the first matter he would ask the Conference to take up was the consideration of the draft rules framed by a Committee of the Congress appointed for the purpose last year and which it is proposed to adopt at the next Congress. It was desirable that they should communicate their views thereon to that body. He would ask Mr. Namjoshi to read those rules one by one. Members might then suggest amendments wherever they thought them to be necessary. When no amendments were suggested to a rule, he would consider that the unanimous sense of the Conference was in favour of retaining the rule as it was.

Mr. Namjoshi then read the rules one by one.

No amendments were suggested to the first two rules.

Rule 3 stands as follows :—

“ There shall be, as resolved at the 2nd National Congress (XIII. of 1886) Standing Congress Committees at all important centres. These Committees are at present as in Appendix I, but the Congress may at any sitting add to or diminish the number of these Committees, or alter their jurisdictions. The Delegates from any jurisdiction, attending a Congress, shall form the Standing Congress Committee for that jurisdiction for the ensuing year, and they shall have power to add to their number and appoint their own executive. There is at present a General Secretary holding office at the pleasure of the several Congress Committees, but henceforth a General Secretary shall be elected at each Congress for the ensuing year.”

Mr. Framjee Mancharji Parsi (a merchant from Satara) proposed the following amendment in place of the third sentence:—"The delegates from any jurisdiction attending a Congress, shall, in association with the members of the previous year's Standing Congress Committee for that jurisdiction, be the Standing Congress Committee for the ensuing year, and they shall have power to add to their number and appoint their own executive; till such appointment is made, the previous year's executive officers shall continue as the executive officers of the ensuing year's Standing Congress Committee." In recommending the amendment to the acceptance of the members, Mr. Framjee said that the object of that amendment was to secure continuity of work. The rule, as it stood, would seriously hamper the business of the Standing Committees. For according to the rule, directly the Congress for a particular year met and dissolved, the Standing Committees and along with them, their executives for that year, would cease to exist; the delegates who had attended that Congress forming the Congress Committees for the ensuing year, and electing their own executive. Now, he would ask, who was to conduct the business of these Committees, after the old Committees ceased and before the new Committees met to elect their executive. The interval would generally be considerable, and in that interval, the business of the Committees would be at a standstill, because there would be no executives to attend to the business. It might be said that the delegates attending the Congress of a particular year and thereby forming the Standing Committees for the ensuing year, might meet immediately after the business of the Congress was over, to elect the executives for their several jurisdictions. But even in that case, the time before the various executive officers returned to their head-quarters and got thoroughly used to the work they were to do, would not be small. And therefore to guard against such a break in the work of the Committees, the provision made in the amendment was necessary. There was another advantage in associating old members with new members of the Standing Committees—namely, the experience of the old members would be utilised. The speaker concluded with asking the Conference to accept his amendment.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. T. N. Rajmachikar.

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) supported the amendment. He also gave here a brief account of what Guzerat had done in regard to the spreading of Congress Literature. 30,000 copies of Congress tracts had been circulated and great interest had been evoked in the Congress movement among the masses. The blind National poet of Guzerat was engaged in composing a poem in honour of the Congress, and he (the speaker) was convinced that in a short time, Congress would be a household word with every class of Society. The amendment was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Rules 4, 5, and 6 were accepted without any amendment.

Rule 7, as drafted by the Congress Committee appointed in 1887 runs as follows :—

“It shall be the duty of all Standing Congress Committees, in consultation with their sub-committees, and as many of the leading men resident therein as may be possible, to divide their several jurisdictions into such electoral circles as may to them seem to be most likely, in the existing state of the country, to secure a fair representation of the intelligent portion of the community, without distinction of creed, caste, race or colour. Such circles may be territorial, or, where local circumstances require this, may each include one or more castes, or professions, or Associations of any kind. Except in the cases of Associations, all Delegates shall be elected at Public Meetings held for the purpose. In the case of Associations, Delegates shall be elected at General Meetings specially convened on that behalf.”

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) proposed the following amendment in place of the third sentence :—

“Except in the cases of Associations all delegates shall be elected, *as far as possible*, at public meetings held for the purpose. Where such election is not practicable, the election of delegates shall be made by the nominated and elected members of Taluka and District Local Boards, and the nominated and elected members of the Municipalities within the sub-division of the jurisdiction for which such election takes place.”

Mr. Dave briefly explained the object of his amendment by saying that wherever it was practicable to get together a meeting really representing all the interests of the place, it was of course desirable that the delegates for the place should be elected at such a meeting. But whenever that was not practicable, he thought it decidedly better, in the interests of the representative character

of the Congress that the election of the delegates should be made by the members of Local Boards and Municipalities, who enjoyed the confidence of the public and had a recognized representative character rather than that it should be made at meetings not representing all the local interests. He (the speaker) might also express his conviction that when Government would think it fit to concede the principle of representation, and admit elected members to the Legislative Councils, they would certainly not go beyond Municipalities and Local Boards, who already represented the people. They should never expect that election at first hand, *i. e.*, directly by the masses, will be granted by Government, at least for a very very long time to come. He thought it wise, therefore, to already prepare the ground for Government action by allowing the members of those bodies to elect delegates for the Congress for the people whose confidence they already enjoyed and whom they represented in local matters.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. G. M. Gadre, (Poona), after which it was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Rule 8 stands in the draft as follows :—

“Delegates may be of any creed, caste or nationality, but must be residents in India, and not less than 25 years of age.”

Mr. T. N. Rajmachikar proposed an amendment to this rule that the words “residents in India” be dropped. He said that such a restriction was undesirable in the early days of the Congress. He was sure the Conference would easily see that the presence of very respectable and prominent Europeans interested in Indian matters would considerably add to the usefulness of the Congress. The rule as it stood would prevent sympathetic Europeans who had no domicile in India from taking part in the deliberations of the Congress, although they happened to be elected by some meeting or association, and although they most earnestly wished to do all in their power to help the cause of Indian progress. Certainly men like Sir William Hunter and Sir William Wedderburn ought not to be debarred from taking part in the Congress, if they were willing to do so, by any formal rule ; for their presence in the Congress would be a most practical refutation of the malicious charge so often made by the opponents of the Congress, that the Congress-men were

disloyal at heart. Mr. Eardley Norton who took such a conspicuous part in the last year's Congress and who had this year rendered such yeoman's service to the Congress movement by his speeches in England, was not a resident of India according to the strict legal meaning of the term. Were they, he would ask, prepared to exclude such men from the Congress? Then again he would beg leave to tell the members that Mr. George Yule, the gentleman who had consented to preside over this year's Congress at Allahabad, although once a resident of India, was no longer so now. And would it be in good taste, he would ask the Conference, to expect that gentleman at Allahabad to place before the Congress a rule, which, if it had been passed by the last year's Congress, would have disabled him from presiding over that Assembly this year? The members of the Conference should also remember that the English constituencies of Deptford and Holborn had accepted as their Liberal Candidates Messrs. Lal Mohan Ghose and Dadabhai Naoroji, who were not residents of England. The presence of Messrs. Lal Mohan Ghose and Dadabhai could certainly add little to the prestige of the House of Commons, and their electors could not have well expected to gain anything by their election, beyond the consciousness of having done their duty in the interests of unrepresented India. If that was so, he could not understand why the Congress should close its doors against sympathetic Englishmen especially when it was considered that the presence of such men was a distinct gain to the Congress. The speaker concluded by asking the members to accept his amendment.

Mr. K. B. Mande seconded the amendment.

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) said that while he opposed the amendment of Mr. Rajmachikar for reasons which he would soon state, he wanted to propose an amendment to another part of the rule. He proposed that the limit of 25 as the age qualification for a delegate be changed to 21. He could not understand, he said, on what principle 25 years had been fixed as the limit of age. If the practices of other bodies were taken into consideration they would find that 21 years and not 25 years was the limit generally adopted. The Corporation of Bombay, for instance, was open to persons who were above 21. He believed that the same was the case with the British House of Commons.

The rule as it stood would be a hardship to many. He could mention an instance. A young friend of his was a candidate at the coming Municipal elections at Bombay. He was only 23. He belonged to a backward community, and because he was highly educated, he was naturally looked upon by that community as one of its leaders. From personal knowledge, he (the speaker) could say that that gentleman was a most intelligent, promising, public-spirited young man who was worthy of sitting in any Assembly. He was zealously exerting himself to further the cause of the Congress, and would most probably be one of the delegates at the Allahabad Congress this year. If the Allahabad Congress passed the rule in question as it stood, his friend would be debarred from attending the Congress for the next two years. That would be not only very hard but very curious. He therefore hoped that his amendment would be adopted by the Conference.

Mr. V. R. Natu (Belgaum) seconded Mr. Dave's amendment.

The President said that the Conference had before it two amendments for consideration, one proposed by Mr. Rajmachikar and the other by Mr. Dave, both of them being duly seconded. He would ask the members to first consider Mr. Dave's amendment, and after arriving at a decision with regard to it to take up Mr. Rajmachikar's.

Mr. V. V. Lele spoke in favour of Mr. Dave's amendment.

Mr. Gangaram Bhau Mhaske, who spoke against it, said that the rule set down the limit at 25 years because it was necessary that those, who took part in the deliberations of the Congress, should be men of experience and ripe judgment.

Mr. T. N. Rajmachikar, who also spoke against the amendment said that he was of opinion that the limit mentioned in the rule was to be fixed because the opponents of the Congress should be able to find as few weak points in its constitution as possible. One of their favourite ways was to scout the Congress movement as a school-boy agitation. Without in any way admitting the justice of the reproach, he would say that that argument would at any rate be lost to them by fixing the limit at 25. He admitted the force of Mr. Dave's remarks and he too was of opinion that in particular cases some hardship would be caused. He

however thought it prudent to err on the safer side. The Congress would, he thought, lower the limit when it could afford to have a few youths below 25 among its members without laying itself open to the charge of inexperience.

Mr. Dave at this stage withdrew his amendment.

Mr. N. G. Chandawarkar (Bombay), one of the three delegates sent to England in 1884, asked for some information as to the exact position he occupied in the deliberations of the Conference. Explanations were tendered by Mr. Gangaram Bhau Mhaske, R. S. Namjoshi and Mr. G. B. Joshi (Thana District) and Mr. Chandawarkar thereupon expressed himself satisfied.

Mr. V. V. Lele opposed Mr. Rajmachikar's amendment. He said if the words "residents in India" were dropped, temporary sojourners in this country or even winter tourists, having no interest in the well-being of the people, could get into the Congress in any numbers, as the rules of election were not very stringent.

Mr. Gangaram Bhau Mhaske spoke in favour of the amendment. He said he could not agree with the last speaker. In the first place he had greater confidence in the honesty of purpose of Englishmen in general. Even supposing however that some Englishmen with no permanent interests in India found admission into the Congress, still, he believed, the Congress would on the whole gain. For such persons could get into the Congress only by going through some form of election and obtaining a representative character. Before they could, therefore, get into the Congress, they would have to recognize the representative character of the Congress. He considered that this was a gain not to be lightly estimated. On the whole, therefore, he thought it wise to drop the words "residents in India." The Congress would gain greatly in prestige by allowing high-charactered Englishmen to take part in its deliberations. It would lose very little indeed by allowing unscrupulous opponents to be present at its sittings.

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) spoke against the amendment. He said if persons, not permanent residents of India, were allowed to take part in the deliberations of the National Congress, the word "National" would have to be dropped. For he could not see how an assembly in which non-Indians were at

liberty to take part, could be called a National Assembly of the Indian people

Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (Bombay) spoke in support of the amendment. He said that his friend Mr. Dave confounded electors with the elected. All that was necessary was that the electors—those who sent delegates to the Congress—should be *bona fide* residents in India, having a permanent interest in the welfare of the country. As it was understood that the members of the Congress represented there the views and the interests of their constituents, it did not signify much who those members were, provided their education, their abilities and their character entitled them to take part in the deliberations of the Congress, which considered questions of the highest national importance. If the electors of a particular place chose to delegate their powers to a person who was not legally a resident of India because they had greater confidence in him than in anybody else, he could not see how the Congress could refuse him admission. The Bradlaugh affair showed that even the House of Commons could not long maintain a similar preposterous claim against the enlightened sense of the public. If Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji succeeded in getting into the House of Commons,—and he thought he was very near it—would the House of Commons, he asked, cease to be British? And if that would not be so, surely the Congress would be none the less Indian for having among its members persons who were not domiciled residents of India.

Mr. S. R. Kirloskar (Sholapur) also spoke in favour of the amendment.

At this stage Messrs. Lele and Dave expressed their willingness not to press their opposition to the amendment further. The President thereupon put it to the vote and declared it to have been carried unanimously.

The remaining draft rules were accepted without amendment.

The President then rose and said that an important part of their business had been concluded. He then called upon Mr. Namjoshi to move the next resolution, which, he said, concerned the annual gathering of the Conference.

Mr. M. B. Namjoshi then moved the following proposition :—

“ There shall be, yearly, at least 3 months before the date fixed for the National Congress, a meeting of the members of the

several Standing Congress Committees for the Bombay Presidency and other leading men in the Presidency, sympathising with the aims of the Congress which shall bear the name of the *Bombay Provincial Conference*. At this Conference, questions affecting the National Congress will be considered so as to secure unity of action among the several Standing Committees by determining common lines of work ; and after the business affecting the Congress is gone through, advantage will be taken of the gathering to consider questions of a purely Provincial nature. A Secretary or Secretaries shall be elected, who will look to the business of the Conference till the next Conference meets."

Mr. V. P. Bhave seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. V. R. Natu here desired some information about the Standing Congress Committee for the Deccan. He was referred to the Secretary of that Committee.

The President then called upon Mr. Gokhale to move the next proposition, which related to the scheme referred to in Rule 9 of the draft rules, regarding the apportionment of the minimum number of delegates which the Bombay Presidency was expected to send to the Congress.

Mr. G. K. Gokhale then moved the following proposition :—

"That in the opinion of the Conference the minimum total number of delegates from this Presidency should be 100. Of these Sindh should send 10, Guzerat 20, Konkan including Bombay 30, and Deccan 40." The speaker said that the apportionment was roughly based on the principle of population. Konkan got a little more than its due. But that was in consideration of the fact that Konkan included in its jurisdiction the Presidency town. As to how the delegates were to be elected, that was already set down in the amendment which was proposed to Rule 7 of the draft rules. He understood that the Congress Committee for the Deccan division, which had 9 districts under its jurisdiction, intended to distribute its 40 members in the following manner : each district was to send 4, and the city of Poona was to send 4 in addition to the 4 sent by the Poona District. Wherever it was not practicable to get together meetings representing all the interests of the District, it was proposed that the members of the City Municipality should send 1, the members of the District Local

Board should send 1, the members of the Taluka Local Board should send 1, and 1 should be sent by the Political Associations in the District. For the city of Poona, it was proposed that the Sarvajanika Sabha should send 1, the Deccan Education Society should be requested to send 1, 1 should represent the members of the Arbitration Court, and 1 should represent the Mercantile Association. The speaker thought that that was a very good plan, and he hoped other Congress Committees would adopt similar lines.

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) seconded the proposition. He considered that the distribution was perfectly fair and he was thoroughly satisfied with it. The proposition was carried unanimously.

Mr. M. B. Namjoshi then proposed the following proposition :—

“ That in the opinion of this Conference, this year’s Congress should re-affirm its resolutions of last year on the following subjects :—

1. The reform of the Legislative Councils.
2. The separation of Executive and Judicial functions.
3. The throwing open of the higher grades of the military service to the Natives of this country, and the establishment of a Military College for educating and training Natives for a military career.
4. The enlistment of Natives as volunteers.
5. The raising of the taxable minimum of the income-tax to Rs. 1000.
6. The further elaboration of a system of technical education.
7. The modification of the Arms Act.

And that the following additional subjects (suggested by various members as being of national importance) should also be considered by the Subject Committee of the Congress at Allahabad :—

1. The enhancement of the duty on salt.
2. Reduction of the Home charges.
3. Education in India—the recent Minutes of the Supreme Government on the subject.
4. The Reports of the Public Service Commission and the Finance Committee.

5. Lord Dufferin's Administration."

The speaker explained briefly the necessity of considering the several new questions.

Mr. K. B. Mande seconded the proposition, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Framjee Mancharji Parsi (Satara) said he wanted to propose one more subject to be added to the list of the new subjects. He thought it necessary that the Congress should consider the question of the desirability of placing some limitation on the summary powers, which certain Magistrates were empowered to exercise. Those powers, he said, were often abused and grave failures of justice were the consequence. Innocent persons were often punished without being allowed an opportunity of proving their innocence. He thought the question to be of great importance and worthy of being discussed by the Congress.

Mr. J. R. Nimbkar (Nasik) seconded Mr. Framjee Mancharji. He said that he spoke from personal experience, as he was a pleader in the District Court of Nasik. He mentioned an instance, where, in his opinion, a man was wrongly punished, and as his trial was summary, there was no appeal against the decision of the Magistrate. One fundamental maxim of English jurisprudence was that 50 criminals might go unpunished rather than an innocent man should unjustly suffer. That principle was often violated by Magistrates exercising summary powers, as they often, in the heat of the moment, sentenced a person, who under ordinary circumstances would have obtained acquittal or at least a discharge.

Mr. K. P. Godbole opposed Mr. Framjee's proposition. He said before asking the Congress to consider the proposition, it was necessary for them to make out a very strong case. It was necessary to show by facts and figures, and not by mere solitary instances and the opinions of individuals, that in a considerable number of cases at least, summary powers had been abused and innocent men had in consequence suffered. An instance here and an instance there it was easy to mention, but surely that was not furnishing adequate grounds for demanding a modification of a system that had at least greatly facilitated the course of public business. He would also urge the additional argument of expenditure which was of very great importance in

these days of universal economy. If the work done by Magistrates in the exercise of summary powers were to be done in the ordinary way, Government would have to make a large addition to its number of magistrates, and that would involve large expenditure. That was an important consideration. In conclusion he said he would vote against the proposition.

Mr. R. D. Dave also spoke against the proposition. He was of opinion that, notwithstanding occasional cases of miscarriage of justice, the system was on the whole working well. The system was not perfect, but no human institution could pretend to be perfect. The question of economy involved was also very important. Altogether he required it to be conclusively demonstrated that the system was in many cases used for practising oppression, and as no demonstration of that kind was forthcoming he could not vote for the proposition.

Mr. J. R. Nimbkar (the seconder of the proposition) wanted to observe that the objection to the proposition on the score of economy was futile, as it was the duty of the Government to see that justice was properly administered, no matter at what cost.

The proposition was then put to the vote. It was, however, rejected by a majority.

The Conference then adjourned until the 4th of November with thanks to the President for his able conduct in the chair.

The adjourned meeting of the Conference took place at 4 P. M. on the 4th of November, in Joshi Hall, Sarvajanika Sabha rooms, Poona. There was a large attendance and Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide presided.

Second day's proceedings.

The President, in opening the proceedings, said that business referring to the Congress had been gone through at their previous sitting and that at that sitting, they were to discuss questions of a purely Provincial nature. The first subject for them to consider was the proposed extension of the 'Agriculturists' Relief Act' and he would call upon Mr. T. N. Rajmachikar to move his proposition with regard to that subject.

Mr. T. N. Rajmachikar then moved "that in the opinion of this Conference, it is highly desirable that before extending the act to other districts or modifying it in any important respects, the inquiry into the working of the Act, which has been entrusted

to a special Revenue Officer, should be entrusted to a mixed Commission, constituted on the plan followed in the case of the Forest and Abkari Commissions; and that on the report of such a Commission, Government should take such action as may be deemed necessary." Mr. Rajmachikar said that it was essential that the inquiry should be conducted by a Commission and not by an individual. For howsoever pains-taking the individual might be, the inquiry made by him could not be as thorough as an inquiry by a Commission. The individual was, again, likely to be influenced by his pre-conceived notions, in which case the inquiry would be deprived of a great part of its value. In the case of a Commission, that danger was minimized. The Act was of great importance and before it was extended, it was necessary to have a *full and impartial* inquiry into its working. His own view of the Act was that it had not been productive of the unmixed good that had been expected out of it. Owing to its operation, the ryots had lost all credit with the sowkars, and it engendered a flagrantly dishonest spirit, both in the sowkar and the ryot, which was to be greatly regretted. It was, however, difficult to say whether the Act had been productive of greater good or greater harm, as testimony on the point was conflicting. The point could be authoritatively decided only by a Commission after an exhaustive inquiry, and for that purpose, he proposed that Government should be requested to appoint a Commission for making that inquiry.

Mr. N. B. Kanitkar seconded the proposition. He said he could, from his experience as a pleader, endorse every word that had fallen from the proposer. The moral aspect of the question was entirely lost sight of by those who pressed for an extension of the Act. The Act had greatly tended to tempt away simple ryots from their usual path of honesty. Several cases had come within the range of his experience, in which the ryots themselves, for whose protection the Act was intended, bitterly complained that owing to the operation of the Act, their credit was gone, and that the sowkars were now unwilling to lend money except under very favourable circumstances. The good old times, when people were ready to stand honestly by their contracts, and not to take advantage of legal technicalities and informalities, were gone, and the poor ryots had in the speaker's opinion, suffered both morally

and materially. The speaker quoted figures from a letter that had appeared in an issue of the *Bombay Gazette* to show that the ryots had suffered more than they had gained since the passing of the Act; and he expressed his opinion that if people got better acquainted with the results of the Act than they were, they would not so much demand an extension of the Act. An exhaustive inquiry into the working of the Act was, thus, of very great importance, and he, therefore, hoped that the Conference would accept Mr. Rajmachikar's proposition.

Mr. Framjee Manchorjee (Satara) said that he did not set much value on the appointment of a Commission, as no good generally came out of such Commissions. He, however, did not object to the Conference passing the proposition, provided a rider was attached to it to the effect that it was extremely necessary, for a successful working of the Act, that Government should establish Agricultural Banks in the interests of the ryots, after the lines suggested by Sir William Wedderburn.

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) also expressed a similar opinion.

The President explained that Mr. Framjee's rider could not be properly attached to the proposition for according to what was stated in the proposition, it was proposed to request Government to order an exhaustive inquiry into the working of the Act by a Commission. The Conference could not, therefore, at the same time ask Government to adopt particular lines with regard to the working of the Act. Personally he was very much in favour of the establishment of Agricultural Banks. The Conference could not make a proposal to that effect to Government before Government disposed of the prayer contained in Mr. Rajmachikar's proposition.

Mr. Framjee expressed himself satisfied with the explanation given by the President.

Mr. Bām (a religious lecturer) said that he had not much faith in any inquiry conducted by Government officials, or even by a Commission appointed by Government. Wherever Government was concerned, ignorant people were afraid of fully stating the truth. His own idea was that the Conference should appoint a Commission of its own from among its members. A private Commission of that kind would inspire full confidence in the minds of the simple ryots who would then come forth to fully

state their grievances. The Commission, after a through inquiry, should submit a full report of their labours to the Conference of the next year, and that Conference should then make a representation to Government on the subject. A course like that would, he was sure, be advantageous to all parties. Government would be saved a great deal of expenditure necessary for the payment of the Commissioners ; the ryots would have an opportunity of fearlessly coming forth and stating their case ; and confidence would be generated in the public mind that the Conference was doing its best for the people. He therefore opposed Mr. Rajmachikar's proposition.

Mr. R. M. Sane admitted that Commissions appointed by Government had not, on the whole, been productive of great use to the public. But that was owing to the fact that the people themselves did not care to take the trouble of properly representing their case to the Commissions. The history of the Public Service Commission showed that the leaders of the public had failed to do their best in pressing their views on the attention of the Commission ; and it was therefore no fault of the Government or the Commission either, that the result of the Commission's labours was not satisfactory to the public. If people did their duty well, Commissions would be very useful. He would therefore vote for the proposition, hoping at the same time that all the steps necessary to secure a complete representation of the case of the people would be taken, if Government was pleased to grant the request of the Conference. As for the idea of the last speaker, that the Conference should appoint a Commission of its own, he thought that nothing could be more impracticable and useless. It was absurd to suppose that a body of private individuals could get even a hundredth part of the opportunities and the facilities for making an inquiry into the working of the Act, that a Commission appointed by the Government and having all the assistance, that Government could give, at its disposal, would enjoy. Then again the Government was bound to give its best consideration to the recommendations of a Commission appointed by itself ; while a private body could not be sure of receiving the same attention to its proposals.

Mr. K. B. Mande also spoke in favour of the proposition. Referring to Mr. Bām's suggestion about the Conference appoint-

ing a Commission of its own, he said that the time for a course like that had yet to arrive. He agreed with the last speaker that Commissions would be productive of greater good than they had generally been, if only people did their duty properly.

At this stage, Mr. Bâm expressed his willingness not to press further his proposal. The President then put the proposition to the vote and it was carried unanimously.

The President then asked Mr. Namjoshi to move the second proposition. Mr. M. B. Namjoshi then moved "that this Conference looks with concern upon the delay that has taken place in giving effect to such of the recommendations of the Forest Commission as require no legislation, and respectfully begs that in view of the great hardship caused to the public, steps be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission in regard to free grazing in reserved forest lands as early as may be practicable. And this Conference further respectfully requests Government that an inquiry be made into the forest grievances of districts other than Thana and Kolaba." Mr. Namjoshi said that when the appointment of the Commission was announced, people expected that a redress of the forest grievances generally was at hand. And it was therefore extremely disappointing that though two years had elapsed and gone since the Commission closed its labours and reported to Government, no relief whatsoever was obtained by the poor people who found the forest laws so oppressive. It was really difficult to see what the delay in the action of the Government was all owing to. Only a few days back, about 200 ryots of the Maval Taluka had come to Poona to state their grievances to the Sarvajanic Sabha. They all most bitterly complained of the ruinous hardships that the administration of the Forest Act had caused, saying that if the restrictions on free grazing in reserved forest areas were not, in a short time, removed, absolute destitution would stare them in the face. In view of such wide-spread misery, therefore, it was most urgently necessary that Government should at once remove those restrictions. He was told that the delay in Government action with regard to the recommendations of the Forest Commission was owing to an opinion that prevailed at the Secretariat, that the recommendations could not be given effect to without fresh legislation. His

own opinion was that while some of the recommendations required fresh legislation for being given effect to, there were others which required no such legislation ; and amongst the latter were the Commission's recommendations about free grazing. The speaker referred the members of the Conference to Chapter IV of the Report of the Forest Commission, where, he said, they would find that the inclusion of free pasture lands into reserved forest area, the levying of fees for grazing and other rulings of the Forest Department, that caused so much hardship to the people, were the result of rules framed under the Forest Act. He could find nothing in the Forest Act that deprived the local Government of the power of abolishing or modifying existing rules, or framing new ones, under which free grazing might be regulated. The Forest Commission had suggested the amendment of only one section of the Forest Act, and that section, even as it stood, could not come in the way of allowing free grazing. As to the other recommendations of the Commission, the speaker said they could be considered when the amendment proposed by the Commission to the Forest Act came up before Government for consideration. As for requesting the Government to order an inquiry into the Forest grievances of districts other than Thana and Kolaba, the speaker said that that was necessary for redressing the grievances felt by the Ryots of the other districts and asking the Government of India to amend the Forest Act. He was sure that the result of the inquiry would show that the administration of the Act was felt to be oppressive throughout the Presidency as complaints against the Act were not confined to Thana and Kolaba alone, but came from all parts of the country where the Act was in operation.

Mr. R. N. Karkare (Secretary Vana Dukkhkha Nivarini Sabha) seconded the proposition.

Mr. V. V. Lele said that some of the recommendations of the Commission were favourable to the people and others were unfavourable. And he suggested that Government should be requested to give effect at once to those that were favourable to the people.

After some further discussion, Mr. Namjoshi's proposition was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President then said that the next question that they

had to consider was the policy of the Bombay Government in regard to Secondary Education. One or two High Schools were threatened with abolition, and it was said that measures for wholesale reduction in the cost of Secondary Education were under contemplation. It was, therefore, necessary that the Conference should express its opinion with regard to that policy. He called upon Mr. V. S. Apte to move the next proposition.

Mr. V. S. Apte moved the following proposition :—
“That the contemplated reduction in the cost of Secondary Education in this Presidency has created much anxiety among all classes, and, in the opinion of the Conference, the expenditure on Secondary Education does not admit of any further reduction without detriment to national interests.” Mr. Apte said that the subject of reduction in the cost of secondary and higher education was not quite a new one. It was for a long time rumoured about that measures for reduction of that kind were under the contemplation of the Government. He certainly failed to see why Government wanted to curtail the expenditure on secondary and higher education. That was a decidedly retrograde policy, and was prejudicial to the best interests of the Empire. Considering the importance of the spread of education, and considering also the fact that Schools and Colleges were the feeders of almost all departments of Government service, he thought that so far from curtailing the expenditure on secondary and higher education, Government ought to increase it. And indeed compared with the countries of the west, the expenditure on education in India was decidedly very low. He did not know what to think of a policy that wasted millions on millions in wars and Boundary Commissions and annexations, and wanted to reduce the already very meagre expenditure in so useful a direction as the education of the people. If Government wanted to make retrenchments, surely the expenditure on education ought to be the last to be touched. The shears ought to be first applied to *sinecure* Offices; the recklessly swelling military expenditure ought to be reduced to its proper dimensions ; and a less costly agency ought to be employed by Government in its service, wherever that was practicable without any fears of deterioration in the standard of efficiency. It was no use sacrificing a school here and a

Chaprashi there. Mr. Apte concluded by asking the Conference to accept his proposition.

Mr. Framjee Mancharjee Parsi (Satara) seconded the proposition. He said that they could ill afford to have the spread of education checked as it was education that was welding persons of various races and speaking various languages, into a common nationality.

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

Mr. R. D. Dave (Surat) was then called upon by the President to move the next proposition. Mr. Dave proposed "that this Conference views with alarm the threatened scarcity in Guzerat, Konkan, and other parts of the Presidency, and humbly hopes that Government will be pleased to take such steps as are necessary to cope with the distress that is prevailing in those parts. The Conference also begs to suggest that fuller and more frequent information be supplied, than is done at present, in the official Season Reports about rainfall and current prices; and that this information be given not only with regard to districts in general, but also with regard to the various Talukas and the important places in the Districts; the Conference being of opinion that such information will prevent speculators from causing unnecessary panic." Mr. Dave said that the subject of the threatened scarcity was as important as it was painful, and he approached it with a heavy heart. The fall of rain had been unsatisfactory almost throughout the whole Presidency, but some places had suffered much more than others, and were in fact in a most wretched and pitiable condition. He was in a position to speak with particular knowledge of Guzerath, and he could say that the outlook there was exceedingly distressing. Large numbers of immigrants from that province were daily seeking shelter in the hospitable city of Bombay; and if that was the state to which Guzerath, considered to be so very rich, was reduced, it was difficult to conceive what was in store for places less fortunate. He considered that it was necessary for Government to take immediate action and set to work of providing relief for destitute persons. What a pity it was that in a country like India, which enjoyed such great natural advantages, 40 millions and odd of people

should always be on the very verge of starvation, so that if the crops failed even for a single year, those people had nothing to save them from absolute starvation. Referring to the recently issued Resolution of the Government of India on the material condition of the people, the speaker said that he very much admired the knack which enabled the officials to draw up roseate reports. But he begged leave to say that those reports were perfectly valueless for practical purposes, and could not be accepted as representing the real facts. The very fact that immediately after the rains appeared to fail, immigration in large numbers commenced from a rich province like the Guzerath, and that about 500 people flocked in the course of about 5 days to Bombay, belied the official statement that the condition of the people of India was on the whole far from disquieting. That was however a general question, and might admit of a difference of opinion. But with regard to the question of the threatened scarcity this year, there could be but one opinion that Government was bound to immediately open relief-works for the relief of the destitute. Irrigation works were necessary in Konkan and several other parts of the Presidency. The construction of a Railway line in some parts of the Konkan was also highly desirable. These works, if undertaken, would give relief to thousands of poor persons. It was the duty of Government to see that there was no avoidable loss of life. The Famine Insurance fund, created and set apart with a view to alleviate the sufferings of famine-stricken people, had been unfairly absorbed in the general revenue of the country by the Government of India. And millions were being spent on the frontier on defence-works to guard against a distant and possibly imaginary enemy. It would then indeed be as strange as it would be cruel if Government made no efforts to repel an enemy already at the gates. As for the second part of the proposition, its object was clear. It was to keep the people well-informed about the real state of things, and not leave them at the mercy of panic-spreading speculators.

Mr. R. M. Sane seconded the proposition. He said that the accounts which the newspapers gave of the state of crops in several parts of the Presidency were most disquieting and it was necessary for Government to commence relief works.

His Excellency Lord Reay had gone to Nagar to personally examine the condition of the people. But nothing was known as to the steps which H. E. had taken or contemplated taking with a view to mitigate the sufferings of the people of that place. The Conference, therefore, would be doing a very good thing to request Government to make efforts to cope with the distress that was prevailing in various places. As for the resolution of the Government of India on the poverty of the people, he endorsed what the last speaker had said about it. He mentioned an instance from the report to show how misleading the statements in that report were. With regard to the season reports, the speaker said that by supplying frequent and full information to the people of the actual state of things, Government would be enabling Sabhas and Associations to co-operate with them in their difficult work.

After some further discussion, the proposition was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President then said that there remained only two formal resolutions to be moved and then the real business of the Conference was over. Mr. V. V. Lele was then asked to move the next resolution.

Before Mr. Lele however rose, two members placed before the President two subjects on which they wished to secure an expression of opinion from the Conference. The President took the sense of the Conference as to whether propositions of which no previous notice was given could be allowed to come up for discussion; and having ascertained it to be against such a course, he disallowed the propositions.

Mr. V. V. Lele then moved "that the secretaries of this year's Conference, in consultation with the Sarvajanika Sabha of Poona, the Presidency Association of Bombay and other Political Sabhas and Associations and the several Standing Congress Committees in the Presidency, should make timely arrangements for holding the next Conference at such time and place as may be decided on."

The proposition was seconded by Mr. Medhalkar and was carried unanimously.

Mr. T. N. Rajmabikar then proposed "that copies of the proceedings of this Conference be sent to the Government of

Bombay, the Secretary of the Congress Reception Committee at Allahabad, the secretaries of the several Standing Congress Committees and Political Sabhas and Associations in the Bombay Presidency, and the editors of the leading newspapers in India."

Mr. R. N. Karkare seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

A cordial vote of thanks was then proposed to the President which he briefly acknowledged. The Conference was then dissolved.

(sd). V. M. Bhide
Chairman of the
meeting

Presented by
Hon. Mr. Lallubhai
Samaldas, Bombay.

T. M. M. M.

R-3265



REPORT

OF THE

SIXTH

Provincial Conference,



HELD AT

AHMEDABAD,

On the 1st, 2nd and 3rd November,

208.

1893.



SIXTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE,

1893.

President :

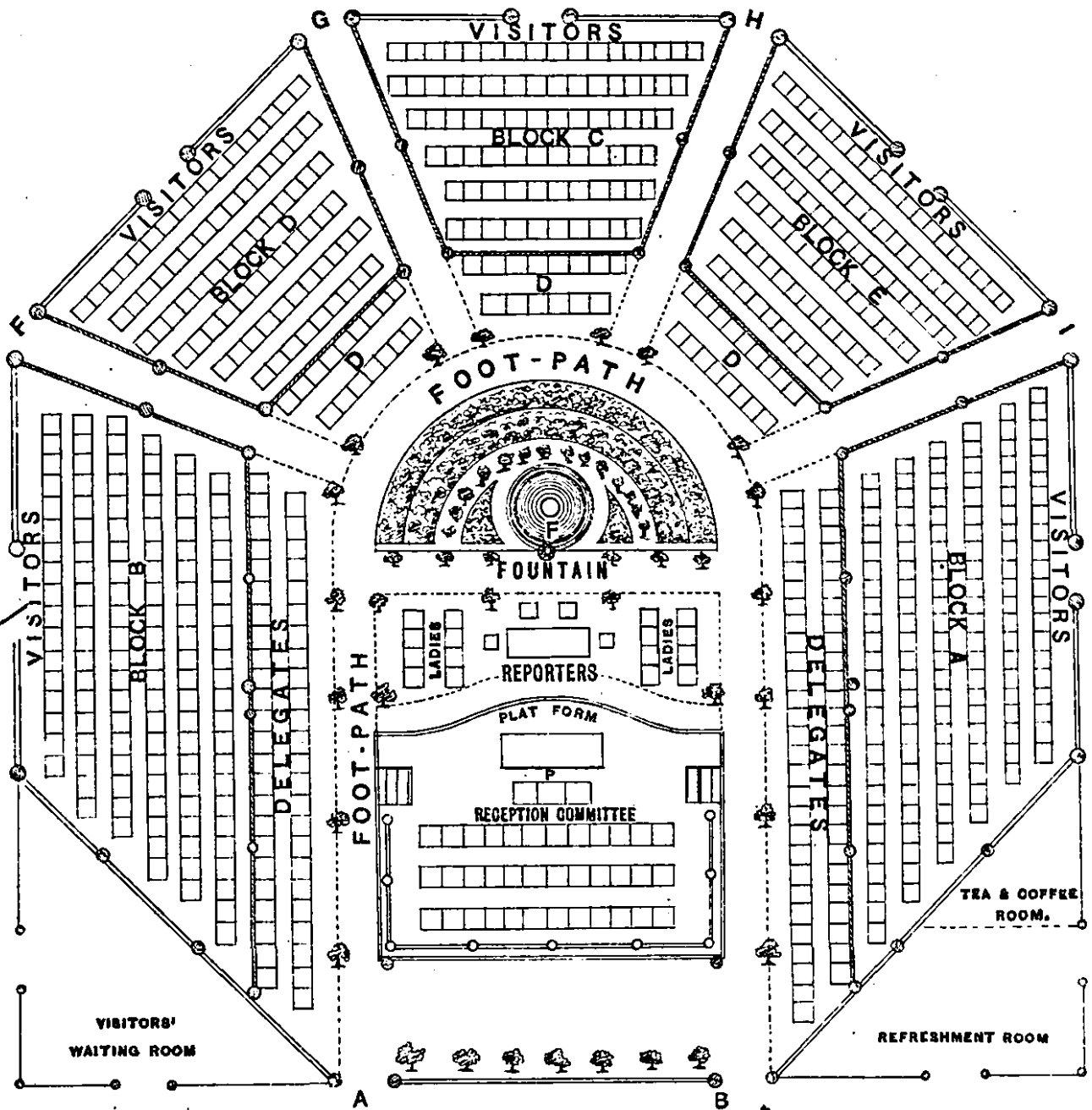
The Hon'ble R. M. Sayani, M.A., LL.B.

Secretaries :

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B.

Dinsha Edulji Watcha.

The Hon'ble Chimanlal H. Setalwad, B.A., LL.B.



A & B ENTRANCE FOR
RECEPTION COMMITTEE
D=DELEGATES
P=PRESIDENT
F.G.H.I. ENTRANCE FOR
DELEGATES.

— Scale
 $\frac{1}{16} = 1$ Foot.

PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
HELD AT
AHMEDABAD.
November 1893.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

When before the assembled delegates at the meeting of the last Provincial Conference in November, 1892 in Poona, The Hon'ble Mr. (then Mr.) Chimanlal H. Setalwad, on behalf of the people of Gujarát, invited the Conference to hold its Session of 1893 at Ahmedabad or some other place in Gujarát, and begged the Conference not to judge of the sincerity and earnestness of the province of Gujarát in the Conference cause by the extremely small number of delegates that it had sent to Poona, many of the delegates including the President (The Hon'ble Mr. Mehta), though welcoming the proposal, evidently seemed to think that Mr. Setalwad was taking rather an optimistic view of the attitude of Gujratis in matters political. But events have conclusively shewn that the unbounded faith of Mr. Setalwad in his people was more than justified and that the Gujratis yield to none in their political activity. There cannot be two opinions as regards the fact that the Conference Session at Ahmedabad in November, 1893 was much more grand than any of its previous sittings—more grand in the number of delegates and their representative character, in the richness and impressiveness of its local habitation, in the reception given to the delegates, in the enthusiasm it kindled, in the moderation and the judgment with which its business was transacted, in the public attention and recognition that it received.

The grand Shamiana put up for the occasion with its elaborate and well-thought-out design, richly adorned with gay bunting and flags, with its beautifully arranged five blocks for the delegates and an equal number of blocks for visitors, with its artistically laid out 8 passages lined with flower pots, leading to a semi-circle in the middle, where a water-fountain kept playing, with the beautifully decorated platform for the President and the leading lights of the Conference and the Reception Committee, with the British flag in all its majesty fluttering high over it, with the surrounding grounds all turned into a temporary garden, was indeed a grand sight and could not have failed to impress every observer and make the delegates repent in their hearts for having even for a moment harboured the suspicion that the Gujrati was backward in doing his duty.

This was the first Session of the Conference that was held outside Poona and the way in which the leading people of Ahmedabad vied with each other in making it a success, the large number of delegates that attended it from the Province of Gujrat and the presence of the representatives of the time honoured families in Ahmedabad as well as the leaders of all interests in Ahmedabad and other districts in Gujrat, supporting the President on the platform, gave the most effectual refutation to the idea, if ever entertained, that the Conference was a movement started by the Poona Brahmin in order to air his own peculiar notions of the supposed grievances of the people. The Ahmedabad Session proved conclusively that the Conference was not the movement of any particular caste or creed, or interest or locality, but was alike the movement of the Deccan and the Gujrat, of the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the Parsi, of the Merchant, the Banker, the Land-holder, the Lawyer and the Doctor.

The total number of delegates that attended at Ahmedabad was 147.

They came from the various parts of the Presidency, almost all the centres, except Sindh, being represented and were duly elected either at public meetings held for the purpose or by properly constituted public bodies. Nearly half of the delegates had to travel over distances ranging from one hundred to over five hundred miles.

Even the most perverse opponent of the movement will not have the audacity to say that these delegates numbering among them merchants, and professional gentlemen of great standing, thus sacrifice their time and money in travelling over hundreds of miles at considerable expenditure and inconvenience, merely for the pastime of indulging in idle talk and thus giving vent to their superfluous intellectual activity, and not because they and those whom they represent are firmly and sincerely convinced of the great utility of the movement.

Turning to the constitution of the delegates nothing could be more thoroughly representative. Taking first the creeds and races, there were 123 Hindus, 11 Parsis and 11 Mahomedans, and 2 Isralites. If we consider next the position occupied by these gentlemen there were 8 members of noble families, 3 members of Council, 23 Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Commissioners of Municipalities, 8 Fellows of the University, 28 University graduates, and 4 Public Prosecutors. Considering their occupations and professions we find 54 in the legal profession, 8 in the medical profession, 1 engineer, 42 merchants and traders, 9 bankers, 8 editors and journalists, 19 landed proprietors, 6 Professors of Colleges and 1 poet.

The most note-worthy incident in the sittings of the Conference at Ahmedabad, however, was the election of a Mahomedan gentleman as President. The Hon'ble Mr. R. M. Sayani who had in the past, as a member of Council and member and President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation made his mark as a distinguished public man, was eminently fitted to preside at the Conference but his being a Mahomedan had a peculiar significance of its own in view of the Hindu and Mahomedan riots in Bombay and other places, only a few months before the assembling of the Conference at Ahmedabad. The unanimous action of the Conference in calling the Hon'ble Mr. Sayani to the chair proved to demonstration that so far at any rate as the educated and influential people of the various communities were concerned, there was to be no racial distinction and that they were welded together into one community with common aims and aspirations for the advancement of the common interests of the various races inhabiting the country, that the events of August and September 1893 had not in any way disturbed their harmonious relations and that for those disgraceful scenes, only the lawless and the turbulent among the Hindu and Mahomedan communities were responsible and that they were disowned and considered the real enemies of the country by the thoughtful and educated among their communities.

One more incident is worthy of note as shewing that the Conference is a popular movement, that it has taken root in the heart of people of all classes and that those who say that the Mahomedans are keeping aloof from it are not repre-

senting the truth. On the conclusion of the President's address a letter purporting to be from the Honorary Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Surat to the effect that that body was against the movement was placed in the President's hands. The President read the letter to the assembled delegates with the following pertinent remarks:—

“The Anjuman did not assign any reason for its opposition to the movement and such simple assertion as had been made did not become the prudence or position of any properly constituted body. Had they and even now if they would come and discuss with the Conference, their views would receive every attention and should they be in a minority however small, due regard would be paid to the opposition of the Surat Anjuman who put themselves forward as representing the Surat Mahomedans. Whatever the Surat Anjuman might say, this much was certain that their brethren of the Bombay Anjuman who were respected both by the people and Government had always been loyal supporters of the Congress and their President had not long ago presided over the National Congress.”

When these facts became known to the Mahomedans of Ahmedabad they spontaneously sent a letter (see the Third-day's proceedings) influentially signed to the President of the Conference, dissociating themselves from the Surat Anjuman and expressing their warm approval of and sympathy with the Conference cause. The reading of this letter by the President to the assembly caused a great impression.

In order to understand the real worth and utility of the inaugural address of the President, marked as it was all throughout by moderation, wisdom and oratorical excellence, every word of it should be carefully studied. He made good use of his opportunity to declare that between enlightened Hindus and Mahomedans there is none of the anti-augurism that is supposed to prevail between the two communities and he made an eloquent and judicious appeal for concord between the two communities. He very clearly demonstrated that Government should in its own interest welcome and encourage the growth of such institutions as the Provincial Conference, as tending to bring the various communities into friendly intercourse and as the best means of informing itself of the wants and feelings of the people. He gave a very clear and accurate definition of the functions and objects of the Provincial Conference in the following terms:—

“A Provincial Conference consists of representatives from various parts of a particular province. It deals with administrative matters affecting that particular province. It considers how far these matters of administration are of a beneficent or injurious character; and it also considers important political matters generally affecting the whole of British India. The latter are recommended to the annual convention known as the Congress at which representatives from all parts of the country assemble for deliberation. Those topics which are peculiar to a province are dealt with by the Conference of the Province itself just as we have met to-day. The Provincial Assembly generally meets some time before the National Congress. Following the broad methods of the National Congress, it concentrates its attention on political matters alone. It does not consider the material or the moral welfare of the people of the province except so far as they directly affect the political progress of the province. It meets annually at such places in the province as may be previously determined upon. It will be seen, therefore, that like the National Congress it is a political body, but its scope and territorial limits are more limited. That in matters affecting the political welfare of the whole of the country it is an ancillary body to the National Congress. That in matters affecting the political welfare of its own province it is an independent body.”

The following admirable and crushing reply was given by the President to those Anglo-Indians who sneered at the National Congress in connection with the recent riots at Bombay:—

“It was lately stated, in jest of course, that in Bombay there was no necessity of calling out the military—the National Congress could have met at Pydhonie, passed a resolution condemning the riots,

and the rioters would have dispersed without any further ado. I admit that such a feat could not have been performed either by the National Congress or by the Provincial Conference, nay even by the House of Parliament itself. For if such be the power and influence of deliberative assemblies, who would have ever heard of Coercion Bills and all about Ulster and Belfast, and many other political events besides of the last seven years in Ireland. But such things would have been impossible if there had been a perfect harmony prevailing amongst all the members of both the large communities living in Bombay. That the contagion did not spread to the higher classes was due to the harmony prevailing amongst them. It is necessary to educate the people in order to prevent them from resorting to disorderly behaviour."

A careful perusal of the Resolutions and the detailed proceedings is necessary in order to comprehend fully the various important subjects taken up and discussed at the Conference. Some of them are very important and demand the immediate attention of Government. It must be understood, however, as once remarked by the President, that the Conference as a body is not responsible for every utterance of every speaker. It is really responsible only for the formal resolutions passed at its meetings.

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF
THE SIXTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

Held at

AHMEDABAD

On the 1st, 2nd, 3rd of November, 1893.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first meeting of the Sixth Provincial Conference took place in the afternoon of the 1st of November 1893 at Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujrat in a splendid pandal erected for the purpose on municipal ground between the Railway Station and the City walls. Long before the time of the Meeting the pandal was densely packed by the delegates and the large number of eager visitors and by the time the Hon. Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal, C. I. E., Chairman of the Reception Committee, took the Chair, the open grounds outside the pandal were crowded by visitors who were not fortunate enough to get admission into the pandal :—

At 3 P. M. the time announced for the meeting, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal, C. I. E., (Ahmedabad) rose and said :—

GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee and that of the citizens of Ahmedabad generally, I beg to tender my most hearty welcome to the public spirited delegates of the people of this Presidency who have taken the trouble to honour this ancient city of Guzerat by holding the Provincial Conference there. (Cheers). It speaks highly of the real love the delegates have of their country's good, and of their faith that their representations will receive due consideration from Government and the people that they have made it convenient at such a busy time to come far away. Let me tell you Gentlemen, that this is the first time we have to receive such public spirited guests as you are and I am asked to request you to forgive any shortcomings which you may find in our arrangements, notwithstanding the efforts we have been able to make. Before calling upon you to proceed formally to elect your President, allow me to say a few words regarding the work we are going to do.

It is one of the happy results of the liberal education so kindly provided and encouraged by our benevolent Government that the people of this country have learnt to meet together and deliberate over what is required for the real good and welfare of the public at large, and if the work is carried on with due caution and thoughtfulness, it cannot fail to produce excellent results.

It is a matter of regret that there should be misunderstanding in some quarters that the persons who take any part in such Conferences are discontented with the present administration of the country. If such had been the fact, I, for one, would have hesitated to take any part in such an assemblage, but I fully believe that the educated people of the country think it their duty to try their best to promote the true happiness of their fellow country-men by all constitutional means, and are actuated with the best and most loyal motives to sacrifice their time and money for public good. (Cheers). No honest person can for a moment doubt that the people of this country are in a variety of ways very greatly

benefited by the present administration of the country, and they must, therefore, be most grateful to the present Government. Still, however well meaning a Government may be there must always be some points in its administration about which improvements may be necessary, and it is therefore desirable that intelligent and experienced persons of the country should try to represent their views to Government regarding these improvements in a loyal and respectful manner, and there is no reason to suppose that any responsible good officers of Government need be unwilling or slow to receive such representations. (Cheers). Every suggestion must be judged on its own merits impartially and patiently.

On the other hand I feel it my duty to suggest to my native friends that they should well consider every subject before they come to any conclusion. Every question has two sides, and they should not hastily condemn a Government measure before duly considering the reasons which must have induced Government to adopt it. We have a perfect faith that Government aims at nothing but what is best for the people. The only thing we have to labour for, is to make Government see what is best for the people.

I would respectfully invite the attention of my enlightened friends that the well wishers of the country should exercise their efforts for the improvement of public health, education and morality as well as of the material prosperity of the country. It is a matter of much regret that in this country millions of human lives are annually lost which can be saved by the adoption of proper sanitary measures, and as it is estimated that each preventible death represents the existence of 20 cases of serious illness, we can easily imagine the magnitude of the misery and distress which must be prevailing in the country. By providing pure water, pure air and proper food, and by affording adequate medical relief, it is pronounced by competent authorities that the mortality and sickness in the country can be greatly reduced and physical happiness materially increased. It is, therefore, hoped, that the well wishers of the country would also devote their serious attention to this most important and not to be easily neglected subject, and I have no doubt that any representation made to Government on this subject will be cordially and sympathetically received. (Cheers).

As to the general and moral education of the people, I have no doubt much will be said and very ably by those who will take part in the proceedings which will follow. I feel it, however, proper to press upon your attention one point which requires immediate consideration. It is this, gentlemen, that for the well being of the country it is absolutely necessary that the use of intoxicating drink and drugs must be either stopped or curtailed as much as possible. (Hear, Hear.) It is truly said by the present distinguished Prime Minister of England, Mr. Gladstone, that the evil produced by intoxicating drink is as great as can be inflicted by the combined effects of pestilences, famine and war. This vice is unhappily extending both among the lower and higher classes. I am, therefore, induced to say that the leaders of the society should not only request the assistance of Government on the subject in the shape of Local option or otherwise, as may suit best, but that they should themselves set a good example in the same direction. Ignorant people are easily tempted to follow the example of those superior to them in rank and position and after having once contracted the bad habit, they are unable to control themselves and thus fall victims to the vice.

The well-being of a country greatly depends on the material prosperity of the people, and it is therefore very desirable that efforts should be made to improve the agriculture and manufactures of the country. Now-a-days by the introduction of steamers and railways, the cost of carriage is so much reduced that articles of foreign manufacture can be imported into this country at a very little cost and thus many indigenous industries are being supplanted. It is therefore desirable that we should turn our attention to the introduction of new industries into the country, on an improved modern system, so that the country may be saved from becoming impoverished. (Hear, Hear).

I am very glad to learn that our friend, Mr. Sayani a distinguished and able Mahomedan gentleman has kindly consented to preside at this Conference. (Cheers). Ahmedabad is a City founded by a Mahomedan king and it is very appropriate that the first Conference held in this City should be presided over by a Mahomedan gentleman. In this connection, I am glad to inform our friends assembled here that we have a very large Hindu and Mahomedan population here and they have always worked together lovingly and harmoniously. (Cheers). The principle of religious tolerance is duly observed, and as all the inhabitants are strictly law abiding people, no unnecessary friction ever takes place. (Cheers).

Without taking up more of your precious time, I shall call upon you to proceed to formally select your President.

Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatavdekar, L.M., (Bombay), then rose and said :—

GENTLEMEN,

It is my privilege to-day to propose that Mr. B. M. Sayani, M. A., LL.B. be requested to preside at this the Sixth Provincial Conference. (Cheers.) In commending his name for your acceptance you are aware, gentlemen, that I am commending a name that is well known to you for a long series of years and I feel therefore my task very easy. It is not necessary, gentlemen, to remind you that he is a Mahomedan gentleman of splendid academic attainments, being a M. A., LL.B. of the Bombay University, and one who occupied the distinguished positions of the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Gentlemen, you are aware that the time is not distant when he will be called upon again to undertake the responsible function of a member of the enlarged Legislative Council, and it is in the fitness of things that he should preside over our deliberations this year. (Cheers.) Gentlemen you must have felt a little disappointed at the absence of the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta (cheers) who was to propose this resolution. This is the telegram that he has sent wishing all success to our labours.

“Regret that being strongly advised not to journey I cannot attend Conference. My best wishes for its success.”

Gentlemen regretting as we do his absence to-day we sincerely trust he will be all right soon.

The resolution which was seconded by Mr. Nagarseth Manibhai Premabhai (Ahmedabad), on being put to the meeting, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. R. M. Sayani having taken the presidential chair among deafening cheers, rose and addressed the meeting as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,

I beg to tender my most cordial thanks to you for doing me the honor to elect me as the President of your Conference. I am fully aware of my own defects and of the fact that there are many other gentlemen who would have done better justice to this post than I can, and I value the honor the more as it has been done from the praiseworthy motive that so far as the men of light and leading in this most advanced province of the Empire are concerned there is to be no distinction between the Hindus and the Mahomedans and the Parsis, and that all of them shall, in the future, as they have done in the past, live as brethren and peaceful members of one great community, having for their object the advancement of common interests and the fulfilment of common aspirations; (cheers) and it is a graceful act on the part of this Conference that in this beautiful but essentially Hindu City founded by the enlightened liberality of a Mahomedan prince—enlightened, I mean, according to the best lights of his own times—a Mahomedan gentleman should be invited to preside at the important political gathering of the Presidency for progress and amelioration of its people. It proves that the people of this presidency generally are bent upon steadfastly adhering to the great principles which they have laid down for their guidance, namely, (1) True Loyalty to the established Government of this Country, (2) Peace and Harmony amongst themselves, and (3) Progress in their moral and material condition. (Cheers.) It is no doubt true that these principles are occasionally broken, though not by the men of light and leading nor by the people at large but by a few misguided persons. But such persons form but a microscopic minority of the inhabitants. Having been slow to avail themselves of the benefits of the education that is provided for them by an enlightened Government, this minority are out of touch with the better classes, and therefore out of the reach of the influence of all that is politically, socially and morally the best in the Country. I have no hesitation in proclaiming from this public platform, that the breakers of the peace which the benign rule of our gracious Queen Empress has firmly established in this Country, have not only no sympathy from representative assemblies like ours but are actually regarded by them as public enemies, enemies of their Country and of its people. (Hear, Hear.) They damage our country's cause and retard our progress and deserve therefore to be suppressed with the high hand of the law and the united voice of that majority of the peaceful and law abiding inhabitants who form the bulk of the population. The peace-breakers, whether

Hindus or Mahomedans or of any other class or race are a thorn in the side of the government and in the side of that vast majority—the majority, I unhesitatingly declare, who are actuated by a brotherly love towards each other, as sons of a common soil, as subjects of a common and beneficent government, at whose head stands that eminently Gracious Lady Sovereign than whom no more illustrious has ever adorned the English throne. I repeat we are a majority having only common ends and common aspirations to realize and common objects to fulfil. (Hear, Hear.) A merciful Providence has in its wisdom bound us together by the ties of common weal and common woe and whom an all-ruling Destiny has placed in a common boat. Each of us, therefore, is bound to see not only to his own safety but also to the safety of all his fellow-passengers in the same boat with him. But mischief-mongers will exist in every country, even in the most enlightened country, who would thoughtlessly and foolishly endeavour to upset the boat. Their attempts are, however, bound to prove futile. Or it may be that at times a moral east-wind will simultaneously blow in different parts of the world having no possible connection with each other. Even such a gale may prove detrimental to our general progress. It is necessary, therefore, to guard against their evil effects. Unions like ours are the best antidote to the evils I have been describing—evils which are so injurious to our healthy, moral, social and political progress. It is for these reasons that I rejoice in your motive in electing me as your president, and heartily reciprocate your feelings and as an orthodox Mahomedan I beg to assure you that no true Mahomedan—I mean a Mahomedan—who really believes in his religion and has studied it as every true Mahomedan is bound to study his religion,—in fact, no Mahomedan who has a true regard for his religion, would ever think, I was going to say, would ever condescend to think, of injuring his fellow-countrymen, nay even his fellow human beings ; (Hear, Hear) for doing so would be an act against his religion in a two-fold manner, firstly, in disturbing the administration of an established government which every true Mahomedan by his religion is bound to support, and, secondly, in injuring his fellow human beings whom the self-same God has created. Persons having a superficial knowledge of our Mahomedan religion are very apt to be led away into believing that our religion encourages injury to our fellow human beings. I beg here publicly to deny it totally. I maintain that it is a gross and unmitigated libel to our religion to say so and I am prepared to conclusively prove my statement. A Mahomedan is bound by his religion to tender infinite reverence to his Creator and to appreciate His Works, and there is no nobler work of the Creator on this earth than man. I am, however, digressing and I will not, therefore, pursue this subject further on this occasion. But having given you the assurance I have, I will only exhort my fellow subjects—Hindus, Parsis, Eurasians, and Europeans, to extend their kindly sympathy to us Mahomedans who are their fellow-brethren and fellow-subjects and to have regard to their present exceptional position and to sympathise with them, for a generous heart will not tread upon a poor uneducated and even misguided fellow-brother, and it is to the true self-interest even of the Hindus to put forth brotherly efforts for bringing about the amelioration of even Mahomedans, for broad statesmanship consists not in marching fast and leaving the stragglers behind, especially when these stragglers form no inconsiderable a minority, but in encouraging these very stragglers and in bringing them upon a line with us, so that the whole country may march with equal pace and reach its goal all in a solid phalanx to the lasting benefit of the country, at the same time rendering the work of administration more easy and thus invoking the good will of our rulers and the blessings of merciful Providence. (Cheers.)

Since it was first announced that I was to have the honor of presiding at this Conference I have been asked by several persons what the difference is between the National Congress, the Provincial Conference and the Provincial Industrial Conference. I will, therefore, avail myself of this opportunity to briefly answer these questions. To you, gentlemen, the aims and objects of these respective assemblies are well known; but it will be as well that a brief but explicit explanation should be given, once for all, to those who seem to be unacquainted with them.

A Provincial Conference consists of representatives from various parts of a particular province. It deals with administrative matters affecting that particular province. It considers how far these matters of administration are of a beneficent or injurious character and it also considers important political matters generally affecting the whole of British India. The latter are recommended to the annual Convention known as the Congress at which representatives from all parts of the country assemble for deliberation. Those topics which are peculiar to a province are dealt with by the Conference of the province itself just as we have met to-day. The provincial assembly generally meets some time before the National Congress. Following the broad methods of the National

Congress it concentrates its attention on political matters alone. It does not consider the material or the moral welfare of the people of the province except so far as they directly affect the political progress of the province. It meets annually at such places in the province as may be previously determined upon. It will be seen, therefore, that like the National Congress it is a political body but its scope and territorial limits are more limited. That in matters affecting the political welfare of the whole of the country it is an ancillary body to the National Congress. That in matters affecting the political welfare of its own province it is an independent body.

The National Congress consists of representatives from various provinces of British India. It deals with political matters affecting the whole country. No doubt to arrive at a proper consideration of problems affecting the political welfare of the whole of British India, it has to take it no consideration the needs and the wants of each province, but it does not take in hand the province separately. It deals with each province as an integral part of the whole country. Further, the National Congress like the Provincial Conference concentrates its attention to political matters. It does not consider the material or the moral welfare of the people except so far as they directly affect the political progress of the country as a whole. It meets annually at such places as are previously determined upon. It meets at various places in British India. Its place of meeting is not confined to any particular city or any particular province. It was indeed once intended that it should meet in England with a view to enable Englishmen to disabuse themselves of some false impressions created about its sayings and doings. The intention, however, has not yet been carried out for various reasons, chief amongst which I understand to be the difficulty of getting a hearing so long as the Home Rule Bill blocks the way.

A Provincial Industrial Conference consists of representatives from various places in a province to consider its material development from the industrial stand-point. The Bombay Provincial Industrial Conference meets annually at Poona which is the centre of mental activity. It is not a political association, but it does affect politics in so far as dissemination of an economic character influences the industrial progress of the country.

I have thus far described the character of each of the aforesaid organisations not because you are ignorant of the function of each of them, but because there exist among some people hazy notions about their true aim and object. I have thought it better in our interest to describe them so that definite and clear ideas may prevail on these matters.

I will now proceed to another matter of which I am reminded by the above considerations. It has been objected that the National Congress is a useless association and perhaps even mischievous. This and other objections against that body have been fully answered by its most prominent members and supporters and by none, I should say, more incisively and emphatically than by the late lamented and highly esteemed Mr. George Yule and by my own townsman the Honorable Mr. P. M. Mehta—the former at the Allahabad Congress of 1868 and the latter at the Calcutta Congress of 1890. (Cheers.) I apprehend now that provincial Conferences here and in Bengal have become more active, similar objections will be made against them. I propose, therefore, to endeavour to lay before you and through you before the public why I consider a provincial Conference is an organisation every way calculated for the good of the people and even of the Government. In fact I conceive their chief object to be to assist the Government in better apprehending the legitimate wants and wishes of our people. (Hear, Hear.) Briefly, the advantages of holding a provincial Conference are, amongst others, these:—

(a) It induces representatives from various parts of a province to travel from their respective places to the place of holding the Conference; and this simple fact by itself is productive of much good. For the natives of this country are usually unwilling to move from their homes and I understand it was with a view to counteract their home-sick habits that Hindu Sages of yore enjoined upon them the undertaking of pilgrimages. If our Conference can, therefore, bring about a more travelling spirit amongst our fellow countrymen and do nothing more, even then it will deserve to exist and to be encouraged to continue its existence. If religious pilgrimages are conducive to religious welfare, I do not see why political pilgrimages should not be equally beneficent in ministering to the political welfare of our country. The advantages of travelling are so great and so well appreciated by Englishmen who are at present the greatest travellers or globe-trotters in the world, that I need not here advert to them further.

(b) It brings together representative persons from different parts of the province and promotes friendly intercourse between them. The various communities who live wide and apart come once a year into closer contact and are enabled by such contact to exchange their thoughts and feelings, and to understand each other's position better. This is a very useful thing both for the people and the Government. Mixed meetings of persons of education and position invariably lead to good and are an important factor towards social progress. In short they promote good feeling and foster genuine respect and regard for each other.

(c) It brings about friendly and well regulated discussion and serves to correct local prejudices and to control selfish ideas and teaches different communities to live and to let live. Thus the faculty of calm discussion is immensely cultivated and we are taught to take broad and lofty survey of all important questions from an impartial and unimpassioned stand-point. If we had Municipal and local conferences as we have had provincial Conferences and the National Congress, it is probable that the deplorable disturbances of August would not have occurred and even if they had, they would have been mitigated if not nipped in the bud and the Government would have been saved from a deal of trouble and anxiety. (Hear, Hear.) It was lately stated, in jest of course, that in Bombay there was no necessity of calling out the military—the National Congress could have met at Pydhoni, passed a resolution condemning the riots and the rioters would have dispersed without any further ado. I admit that such a feat could not have been performed either by the National Congress or by the Provincial Conference, nay even by the houses of Parliament itself. For if such be the power and influence of deliberative assemblies who would have ever heard of Coercion Bills and all about Ulster and Belfast and many other political events besides of the last seven years in Ireland. (Hear, Hear.) But such things would have been impossible if there had been a perfect harmony prevailing amongst all the members of both the large communities living in Bombay. That the contagion did not spread to the higher classes was due to the harmony prevailing amongst them. It is necessary to educate the people in order to prevent them from resorting to disorderly behaviour. The great misfortune of India is that it is inhabited by several people who differ from each other in race, religion and language. Again even elementary education is unknown among them. In more favoured countries the different hordes of people settling at different times have all been blended into one and thus at present they have practically become of one race, of one religion and of one language and are infinitely better educated. The result is a strong united nation. Unfortunately, we, in India, have not yet attained that unity but all the influences to be witnessed at present are, I hope, tending towards it. Hence it is specially important that Government should encourage all those functions which directly or indirectly tend to bring the various communities into more friendly intercourse. Our Government is admittedly a strong Government which has brought in its train western culture and commerce and, the last though not the least, western liberty—liberty of thought and of action and is imbued with the ideas of individual liberty in thought and in action and cannot possibly be afraid of a little ebullition of expression. Indeed, the expression of ideas and of grievances enables them to come to a better understanding of the wants and feelings of the people and acts as a safety valve. (Cheers.) As Mr. Lowell has observed it is only by the ventilation of the wrongs of men that the rights of the mankind are asserted. (Hear, Hear.) Government has itself acknowledged this fact by giving us local self-government, by admitting elected members to the legislative councils and by giving its members the right of interpellation and can very well afford to allow us to express our feelings with the noble object of availing ourselves of their protecting presence amongst us to endeavour, as best we may, to attain social, moral and political progress and to become as they have become, one, in thought if not in religion and race, and one in nation under their fostering care and guardianship.

A house divided against itself will not be capable of promoting its collective interests. (Hear, Hear.) In the same manner, a country divided against itself cannot expect to be capable of promoting its national interests. To make any real tangible and permanent progress the whole population of the country must act in union. All the various communities must be educated to learn that they have common aspirations and common interests. The two large communities in this country are the Hindus and the Mahomedans. They cannot, indeed, have one religion but they must learn to meet each other to a certain extent. They both believe in one God and must learn to observe forbearance and neutrality. In fact the forbearance and tolerance expected of a man are generally in direct proportion to his education. If they cannot have a common language, they must for political purpose adopt the English language which is

fast becoming the common language of politics. Both Hindus and Mahomedans have indeed identical aspirations and identical interests. The days of one man creeping over another and one clan enslaving another are for ever gone. (Cheers). All our best institutions ought to be cosmopolitan. The national congresses know no difference of race or religion. The provincial conferences follow suit. The Government are strictly neutral. This spirit of tolerance and forbearance must be encouraged by every well-wisher of India and if the congresses and the conferences will have done nothing more than fostered this spirit of tolerance and thus removed a strong barrier to nationalisation, they will have deserved to be enshrined in letters of gold. I am aware that many persons are of opinion that it is foolish to entertain such ideas and that such ideas are chimerical, but I venture to say that if these ideas are fostered and are allowed to take deep root they are bound to result in the highest good. Let it be remembered that the world is advanced in its progress by men of ideas. When such men have fostered the ideas the men of action follow. (Cheers).

In placing the Indian Budget before the House of Commons lately, the Under-Secretary of State for India is reported to have said "The Government of India desired a strong, orderly and progressive rule and to blend the different races and faiths into one harmonious whole and to raise the people in the moral, intellectual and social scale of nations." We all, of course, approve of this desire and give government credit for cherishing it and we must put forth our best endeavours to assist government in carrying out the noble object they have in view. There can be no permanent political progress without the concurrent, moral, intellectual and social progress, and it is our duty, as it is the desire of government, to help the cause of social progress.

I am painfully aware of the many and serious obstacles in our way, but if we are true to ourselves and if each of us relying on merciful Providence does his best, I have every reason to hope sooner or later we are bound to succeed.

If it is intended to blend the various races inhabiting this country, the best way to do it is to make them fit to do so. In order to have peace in the family all the different members of the family must learn to control their respective idiosyncracies, to accommodate each other and to strive to promote each other's welfare. If some of the members of the family are of tender age the elder members must protect them; if some of them are uneducated, then the others must educate them; if some of them have certain susceptibilities, then the others must respect them; and so on. In fact each one must, to the best of his ability and with such lights as he possesses, contribute to the general good of the family. If the elder and wiser ones were to discard the younger and more ignorant ones, the result would be that the family would be ruined for all the members are in the same boat. (Hear, Hear). Applying to the nation these principles appertaining to the family I would advice my Hindu brethern to help their Mahomedan brethern to educate themselves and I would entreat my Mahomedan brethern not to molest the susceptibilities of our Hindu brethern. (Cheers). I will remind my Hindu brethern that it was during the period of Mahomedan rule of India that the vernacular literatures of India sprang up; that the Ramayana, the Mahabarata and the Puranas were translated into the vernacular dialects; that the artificial barriers which Hinduism had set up between man and man were pulled down to a considerable extent, that there arose amongst them such great reformers as Vabir, Chaitanya and Nanak who protested against caste and preached the equality of men as our Mahomedan religion preaches universal brotherhood; that the Hindus were treated liberally and were given high offices in the State and were so much encouraged in all manners that high caste Hindu ladies casting aside their original prejudices willingly allowed themselves to be wedded to Mahomedan Princes. I will remind them of all these and other kindred matters and for our country's sake I will exhort them once more to fraternise with their Mahomedan brethern so that both of them may live in peace and harmony. (Cheers)

In conclusion, on behalf of the Conference I beg to thank the Reception Committee for the very warm welcome they have given us to this city. That this ancient capital of Guzerat should have aroused itself from its political torpor and realised its responsibility is indeed a source of the greatest satisfaction. The activity and enthusiasm shown on this particular occasion confirm the belief that this ancient city is still destined to play an important part in the intellectual and political history of this country. (Hear, Hear.)

It only remains to add that in discussing the important matters which are likely to come before us a spirit of caution and moderation both in thought and in language will be duly evinced. A well-trained and well-balanced mind never descends to demagoguism. Whatever we discuss

we must do it in moderate language and with a sense of the responsibility which we owe in the first place to ourselves and secondly to our rulers. It is not high flown language but sound and good reasoning that will impress itself on the minds of those to whom it is intended to be addressed. (Cheers).

We must remember that Rome was not built in a day. A slow but a steady progress is more permanent. Land which is heated sooner also cools down earlier, whilst water which is heated slower also cools down later. A variety of important subjects in connection with the administration of this great Presidency will come before you, such as the recent rules regarding the allocation of non-official seats in the enlarged legislative council and the expediency of fostering all branches of education; the extreme desirability of separating revenue from judicial functions and minor subjects too which have been more or less the subject of public criticism in the press and of grievances in the districts, such as the harsh operation of the salt, abkari and forest laws, will also be brought forward along with such questions as village sanitation and so forth. I am sure, gentlemen, that in the deliberation of these various questions you will bring to bear on them your individual and collective experience and wisdom.

With these observations I conclude my brief and imperfect address fully trusting that Merciful Providence will lead us aright and that the efforts of this Conference will result in good both for the Government and our people. Amen! (Prolonged cheers.)

The President then read a letter which was placed in his hands and which purported to be sent by the Anjuman-i-Islam of Surat. He pointed out that all that the letter said was that the Anjuman-i-Islam of Surat were against the movement, and complained that the Surat delegates whose names had been published in the papers and were said to have been appointed by a Sabha, the existence of which was not known to the public, were self created and not representing Surat. He said that the Anjuman did not assign any reason for their opposition to the movement; and such simple assertion did not become the prudence or position of any properly constituted body. Had they, and even now if they would only come here and discuss, with the Conference, their views would receive every attention, and should they happen to be in the minority—even not larger than one—due regard would be paid to the opposition of the Surat Anjuman-i-Islam who put themselves forward as representing the Surat Mahomedans. The action of the Surat Anjuman-i-Islam seemed to give quite an unexpected justification of the remarks he had first made about the ill-conceived ideas of some misguided persons who seem to hold that a house divided against itself advances progress and mutual welfare. Whatever the Surat Anjuman-i-Islam may say, this much was certain that their brethren of the Bombay Anjuman who were respected both by the people and the Government, always have been loyal supporters of the Congress, and their President had not long ago presided over the National Congress.

Mr. Jamiyram Nanabhai Haridas (Bombay), then proposed and Sheth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai (Ahmedabad), seconded:—

That the following subjects Committee be appointed to consider and arrange the Resolutions to be brought forward at the Conference.

Mr. Wacha.	}	Bombay.
The Hon'ble Mr. Setalwad.		
Dr. Bahadurji.		
„ Doshmukh.		
„ Bhalchandra.		
Mr. Kama.		
„ Jamiyram.		

The Hon'ble Mr. Runchorlal.	}	Ahmedabad.
Mr. Keshavlal.		
„ Nurbheram.		
„ Varajray.		
„ Manibhai.		
„ Lalbhai.	}	Sarat.
„ D. S. Sethna.		
Mr. Hardevram.	}	Sarat.
„ Motabhai.		
„ Bhagubhai Dayabhai.		
Mr. Manilal Dvivedi.		Nariad.
Mr. Mulye.	}	Poona.
„ Sahasrabudhi.		
„ Namjoshi.		
„ Gokhle.		
„ Tilak.		
Mr. Deva.		Kolaba.
Mr. Karandikar.	}	Satara.
„ Fanasalkar.		

The proposition on being put to the meeting was carried.

The President then adjourned the Conference to 7-30 A. M. on 2nd November.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Conference re-assembled at 7-30 A. M. on the 2nd of November 1893. On the President taking his seat

Mr. R. P. Karandikar (Satara), rose and proposed the 1st Resolution which ran as follows :—

Resolution I.

(a.) *That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective members 12 out of the total number of 25 seats in the enlarged Provincial Legislative Council.*

(b.) *That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a Division as the Central Division as also of Scind have been left absolutely unrepresented in the enlarged Council while other minor interests like those of the European Mercantile Community have been allowed over representation, and*

(c.) *That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date to so amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matters to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different divisions of the Presidency.*

In proposing the resolution Mr. Karandikar said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

Before I proceed to lay before you the proposed resolution of this Conference anent the Provincial Legislative-Council I beg the liberty to make a few preparatory remarks on the subject.

Her Majesty the Queen Empress took over the dual administration of India in November 1858 and soon after the British Parliament passed the Indian Council's Act 24 and 25 Vic. Chapter 67. Under its provisions the selection of additional members to assist the Executive Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations was authorized. The India Government Act of 1861 similarly authorizes the Provincial Government also to secure the assistance of private gentlemen in the matter of legislation. For 30 years the Local government and the Supreme governments have in accordance with these provisions selected non-official members for assisting Government in the making of new laws and regulations. The subject of the expansion and the reconstitution of these Legislative Councils was taken up most earnestly by the public both in the press and in that august body, the Indian National Congress for seven successive years, and by large minded British administrators in our land. Thousands of petitions entreated the British Parliament, and Indian patriots pleaded the cause, at the bar of that mighty and just British public in England. Noble champions of India like the late Mr. Bradlaugh (Cheers) took the subject in hand and pressed it ceaselessly on the attention of the British Parliament with a result that an Act was ultimately passed intending to give us real, substantial, and living representation, the mode being left to the wisdom and experience of the Indian Government.

It was just after this that the Bombay Provincial Conference met in Poona and its attention was engaged in submitting a scheme to the Bombay Government for favourable consideration. This was early in November 1892. Speaking with reference to the scheme laid before the Conference its President the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta said in his Presidential address "We are immediately concerned with our own Provincial Council and a scheme which has received considerable examination from many quarters will be laid before you for your consideration. I feel bound to say that any representation less than that sketched out in this scheme will be neither genuine nor real." (Cheers).

I shall refer to this scheme immediately after I allude to a certain event which deserves mention at this stage. About this time the local Governments had under their consideration the subject how to give practical shape to the promises of those who through the British Parliament rule over the destinies of the vast British Empire. About March last the Bombay Government notified that in pursuance to the regulations laid down on the subject by the Government of India it would directly proceed with the details of the scheme that was adopted for the Bombay Presidency. For easy reference I place before you side by side the scheme proposed by the Conference and the one adopted by Government.

The scheme of the Conference.

- 12 to be elected.
- 3 to Bombay—
 - 1 Corporation.
 - 1 University.
 - 1 Mercantile Interests.
- 2 to Sind population generally.
- 2 N. D. or Gujrath.
- 2 S. D.—Karnatik.
- 3. C. D.—Dekkan.

That of Government.

- 8 to be elected and } Election and nomination combined.
recommended for }
- 3 to Bombay—
 - 1 Corporation.
 - 1 University.
 - 1 Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
- 2 to Sind.
 - 1 Chamber of Commerce.
 - 1 Zemindar.
- 1 N. D., only Municipal Interests.
- 1 S. D., Local Board only.
- Nil to C. D.
 - 1 to *Sardars* in the Dekkan more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of whom are residing at places outside C.D. proper.

Of all India, Bombay is considered, and I think, justly, as the most modest and moderate aspirant and when that Presidency feels disappointed it is consistent to find that there is real cause for it. (Hear, Hear.) The scheme proposed by the Conference admitted of two members for each of the large divisions of this most advanced Presidency. It hardly claimed an electoral college after the model of the Madras scheme placed before the Congress in 1889 and was quite content for the present in utilizing existing agencies. It was under that scheme, possible to give a member each to the urban and rural interests of

the various divisions. While under the Government scheme it has been impossible to give representation to the rural interests of the Northern Division or to the urban interests of the Southern Division, and I am further astonished to find that to the Central Division the largest and the most important of them all, none could be made available, while the Conference scheme wanted 3 for that division: One seat, however, has been given to the Sardars in the Deccan. The urban and rural interests of Sind are also left in the cold though 2 members are allowed to Sind, since those two are misplaced from the point of view which I am persuaded to hold.

You will at once perceive the intensity of the feeling of disappointment especially of those of the Central Division. The disappointment was so just and natural that it soon found vent in the various representations that darted forth not only from the several important stations in the Central Division and Bombay but also from people of the provinces as will be evidenced by the fact that one of the petitioners mentioned in the Government Resolution in this connection is a *Gurav*, a common ryot from the village of Mangle in the Walva Taluka of the Satara District. (Hear, Hear). This, however, was not all. The disappointment actually found recognition in the noble speech of Lord Harris intended to soothe the susceptibilities of the disappointed province. Lord Harris in that speech readily admitted the justness of the disappointment and graciously excused all hard language which his lordship found had been due to this sense of bitter disappointment felt by a people living at the very seat of Government. It would look presumptuous in one to try anything like even attempting to examine the explanations offered for the departure from the necessary path. Some people feel that it would have been possible for the Bombay Government to press for more non-official seats in the beginning, since it has been discovered in consequence of the prudent and opportune exercise of that precious right of interpellation that the Government of India fixed the 8 seats at the suggestion of the Bombay Government. (Hear, Hear). I consider this right of interpellation as a precious boon, not because we one and all asked for it in the petitions that were submitted to the British public, but because that is a sure and certain measure wherewith prudently and dispassionately to exercise a sympathetic control over the practical administration of the Country. (Cheers).

It is needless to go on imagining the reasons that must have induced the Government of Lord Harris to fix the number at 8. It is sufficient to note the declared tentative character of these rules irrespective of the plea of prudence and fore-thought in making small beginnings. It is not out of taste therefore to press our request for 12 seats as originally sketched in our programme. Some might say that by rotating the election as is done by other Governments among the several Divisions, even with this limited number Government would have been able to cause less disappointment. Others would say with equal reason and justice that certain interests as for instance the European Mercantile Community have been shown over consideration. No doubt, as it is put, the sea-going trade has to be respected but none the less so the backward state of staggering native arts and industries that makes the application to India of the otherwise just principles of free trade and commerce considerably doubtful. The history of commerce in the middle ages before and after the time of Edward III, who is justly styled the father of English commerce, shews that the legislature of the country often interfered with the freedom of trade, in imposing prohibitive taxes and preventing export of wool and importation of cloth. Gentlemen, it has been truly said that political institutions have a relative and temporary usefulness, what forwards them now may prove pernicious to-morrow. Such is the case with trade. Whether in the childhood or old age of a certain country certain helps and restrictions are or are not necessary cannot be adequately judged at other times. The native commerce therefore ought necessarily to engage the attention of our kind and sympathetic Government and on this ground, if not on others, there is reason, in the opinions of some, to complain that too much consideration is shown to the sea-going trade, especially when it is remembered that His Excellency thought it was possible even for any member to watch any interests. (Hear, Hear). And in that case Bombay could have watched Karachi interests. The Sardars of the Dekkan needed representation from a point, it is quite obvious, which materially differs from that of either agriculture, commerce or education. They are the pillars of our mighty Government: in that sense they do deserve recognition. The fact that many of them happen to be Inamdars or landlords would hardly make their interests identical with the cultivating population in the case of questions similar to Bengal Tenancy law. And they hardly themselves would assume the position of representatives of agriculture.

For the long thirty years the fight has been between two principles (1) that of representation without election and (2) that of representation through election. That is the battle-ground of all

legitimate and constitutional controversy. I yield to none in the sense of gratitude to the Bombay Government in that it has been during the last decade taking utmost pains to select such Councillors that their nomination may give general satisfaction and this attempt has really been successful. What could be done by the people themselves, Government is trying to do for them and expressly in their interest. But this is just the point of legitimate difference between the Indian Government and the British Nation. (Hear, Hear). And the present act of parliament is a compromise for the present. Under that compromise too, to still hold on to representation without election would be, as His Excellency suggests in the opinion of many, be unsuited to the present times. However the Government has guarded the minorities and it is but proper that there must be some seats in its gift to allocate for that purpose and it is manifest that the other remaining seats of the other half of the Council afford sufficient means to secure that end. Some say that if as His Excellency puts it nearly 60 per cent. of the land-holders in Sind are actually on the local boards, it would have practically done less harm if these Local Boards themselves had been allowed that right and given more satisfaction. (Cheers).

Gentlemen, the above is sufficient to enable me to place before you the resolution which succinctly embodies the prominent features of the various factors as shown in the proposals, and I hope you will accept them.

I cannot, however, stop here, there is the clause (c) of the proposal. The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, that philanthropic body represented in this assembly at this hour by their energetic Secretary Professor Gokle, (cheers), deserves our cordial thanks for the proper way in which the matter has been placed before His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, both in the written memorials and in the personal interview which His Excellency was pleased to accord to us. The same Sabha has elicited from our Supreme Government a sort of an assurance that the subject will receive due consideration at the next election time and we are to be sincerely thankful for it. Lord Harris has kindly adverted to the possibility of a change and all these prepare our mind to sincerely hope that Government would see its way at an early date to so amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges to the several Divisions of the Presidency. (Cheers). I will not detain you by entering into the details of this important subject especially as you must be anxious to hear our honored friend Mr. Wacha (cheers), who ought undoubtedly to have been the mover of this resolution which forms an important plank in the platform of our constitutional movements. I commend this resolution to your acceptance with these few and humble observations. (Applause).

Mr. Dinsha Edalji Wacha (Bombay), in seconding the Resolution said :—

I must confess, Gentlemen, to a feeling of great disappointment at the extremely grudging and illiberal spirit in which our Government has treated the Presidency in the matter of the distribution of the eight non-official seats. A more scurvy treatment could not have been offered by a Government which affects to be superlatively wise, to an Indian Province which is admittedly ahead of all the provinces of the empire, Bengal excepted, in point of public spirit, intelligence and enlightenment. But, gentlemen, what better could have been expected from a Government which had fought shy of the Amended Councils' Act from the very day that it came within the sphere of practical politics. Despite the contradiction made by Lord Harris the other day in reference to the statement of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, I say and say without fear of contradiction, that there are minutes recorded by members of Government which would prove to the hilt how inimical it was to any representation of non-official members in the Legislative Council by means of election. (Hear, hear). If I mistake not, though I am prepared to stand corrected, the minutes to which I have just referred were placed on the table of the House of Commons. And it is indeed amazing that the head of the Government should have, in face of those minutes, pretended to contradict the statement of the Poona Sabha which, I repeat, was absolutely correct, that the Government of Bombay was inimical to any expansion of the Legislative Council on the elective principle. I boldly challenge the authorities to disprove my statement; and ask them further whether they will have the moral courage to produce those minutes now pigeon-holed in some dark recesses of the Secretariat. So much then for the so-called "contradiction" of our temporarily exalted authorities. The fact is, Gentlemen, that homœopathic as was the dose of the expanded Legislative Councils, it was yet too large and too bitter to be swallowed by those illiberal mediocrities whom, some inscrutable destiny has appointed to rule over us in this Presidency. What better could be expected from a Government almost altogether out of touch and out of sympathy with the ingenuous and legitimate aspirations of a people! (Hear hear). We asked for a "genuine and living representation" to which the sympathetic Mr. Gladstone had referred in that ever memorable speech he made during the passage of the Amending Councils' Bill; but they have given us something which may be called half dead and half struggling for existence. Parliament itself, through its responsible

spokesman, declared that it expected that the Bill would be carried out in practice in the spirit in which it strongly desired it should be carried out. But even that spirit is sadly wanting. Thus, the Bombay Government, I have no hesitation in saying, has defeated to a considerable extent the object of Parliament, which is tantamount to ignoring its authority. And yet they fret and fume, they chafe and foam at the mouth, at Parliamentary interference! I ask you, Gentlemen, whether ours is not a case in which Parliamentary interference is absolutely essential, to correct the authorities here in this particular matter? (Hear, hear). I think, therefore, that it is our duty to "hammer away" at the question until we have secured what we asked for.

Gentlemen, the arguments which were so ably urged by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha the other day on this vexed question of the distribution of seats are, I presume, fresh in your memory. I will not, therefore, detain you by referring to them here. Neither is it necessary for me to re-call the reasons urged by other representative public bodies in their respective petitions to Government on this point. But after the laboured and most illogical reply His Excellency the Governor made to the Poona deputation, I am sure, there could be no doubt in your mind that the honours of the arguments lay with the former. Twist and turn that laboured speech as you may it is impossible not to detect the sophistries in which it profusely bounds. But what more need we expect from a Government which lives, moves, and has its being in plausibilities. At least I, for one, have failed to see it in any other light, though anxious to give it credit for any act of administrative wisdom, let alone statemanship.

Let me just prove my statement as to the plausibilities in which the head of the Government indulged in his reply to the Poona deputation. His Excellency's whole defence of his Government hinged on the pivot of what he called territorial and other interests combined. It was not possible, he urged, to allot the seats purely on the basis of territorial interests. Neither was it possible to be guided by interests other than territorial. It may be as well to quote the words of the Governor: "We, on the other hand, start with the idea that it should be based upon the division of races classes and interests with the idea of territorial representation worked in when possible." The principle, I need not tell you, Gentlemen, is the very opposite of natural. It was because the Government proceeded on those unnatural lines that it found itself in opposition to the almost universal opinion of the people of this Presidency and the Press, even the "party" Press which so much favours the Government. It is the artificial principle, so lamentably lacking in ordinary statesmanship, which has deservedly brought general condemnation of the rules (Hear, hear).

But, Gentlemen, I hope to be able to convince you before I resume my seat how illogical was the reasoning of H. E. the Governor in his reply to the Poona deputation. Let me first refer to the enfranchisement of the Sirdars of the Deccan. We are told that they were enfranchised because they were a connecting link in the chain of Government, and because, they also represented the cultivating classes! The former reason seems to me to be somewhat astonishing. For, Gentlemen, the Sirdars' body, as at present constituted, cannot by any stretch of imagination be held as a link. Many of them as you may be aware, are newly created by the British Government, say for instance, Messrs. Venayak Visudev, Padamji Pestonji, Dustur Hosang Jamasji and others. How can it be alleged that these are a connecting link between the British Government and the old aristocracy under the Peishwas? Here then is an historical fallacy. Then as to the Sirdars representing the *ryots* of the Deccan, it is much to be wished His Excellency had given us a single instance in which a Sirdar has evinced his interest in the welfare of the *ryots* either in the Legislative Council or outside it since that institution was established in 1861. In the same breath it was observed by His Excellency that had his Government seen his way they might have tacked on the Sirdars to some other constituency having identical interests. This is indeed an amusing argument in support of enfranchising the Sirdars at the expense of the entire Central Division. For Gentlemen, may I ask you, whom do these Sirdars represent? I have shown to you that they do not represent the *ryots* and they hardly represent the old aristocracy of whom the majority are old widows and decrepit men. The Sirdars only represent themselves. They have no popular interests whatever to advocate at the Council; so that it is a grievous injustice to have given them the right of election while the enlightened constituency of the Deccan has been deliberately and on purpose ignored (Hear). But, Gentlemen, I shall show you later on, the basis of this reasoning, how illogical is this theory of interests and races which no doubt looks very plausible in the abstract. If identity of interests be the dominating principle, then, it may be reasonably asked why a special constituency was created of the Kurrachee Chamber of Commerce whose interests are identical with those of the Bombay Chamber? His Excellency was sorry he had no constituency with

an identity of interest to which the Sirdars of the Deccan could be tacked. Arguing on the same lines, how is it that the Kurachee Chamber, with *identical* interests as those of the Bombay Chamber was not bracketted together as a single constituency? (Hear, hear). Why was a double representation given to the European trading interest? This precious theory becomes even more ridiculous when I re-call to your mind that the *Native trading interests* of the City of Bombay remain unrepresented along with the Mill-owner's Association. The former have an infinitely larger stake than the small body of Kurachee European firms which are simply branches of Bombay, and yet they have been strangely ignored! As to the mill-owning interest, I need not say that it is an interest distinct and paramount by itself. It has absolutely nothing in common with the import trading interest. There is no identity of interests whatever. Why was then this separate interest of the highest value, not only to the city but to the Government itself, for it contributes not a little to create that balance of trade which goes to pay your sterling obligations, entirely omitted? (Hear hear).

If the special interests argument has any meaning and if it was intended to give fair play to it in practice why, may I ask, were the foreign trade interests given two seats, and why the Mill-owning and Native mercantile interests, which are special interests by themselves, utterly ignored? And arguing similarly, why was the Central Division left out, for it is also an interest by itself, as I have already observed, and has not the least relation, to the Sirdars' interests? If, however, as Lord Harris said, the Sirdars represented the whole of Central Division, did not the Bombay Chamber virtually represent the European Kurachee trade also? Again, if the Sirdars represented the Deccan interests, then the Jagirdars of Kurachee, on the same analogous reasoning, must be held to represent the whole Kurachee interest? Where was then the necessity of giving a separate voting power to the Kurachee Chamber? Since however, it is said that the Kurachee Chamber represents the whole Sind division, then, may it be asked whether the Sind people accept that statement as correct? I do not think that even the members of the Kurachee Chamber themselves would have the temerity to assert that they represent the interests of the whole of Sind. And if they do not, then, it is clear that the representation given to that Chamber is absolutely unjustifiable (Hear hear).

Pursue, Gentlemen, this precious interests theory a little further in connexion with our administrative divisions. I am sure none will venture to say that their interests are identical. Yet, strangely enough, the Government seems to think so! Lord Harris said that the Local Boards, of the Southern Division and the Municipalities of the Northern Division represented each other and so far they would not only represent their own divisions but the divisions of the entire Presidency, including the Central! Now carry this ingenuous argument to its logical conclusion. Are we not entitled to infer that on this hypothesis the Government of Bombay might as well have enfranchised only *one* of the two divisions and declared that they represented all (Hear hear). The fact is that the argument is ingenious but not ingenuous. But this is the shift to which his Excellency had to resort when driven to bay by his critics!

Thus the interests theory considered from every point of view falls to the ground. Twist and turn it as you may it presents no such simplicity and freedom from objections as the theory of territorial distribution. Had the number of seats, which the Local Government *deliberately* and on purpose fixed at 8, been larger, say 12, all truly important interests would have been well satisfied and the Government might have been saved from that hostile criticism to which it was subjected from all sides. It was a grave political error to have given prominence to the interests theory and worked out the territorial principle on a narrow and most illiberal scale. Important interests have been arbitrarily set at nought, while unimportant ones, as well as microscopic minorities, have been given over-representation which they did not deserve and to which they were not entitled. (Hear, hear.)

Lastly, it is strange that the official seats have been allotted in a manner which upsets Government's own theory of identity of interests. It is well-known that the Chief Secretary attends to all matters Abkari, Forests, and general finance. That official could certainly answer in the Council all interpellations relating these subjects. And yet it passes comprehension why one of the official seats should be filled by the Chief Conservator of Forests. Similarly, the General Secretary is responsible for Education and I for one fail to see the cogency of the nomination of the Director of Public Instruction to an official seat, unless it be to swell the Government majority. But on the principle propounded by Lord Harris it is absolutely indefensible. (Hear hear.) Both nominations are a superfluity. The fact is, Gentlemen, the Government preaches one thing and practises another. It is a great pity that there is a sad want of sympathy at head-

quarters to satisfy the requirements of our progressive condition. All wisdom is centred it seems at "Bombay Castle" alone (Cheers). And whatever that infallible wisdom may dictate you are supposed to abide by it. The Government is always in the right, because it is infallible. It takes such paternal care for us that we must give it credit that all it does is meant for our good. When such patriarchal views prevail, it is hopeless to expect more liberal concessions. His Excellency took some credit to himself the other day when the Municipal Deposits' Bill was passed, that though a Tory in politics he was Liberal in action. I fail to perceive the slightest spirit of Liberalism in the matter of the enlarged Councils, which shows perhaps that the case referred to by his Lordship was simply exceptional and only confirmed his deep seated Tory traditions, Tory training and Tory surroundings. Let us still hope he may prove a true reformer and earn the gratitude of the people of this Presidency before he lays down his high office which is now looming in the near distance. (Applause.)

Mr. Ranchhordlal V. Patvari, B.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad), then supported the Resolution in an effective speech in Gujrati.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, (Poona) having further supported the Resolution,

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhordlal Chhotalal, C. I. E., (Ahmedabad) moved the following amendment to the Resolution:—

That parts (a) and (b) of the Resolution be deleted.

He thought that after what had taken place it would be better to drop the first portion of the motion, leaving only that part which related to what should be done at future elections, and moved an amendment to that effect. The Government of Bombay and the Government of India had promised that they would take the matter into their consideration at the time of the next election, and, therefore, it was advisable that the portions he had referred to should be deleted. Government seemed to have done justice as far as possible to every part of the Presidency, and therefore any complaint was unnecessary. In his opinion the Central division was very liberally treated by Government, and had no good ground for complaint. While the Southern and Northern Divisions had one and two representatives, respectively, the Central Division had three native gentlemen to represent it. The nomination of Messrs. Dorabjee Pudumjee and Ranade by Government was the best, and the people of the Central Division could not have recommended a better nomination to represent their interests.

The President having read the amendment to the meeting asked whether anybody wished to second it. Nobody responding, the President declared the amendment to have fallen to the ground.

The President having then put to vote the original proposition it was carried with great enthusiasm, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhordlal alone voting against it.

Resolution II.

Prof. G. K. Gokhle, M. A., (Poona), then rose and proposed the 2nd resolution.

That this Conference, while re-affirming its resolution of last year on the question of the Provincial Service, places on record its regret that the rules regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service of this Presidency, promised in the last paragraph of the Government of India resolution of April 21st 1892, have not yet been published. At the same time, this Conference expresses its firm conviction that no substantial measure of justice to the claims of the Natives of India is possible in this matter, unless the Competitive examination, at present held in London, alone for admission into the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in India and in England.

In moving this resolution, Prof. G. K. Gokhale said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

The resolution which I have the honor to move is of a three-fold nature. In the first place, the Conference repeats what it said last year about the new Provincial Service ; secondly it places on record its regret that although more than a year has elapsed since the Government of India passed final orders on the Report of the Public Service Commission, the rules, promised by Government in passing those orders for regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service of the Bombay Presidency have not yet been published ; and thirdly the Conference expresses its emphatic conviction that no real justice to the claims of the people of India is in this matter possible, unless the competitive examination for entrance into the Indian Civil Service be held simultaneously in India and England. (Hear, Hear.) Gentlemen, during the last two or three years, I have so often spoken on this subject of the Public Service Commission and Simultaneous examinations that, I cannot help expressing a wish, in the interests of freshness of exposition if for nothing else, that on this occasion this resolution had been entrusted to some other member. But the Subjects Committee has laid the task on me and I must bow to its wishes. Gentlemen, it has now become pretty clear to the people of India that it would have been on the whole better, if the Public Service Commission had never been appointed. Before the appointment of the Commission, one-sixth of the total recruitment for the Indian Civil Service had been secured to the Natives of this country by the rules of 1879. This meant that in the long run, we should have had about 150 posts, usually given to Covenanted Civilians, reserved for us. Well, we were not satisfied with that and we agitated for more, and the result of the agitation was the appointment of the Public Service Commission. And what did this Commission recommend? Why, even this, that in place of the 150 posts in the Covenanted Civil Service which had been already secured to us, 108 posts should be taken away from the Schedule of the Act of 1861 and set apart for us! A Commission, appointed for the specific purpose of suggesting means for giving more extended employment to the natives of this country in the higher grades of the Public Service, thus coolly recommended that the number of posts in the Covenanted Service already secured to us was too large and that it should therefore be reduced from 150 to 108! Gentlemen, this was bad enough, but the Government of India and the Secretary of State thought that the Commission was too reckless and prodigal and they therefore reduced the number still further i.e. to 93 posts! (Shame, Shame). But this was not the only direction in which the Indian Government mutilated the proposals of the Commission. The one or two really good points in these proposals of the Commission were also taken away from them. The Commission had proposed that certain very high and responsible posts should be included in the number set apart for the Natives of this Country. But the Government declined to accept that recommendation. Then in regard to the posts proposed to be detached from the Schedule of the Act of 1861, the Commission had recommended that recourse should be had to Parliamentary legislation so that those posts should form part of an organized Service. The Commission in its report says that it attaches the highest value to this recommendation. But Lord Cross declined to accept it and thus it has come to this that when any of the 93 posts, now proposed to be detached, comes to be bestowed upon a member of the Provincial Service, the appointment will be made in exercise of powers conferred by the Act of 1870, and will thus be, as decided by the Secretary of State sometime ago, appointment to that particular post only; and the holder will not be a member of any organized Service. (Shame) Our complaint on the general subject of the Provincial Service—a complaint which we made last year and repeat again this year—is this, that illiberal as the proposals of the Public Service Commission were, they have been rendered still worse by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, (1) by reducing the number of posts to be detached; (2) by lowering their quality; and (3) by refusing to incorporate them in an organized Service by means of Parliamentary legislation. Gentlemen, the second part of our resolution expresses our regret that although more than a year and a half has elapsed since the issue of the Government of India's resolution of April 22nd, 1892, promising that detailed rules to regulate first admissions to the Provincial Services would soon follow, nothing more has yet been heard in the matter. In this connection, I would make only one observation and it is this, that on this question of employment in the higher grades of the Public Service, it is absolutely necessary for us to be watchful and to be persistent, for we know how the Act of 1870 was allowed to remain a dead letter for full nine years. Gentlemen, have we not a right to

complain that while Government was most eager and anxious to seize the first opportunity to abolish the Statutory Service created by the rules of 1879, it has not been equally prompt or even half as prompt in giving actual effect to the Scheme by which that Service has been replaced? If the Statutory Service had not been abolished in such haste, we should have had, in the course of the last two or three years, about five more natives in this Presidency holding to-day posts usually reserved for Covenanted Civilians. Our resolution, therefore, urges Government to move faster in the matter. Of course the Conference hopes that when Government has drafted its rules it will publish them in draft form so as to allow the public an opportunity to express its opinion about them before their final adoption. I now come to the third and the most important part of the resolution, which expresses the emphatic conviction of this Conference that no real justice to the claims of the people of India is possible in this matter, unless the examination for admission into the Indian Civil Service is held simultaneously in India and England. (Hear, Hear.) Gentlemen, so much has recently been said on this subject of simultaneous examinations on account of the House of Commons adopting a resolution in its favour on Mr. Paul's motion that I will not weary your patience by going over so familiar a ground again to-day. I will permit myself only one remark on this subject and it is this—Government cannot but be aware that it has no more loyal subjects than the educated classes in this country. (Hear, Hear.) But at the same time, Government must realize that it can keep the educated classes contented only by satisfying their just aspirations. (Cheers.) It must realize that these educated classes will naturally refuse to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country. Gentlemen, with these few remarks, I move the resolution already read out to you for your adoption. (Prolonged Cheers).

Mr. Jamietram Nanabhai Haridas (Bombay), in seconding the resolution spoke as follows:—

I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal just now placed before you and in doing so with your permission will dwell a little on the latter part of it.

We are all agreed as to the desirability of holding simultaneous examinations in India and in England for admission into H. M.'s Indian Civil Service. That it is a just demand cannot be doubted. In 1833 the British Parliament passed an Act laying down that appointments to the Civil Service should be made without regard to any distinction of race or religion. This most politic, noble and wise principle again finds expression in what we the people of India regard as our *Magna Charta*—the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. Our Sovereign Lady the Queen Empress gives utterance to these liberal sentiments in these words: "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." These words so nobly uttered have practically remained a dead letter. (Shame.)

We ask for fair trial and no favour. In theory we are told the Civil Service is open to us all; but practically we are debarred. The examinations are held in England where the candidates have to go all the way and pass some time. This means many difficulties. The religious difficulty hinders a great many. Simultaneous examination with a stay in England after but not before passing it will only to some extent mitigate the evil; for, contrary to what happens now, the difficulty will have to be solved only by those who pass and not those who fail. I will not lay much stress on this difficulty, though a very great number of people labour under it; for, people with what is called advanced ideas say, unless you give up your stupid religious scruples no privileges shall be extended to you. However, I will not admit that a stay in England is absolutely necessary to qualify one's self "duly to discharge his duty." Our rulers themselves do not go so far. They have admitted by their own conduct that there are in India, men, who, though they have not gone to England, "are qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge" the duties of the highest offices to which natives of this land can aspire. (Cheers.) The native High Court Judges of Bombay up to now were non-Englandmen, and if what the papers of Bombay say be true, one such more appointment has only recently been made by the Home Government. (Hear, Hear.) But independently of the non-observance of the principle of "impartially" admitting us to the Civil Service on the point of religious scruples, there is another disadvantage to which we are put. An Englishman is examined near home. An Indian is examined thousands of miles away from home in a foreign country and in a foreign tongue. The result of

failure is disaster to the latter. He is put to a lot of trouble and expense which the other has not to incur. This explains why so few of us are in the Civil Service of our country.

This glaring injustice has been so frequently admitted by our rulers that I will not go into its history. But suffice it to say, that the British House of Commons in last June passed a resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations. (Prolonged Cheers.) People who hold opposite views are frightened at this. They think that unless some reservation is made in favour of Englishmen we natives will drive all of them out of the field. We will not object to some such reservation; for it is necessary, so long as English Government endures, that the English character of the administration, more or less modified to suit the circumstances of this country must exist. But our friends need not be apprehensive of such a result even if no such reservation is made. No Englishman will admit that English people have so far deteriorated that we will out-number them.

Reservation or no reservation we simply ask for justice to be done. (Cheers.)

Resolution III.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchodlal Chhotalal, C.I.E., (Ahmedabad) then rose and moved the 3rd Resolution which ran as follows:—

That this Conference, while generally re-affirming its previous resolution about Abkari, desires specially to record its firm opinion that the adult persons, residing within a specified area of a town or city, should have the power of requiring, whereby a majority of two-thirds of the registered residents of the place they so desire, that a shop of intoxicating drinks and drugs in their locality should be closed or not allowed to be opened in the first instance.

He pointed out that the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs was a great curse, and the country would not be safe until it was given up or curtailed as much as possible, and such an Act as was mentioned in the resolution was most necessary. A cry had been raised that by introducing such an Act the liberty of the subject would be interfered with; but that was not so, for all that would happen would be that the persons who wished for drink would have to go further to get it than was the case at the present time. When the public peace was broken they would find that it was by persons addicted to drink and in support of that contention he stated that when the recent riots broke out in Bombay the police at once closed the liquor shops. He was not going to defend any of those who took part in those riots, but he would say that, to a certain extent, what had taken place was done under the baneful influence of drink. The evil had not grown to the extent it had in England, but it was progressing, and it was most desirable that they should check it before it got beyond their control. (Applause.)

Rao Sahib M. B. Namjoshi (Poona), in seconding the proposition said:—

This was one of those questions on the settlement of which public criticism was having a very healthy effect. They had been passing resolutions on the subject for several years past, and it was very encouraging to find that every year they were getting nearer the solution of it. It was now for them to assert their right to be consulted and to secure what was desired from the local Government. He thought the Municipalities and Local Boards should move Government to confer upon them the privilege of being consulted both as regarded the number and location of shops for the sale of intoxicating drugs and drinks. When that was done they should also move Government to give them local option. In their address to Lord Harris the Municipality of Ahmedabad brought this very important question to the notice of his Excellency, but he regretted to say that his Excellency's reply to the address was not encouraging. His Excellency, in his reply, ridiculed the idea by saying that, because fifty-one out of a hundred said that a shop ought to be closed, the wishes of the other forty-nine should be neglected. They would, therefore, see that the head of their Government had struck a death-blow to the principle on which all civilised Governments were based. Such opinions coming from the head of a Government did more harm to Government itself than to anybody else. In asking for local option they only prayed that they themselves and not the Abkari contractor should determine their wants. (Cheers.) Their demand was moderate and not at all likely to prejudice the financial interests of Government.

Mr. Govind Apaji Patel, B.A., LL. B. (Ahmedabad), in an eloquent address in Gujrati having supported the resolution, it was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution IV.

Dr. K. N. Bahadurji, M.D., (Lond.), (Bombay) then proposed the 4th Resolution.

That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, of medical education and the advancement of Medical Science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the old existing rules of the Medical Service, reserving all high grade appointments in the Civil Medical Department, including the Professorial Chairs at the Presidency Medical College, for members of the Commissioned Military Medical Service, ought to be modified so as to throw open these appointments to members of the Medical profession generally and indigenous Medical talent in particular, thus utilizing talent wherever available and materially reducing the cost of the administration without impairing its efficiency.

That the President of this Conference be authorized to submit a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India through the Local Government, on the lines of the above resolution.

In doing so he said :—

Before dealing with the subject matter of the resolution I would beg leave to say a word or two to remove the mis-impression that seems to have arisen regarding my presence and that of my medical friends here, specially in view of some recent events. We are not here to air any personal grievances or to comment on any acts of injustice or wrong in individual cases. If I stand here as a member of the opposition, and seem to be an opponent of Government, I must be considered so only in the sense that I hold different, though none the less honest and sincere opinions, on public questions, and especially those affecting my profession, and express them in an honest and straightforward fashion. (Cheers).

And when you have heard me it will be clear to you that, I have not a word to say on any personal questions, and that the policy I advocate is really in support of the best interests of Government. I consider it my good fortune to have the privilege of moving a proposition that will command general acceptance and sympathy—sympathy of the profession all the world over, sympathy of the people and the Government of this country, even though it happens to be moved from a Congress platform; for, the proposition aims at bettering the interests of medical education and medical science—and these are aims in which the people and the Government alike have an abiding interest. (Hear, Hear). The beneficence of the British Rule in India is in a very large measure due to its being based on principles of humanity, and in no case does humanity play a greater part, nor is there any act on the part of the rulers for which India could be more grateful than for their introducing western and advanced medical science for the alleviation of human suffering. All praise is due to the members of the Indian Medical Service who acted as the pioneers of Medical Education in India, and worked to advance the cause of Medical science for its own sake. The Grant Medical College was founded not for “any governmental or executive wants, but for promoting the diffusion of knowledge and the increase of happiness throughout India”, said Sir E. Perry, on the occasion of presenting to the public the first Graduates of the College. (Hear, Hear). Evidently, then, the Indian Medical Service helped Government to carry out their lofty principles of humanity and good Government, and did not stoop to regard it as an institution founded for themselves or as an appanage to their Service. (Cheers). In fact, when in 1867 it was sought by the Government of India at the instance of the then Surgeon-General to reserve all professional appointments for the members of the Indian Medical Service, without regard to their scientific claims, the then Professors of the College, though members of the very service for which the appointments were sought to be reserved, true to the instincts of their liberal profession, strongly protested against the order, and recorded that the appointments of College professorships and those requiring special qualifications should be open not only to members of the services but to the open profession at large. (Cheers). They knew well that the interests of science and education stood supreme, and could not be allowed for a moment to be subordinated to the interests of any class or service; and that science and education did not stoop to make a choice of the hands and heads that worked for their advancement on any other basis than that of capacity and fitness. (Cheers). And if the claims of the profession, of the science of medicine, and of medical education merited such consideration in the early days, when a local profession was just being reared, and when the several departments of medical sciences had not so strongly developed into specialities requiring special

qualifications and training for professorial and other appointments, how much greater consideration ought they to be allowed in the present times, with science specialized in its various departments, and a well-trained and competent profession near at hand ! But some how or other the claims of science and education were neglected, and, in spite of the protest from the respected members of the service itself, the high grade and other appointments in the medical department got "docked" into the schedule of the Indian Medical Service, a fatality, which strange to say, was actually prophesied by the prophetic mind of Dr. Morehead, the first Principal of the College, and father of western medical education in Western India, in these earnest words :—"Who, I should ask, that has lived for any time in this country has not witnessed well-digested plans of public good marred in their execution, simply because on the changes of Government, and the fluctuations of society, the grand principles on which they were based had been forgotten and over-looked, and their place usurped by secondary and subordinate purposes ?" And what has been the result of such fatality ? Nothing but displacement of the interest of science and education,—a practical failure of the College in its duty by the country and Government, a denial of justice to, and an unjustifiable degradation of, the local medical profession, an undue and inordinate drain on the tax-payer, and a complete extinction of the noble intentions and policy of the British Rule which gave birth to the Medical Schools of this country. (Shame.) Whilst in the Arts, Law and Engineering Faculties, wherein the highest appointments are not reserved for any class or service, our local University has furnished Arts and Law Professors, Deputy Collectors, and Executive Engineers, and High Court Judges, and this country can boast of its own experts in these departments of knowledge, in the Medical Faculty, wherein appointments requiring special skill and high qualifications are all reserved for a military service whose members are supposed to be ready for any and every appointment, even in totally different branches of Medical science, our University cannot boast of having produced anything higher than Assistant Surgeons not worth more than Rs. 100 to 250. But our Medical graduates have often been tried, and found worthy to rub shoulders with members of the Indian Medical Service, most of whom hold qualifications no higher than those exacted by our University. Indeed, many of our graduates, and even some of our plucked candidates, had only to pay their passage to England to sit in the London Examination rooms to obtain passport into the I. M. Service, and thus gain access to the reserved appointments in the service of the State. (Cheers). It is inconceivable how such a disparity of conditions ever came to be imposed—a disparity which has no parallel in any other department of the state service. Talent wants opportunities and elasticity of conditions as fertilisers, so to say, for its growth. But the service monopoly not only sets up an unnatural and unjustifiable barrier against cultivation of talent outside the service, but throws difficulties, in the way of the members of the service itself cultivating science for its own sake, owing to the present manner of making appointments in the Medical department already alluded to. It is these barriers that are mainly responsible for the degradation of the Medical profession in India, and for the serious defects in the Medical Education of the country. It is these barriers that give cause for the just complaint of want of scientists in India and the humiliating spectacle of India having always to beg for experts in Europe for help and enlightenment. It is these barriers, again, that are responsible for provoking such incisive and shaming criticism on the unsatisfactory nature of India's Chemical Examinerships, as Dr. Voelker gave expression to in his official report to the Indian Government ; and he makes his remarks deliberately and after personal acquaintance with the actual state of things. He characterises the knowledge and experience of our Chemical Analyser as "nothing more than the class instruction in chemistry and the test tube experience of the ordinary medical student"—and the result is that "a man bungles on at first, doing the best he can, and if he be a man of ability, in course of time he gets to know how to deal with the usual run of things submitted to him, and what he does not know he finds out from books." Further comments on this are needless. The military service monopoly of all civil appointments is not, a little incongruous. Not so long ago the Secretary of State for War objected to the Army Medical Officers being put on civil duty for any length of time on the ground of its militating against the efficiency, discipline, *esprit de corps*, and the very intentions of the army service. Should the military Medical service of the Indian Army be confined to its proper sphere of work, the efficiency of the Indian Army would be better looked after than now, and the efficiency of the Indian Army is of no less moment than that of the British troops. Should the monopoly barriers be thrown down, the prizes of the College professorships and other State appointments requiring special training would draw experts to them with greater certainty than now, and for a very simple reason. It was frankly confessed to me by a colleague of mine in London that he did not go in for the I. M. S. because he was not sure of his ever being allowed to work at his speciality, for all went by favour and influence and not merit in the services, and, moreover the time he might have to spend in his journey towards a particular post, might bring him knowledge, experience and habits, not at all fitted for his special scientific subject ! The prizes would be open to talent and not to any class ; and the experts with the necessary training, be they Europeans or Indians, will have better and surer chances in the open race for the appointments than in the handicap in the services, in which influence and favour, and not merit, secure points for the successful runners. (Cheers). This would act as an incentive to a fair growth of science and a scientific profession in India. It would result in considerable gain to the people of India, who will have specialists and scientists of their own, and, in course of time from their own countrymen whose knowledge and experience would remain in India for the good of the

people and not be lost to them, as has been the case hitherto, on the retirement of the Indian Medical Service men. Thus the proposition aims at what is really a natural disposition of things,—a disposition in accordance with the needs and requirements of the several conditions of the progressive times of the present generation. But it aims at more—it aims at great economy with increased efficiency. That efficiency will be advanced we have already seen. As to economy, it is a matter of common knowledge that every military article is a costly one, no matter what its intrinsic worth (Cheers). And the Government of India themselves have so ruled it, on the very matter this resolution deals with. A civilian professor, of the same qualifications and training and even of the same race as his military and commissioned medical colleagues, was lately appointed in a Government Medical College to a regular scheduled post as an exceptional case, but the scale of his salary was fixed at the rate of Rs. 350 rising to 800, the rate for his Military Colleagues being Rs. 750 to 2,500! Complaints about this glaring and inexplicable disparity went up, time after time. Want of funds was the first ready excuse; and when it was pointed out that, funds would have to be found, should the professor resign and be replaced by a Military Surgeon, the professor had the very consoling reply that the scale fixed for him was enough for him, for he was not a military professor! The law of demand and supply would operate in these cases as in all others, and, it is clear that, there will not be any difficulty for the medical department to secure competent experts on the scale laid down by the Government of India for civilian professors, or perhaps, at a slightly higher, but certainly much lower, scale than the one allowed to the Military Medical Services; in fact, it ought to be a comparatively easy matter, considering that the income of medical officers from their fixed salary is largely, supplemented by emoluments of private practice. The pay scale of Professors in our Medical College is about a third more costly than that obtaining at the sister Colleges. And calculating even on the basis of the scale for professors in sister Colleges and that of salaries for some of the other branches of the public service, there will be a clear saving of nearly 2½ lakhs for our presidency alone, should the natural disposition of things aimed at in the resolution be adopted (Cheers). And the saving to all India, by the adoption of the reform all over the country, would be considerably more than ten lakhs a year. Thus, both the people and the Government would gain in every direction; and, in the present condition of financial embarrassment, Government ought, surely to welcome any reform that is calculated to afford them relief in the shape of a substantial saving, and here is one of such reforms, which has many other recommendations besides its economy. Thus, the proposition, I will now lay before you, cannot but merit as I said at the outset, general sympathy—sympathy of the profession and scientific men all the world over, for they would know that India, under the British rule, was in no way behind in fostering, for its own sake education and the science for the alleviation of human suffering,—sympathy and the gratitude of the people of this country, for their material advancement and for the relief from the burden of expenditure on costly military articles,—and sympathy of the Government themselves and all their loyal supports, for the reform which will give them not only a substantial saving, but what is more gratifying and worth striving for,—the means of effectually carrying out the humane intentions, with which they introduced the sciences of the West for the benefit of the country, and thus considerably adding to the honour, pride and lustre of England's work in India (Prolonged cheers).

Dr. Balchandra, L.M., (Bombay), in seconding the motion said:—

The question is a very important one. It is not with the object of airing any personal grievances that the question is brought before the conference, but with the simple object of showing the injustice that is done both to the cause of medical education in the Bombay Presidency in particular and in India in general, and to the just claims of native medical talent. It is a matter for regret that although medical education has been in existence in this Presidency for nearly half a century, still nothing of note has been done by the Medical Profession. I do not say this in disparagement of any particular authority, nor have I the slightest wish to reflect on the administrative heads of the Medical Department, but all I wish to say is proper measures are not adopted with a view to place medical education on a sounder basis, and proper opportunities are not allowed for the growth and development of native talent. The exigencies of medical education in the beginning required that the best available men from the Army Medical Service should be selected as professors, but those times are now gone. It is not necessary in these advanced days of science that the same state of things should continue. The best talent wherever available, should be selected for filling the professorial chairs in the Grant Medical College (Hear, hear). The Chameleon method, of selecting men and shifting them from one chair to other before they have had time to digest even one subject properly, has been the bane of medical education in this Presidency and I believe in the sister Presidencies also. The sooner the neck of this monopoly is broken the better for the best interests of Medical education. It is this shifting manner of appointments and the monopoly of the Army Medical Service against which men like Dr. (now Sir W. G.) Hunter Dr. (now Sir George) Birdwood and others raised their voice. Even Dr. Morehead, the pioneer

of medical education in this Presidency with his usual foresight prophesied this. But the opinion of such able men was over-ruled and this mischievous monopoly was not only allowed to remain but to grow into vested interests. It is this monopoly which has prevented native talent from being properly trained and developed. It is owing to this that we cannot boast of a Ranade, a Telaug or a Mehta in the medical profession (Cheers).

If the service be re-constituted and the Civil Medical Service be separated from the Army Medical service, I believe much of the present discontent and evil will be minimized. The argument that a certain reserve of Military Medical men is absolutely necessary for emergencies of war is simply a bogus. Earl Gray has pointed out that those men having been long out of touch with the Army, lose their disciplinary habits and are not fit for active war service.

I do not mean to say that men from the Army Medical Service should be entirely excluded from high educational appointments. All I contend for is that these appointments should be open to competition and opportunities should be given to local talent to develop and avail itself of honourable competition. I am glad to observe that in spite of the barriers placed in its way local talent has advanced to a certain extent and there have been a few instances of graduates filling in a brilliant manner some of the professorial Chairs in the Grant Medical College. But I am sure if some of these barriers are removed it will have free scope and our men will get a chance of coming to the front, and the result will be satisfactory both to the Government and the public (Cheers).

Dr. Solomon Ebrahim Yerulkar, M. B., (Ahmedabad) supported the Resolution in the following terms:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In supporting the resolution just now proposed and seconded by my professional brothers, Drs. Bahadoorji and Bhalchandra, I may be allowed to say a few words on the subject. There is a common saying in Gujerat that વરુણે વેદ જાણે તરુણે જાણે, a physician ought to be an old and experienced hand, while an astrologer ought to be one who is fresh from school (Hear, hear). I can say from my personal experience that the above saying is true to its very letter. That in colleges we as medical students are simply introduced to the medical sciences and it is only in later years of practice that we learn these science by experience. The greater the experience the greater the knowledge that we gain of these sciences. "We live and we learn." Practice makes knowledge perfect.

The chances of acquiring experience for medical men fresh from their colleges are greater in large towns than in small villages and *a fortiori* the least in regiments of 800 well-built young, selected men located in healthy camps. Disease and mortality in such regiments are almost *nil*, while they are enormous in the thickly populated, dirty towns and villages. Under such circumstances it is but natural that Medical Officers placed in charge of regiments, after serving there for a number of years forget the little they had learnt at the Colleges. Is it then of any practical use to have such military Medical Officers posted to responsible posts of Civil Surgeoncies in large towns or as physicians and surgeons to large hospitals in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, where they have to treat diseases of every kind?

There are instances to show that Military Medical Officers transferred to civil charges, betrayed their ignorance to a fearful degree, in as much as they failed to distinguish between *Hernia* and *Hydrocele*, and between *Aneurism* and *Asthma* (Hear, hear). In Calcutta, Bombay and Madras such members of the Indian Medical Service are expected to impart theoretical and practical instructions in different branches of the Medical Service to hundreds of students attending the Medical Colleges. (Shame.) What benefit could we expect from such Surgeon-Lieutenants, Captains-Major, Lieutenant-Colonels, Colonels, &c., either as Professors or as Physicians and Surgeons? If instead of appointing high salaried Military Officers to responsible Civil Medical posts, the Government were to appoint Assistant-Surgeons and local medical practitioners of long experience, not only would the public be greatly benefited, but also the Government would have a large saving as shown by my friend, Dr. Bahadoorji.

I would, therefore, heartily support the resolution duly proposed.

The President then put to vote the Resolution and it was unanimously agreed to.

The President then adjourned the Conference to 5 P. M. in the afternoon.

Resolution V.

On the Conference re-assembling at 5 P. M., Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B., (Bombay) rose and moved the 5th Resolution which ran as follows :—

That this Conference re-affirms its previous resolution on the subject of the attitude of Government towards the cause of higher education in the Presidency and desires specially to submit a strong recommendation to Government that its annual grant to the Bombay University should be again raised to its old amount, viz., Rs. 15,000.

That this Conference regrets that regard being had to the importance of primary education the teachers in primary schools are too poorly paid in comparison with the other departments of the State and the Conference, in consequence earnestly recommends that steps should be taken to improve the state of these teachers in matters of salary, pension and allowances.

That the attention of Government be also drawn to the great necessity of imparting technical education to the industrial classes in vernacular by laying down standards for trade schools and Science and Technological classes and declaring liberal grants to these institutions and by opening Science and Technological Sections in connection with the Training Colleges and the Poona College of Science with a view to create a class of properly trained teachers to conduct these institutions.

He said :—

I came to this city without the least idea of my having to perform the task of addressing you. However, I will assay the task and if in the end you feel dissatisfied I beg you will excuse me.

Gentlemen, it has become an annual practice on this Conference platform to protest against the tendency of government to cripple and stamp out higher education in India. Gentlemen, during the past year educational statistics have been fully quoted from Congress, Conference and public platforms and printed in the columns of daily papers and all those who take an interest in educational matters must have seen and read them ere this. These facts and figures have proved beyond doubt that India is the most poorly treated country in matters educational (Hear, hear). The Government, however, in no less a person than His Excellency himself has, at prize distributions and laying of foundation stones, declared, on the contrary, that the Bombay youth costs Government even more than the English youth. A statement that a prosperous Government like that of India can afford to spend more for Education than the first country in the world is itself self-condemning on its face. Nay, His Excellency actually went into figures and the Accountant-General was called upon to vouch for their correctness, but the fallacy of these figures was soon pointed out in the *Times of India* by Mr. Gokhle and in the *Gujrati and Kaiser-i-Hind*. Finally when Government saw that it was contradicted and had nothing to maintain and support its statements it wound up by saying at Poona at the distribution of prizes last September that "You take my word for it, we spend much more on Education than what you say, it's no use proving to you what we say, for if we do you will afterwards contradict us." This fear of contradiction shows the weakness of the word of Government.

Gentlemen, you will ask me why I ask the State to help education. The answer is clear. In a State when the entire soil is owned by the state and the tiller of the soil or the cultivator or occupier is made to pay for the expenses of that State, it is the bounden duty nay, it is a charge on that State to look after the education of the children of the soil, who, by tilling the soil, contribute to the maintenance of that State (Cheers).

In spite of memorial after memorial and protest from every possible quarter, the Government of Bombay, day by day, instead of increasing, nay maintaining, is actually retrenching its grant to our University (Shame). You will say that it is not a teaching but an examining body. But it must live, and, to live it must have funds to live upon, nay, the assistance of private benefactions. The University boasts of a Convocation Hall, a Library, a Clock Tower, a Mace, a Seal, and gold and silver dresses for the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, but it has not a single farthing in its coffers to spend. Nay, she has a large fund of 3 lakhs in prizes, scholarships, gold, silver and bronze medals, but she cannot touch a single pie out of this for her maintenance. In

order to make her live, the benign Government, of days past, have been granting the University the small but modest sum of Rs. 15,000 per annum. This went to defray the expenses of keeping a Registrar and a staff all the year round and this, with the fees received from candidates, went up to pay the cost of examining them. The Government have now thought fit to reduce the grant to Rs. 5,000 and it is said this 5,000 is soon going to melt to nothing. When the Honourable Mr. Mehta, at the discussion in the Council Hall at Poona, pointed out the reduction, His Excellency, as the head of the Government, replied "Oh the Bombay University is a local Institution and therefore it must have no claim to the Government funds." Do you require me to tell you that the Bombay University is not a local Institution? Do you require me to tell you that the premises of the Bombay University is as wide as of the Bombay High Court? Nay the Judges of the High Court never go to the Districts to try cases, but the University Examiners do go to Poona, Karachi and come to this very city for examining candidates by the thousands for the Matric. (Cheers.) His Excellency's reason, therefore, for curtailing or withdrawing the grant, at once falls to the ground. The University, in order to meet its finances, have to raise its fees all round in spite of the several protests sent up to the University against the increase. Gentlemen, what Government does for education is gauged by what it spends per head. In the first place, Education is very backward in India so backwards that out of 34 millions of boys and girls fit to go to school only 10 per cent. that is 3½ millions take the advantage of education including primary; out of this 3½ millions only ½ take advantage of higher education. Thus 30 millions of school-going children in this Empire are let to grow in utter darkness and will ever India progress, will ever India raise itself from its utter darkness, will ever India take a place amongst the nations or peoples of the world, if 30 millions of its children are allowed to die a mental death! (Shame.) In such wants co-operation alone can save it. Education, alone, can by its benign rays tear assunder the veil of darkness and raise the people to higher influences and higher aspirations for life. It is only when higher education will make fast and long strides that India will be saved from the ignorance and superstition that has been lying on it waving for centuries past. Gentlemen, the Government of India have an object. Its avowed object is to increase the material prosperity of the country, in short civilize India and do all that is needful for its happiness and prosperity; and without education no state can achieve that. It will be a miracle if the British Government can make India and its people happy without giving them the boon of education. Anything therefore that will retard, or cripple, education must be most strongly and immediately condemned. The Government refuses to spend so much per head as does the most backward states in Europe like Norway or even Russia (Shame). If the Government will not educate you, if the Government will not civilize India, for it is with that avowed object that she has conquered India and raised herself in the eyes of the world as a great people who wish to reform savages and teach them the ways of peace and law-abiding nations, with this object before it if the Government will not open its purse strings to educate India, the British Government have no reason or cause whatever to stay here—the sooner they take to their ships and go earlier the better (Cheers). While England spends 2·9 per head and America 2·25 dollars or Rs. 8 per head for primary education, India spends the magnificent sum of 7 pies per head (Shame). This is enough to take one's breath away. If therefore in a country like England where the Universities are themselves land-holders, when the state is not the largest land-holder, where the crown heads of England have sought refuge under the wings of its ancient, world-renowned Universities, more is paid for educating her sons, how much the greater reason that the Government when it is the largest, nay, the sole land-holder in India should pay more or at least as much as England does. Nay I go further, in England and the west, the benefits of education are well-known and appreciated; in India it is not so, as I have shown education having touched only the fringe of our population. Certainly I call it a moral crime for the Government to allow as I have said before, 30 millions of its children to go uneducated (Hear, hear). Aye, a backward country can only progress when there are lights and beacons to guide it to go on its onward march of civilization and how can that be effected if India, the Empire of India, can boast of only 100 Art colleges and 30 professional colleges. The proportion is of one college to 2½ millions of the population and 1 High School to ¼ a million of the population.

Gentlemen, you are aware that there are various University reforms that require the attention of our educated people, the reforms which cannot be effected unless the University has its own funds to live upon. The University is the crowning pike of the educational system. All our young men are born to it and look to it for stamping them with the mark of its approval. Gentlemen, the thousands that flock to it and come out of the University ordeals, must come before the world as marked by our University with its name and the degrees it grants. And how can you raise the prestige of our University with its name than by attaching to it, men, able, hearty and intelligent as its examiners and unless you pay them their labours, how can you expect able men to be examiners! Gentlemen, it is a scandal and I say it's an open scandal that intelligent boys are plucked and unworthy boys passed and the blame is laid on the University by the College Professors—Oh the matric standard is too low. I say the real want is that we want more examiners so that each may not have to examine the 300 and more papers that he has to examine at present, necessarily leading to carelessness. Gentlemen, lastly, as a sacred duty, I call upon you

one and all to consider the education of your children more sacred than your marriage feasts, more sacred than your feeding the temples and its devotees (Hear, hear). No doubt, religion has a claim upon you, but education has none the less and pious claim upon you, and, therefore, I beg and beseech you to do what the Fergusson College has been doing, that College which is a star, a radiant star on the Indian horizon that sheds its benign rays to enlighten the mind of poor Indian youths. You are aware at what self-sacrifice at what ascetic rigour, Young India has started that school (cheers) an indigenous school to which the State will not give a pie. (Shame). Is it not a crying shame? Is it not I say, a dagger thrust by Government in the heart of Young India to stifle indigenous efforts I say. No civilized Government of any country would even dream of doing so (Cheers).

Mr. Bal-Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B., (Poona) seconded the Resolution.

Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.D., B.A., B.Sc., (Bombay) in supporting the Resolution said :—

In supporting the resolution I beg specially to refer to the third part of it which relates to the necessity of a further extension of Technical education in our country. Gentlemen, the present is an age of competition and industrial development. Just for a moment, depict before your mind's eye the condition of European countries and of your own. Our country, which a few generations back, was known for its industrial arts all over the civilized world, has now lagged so far behind in industrial development that in the race of progress it may be said to be the most backward country among the nations of the civilized world at present. Our highly developed industries in various branches of art have been gradually wiped away and our artizan class is in a very sore plight. This very sad occurrence is mainly due to the very unequal competition to which our industries have during the past few generations been exposed (Hear, hear). The gigantic advance in the knowledge of the physical and natural sciences and the consequent great extension of human control over the physical forces of nature, have developed the industries of Europe to such a high degree that our old-age industries have no chance of competing with them with any hope of success. If we would, therefore, revive our artizan class and stem the tide of appalling poverty that is fast spreading in India, we must diffuse the knowledge of these sciences far and wide among our people and impart instruction in the different forms of industries that are based on those sciences (Hear, hear). This can be done not by elaborating a new system of purely technical education but by incorporating this branch into our educational system. At each stage of education where the candidates are likely to leave off their study owing to various circumstances, there must be provided means for instruction in the different branches of industries. Thus from primary schools students may pass to what are called trade-schools, from middle class or secondary schools to what are called Technological classes, and from High Schools to Technical Institutes. In this way, students will be enabled to leave their schools in a fit condition to undertake some industrial or other avocation in life and will be useful members of society instead of being a burden to it. Thus discontent and dissatisfaction, which is the lot of the poor, will be less in the country, and peace, contentment and happiness will prevail (Cheers). But if such a salutary reform in our present educational system were not soon effected both the people and the Government will find themselves in an unpleasant position before long (Cheers).

The President before putting the motion to the vote said :—

Gentlemen no doubt this is all a question of funds but my answer to this is—Reduce your Home Charges (applause). Reduce your Military Expenditure; do away with your wretched border wars and you have funds enough for everything (loud applause).

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

Resolution VI

The Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalwad, B.A., LL.B., (Ahmedabad, Ankleshwar, Amod, Jambusar, Bombay) then moved the 6th Resolution.

That this Conference puts on record its opinion that the separation of Executive and Judicial functions should be effected as early as practicable; that it could be effected with economy and efficiency by transferring the judicial powers vested in the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars to the Subordinate Judges and that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to work

out a scheme for the various Districts in the Presidency on the lines indicated in the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta's Memorandum, with due regard to local circumstances and the said scheme when ready be submitted to Government for consideration :

Hon'ble P. M. Mehta,
 Hon'ble C. H. Setalwad,
 Mr. Varajray Sakerlal,
 Mr. Moolay,

Mr. R. V. Putwari,
 „ Motabhay Motilal,
 „ B. G. Tilak,
 „ R. P. Karandikar.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The proposition that I am about to commend for your acceptance relates to a reform about the desirability of which I am happy to say there is now an unanimity of opinion between us and our rulers (Hear, hear).—I mean the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. You are aware, gentlemen, that except in the Presidency town and a few other cities like Ahmedabad, Surat, and Poona, criminal justice is dispensed by Assistant Collectors, Mamlatdars and their subordinate officers in whom is vested the executive administration of the various districts and Talukas. A large majority of them are even as regards their judicial work again subject to the District Magistrate who is at the head of the revenue administration of the District. It is well known that the executive work of these officers occupies a very large proportion of their time and is with them of greater importance than their judicial work. It is on the proper revenue administration of his Taluka and the good opinion of his superiors with regard to that part of his work that the Mamlatdar looks for his advancement in the Service. The dispensing of criminal justice is to him a matter altogether of secondary importance and naturally he looks to it as a burden than a legitimate part of his duty (Hear, hear). Moreover the Assistants and Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars have in the exercise of their executive and administrative functions to be often guided by considerations of expediency and State policy and not by those of strict legal rights. If there is a call for more revenue from head quarters, he must bring up the income-tax amount of his division or Taluka to the desired amount, however much he may feel that the people are really not in a position to bear the burden. If a particular State policy is laid down he is bound to carry it out however much he may feel that it violates the rights of the people (Cheers). An officer placed in this situation, gentlemen, can never make a good judge. I mean thereby no reflection on these executive officers some of whom are indeed very capable men. But, I should have been surprised to find them anything more than indifferent judges. They would be more than human, if they could, when sitting as Judges for an hour or two suddenly at their will regain the judicial frame of mind that their executive functions had robbed from them. It is no fault of theirs, they are the victims of a vicious system which unites in them functions that are altogether ill-assorted and incompatible (Cheers). The qualifications and training that go to make a successful executive officer must and do produce an extremely indifferent judge. But, gentlemen, these considerations, though weighty and conclusive in themselves, are not the only considerations that go to condemn the present system. The present system practically in many cases combines the prosecutor and the judge in one person. Nobody who is not intimately acquainted with the daily life in villages and small towns can have an adequate conception of the intolerable hardship, which the combination of magisterial powers in revenue officers entails upon the people. The great bulk of the masses are rendered unhappy enough by the way in which life is made a burden, not to the rogues, but the honest, by the practical working of the salt, opium, abkari, forest, arms, and land-revenue Acts with their infinite rules and regulations hedging people round in all directions (Cheers), but vexatious and harassing as these laws are they would not be so intolerable if all resistance to their unjust and oppressive enforcement and abuse were not practically rendered impossible by the ingenious device of combining the prosecution and the Magistrate in one and the same person (Hear, hear). Under these acts everything is guarded by prosecutions at every step and in many of them subverting the ordinary wholesome rule of criminal law the legislature throws on the accused person the burden of proving that he is innocent. These prosecutions, gentlemen, initiated and countenanced by executive officers, are tried by Mamlatdars and Magistrates, who are all again executive officers. Those, who have practical knowledge of the working of this system are aware how naturally these prosecutions, however absurd and vexatious end in convictions. Indeed the

general feeling about the matter is that no Mamlatdar or Magistrate, who valued his own interests and prospects dare indulge, except very rarely, in the luxury of an acquittal (Cheers). Some of these cases sometimes reach the High Court, when the convictions are quashed occasioning a little mild surprise, now and then, that intelligent officers could be so wrong-headed. But these are not the hardest cases nor do they in any way give an adequate idea of the real extent of the evil; for it is only an extremely limited number of people, who can afford the time and money to make their tale of woe heard by the High Court. It is not the wealthy few, who can make themselves heard that are the victims of this pernicious system but the large class of poor people who have never the means of getting redress. The worst cases are those, gentlemen, in which the people yield themselves up in sheer and sullen helplessness and of which nothing is heard in the public (Hear, hear). You can well imagine the magnitude of the evil from the fact that out of a total number of 1,49,189 persons brought to trial in the Bombay Presidency, during the year 1891-92, no less than 95,893, that is, more than 50 per cent. were prosecuted under these special and local laws, coupled with the fact that there is in the mofussil nothing like the independent bar, the strong public opinion or the vigilant press, that is to be found in England or the Presidency Towns in India (Cheers). But, gentlemen, the greatest consideration is the fact that magisterial powers in the hands of the executive officers form a great engine of oppression in the hands of these officers for crushing and harassing persons, who have the ill-fortune of incurring their displeasure in some way or another. A very recent and typical instance of such an oppression is very fresh in your minds. I am referring, gentlemen, to the Mymensing scandal. Here was a wealthy and influential nobleman, a great benefactor of his town, honoured by Government as well as his fellow citizens. All this, however, did not avail him against the wrath of the Collector and District Magistrate, and he was unjustly and cruelly persecuted and was put to the indignity of being placed in the dock with a low caste criminal (Shame). Fortunately, he had both the means and courage to fight out his own battle, and he was not only acquitted but was able to turn the tables against Mr. Phillip by suing him for damages when Mr. Phillip was constrained to offer an apology (Cheers). But it cost the Raja nearly 50,000 Rs. If this engine of oppression can be so wantonly and cruelly used against such a powerful nobleman who can afford to enlist in defence of his rights the services of eminent Counsel at an enormous expenditure, what shall we say, gentleman, of the many thousands, of poor *ryots* who must be the victims, in the words of Sir Richard Garth, of this terrible scourge (Applause). It is needless, gentlemen, to detain you further, with the reasons for advocating the separation of Executive and Judicial functions, especially after the admirable manner in which Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal has discussed them in the columns of "INDIA." Since Lord Dufferin in his famous speech on the Congress programme admitted the proposal for such a separation to be a counsel of perfection, (Cheers) the present as well as the past Secretary of State for India have pronounced the proposed reform to be an eminently desirable one and in his Budget speech of this year the present Under-Secretary of State for India has again repeated the official approval of the measure. Said Lord Kimberly "It is admitted on all hands that it is contrary to right and good principle that civil and judicial powers should be united in one person. This is not a matter in dispute. The difficulty is simply this: that if the present system in India is altered it will be necessary to double the staff throughout the Empire; and it is impossible that the Government of India can find means at the present time of making this reform." Lord Cross said "that in regard to the main principle involved, that is to say, the uniting executive with judicial functions, it was a matter of the greatest importance which he had been anxious to deal with himself. But that what Lord Kimberly had said was perfectly true that in the present state of finances of India it was impossible to carry out this improvement which would be of vast benefit if it could be effected." So, gentlemen, here is a most crying reform, the extreme desirability of which is admitted by the responsible officers of both the political parties in England as well as by the Viceroy in India, but it is delayed on the plea of want of funds. Gentlemen, we have no money to do away with a system condemned in most scathing terms by all sensible people and therefore thousands of innocent men should be allowed to be unjustly harassed and punished; we have no money to pay the University a wretched five or ten thousand Rupees—and therefore the poor student must be taxed more in the shape of enhanced fees; we have no money to do away with the scandalous starvation salaries paid to the poor teachers in the primary schools, but gentlemen, with a deficit of a crore and a half in the budget and the appalling prospect of a still greater deficit in the future, we have money sufficient for what—for enhancing the already princely salaries of the European and Eurasian servants in the shape of exchange compensation (Shame, Shame).

Gentlemen, it is impossible to speak with any patience of such hopeless inconsistency (Cheers). But the real obstacle in the way of so urgent a reform, I apprehend, lies not in the want of funds, but in the fact that executive officers are not willing to consent to a measure which would, they consider, materially diminish their importance and power. Unable to advance this reason openly the plea is put forward that any alteration in the present system would entail a heavy increase of expenditure. But a little reflection will make it clear that this plea is utterly hollow and unsustainable and that if they seriously set about to find a way to solve the problem, it will not be very difficult to devise a scheme for immediately carrying out the desired reform without any additional cost. A very happy scheme of this nature was suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Pherozechah Mehta (Cheers) in his budget speech in July last, in which he proposed to transfer all the Criminal work to the Subordinate Judges as a part of their regular work. I claim for this scheme, gentlemen, the merits of simplicity, efficiency and economy (Cheers). It is a common experience with legal practitioners to be told by Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars that they could not take up criminal cases till late in the day and then only for an hour or so in consequence of the necessity of doing a certain amount of revenue work. A case is taken for an hour at the end of the day and then adjourned. If the camp has to be removed to the next station, parties and witnesses have all to go on there. It can be easily conceived, gentlemen, that a case which if heard out without interruption could be finished in a day would require much longer time when heard intermittently like this in bits. The waste of power and time thus caused is simply incalculable and cannot but involve in the very nature of things increased cost. The scheme of the Hon. Mr. Mehta, therefore, which relegates magisterial functions from officers who can only work them intermittently to officers who can exercise them continuously cannot but result both in economy and efficiency (Cheers). There need be no apprehension about the Subordinate Judges doing both the civil and criminal duties satisfactorily. Such an union exists even now in all the higher courts, I mean, the District Court and the High Court, and it has worked very satisfactorily; and there is no reason to suppose that it would not work equally satisfactorily in the case of the Subordinate Judges. The Hon. Mr. Birdwood was in error in supposing that such an union had been tried in Madras and was not heard to have worked very satisfactorily. In fact, this proposal of uniting civil and criminal work was brought forward for the first time by the Hon. Mr. Mehta. The Hon. Mr. Mehta, in his budget speech, did not rest content with merely indicating a theoretical scheme but showed actually by working it out with regard to one district, viz., Poona, how it could be practically put in effect at any rate without any additional expenditure, if not with economy. The district of Poona has for its executive officers, one Collector who is also the District Magistrate, two first Assistants and one Assistant Collector, one Treasury Deputy Collector besides nine Mamlatdars of different grades under the Collector in charge of the Talukas into which the district is subdivided. For its judicial officers it has a Judge who is both Civil and Sessions Judge and six Subordinate Judges doing civil work only, with a Small Cause Court Judge. Similar arrangement is to be found in the other districts of the Presidency. The Hon. Mr. Mehta said that the Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars do not devote two full hours per day to criminal work, although in the budget half the salaries were transferred from the head of Land Administration to Law and Justice. Mr. Mehta must have been and was perfectly aware that the time devoted was much less but he thought it discreet to take the case against his proposal as strongly as possible. The Hon. Mr. Nugent thought that he was irretrievably condemning Mr. Mehta's scheme when he assured the Council that the time devoted by Mamlatdars to judicial duties did not constitute one eighth of his total work; he was good enough further to inform Mr. Mehta that in the case of Assistant Collectors it was still less. This fact, gentlemen, so authoritatively stated by an officer of such high experience and knowledge instead of demolishing the scheme only strengthens Mr. Mehta's argument and demonstrates the extreme feasibility of the proposed transfer, for it establishes that the work in its totality is not more than one officer can perform working at it regularly (Cheers). All that is necessary then under the circumstances is to do away with only one Mamlatdar and in his place create one Subordinate Judge. The criminal work of which the executive officers would be relieved would be then distributed among the six old and one new Subordinate Judge. It must be carefully borne in mind, gentlemen, that it is not proposed to create a new Subordinate Judge for the purpose of entrusting him with the whole of the criminal work from which the Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars are set free, but the Subordinate Judge of the District would be entrusted with the criminal work within his jurisdiction. The Mamlatdars being only reduced by one could easily cope with the talukas in the District, in some cases by a slight re-arrangement and in others by assigning two of the smallest talukas to one officer, all

the rest of the Mamlatdars continuing in charge of one Taluka only. It would be very easy similarly to work out the details of the scheme with regard to the other districts of the Presidency proper with a due regard to the local circumstances and conditions of each district. It is extremely desirable that a committee should be appointed to work out a complete scheme for the whole Presidency in detail to be laid before Government. If a scheme for all the districts on the above lines which the committee would work out be adopted, the great object of separating the Executive and Judicial functions without any increased expenditure, in many cases with economy, the work would be done by officers with special legal training and both civil and criminal justice would be brought nearer home both to parties and witnesses (Applause).

Before resuming my seat, I beg to present, gentlemen, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta's minute on this subject which he has sent to me to lay before you. I do not trouble you with reading it as in what I have said I have not only followed the lines of that minute but have in many places taken its very words.

Mr. Sahasrabudhe, (Poona) seconded the Resolution. Messrs. Keshavlal Motilal, (Ahmedabad) and Bhagubhai Dahyabhai, (Surat) having further supported the Resolution in effective speeches in Gujrati, it was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution VII.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B., (Poona) then moved the 7th Resolution as follows:—

That while re-affirming its resolution of the last year regarding the burdensome nature of the revised survey settlement and its injurious effects on the rights of private property in the Devagad Taluka in the Ratnagiri District, this conference is grieved to find fresh instances of further disregard of the policy and principles laid down by the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State in 1886 and prays that feelings of increasing uneasiness amongst the agricultural classes be allayed by taking immediate steps to redress the grievances of the people of Panwel and Pen and other talukas and by giving fresh assurances that the policy enunciated in 1886 will be strictly adhered to.

Mr. G. B. Phansalkar, (Satara) seconded the Resolution.

Mr. N. B. Mooley, (Ahmadnagar) supported the Resolution in the following terms:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I am for the first time appearing on this platform I am afraid I shall not be able to do full justice to the subject of the Resolution; but as I have been requested to support the Resolution I shall try to lay before you my views on the same.

2. The question of the revision of assessment was brought before the Provincial Conference last year and was fully discussed at Poona, particularly in connection with the Khot's rights. I shall now confine myself to the general subject which is of universal application.

3. Revision survey means a fresh source of income from land revenue at fixed periods. In order to give an idea of the subject I must supply some preliminary information about original survey and revision survey.

4. All Government lands were first assessed at the original survey more than 30, or 40, years ago; at that time the lands were measured and a separate number was given to each

field and the area of it was taxed at a certain rate per acre according to the quality of the soil. This process was called the original survey. Revision survey came next after the lapse of 30 years from the original survey. At this time the lands were re-measured and re-classified wherever it was found necessary to do so. At this time the maximum rates were increased by about 33 per cent. of the original assessment. This increase of assessment has pressed rather heavily on the poor *ryots*. These revision rates will remain in force for thirty years more ; at the expiration of that period again the rates will be re-revised and this process will go on again and again at stated periods. This state of things discourages the *ryot* in making improvements in the land as he does not feel sure that the assessment of his land will not be increased and that the future increase might not oblige him to relinquish the land on account of the heavy burden that might fall on him at a future time. This uncertainty is injurious to the welfare of both the *ryot* and the Government. The *ryot* does not improve his land in any way permanently. He does not make embankments to prevent the soil from being washed away by the rains, or to get the soil collected in the hollow places and holes that might be in the field. He hesitates to dig wells or to incur heavy expenditure on other costly improvements. The uncertainty does not allow him to plant fruit or other trees. Thus the land becomes neglected and gets poor in cultivation year by year. Thus the *ryot* gets poorer crops from such neglected lands year after year being sufficient only to pay the increased Government assessment and to give him a bare maintenance throughout the year.

5. If such lands are left by the *ryots* at the time of the revised assessment the Government revenue is decreased instead of increased. Thus both the Government and the *ryot* are losers in the long run. If the *ryot* choose to keep the land to himself he is obliged to borrow money to meet the increased Government demands and thus places himself at the mercy of the *Sotucar*. The position of the *ryot* in the *mofussil* can be realized by those persons only who would enquire about it. This is the result of the uncertainty under which the poor *ryot* labors.

6. Now I shall speak about the other side of the question. If the settlement which is now revised almost everywhere in this Presidency is made permanent subject only to correction where mistakes have crept in, the effect will be otherwise. It will be beneficial both to the Government and the *ryot* for whose welfare Government show anxiety. He will be encouraged to improve his land by making embankments, digging wells, planting trees and erecting farm buildings, &c.

7. This subject should, therefore, be brought to the notice of Government with a request that Government may redress the grievance by giving some security against increase of assessment and thereby inspire confidence into the mind of the *ryot* and ensure their revenue.

8. With these remarks I beg to support the resolution (Cheers).

Mr. W. B. Dev (Kolaba), having further supported the Resolution, it was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution VIII.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chotalal, C.I.E., (Ahmedabad), then proposed and Mr. Jivanji Gulabbhai, (Bulsar) seconded the 8th Resolution which was then carried.

That the rules under which fines are levied upon unalienated land used for non-agricultural purposes, are very oppressive and require to be considerably modified in order to help the growth of towns and cities and industries pertaining thereto upon which the material prosperity of the people so much depends.

It being then late, the President adjourned the Conference, to 7 A. M. on the 3rd instant.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

On the Conference re-assembling on the 3rd instant and the President taking his seat, Mr. Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, (Surat) moved the 9th Resolution.

Resolution IX.

That in re-affirming its resolution of the last year on the matter of Local Self-Government, the Conference desire to draw special attention to its first part, viz., that as one of the main objects of the extension of Local Self-Government was to educate the people and to develop or create, if need be, a capacity for self-help, it is desirable that direct Government control should not be exercised as frequently as now.

He said :—

The objects of local Self-Government are two fold :—

- (1) To educate the people in the problems of public interest and thus to raise them to a higher level of civilization.
- (2) To assist in the good administration of the country especially reducing the burden from the shoulders of the benign Government.

You will at once see the importance of the subject and how local Self-Government would, by making the British Government popular, place it on a firmer basis. It is because we are loyal, because we the educated natives are under so many obligations to the British Government that we should guard with the strictest jealousy the working of local Self-Government and try to remedy and bring under public notice whatever is calculated to defeat these noble objects in view. Unnecessary interference is best calculated to defeat this object by creating diffidence and discontent and the only means by which a Government, alien or native, can take deep roots in the country by inspiring confidence in the people would certainly fail. It is our experience that most of those to whom the control of local Self-Government has been entrusted have entirely misunderstood the real position and they make difficult both for themselves and those placed under them the problem of the Government of the country. If this is true in case of interference through a mistaken view of circumstances and principles much more objectionable must the interference be when it is most arbitrary in itself, inflicted in the most insolent manner and persisted in with threats of suspension by a far-fetched construction of the Act of the legislature.

It appears from the Report of Municipal Administration which I hold in my hand that Municipalities are suspended merely on the report of the interested officers. No opportunity whatsoever of a fair defence is given either to the Municipality suspended or to the people before inflicting this extreme penalty (Cheers). Eminent jurists have laid down the maxim that "no man is to be condemned unheard" and Courts of Law have set aside the actions of public bodies when they in the exercise of their statutory functions affected a man either in person or property without giving him an opportunity of being heard. This maxim so universally true is probably not thought to be applicable when such a serious step as the suspension of a Municipality is contemplated on the recommendation of officers. Serious as would this affair be if the power given in the Act is not exceeded, more serious the whole question becomes when such power is exceeded. In the case of the Prantij Municipality clearly this power was exceeded. The case of Bulsar promises to be a notorious one. There, as my friend Mr. Jivanji that follows me will tell you, two successive official presidents threatened Government displeasure when the Corporation had the impudence to differ from them. Bad indeed must be the effect of such interference when true expression of views in the corporation is met by a penalty and a degradation and official presidents identify themselves with one measure or the other and take the law in their own hands. This may, gentlemen, seem startling to you but if time permit my doing so, I can this very moment from this very platform, from official documents prove that some at least of the things that were said against

some Municipalities were not actuated with a *bonâ fide* desire of doing good. The consequences of this short-sighted policy are well illustrated by what the Hon'ble Mr. Birdwood said in the Legislative Council about the affairs of the Jambusar Municipality, also of the Dhandhuka Municipality. In the case of the former the policy of coercion or to put it more mildly, of paternal discipline, defeated the object of the legislature by creating a discontent, the citizens showing their unwillingness to undertake civic duties; in the case of the latter the same policy led to a bankruptcy and they were suspended because the unrelenting law of cause and effect had no respect for officialism (Cheers). Had the Government instituted independent inquiries by appointing a qualified judge, new matters would have come to light, new forces would have been revealed and new lessons in the administration of the country would have been learnt and taught. The effect of this unwise policy has been far reaching and the two-fold objects of local self-government referred to above and enunciated in this proposition are frustrated. I draw the attention of the Government to the following sound advice contained in a Government Resolution in 1881. "As a general rule, it will be preferable even to abstain altogether from any given measure which appear to be advantageous than to carry it against the weight of Local opinion." I wish the present officers of Government had never forgotten this advice in their enthusiasm. If it is meant to let local Self-Government work and flourish and be popular this policy of unnecessary interference based on insufficient knowledge and authority should immediately cease (Cheers).

Messrs. Jivanji Gulabbhai, (Bulsar) and Bhagubhai Dayabhai, (Surat) having respectively seconded and supported the Resolution in eloquent Gujrati the proposition was then carried unanimously.

The President in putting the motion to the vote said :—

With local Self-Government as with all other experiments mistakes were likely to occur, and it was possible that there might on occasions be friction between themselves and Government, but he hoped that Government would not interfere more than was necessary, for, as Mr. Mehta had once stated, the experience of stopping in the dark had taught them much and it was desirable that it should be allowed to continue. The object Government had in giving them local Self-Government was to teach them how to control themselves, how to govern each other, and although occasionally they might make mistakes and Government had sometimes to complain, he was sure that, in making such complaints, Government was actuated by the best of motives.

Resolution X.

Mr. D. E. Wacha, (Bombay) next proposed and Mr. Karandikar, (Satara) seconded the 10th Resolution.

*That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of the previous years on the subjects of Salt, Police, Forest and the Deccan Relief Act Commission and prays that Government be pleased to give effect to the recommendations contained therein at an early date.**

Mr. Purshotumrai (Dholka) further supported the Resolution in the following terms:—

Gentlemen,

I stand before my demi-gods (Laughter). God has to care for rich and wretch, the people and the king. You have taken that holy function on yourselves, and you must prove well to the task. We have to make our beloved British Government everlasting (Applause). I have therefore called on my demi-gods, and as such I bow down to you (Laughter and applause). I call you my demi-gods, but I have seen real living-gods (Loud laughter). Do you know where to find them? Go to the mofussil; there the protectors of our hearths and homes are the mofussil magistrates and the Mamlatdars. They are the only persons entitled to be elected Vice-Presidents of the Municipalities. When such big officers become candidates, who else shall be successful? You all must be well remembering the years 1882, 1883, and 1884 when our dear, good, kind friend, dear Lord Ripon extended the powers of local Self-Government. I have no command on the Queen's English, and if I have murdered it, I request you, my judge and jurors, not to

* The resolutions of the last Conference will be found in the Appendices.

hang me (Laughter). I have worked for the Municipality of Dholka, and if you think I have committed any serious crime, I hope you will sentence me to work, and work for that Municipality. This is my last prayer. Long may Victoria reign, God save the Queen (Loud and prolonged laughter).

The proposition was further supported by Mr. Dinkar Balal Chakradev, (Shahpur) in Marathi and carried.

The following Resolution (No. 11) was then put from the Chair and on being seconded by Mr. B. G. Tilak was agreed to.

Resolution XI

That the meeting of the next Provincial Conference be held in Bombay and that Messrs. D. E. Watcha, B. G. Tilak, the Hon'ble Mr. Setalwad and Mr. A. M. Dharamsy be the Honorary Secretaries of the next Provincial Conference.

Resolution XII.

The President then proposed the following Resolution :—

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Reception Committee, and the Secretaries.

The President in doing so said :—

GENTLEMEN,

The substantial business before the Conference is now done and the pleasant task now remains of acknowledging our best thanks to the Reception Committee and the people of Ahmedabad who had extended such a hearty welcome to the delegates and had spared no pains to make them comfortable during their stay (Cheers). Gentlemen, you are aware of the very great interest taken in the matter by the respected Chairman of the Committee, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal of whom Ahmedabad is really proud (Cheers). We have also to be grateful to the Gajjar brothers (Prof. T. K. Gajjar, B.Sc., M.A., and Gordhandas K. Gajjar) for designing and erecting this admirable and comfortable Shamiana in which we are assembled and the Maharaja of the Swaminarayan and Nagarsheth Manibhai Nemabhai for supplying valuable materials for the Shamiana (Cheers). But last but not least gentleman we must acknowledge our heartfelt thanks to my honourable friend on the right (Mr. Chimanlal) (Cheers) who was, as you are aware, the real soul and life of the Reception Committee, and to whose untiring energy the success of this Conference is mainly due (Prolonged cheers). His Venerable father Rao Saheb Harilal Setalwad, who is sitting here with me, will feel justly proud for having such an able and a good son (Cheers).

The proposition on being put from the chair was most enthusiastically agreed to.

Here the following letter from the leading Mahomedans of Ahmedabad expressing their warm sympathy with the objects of the Conference and which the President had just received was read out to the meeting among enthusiastic cheers. In doing so the President took the opportunity of reminding those present that he was not the first Mahomedan gentleman who had presided at either such a Conference or Congress. Mr. Badrudin Tayabji who is deservedly one of the most popular men in British India had presided at the National Congress and Kazi Shahabudin had once presided at the Provincial Conference. He hoped, therefore, that his co-religionists of Surat would take note of this fact that if he had erred he had done so in good company and he preferred to err with them rather than to be right with his friends in Surat.

Translated from Gujrati.

To

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

of the Provincial Conference of the Bombay Presidency,

AHMEDABAD.

We the undersigned Mahomedan gentlemen of Ahmedabad present compliments and submit that we by this letter beg to give expression to our approval of your work in connection with the good and benevolent object of this Conference. We fully understand that the object of this your movement is not in any way disloyal towards Government and is calculated to profit the Hindus as well as the Mahomedans. Having come to know of a letter being read at this Conference, addressed by some individuals in the name of the Surat Anjuman, with the design of producing discord between Hindus and Mahomedans regarding the objects of this Conference for common good, we are much grieved. But it is a matter of pleasure that a learned Mahomedan gentleman is at the head of the Conference as President, consequently the abovementioned cunning letter will not have the effect [of shewing] that one Mahomedan is against this movement.

(Sd.) Kazi Razul Mahomad.
 „ Abdul Rehman Mahomed Husein.
 „ Gul Mahidin Jamal.
 „ Chhulu Pirbhai.
 „ Pirkhan Amir Khazi.
 „ Hussenkhan Khan Mia.
 „ Gul Mahomad.
 „ Bora Sultanali.
 „ Shaik Daud Kasambhai.
 „ Gulam Hussain Samsudin.
 „ Ahmed Shair.
 „ Munshi Shumsuddin.
 „ Vora Abdulla Kadar.
 „ Ismalji Shaik Abdul Hussain.
 „ Mula Gulamji W. D. Alibhai.
 „ Kabir Mad Ahmadji.
 „ Karalia Rasulbhai.
 „ Mahomadbhai.
 „ Vora Tyebali Kikabhai.
 „ Vora Dosabhai Abdulabhai.
 „ Momna Jamal Anu.
 „ Fidari Amir Haseein.
 „ Ali Gulam Amir Mia.
 „ Chhatubhai Shubhanbhai.
 „ Hasanbhai.
 „ Kashirodin Shatrimian.
 „ Janubhai Lalbhai.

(Sd.) Mahomadali W. D. Hussain Ali.
 „ Kathiara Hasanbhai Valibhai.
 „ Sayad Shujaudin Valad Sajimian.
 „ Kaidar Sajaumian Badarbhai.
 „ Amir Shojabuddin Badshah Mia.
 „ Sayad Kasamali bin Nur Hussad.
 „ Gulamali Mashahdi.
 „ Ahmadali Valad Haidarmian.
 „ Ahmad Hussen Valad Mian.
 „ Nurmia Valad Mumdomia.
 „ Ami Abu Mahomed Mian.
 „ Bakarali Nureshmia.
 „ Abdulali Karimbhai.
 „ Abdulali Isabhai.
 „ Ibrahim Abdulabhai.
 „ Chandbhai Jivabhai.
 „ Vora Mahomadali Kikabhai.
 „ Rahmun Mian.
 „ Usmanji Alibux.
 „ Sayad Mohidin.
 „ Sayad Pir Hussain.
 „ Valad Saya Shahajimia.
 „ Amirbhai Meherbhai.
 „ Abdulabhai Karimbhai.
 „ Jamalbhai Kalubhai.
 „ Sayad Mahomed Saheb Imambux.
 „ Pathan Husseinbux.

Resolution XIII.

Seth Lalbhai Dulpatbhai then proposed :—

That a vote of thanks to the President be passed for his able conduct in the chair.

He said :—

GENTLEMEN,

Our task is done. It now remains for us to perform the crowning act of all. I have great pleasure to move a most hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President. I feel, gentlemen, that

any words of mine, will be inadequate to express the real depth of our gratitude to Mr. Sayani, for the honour he has done to the Conference, and to this city in particular, by coming here to preside at our deliberation even at great personal inconvenience.

Gentlemen, you all know very well, with what ability and success he has guided us. His moderation, his tact and sound judgment are beyond all praise. The work done by the Conference under such a President, I have no doubt, must result in the greatest good, alike, to the rulers and the ruled.

I beg, gentlemen, with these few words to commend this resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. Varajray Sakurlal seconded the Resolution in suitable terms. Prof. G. K. Gokhle supported.

Mr. Benjamin having further supported the Resolution, Kavi Dalpatram, C.I.E., (Ahmedabad), the old poet of Gujarat supported it by a telling speech in Gujarati accompanied by verses suited to the occasion.

The Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalwad having then put the Resolution to the meeting it was carried by vociferous acclamation.

The President having suitably acknowledged the vote of thanks dissolved the Conference and the assembly broke up amid three Cheers for the Queen Empress.

Summary of Resolutions adopted at the Sixth Provincial Conference.

Resolution I.

(a.) *That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective members 12 out of the total number of 25 seats in the enlarged Provincial Legislative Council.*

(b.) *That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a Division as the Central Division as also of Scind have been left absolutely unrepresented in the enlarged Council while other minor interests like those of the European Mercantile Community have been allowed over representation, and*

(c.) *That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date to so amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matters to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different divisions of the Presidency.*

Resolution II.

That this Conference, while re-affirming its resolution of last year on the question of the Provincial Service, places on record its regret that the rules regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service of this Presidency, promised in the last paragraph of the Government of India resolution of April 21st 1892, have not yet been published. At the same time, this Conference expresses its firm conviction that no substantial measure of justice to the claims of the Natives of India is possible in this matter, unless the Competitive examination, at present held in London, alone for admission into the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in India and in England.

Resolution III.

That this Conference, while generally re-affirming its previous resolution about Abkari, desires specially to record its firm opinion that the adult persons, residing within a specified area of a town or city, should have the power of requiring, whereby a majority of two-thirds of the registered residents of the place they so desire, that a shop of intoxicating drinks and drugs in their locality should be closed or not allowed to be opened in the first instance.

Resolution IV.

That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, of medical education and the advancement of Medical Science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the old existing rules of the Medical Service, reserving all high grade appointments in the Civil Medical Department, including the Professorial Chairs at the Presidency Medical College, for members of the Commissioned Military Medical Service, ought to be modified so as to throw open these appointments to members of the Medical profession generally and indigenous Medical talent in particular, thus utilizing talent wherever available and materially reducing the cost of the administration without impairing its efficiency.

That the President of this Conference be authorized to submit a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India through the Local Government, on the lines of the above resolution.

Resolution V.

That this Conference re-affirms its previous resolution on the subject of the attitude of Government towards the cause of higher education in the Presidency and desires specially to submit a strong recommendation to Government that its annual grant to the Bombay University should be again raised to its old amount, viz., Rs. 15,000.

That this Conference regrets that regard being had to the importance of primary education the teachers in primary schools are too poorly paid in comparison with the other departments of the State and the Conference, in consequence earnestly recommends that steps should be taken to improve the state of these teachers in matters of salary, pension and allowances.

That the attention of Government be also drawn to the great necessity of imparting technical education to the industrial classes in vernacular by laying down standards for trade schools and Science and Technological classes and declaring liberal grants to these institutions and by opening Science and Technological Sections in connection with the Training Colleges and the Poona College of Science with a view to create a class of properly trained teachers to conduct these institutions.

Resolution VI.

That this Conference puts on record its opinion that the separation of Executive and Judicial functions should be effected as early as practicable: that it could be effected with economy and efficiency by transferring the judicial powers vested in the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars, the Subordinate Judges, and that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to work out a scheme for the various Districts in the Presidency on the lines indicated in the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta's Memorandum, with due regard to local circumstances and the said scheme when ready be submitted to Government for consideration:

<i>Hon'ble P. M. Mehta,</i>	<i>Mr. R. V. Putwari,</i>
<i>Hon'ble C. H. Setalwad,</i>	<i>,, Motabhay Motilal,</i>
<i>Mr. Varajray Sakerial,</i>	<i>,, B. G. Tilak,</i>
<i>Mr. Moolay,</i>	<i>,, R. P. Karandikar.</i>

Resolution VII.

That while re-affirming its resolution of the last year regarding the burdensome nature of the revised survey settlement and its injurious effects on the rights of private property in the Devagad Taluka in the Ratnagiri District, this conference is grieved to find fresh instances of further disregard of the policy and principles laid down by the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State in 1886 and prays that feelings of increasing uneasiness amongst the agricultural classes be allayed by taking immediate steps to redress the grievances of the people of Panwel and Pen and other talukas and by giving fresh assurances that the policy enunciated in 1886 will be strictly adhered to.

Resolution VIII.

That the rules under which fines are levied upon unalienated land used for non-agricultural purposes, are very oppressive and require to be considerably modified in order to help the growth of towns and cities and industries pertaining thereto upon which the material prosperity of the people so much depends.

Resolution IX.

That in re-affirming its resolution of the last year on the matter of Local Self-Government, the Conference desire to draw special attention to its first part, viz., that as one of the main objects of the extension of Local Self-Government was to educate the people and to develop or create, if need be, a capacity for self-help, it is desirable that direct Government control should not be exercised as frequently as now.

Resolution X.

That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of the previous years on the subjects of Salt, Police, Forest and the Deccan Relief Act Commission and prays that Government be pleased to give effect to the recommendations contained therein at an early date.

Resolution XI.

That the meeting of the next Provincial Conference be held in Bombay and that Messrs. D. E. Watcha, B. G. Tilak, the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad and Mr. A. M. Dharamsy be the Honorary Secretaries of the next Provincial Conference.

Resolution XII.

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Reception Committee, and the Secretaries.

Resolution XIII.

That a vote of thanks to the President be passed for his able conduct in the Chair.

LIST OF DELEGATES,
WHO ATTENDED THE
SIXTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE,
HELD AT AHMEDABAD,
NOVEMBER 1893.

No.	Town.	Names in Full.	Religion.	Occupation, &c.
1	Ahmedabad ...	Abdulabhai Isabhai	Mahomadan	Merchant.
2	" ...	Abduali Kurimbhai	" ...	Merchant.
3	" ...	Abdul Hussain Mahomad Hussain...	" ...	Merchant.
4	" ...	Sheth Amratlal Damodardas ...	Hindu ...	Merchant.
5	" ...	Prof. Anandsbanker Bapubhai, M.A.	" ...	Professor, Graduate.
6	" ...	Bakarali, Esq.	Mahomadan	Merchant.
7	" ...	Sheth Balabhai Damodardas ...	Hindu ...	Merchant.
8	" ...	Balvastra0 Govindrao	" ...	Pleader.
9	" ...	Dr. Benjamin	Israeli ...	Medical Practitioner.
10	" ...	Sheth Chhotabhai Tankshal ..	Hindu ...	Merchant.
11	" ...	Dr. Chhotalal Harilal Desai, L.M. & S.	" ...	Medical Practitioner, Graduate.
12	" ...	Sheth Chhotalal Jamnadas	" ...	Merchant.
13	" ...	*The Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL.B. ...	" ...	Additional Member of the Legislative Council, Pleader, Graduate, Bombay Municipal Corporator.
14	" ...	*Sheth Chimanlal Nagindas	" ...	Merchant.
15	" ...	Chinubhai Madhubhai	" ...	Merchant, Mill-owner.
16	" ...	*Chunilal Harilal Vakil, B.A., LL.B.	" ...	Pleader, Graduate.
17	" ...	Chunilal Rughnathdas	" ...	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.
18	" ...	*Kavishwar Dalpatram Dayabhai, C. I. E.	" ...	Poet.
19	" ...	Shaik Daud Kasambhai	Mahomadan	Merchant.
20	" ...	*Professor Dara S. Setna, M. A. ...	Parsi ...	Professor, Graduate.
21	" ...	Dayabhai Ijatram	Hindu ...	Pleader.
22	" ...	*Desaibhai Kalidas	" ...	Government Pleader.
23	" ...	Ganesh Gopal Pandit, B. A. ...	" ...	Land-holder, Graduate.
24	" ...	Gopalrao Ramchandra Dabholkar, B.A., LL.B.	" ...	Pleader, Graduate.
25	" ...	*Govindrao Appaji Patil, B.A., LL.B.	" ...	Pleader, Graduate.
26	" ...	*Rao Saheb Harilal Ambashanker...	" ...	Government Pensioner.
27	" ...	Harilal Manchharam	" ...	Pleader.
28	" ...	Himatrai Namatrai	" ...	Pleader.
29	" ...	Hirachand Pitamburdas	" ...	Pleader.
30	" ...	*Hiralal Gordhanlal	" ...	Merchant.
31	" ...	Hussen Khan	Mahomadan	Merchant.
32	" ...	*Sheth Jamnadas Bhagubhai ...	Hindu ...	Merchant.
33	" ...	*Sheth Jeshangbhai Hathising ...	" ...	Merchant.
34	" ...	*Kaji Saheb	Mahomadan	High Priest.
35	" ...	Kashurchand Premchand	Hindu ...	Pleader.
36	" ...	Sheth Keshavlal Khushal ..	" ...	Merchant.
37	" ...	Keshavlal Motilal	" ...	Pleader, Municipal Com- missioner.
38	" ...	*Krishnalal Lallubhai	" ...	Pleader.
39	" ...	*Sheth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai	" ...	Merchant, Banker.
40	" ...	*Rao Bahadur Lallubhai Nandlal...	" ...	Government Pensioner.
41	" ...	Sheth Lerabhai Malichand	" ...	Merchant.

* Members of the Reception Committee.

No.	Town.	Names in Full	Religion.	Occupation, &c.
42	Ahmedabad...	Madhuddhai Ranchordlal ...	Hindu ...	Merchant.
43	"	Mahasukhrum Narsiram Shah, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Graduate.
44	"	* Mody Manekji Pestonji ...	"	Barrister-at-Law.
45	"	Sheth Manguldas Girdharlal ...	"	Merchant.
46	"	* Sheth Manibhai Premabhai ...	"	Merchant, Banker, Municipal Commissioner.
47	"	* Manilal Bhagwandas Zaveri, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Graduate.
48	"	Manilal Govindrao ...	"	Pleader.
49	"	Manilal Rughnathdas ...	"	Pleader.
50	"	Manishunker Gavrishanker Bhat, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Graduate.
51	"	* Sheth Mansukbhai Bagubhai ...	"	Merchant, Banker, Mill-owner.
52	"	" Mayabhai Premabhai ...	"	Merchant, Banker.
53	"	" Motilal Ravichand ...	"	Merchant, Banker.
54	"	Mulchand Asharam Shah, B. A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Graduate.
55	"	Sheth Mulchand Hathising ...	"	Merchant.
56	"	* Sayad Musa Mian ...	Mahomadan	Land-holder.
57	"	* Rao Saheb Narbheram Rughnath- das. ...	Hindu ...	Govt. Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.
58	"	Rao Bahadar Narsilal Revadas ...	"	Govt. Pensioner.
59	"	Navalshanker Narsingprasad Shu- kul, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Graduate.
60	"	Dr. Pitamberdas Kuberdas, L.M.&S.	"	Graduate, Medical Practitioner.
61	"	Pitamberdas Tribhowandas ...	"	Editor, Press Proprietor.
62	"	Pranshanker Narotamdas ...	"	Pleader.
63	"	* † The Hon. Rao Bahadur Ran- chhorlal Chhotalal, C.I.E. ...	"	Member, Legislative Council, President, Ahmedabad, Municipality, Mill-owner.
64	"	* Sheth Ranchodlal Girdharlal ...	"	Merchant.
65	"	* Ranchhodlal Vardravandas Patva- ri, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Graduate.
66	"	Shakalechand Natanchand ...	"	Pleader.
67	"	* Seth Sarabhai Maganbhai ...	"	Merchant, Banker, Mill- owner.
68	"	* Seth Shambhuprasad Bechardas ..	"	Merchant, Banker, Mill- owner.
69	"	* Dr. Solomon Abramji ...	Israeli ...	Graduate, Medical Practitioner.
70	"	* Someshwar Naranji ...	Hindu ...	Pleader.
71	"	* R. B. Sunawala ...	Parsi ...	Barrister-at-Law.
72	"	Sayad Sujauddinvalad Saji Mian ...	Mahomadan	Merchant.
73	"	* Trikamlal Damodardas ...	Hindu ...	Pleader.
74	"	* Parikh Trikamlal Jaunadas ...	"	Merchant.
75	"	* Sheth Trikamlal Vadilal ...	"	Merchant.
76	"	Vora Tyebali Kikabhai ...	Mahomadan	Merchant.
77	"	* Vanmalidas Ladhahbai ...	Hindu ...	Editor, Press Proprietor.
78	"	* Varajrai Shakerlal ...	"	Pleader, Municipal Com- missioner.
79	Ahmednagar..	N. B. Moole. ...	"	
80	Amod ...	Balyantram Shivprasad ...	Hindu ...	Pleader.
	"	The Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Additional Member of the Legislative Coun- cil, Pleader, Graduate, Bombay Municipal Councillor.
	Ankleshwar...	The Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Do.

* Members of Reception Committee.
† President of Reception Committee.

No.	Town.	Names in Full	Religion.	Occupation, &c.
81	Bombay	Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna, L.M.	Hindu	Medical Practitioner, University Fellow, Graduate, Bombay Municipal Councillor.
82	"	Dinsha Edalji Vachha	Parsi	Hon. Secretary Presidency Association.
83	"	Ganpatrao Moroba Pitale	Hindu	Govt. Pensioner.
84	"	Jamietram Nanabhai, B.A., LL. B.	"	Advocate, University Fellow, Graduate, Land-holder.
85	Bombay	Dr. K. N. Bahadurji, M.D.	Parsi	Medical Practitioner, Graduate, Late Professor of the G.M. College, University Fellow.
86	"	Sheth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai	Hindu	Merchant, Banker.
	"	M. G. Desmukh, M.D., B.A., B.Sc.	"	Fellow of the University, Bombay Municipal Councillor, Graduate, Medical Practitioner.
	"	The Hon. Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalwad, B.A., LL.B.	"	Additional Member of the Legislative Council, Pleader, Graduate, Bombay Municipal Councillor.
87	"	The Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani, M.A., LL.B.	Mahomedan	Solicitor, Member of Legislative Council, Bombay Municipal Councillor, University Fellow.
88	"	Rustam K. R. Kama, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi	Solicitor, Graduate, University Fellow.
89	Brosch	Bulvantrai Shivprasad	Hindu	Pleader.
90	"	Krishnalal Mohanlal M.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, High Court, Graduate.
91	"	Purbhudas Nagardas Kinariwala	"	Merchant.
92	Bulsar	Bejanji Nassarvanji	Parsi	Merchant.
93	"	Brijbhukandas Maneklal	Hindu	Merchant.
94	"	Dhanjibhai Bamonji	Parsi	Merchant.
95	"	Dinshahji Bejanji	"	Merchant.
96	"	Jivanji Gulabbhai Desai	Hindu	District Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.
97	"	Kavasji Dhanjibhai	Parsi	Merchant.
98	Dhanduhka	Modi Lalji Mulji	Hindu	Merchant.
99	"	Madhavji Damodar	"	Merchant.
	"	Ranchhodlal Vardravandas Patvari, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Graduate.
100	Dholka	Nagarset Chhotalal Bhavanidas	"	Merchant.
101	"	Chhotalal Kalidas	"	Pleader.
102	"	Rao Sahib Purshotum Rai Joshi	"	Vice-President Dholka Municipality.
103	"	Shankerlal Achratlal	Hindu	Pleader.
104	Dhulia	K. N. Bhange	"	Editor, Khandesh Vaibhav.
105	"	M. K. Kulkarni	"	Municipal Commissioner.
	Jambusar	The Honourable Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, B.A., LL. B.	"	Additional Member of the Legislative Council, Pleader, Graduate, Bombay Municipal Councillor.
106	Nadiad	Bhulabbhai Makurbhai	"	Merchant, Land-holder.
107	"	Chaturbbhai Shankerbhai	"	Land-holder, Press Proprietor.
108	"	Chhotalal Hiralal	"	Merchant.
109	"	Chhotalal Jhaverilal	"	Merchant.
110	"	Lalbbhai Mulji	"	Merchant.
111	"	Manilal N. Divedi, B.A.	"	Honorary Magistrate, Graduate, Late Professor Samladas College.
112	"	Shankalchand Jeshabbhai	"	Merchant.
113	"	Shankalchand Magonlal	"	Merchant.

No.	Town.	Names in Full.	Religion.	Occupation, &c.
114	Nasik	B G. Tilak, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Editor, Kesari and Maratha, Proprietor, and Professor Law Class, Poona, Graduate, Fellow.
115	"	Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, High Court, Fellow, Graduate.
116	"	Sitaram Damoder Bhende	"	Banker, Member Taluka Local board.
	Poona	B. G. Tilak, B.A., LL.B.	"	Editor, Kesari and Maratha, Proprietor, Law Class, Graduate, Fellow.
117	"	Prof. G. K. Gokhle, M.A.	Hindu	Professor, Fergusson College, Graduate.
118	"	Kashinath Damoder	"	
119	"	M. B. Namjoshi	"	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner.
120	"	V. N. Apte	"	
121	"	Vasodeo G. Joshi	"	
122	Rander	C. M. Ghandi, B. A.	"	Graduate.
123	"	Tuljaram B. Pathuk	"	Medical Practitioner.
124	Ratnagiri	Govindrao Balkrishna Ranade	"	Pleader.
125	Satara	Bali Lohidaji Patel	"	Patel.
126	"	Balvant Shridhar Shastrabudo	"	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.
127	"	Bhagyandas Ramdas	"	Merchant.
128	"	Datatraya Narayen Fadnis	"	Inamdar, Land-holder.
129	"	Datatria Ramchandra Chitale	"	Editor, Land-holder.
130	"	Ganesh Ballal Fansaker	"	High Court Pleader.
131	"	Kao Bahadur Ganesh Pandurang Apte	"	Inamdar, Municipal Commissioner.
132	"	Ragunath Pandurang Karandikar	"	High Court Pleader.
133	"	Sadaram Ramchandra	"	Merchant.
134	"	Tukaram Vithal Thakur	"	Pleader, Landlord.
135	"	Vishvanath Keshav Khanshiker	"	Land-holder.
136	Sholapur	Dinker Ballal Chakradev	"	Pleader, Land-holder.
137	"	Hirachand Nemchand	"	Merchant.
138	Surat	Bhagubhai Dayabhai	"	Pleader.
139	"	Chhagonlal Nandsukhlal	"	
140	"	H. F. Doctor	Parsi	Editor, Gujrat Mitra.
141	"	Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas	Hindu	Land-holder.
142	"	Harivadawram Maniram, L. C. E.	"	Engineer, Graduate.
143	"	Jekisondas K. Chatpet	"	Pleader.
144	"	Motabhai Motilal Desai	"	Land-holder, Pleader High Court.
145	"	Nandshanker Paraytishanker, B.A., LL. B.	"	Pleader, High Court. Graduate.
146	"	P. H. Mehta	"	Merchant.
147	Umreth	Joshi Kalidass Mayaram	"	Merchant.
148	"	Manilal Panalal	"	Pleader.
149	"	Bhat Narotum Mayaram	"	Merchant.
150	"	Bhat Pranshanker Purshotam	"	Pleader.
151	"	Ranchhordas Nagardas	"	Pleader.
152	"	Vrajvallabhdas Mulchand	"	Pleader.

APPENDIX A.

THE HON. MR. MEHTA'S MINUTE.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

1. Since Lord Dufferin admitted it in his famous speech in 1886, on the Congress proposals, to be a counsel of perfection, the proposal to separate Judicial from Executive functions in the District Officers has been pronounced by the present as well as past Secretaries of State for India to be a reform eminently desirable, and in his Budget speech for this year the present Under-Secretary of State has again repeated the official approval of the measure, provided that the change did not involve increased expenditure.

2. It is needless, therefore, to say anything as to the reasons for advocating the separation—especially after the admirable manner in which Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal, has discussed them in his letter on the subject in the columns of "India" particularly in connection with the Mymensing case.

3. The necessity for this reform is, however, more urgent than is generally imagined—not for men of position and standing but for the masses of the people. Nobody, who is not intimately acquainted with the daily life in villages and small towns, can have an adequate conception of the intolerable hardship which the continuance of Magisterial powers in Revenue officers entails upon the people. The great bulk of the masses are rendered unhappy enough by the way in which life is made a burden not to the rogues but the honest folk by the practical working of the Salt, Opium, Abkari, Forest, Arms and Land Revenue Acts with their infinite rules and regulations hedging the people round in all directions; but, vexatious and harassing as these laws are, they would not be nearly so intolerable if all resistance to their unjust and oppressive enforcement and abuse were not practically rendered impossible by the ingenious device of combining the Prosecutor and the Magistrate in one and the same person. Under these acts, everything is guarded by prosecutions at every step; and these prosecutions initiated and countenanced by Executive Officers are tried by Mamlatdars and Magistrates who are all again Executive Officers. Those who have practical knowledge of the system are aware how naturally these prosecutions, however absurd and vexatious, end in convictions. Indeed, the general feeling about the matter is that no Mamlatdar or Magistrate, who valued his own interest and prospects, dare indulge, except rarely, in the luxury of an acquittal. Some of these cases sometimes reach the High Court where they are quashed or revised, occasioning a little mild surprise now and then that intelligent officers could be so wrong-headed. But these are not the hardest cases. The worst are those in which the people yield themselves up in sheer and sullen helplessness and of which nothing is heard publicly. It is high time that a system under which irritation and discontent are engendered to no small extent should be reformed without loss of time.

4. The real obstacle in the way of so urgent a reform lies in the fact that executive officers are not willing to consent to a measure which would, they consider, materially diminish their importance and power. Unable to advance this reason openly, the plea is put forward that any alteration of the present system would entail a heavy increase of expenditure. But a little reflection is sufficient to show how hollow and unsustainable this plea is. The magisterial adjunct is admittedly worked by Mamlatdars and Assistant Collectors in a most intermittent fashion. It is a common experience with legal practitioners to be told by these officers that they would not take up criminal cases till late in the day, and then only for an hour or so, in consequence of the necessity of doing a certain amount of measuring and revenue work. A case is taken up for an hour or so at the end of the day and then adjourned; if the camp has to be removed to the next station, parties and witnesses have all to go on there. It can easily be conceived that a case, which, if heard out without interruption, would be finished in a day, would require several times the same period when heard intermittently in bits, the process involving a considerable amount of repetition. The waste of power and time thus caused is simply incalculable, and cannot but involve, in the very nature of things, increased cost. Any scheme which relegates magisterial functions from officers who can

only work them intermittently to officers who can exercise them continually and regularly cannot but result in both economy and efficiency, and such a scheme is the one I sketched in outline on the occasion of the discussion of the last Provincial Budget in the Legislative Council. It proposes to transfer these functions to Subordinate Judges as a part of their regular work, relieving Revenue Officers entirely of all Judicial work. I claim for this scheme the merits of simplicity and economy.

5. The scheme can be best explained by showing how it would work in a particular District. Leaving Scinde alone there are three divisions in the Bombay Presidency—the Northern, the Southern, and the Central. Each division is divided into a certain number of Districts or Collectorates. Each District has generally for its Executive Officers a Collector, who is also District Magistrate, two or more Assistant Collectors with Magisterial powers of the 1st or 2nd class, one Huzur and one District Deputy Collector and a number of Mamlatdars or Mabalkaries in charge of Talukas in which the district is subdivided. For its Judicial Officers, it has a Judge who is both a Civil and Sessions Judge, and a certain number of Subordinate Judges doing Civil work only with one or more S. C. C. Judges. Taking the District of Poona for example, my proposal would work thus. The Civil List of July, 1893, shows for the District two First Assistant and one Assistant Collectors, one Treasury Deputy Collector, besides *nine* Mamlatdars of different grades under the Collector, and six Subordinate Judges under the district and Sessions Judge. Now, at the meeting of the Legislative Council above referred to, I had ventured timidly to say that the Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars “certainly do not devote two full hours per day to criminal work,” though in the Budget half their salaries were transferred from the head of Law and Administration to Law and Justice. As a matter of fact I knew the time devoted was much less, but I thought it discreet to take the case against my proposal as strongly as possible. The Hon. Mr. Nugent thought that he was irretrievably condemning my scheme when he assured the Council that the time devoted by Mamlatdars to Judicial duties did not constitute one-eighth of his total work, and he was good enough further to inform me that in the case of Assistant Collectors it was still less. This fact, so authentically stated by an officer of such high knowledge and experience, blesses instead of cursing the scheme. Instead of demolishing, it only strengthens my argument and shows the extreme feasibility of the transfer. For it establishes that the work in its totality is not more than one whole-time officer can perform; working at it not intermittently but regularly. All that is necessary to do under these circumstances is to do away with only one Mamlatdar and in his place create one Subordinate Judge. The criminal work, of which the Executive Officers would be relieved, would be then distributed among the six old and one new Subordinate Judges. It must be carefully borne in mind that I do not propose to create the new Subordinate Judge for the purpose of entrusting him with the whole of the criminal work from which the Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars are set free, but each Subordinate Judge of the District would be entrusted with the criminal work of his station. The number of Mamlatdars being only reduced by one could easily cope with the Talukas in the District, in some cases by a slight re-arrangement and in others by assigning two of the smallest Talukas to one officer; all the rest of the Mamlatdars continuing in charge of one Taluka only.

6. Independently of achieving the great object of separating Judicial and Executive functions, and thus removing the crying evils which the combination engenders, there are various subsidiary advantages secured by this scheme which I will now proceed to set forth briefly.

7. In the first place, there would be no increased expenditure, for the salary of a Mamlatdar saved would counterbalance the salary of the new Subordinate Judge created. But there would in many cases be economy. For the Assistant Collectors and Deputy Collectors being relieved of criminal work, it would be often possible to do without the supernumeraries who has often to be given to the Collector in many Districts.

8. In the next place, the work would be done by officers with special legal training instead of men whose legal education and training are at the best of a very superficial character. I don't mean to deny that several of the Mamlatdars are men of ability and intelligence; but without special training, we know that even able and intelligent men interpret law in a manner that is often little short of startling.

9. Both Civil and Criminal Justice would be brought nearer home both to parties and witnesses. A district divided into the increased number of Subordinate Judges' stations would have smaller areas for their jurisdiction, thus reducing sensibly the present maximum distance of villages from

the head-quarters, which being fixed and thus within easy distance would obviate a great deal of the hardship which people have to suffer from the conditions attendant on shifting camps.

10. There hardly would be any need for any fresh legislation to carry out the change. It would be in the power of the Local Government according to existing law to invest the Civil Judges with Magisterial powers. The only difficulty would be in the case of jurisdiction vested in Mamlatdars under the Mamlatdars' Jurisdiction Act. But it may not be undesirable to leave to them the present summary jurisdiction in regard to possessory suits.

11. It would be very useful if the Conference deputed some of its members to work out this scheme with regard to each separate district in detail with the help of the knowledge of local circumstances and wants possessed by members conversant with each particular district.

APPENDIX B.

Speech of the President (the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta) of the Fifth Provincial Conference held at Poona in November 1892.

I suppose, Gentlemen, that, that piece of antique wisdom, 'Better late than never,' comes home to us at this moment; for, though it is decidedly late in the year, still it is a matter of congratulation that the efforts to gather together a Provincial Conference this year have not proved unavailing. The utility of such a Conference cannot be gainsaid, and I venture to say that the urgency and importance of the questions with which you have to deal this year have never been surpassed at any previous period. In placing them before you for your consideration, it is impossible not to acknowledge with thankfulness, and even with something of pride, that public discussion can be carried on in this Presidency without bitterness or ferocity. In his recent book on Lord Reay's Administration, Sir William Hunter says "that the competition of races, European and Indian, although as keen as in any other province, is tempered by common interests, mutual forbearance, and a certain reciprocal respect which impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay press in political crises"; and the truth and justice of this observation will, I think, be universally admitted. Even such a source of intoxication as the Mohwra flower did not succeed in warming us to anything more than a state of mild excitement; and in spite of the inhospitable reception given to his pet Bill, I do not think that Sir Charles Pritchard can leave this Presidency for the higher altitudes to which he is promoted, with any but the kindest feelings for its people. Mr. Lee-Warner will probably tell you that the equanimity of temper with which we carry on our political warfare is due to the influences of the moderation of our climate, and the marvellous, but subdued beauty of nature with which this Presidency is bountifully endowed. However that may be, the fact is undoubted. Take the English press of the Presidency, which, even when most opposed to our views and aspirations, often shows a tolerance, an even sympathy, which entitles it to our respect, though I must confess it would be difficult altogether to stand up for its said consistency. One would imagine that the same arguments which led them to oppose the Mohwra Bill would lead them to welcome the recent Forest Resolution of Government. The main objection to all repressive legislation is founded on the inevitable oppression and persecution, which it entails on the poor and the innocent, in its actual working at the hands of petty officials. This is admirably set out in the Forest Resolution; and, knowing as we do the complexity of human nature, it is neither necessary nor politic to believe, that the Resolution was prompted by a desire for gaining cheap popularity, or that Government meant

"To compound for sins they were inclined to,
By damning those they had no mind to."

It would be more consistent and logical to accept the sincerity and the utility of the Resolution, and to turn their own weapons against Government by asking them to apply the principles so admirably propounded by themselves as regards the working of forest laws, and by their light to ask them to amend the errors of their ways with regard to Salt and Abkari legislation. Fanaticism even in a good cause requires to be checked, and the fanaticism of Forest officers even in the interests of Forest conservancy surely required to be restrained. It seems to me that we have reason to be thankful to Government for the timely rebuke administered by them, and we cannot but deplore that the press, which did such good service as to the Mohwra Bill, should have resented instead of encouraging the action of Government based on the same principles which more than anything justified their own previous opposition. But despite such occasional inconsistency, the excellent temper with which the English press is conducted in this Presidency, so different from the virulence which prevails in other parts, deserves our admiration. But we are fortunate not only in the character of our English press; the same freedom from extreme views and the same moderation of tone and temper are observable in the public discussion and criticism of public questions by the official classes in this Presidency. A remarkable instance of this is furnished by the records of this year. When the Indian Councils Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons in March last, we had an address delivered on the 12th of that month, at the Elphinstone College Union by one of the ablest and most accomplished officers of Government to point out to us the folly of our ways in agitating for the improvement and development of the present Legislative Councils. The burden of the song was that till a nation was welded together into unity and till the lowest classes could be made eligible, a "Council to represent a nation cannot be thought of." I shall have a word to say in regard to the arguments adduced in support of this thesis, but I would first like to point out in how tender, thoughtful, and even

sympathetic a way, the lecturer tried to administer his teaching to us. In the first place, it was evident, that he was anxious not to be too abrupt, or to hurt our feelings by too direct an attack, and so he amused and soothed us with an exceedingly interesting dissertation on the influence of nature in literature and politics. Then he drew our sympathies by giving expression to views which would almost lead one to imagine that he was a Congresswala in disguise. The following passage might almost be mistaken for one from a speech of that most eloquent of orators which Bengal has given us, Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. "It is no narrow principle of a paternal government," said the lecturer "or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with his poet's sailing orders,

Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento.

or which fostered differences as aiding the central authority, *Divide et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach self-government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of the society and subject to the pedestal of the ruler. 'Humanity' and 'Heaven's light our guide,' or its words, watch and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta* the Queen's proclamation issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defied and restored by the sword. * * There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman empire of the second; but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea. * * I venture to point to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administration of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the weak, equality in the eye of the law, justice, and a common participation in the benefits, and when the time comes, in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it." It is quite at the end of this eloquent address that the lecturer comes to the point of his argument, and the cloven hoop is insinuatingly put out. He first of all exhorts us not to meddle with politics, but to stick to social reform—a piece of disinterested advice which our Anglo-Indian friends have anxiously lavished upon us for a long time. Not that the advice is given abruptly, but in a most plausible form:—"He is no friend of India, who, for fear of adverse or immature criticism leads you to believe that social and moral growth can be dissevered from the thread of political reform or constitutional development." Taken in the abstract, this is a just observation. In fact, we can almost recognize it as the text which my friend Mr. Chandavarkar eloquently held forth before you the other day in the Deccan College. But in its application to the facts of actual progress, there are limitations which have to be read with it. Whenever the mind of a people is roused, the activity will no doubt manifest itself in diverse directions; but history tells us that, in its social and its political manifestations, the pace and the speed are not always the same, neither are they simultaneous. Then again, in the course of all human progress, there are stages of reaction, when there is a revolt against the continued acceptance of the new doctrines, and an attempt to rehabilitate and revert to the old. This is by no means an unwholesome process, and is itself a proof of the awakening. When two civilizations are brought together in clashing contact, it is those that have passed through this stage, who can best avoid the dangers of a superficial veneer, and truly assimilate the best that may be in them. Some people have been impatient with my friend Mr. Tilak, for example, when he gravely and most learnedly proposed at the Industrial Conference the other day, that we should ask for legislation to enforce caste penalties. To me, it proves only the activity of a mind too earnest and inquisitive to accept things without the most rigid cross-examination. I have no doubt that when he emerges from this reactionary stage, he will prove a far more thorough-going and earnest reformer than many who are at present impatient with his startling paradoxes, and nobody will better realize what that eminent American poet and politician—James Russell Lowell—has sung in his own forcible way.

"New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of truth."

Speaking of Mr. Tilak and Mr. Chandavarkar, I am tempted to say a word about the remarkable series of articles recently published in the *Indian Spectator*, in which my friend Mr. Ardesbir Framji starts a new theory altogether, and inculcates the gospel of despondency. He tells us that the best thing for us all is to cease from troubling and be at rest, because the Indian Aryan has, long ago, done his appointed work, is now an extinct force which nothing can revivify, and is merely an encumbrance upon the surface of the earth. This is no time to examine or criticise this somewhat startling speculation, but it seems to me to be vitiated by the old Hebrew fallacy, '*the thing that has been is the thing*'

that shall be. History does not repeat itself ; its lessons are invaluable for teaching us to guide the experiments by which alone human progress makes way ; they only mislead, if we use them for vain speculations as the repetition in the future of the phenomena of the past. For a thinker who has nothing but the most passionate scorn for those who cannot make it an absolute article of their faith to believe in a designing Providence in the human shape in which alone the human intellect seems to be able to conceive it, it is somewhat inconsistent for the preacher of such a gospel to say that he is overwhelmed with despair at his own discovery. He, above all, should be able to find both consolation and hope from the teaching of that noble singer who has just passed away in the fulness of years and honours—consolation from those of quiet rebuke to all pessimism, ‘the thing that has been is the thing that shall be.’

“ I have not made the world,
And he that has made it will guide.”

and hope from those words of true philosophy,

“ My faith is large in time,
And that which shapes it to some perfect end.”

But I must come back to Mr. Lee-Warner's address, and the sting in the tail. If we would not take his advice to stick to social and moral reform, but must meddle in politics, then he at last feels compelled to give out his mind, and tell us that our demand for a reformed and enlarged Council is contrary to the laws of nature, and unwarranted by the lessons of history. “No representative assembly,” he says, “whether of the nation or of the county is complete, without the presence of those whom in India you would describe as low castes. I cannot fill in the description in greater detail, but I think you will admit that the healthy growth of the representative system implies a ground prepared by not merely phrases, but by the constant action and reaction of equality, fraternity, and self-sacrifice, welding together a nation, before a Council to represent a nation can be thought of.” This is of course no new argument ; we have been familiar with it in the guise of the “250 millions of ryots” argument. How can we, the microscopic minority, ask for the most minute odes of elective representation even for the most limited purposes till the masses, men, women, children and all could be represented on the Council ; Such an argument is well enough for the exigencies of sensational journalism ; but it is difficult to understand how an accomplished and cultured thinker could make in the main argument of an elaborate academic address, especially when in the same breath he inculcates the doctrine of gradual growth as taught by the lessons of history. The English history, to which Mr. Lee-Warner appeals, tells quite a different tale. The beginnings of representation in England were imperfect and inadequate ; the great bulk of the people was totally unrepresented in the great Council of the nation, the masses and the lower classes were not even thought of. Every student of English history, let alone Macaulay's School boy, knows that such was the state of things up to so recent a date as the passing of the First Reform Act of 1832. As briefly stated in that admirable book, “Green's Short History of the English people,” neither the meeting of the Wisemen before the conquest, nor the Great Council of the Barons after it, had been in any way representative bodies. The first theoretically included all freeholders of land, but it shrank at an early time into a gathering of earls, higher nobles and bishops with the officers and those of the royal household. Little change was made in the constitution of the assembly after the Conquest. But though its composition remained the same, the character of the Assembly was essentially altered. From a free gathering of “Wise Men,” it sank to a royal court of feudal vassals. It was the genius of Earl Simon who first broke through the older constitutional tradition, and dared to summon two burgesses from each town to the parliament of 1265. Even with regard to the representation of the towns, it must be remembered, as pointed out in Prof. Stubb's Constitutional History that, “the town members in parliament during the middle ages represented only a very small proportion of the towns, and those selected by the merest chance of accident or caprice. In so far as they represented an interest at all, they represented it very inadequately, and, if as we have supposed, they represented chiefly the governing bodies among their constituencies, they are still further removed from being regarded as the true exponents of any element of the national will.” Perhaps some of you remember how, in the famous debates on the Reform Bill of 1831, Sir R. H. Inglis, the member for the University of Oxford, ridiculed the notion that the House of Commons had ever been representative of any but a very small portion of the nation, pointing out that “it is known that two writs to return members were issued by Elizabeth at the desire of one of her favorites, Sir Christopher Hatton ; and Newport in the Isle of Wight had received

its franchise to please Sir John Carew. This is the history of many of the small boroughs ; and all the Cornish boroughs were formed in that manner. Fifteen Cornish boroughs had at one time received the right of representation, some of which were small villages ; and all the Cornish boroughs were formed in that manner, while towns which were at the time considerable places with large populations had no representation at all." It is clear that the lessons of English History are against Mr. Lee-Warner's speculation. If England had waited, as according to him it ought to have, till a full representation of the lower classes and the masses was secured, before thinking of a Parliament then we should have never heard of the English Parliament at all. It is unscientific, it is unhistorical to talk of not having a representative assembly at all, till only a complete one could be had. The laws of nature, as well as the lessons of history, both teach us that beginnings may well be incomplete and inadequate, that too much must not be made of fanciful difficulties about the rights of minorities and lower classes, and that the work of completion should be left to time. Fortunately, gentlemen, the lesson which Mr. Lee-Warner offered "for the guidance of the British Statesman from the book of nature," was not accepted by statesmen of either party, liberal or conservative, and the Indian Council's Act which became law in last May is now before the Viceroy, to whom is left absolutely, in the words of Mr. Curzon in charge of the bill in the House of Commons, the manner, date and the mode of the introduction of the elective principle so far as the elective principle is capable of being received or introduced according to the provisions of the Act. We may, therefore, well hope that His Lordship will not fail to carry out the construction put upon it by Mr. Gladstone, now Prime Minister, "that a serious effort should be made to consider carefully those elements which in the present condition of India might furnish materials for the introduction in the Councils of the elective principle," and, "that the first step shall be of a genuine nature, and that whatever scope shall be given to the elective principle shall be real." We are immediately concerned with our own Provincial Council, and a scheme, which has received considerable examination from many quarters, will be laid before you for your consideration. I feel bound to say that any representation less than that sketched out in this scheme will be neither genuine nor real. It would not be fair for a government, which prescribes homeopathy in everything else, to recognize it only in politics. Let us trust that Lord Lansdowne will signalize his departure by a measure of statesmanlike breadth of view, which should afford reasonable scope for a fair experiment.

In pleading for a generous recognition of the elective principle in the reconstruction of our Council, I am not unaware that, from the neighbouring heights on which Deccan Collego is situated, one who is deservedly held in high regard and esteem among you, the Principal of the College, may be looking down upon us, in pity and sorrow, if not in anger, at our fatuity in throwing away the good that the Gods have provided us in a system in which nomination has been successful in giving us from time to time such men as a Kanade and a Telang. But is it quite true that the mode of election is not a material element in determining the extent of the usefulness of the person elected ? Let us take an instructive illustration within our own experience. Under the Bombay Act of 1864, the Municipal administration of the City was vested in the Bench of Justices, at the time, composed of the best men of the native and European communities, men of light and leading, but selected by government. The result proved a disastrous failure. The new Act of 1872 gave a corporation largely composed of elected members, many of them by no means equal or superior to the picked men of the former system. But the result has been a conspicuous success. What is it owing to ? I would venture to beg Principal Selby to examine closely into the reasons for this remarkable difference of results ; and though I know that Professors are not easy to convert, still I think, he may come to regard the elective principle as not entirely contemptible, and may even be led to discover some good in it.

I feel, gentlemen, I have already taken up too much of your time, but there is one other subject of so much importance that you will pardon me, if I do not conclude without adverting to it. It is the subject of the prospects of education in this Presidency. It is now high time that public opinion should express itself in no uncertain voice with regard to the grave perils that threaten our educational interests. Under cover of fine phrases and sentimental cant, a retrograde step of the most mischievous character is being taken. It is attempted to beguile us by the announcement that the promotion of primary education is the primary duty of Government. I do not know if it is imagined that we would not venture to challenge the declaration of such a policy for fear of being stigmatized

as inimical to the masses. But His Excellency the Governor seems to have thought the other day that he would cover us with confusion, when he justified the partial confiscation of the grant to the University by proclaiming that it was done in the interests of primary education. Now, Gentlemen, I make bold to say that there cannot be a greater misappreciation of the problem of Indian education, and one more fraught with disastrous consequences and more opposed to every consideration of sound policy, than to hold that primary education is the question of the day in India. It may be and it is the question of the day in England and Europe, where centuries have laid up a munificent provision for higher education. But in India, in the peculiar circumstances in which she finds herself, it is not primary, but higher, education that is the question of the day. I ventured to advance this view in a paper read by me before the East India Association in 1868. It is now more than ever necessary to enforce that same view. I was never more delighted than when I read the other day the speech made, at the opening of the Scinde College by the Educational Inspector of the Province. All honor to Mr. Jacob for the manly courage with which he publicly proclaimed, with all the weight of his high authority and long experience, that higher education must in India, as it had done in England and other European countries, take precedence of primary education. It is no doubt true that primary education must exist as the basis for the superstructure of higher education; but I, for one, do not fear to confess that I am more than sceptical as to the benefits of primary education limited within itself, in the existing condition of this country. I think it is incumbent upon us to point out that there is a special duty lying upon the State, at least in this Presidency, as regards the promotion of higher education. In England, the great landlords, the barons, the bishops and the state dignitaries were foremost in munificently endowing colleges and universities. In this Presidency, all these functions are combined in the Government; and when English precedents are so often flung at us for our guidance, surely it is not too much to expect that Government should endow higher education in the Presidency as freely and liberally as the Plantagenets and Tudors and their great bishops and chancellors, the Wykehams, the Waynfletes, the Wolseys and other names still honored and remembered in the stately halls of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His Excellency the Governor was right when he said to you the other day, that it was not an apt epithet to denounce as niggardly the act of cutting down the University grant by five thousand Rupees; the conduct of Government, in doing so, can only be properly described as a short-sighted and impolitic failure to rise to the full conception of its duty. I may here refer also to another attempt which is made to delude us on this question. It is sought to take advantage of what are called our patriotic feelings, to cover the withdrawal of the State from the control and management of high schools and colleges under the pretended guise of anxiety to retire in favour of private enterprise. The recommendations of the Education Commission are thrust in our faces in justification of this policy. We know, Gentlemen, that the devil can cite, scripture for his purpose; but of one thing I am sure that the distinguished Indian member of the Commission, now Vice-Chancellor of our University, never dreamed that the recommendations on that score could be turned to such uses as those to which they are now sought to be applied. It is entirely premature to talk of retiring in favour of private enterprise with our present schools and colleges, incompletely and imperfectly equipped and endowed as they now are. But, as Sir Raymond West has pointed out in his address before the Oriental Congress, it is being more and more recognised every where that the direct control and management of higher education is one of the legitimate functions of the State itself. This policy of withdrawal was the least satisfactory chapter of Lord Reay's administration. An endeavour was made to gloss over it by imagining that the dissatisfaction with it was owing to a feeling for hostility to the promotion of technical education, and Sir W. Hunter states, on Mr. Lee-Warner's authority, that "the establishment of the Victoria Jubilee Institute was regarded as an educational revolution." Nothing is further removed from the fact. The credit of seriously originating a movement to found a Technical Institute is due to the public of Bombay themselves, who, in public meeting assembled, passed a distinct resolution to devote Lord Ripon's Memorial Fund to this sole purpose, before Lord Reay put foot in India; and I know of my own knowledge that Sir James Fergusson had lent a favourable ear to our application for Government help to carry out the scheme. The truth of the whole matter, Gentlemen, is this. As in the case of all great enterprises, so in the matter of higher education, Government are assailed with all those fears, doubts, and misgivings which always frighten people midway in their course, before reaching the goal. The impulse to turn back in alarm is, in this particular matter, intensified by personal sentiment. It is very well to talk of "raising the subject to the pedestal of the ruler," but when the subject begins to press close at your heels, human nature is after all weak, and the personal experience is so

intensely disagreeable, that the temptation to kick back is almost irresistible. I confess, Gentlemen, that this is very natural, and the policy of withdrawal from the direct management of higher education, ostensibly in favour of private enterprise, is, cover it as you may in fine phrases, nothing but the desire to slacken and retard its progress. In this desire, they are unfortunately helped by the depletion of the exchequer through the insatiable demands of military expenditure. If, Gentlemen, I was asked to name the person who, in these days, has done more than anybody else to retard the healthy domestic progress and development of the country, I would be obliged to give a somewhat startling answer, for I would have to name one, who, held, and deservedly held, in the highest regard and esteem throughout the country, has, by the very weight and prestige of his great name and fame, succeeded in enforcing a disastrously expensive military policy as nobody else could have done, I would be obliged to name Sir Frederic Roberts. Pushed from every other position, the answer given in the last resort for starving higher education is want of funds. It is amusing to note how the Provincial Government and the Government of India play the game of shuttle-cock in this matter. I do not know if you remember an incident in Lord Reay's time. We petitioned to His Lordship for a larger expenditure on education, His Lordship, in reply, was only too anxious to do so, but alas, the Government of India would not give him the money. We appealed to Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy. He referred us back to the Bombay Government, saying that the full grant asked by the Bombay Government had been allowed them in settling the Provincial contract. It is something like the story of the solicitors with whom Dickens has made us familiar; the one partner is always so willing, were it not that the other was hard-hearted.

I have not left myself time to speak on another subject which will deserve your best consideration, that of the progress of local self-government. At the opening of the Tansa Water Works, it was a great pleasure to hear His Excellency the Viceroy say, that "he would be the last person in the world who would be extreme to mark if, at the outset of their career, Indian Municipalities failed in some respects to realize the expectations which had been formed of them." In judging of their work, it happens not seldom, that the doctrine of gradual growth, otherwise so much insisted on, is clean forgotten. It is well to remind those who are impatient regarding the amount of work done by Municipalities, how little was done in that respect by trained and highly cultivated Government officers during the long period of time in which the municipal administration of the mofussil was virtually in their hands. It is a remarkable fact that they did almost nothing to provide them with the most necessary water or drainage works. Nor is it remembered, as it should be, that there are not a few instances in which they wasted large sums of money in inappropriate and ill-considered undertakings. These facts deserve to be borne in mind, when Indian Municipalities are supposed to have not realized the expectations formed of them, because they do not straightway undertake and carry out every Municipal improvement and requirement. I wish, Gentlemen, it were possible to modify the constitution of Mofussil Municipalities on the basis of that of the Corporation of Bombay, as regards the division of executive and administrative functions. I have long thought that a great many of their difficulties and short-comings would disappear, if that were possible. The great objection to any such change lies in the fact that there is hardly a Municipality whose finances would admit of engaging such an officer of position and ability as it would be indispensably necessary to secure for the responsible functions which may be vested in him. I should like you to consider if the difficulty can be practically met by appointing one executive officer to a group of Municipalities situated within a workable area.

In opening your proceedings with these remarks, I feel, Gentlemen, that I ought to apologize to you for the desultory and somewhat disconnected manner in which alone I have been able to place them before you. But since you were willing to have met with all my imperfections I thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside.

APPENDIX C.
RESOLUTIONS PASSED
AT THE
FIFTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
HELD AT POONA on the 7th and 8th of November, 1892.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—"That this Conference expresses its sense of deep sorrow at the loss which the public has suffered on account of the death of Sardar Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh and resolves that the same be communicated to the Rao Bahadur's family."

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—"That this Conference, composed of representative gentlemen from the different parts of the Presidency, sincerely congratulates Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on his recent election to a seat in Parliament, and heartily thanks the liberal electors of Central Finsbury for the honour they have done to their unrepresented fellow-subjects in India and the sympathy they have shown with the political aspirations of the natives of this Country."

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—"That in view of the unanimous expression of public opinion against the Mhowra Bill recently passed by the Local Legislative Council, this Conference earnestly prays that His Excellency the Viceroy will be pleased to *veto* the measure."

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—"That the Conference authorises its President to forward the following representation to the supreme Government with regard to the re-construction of the Legislative Councils :—

To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

SIR,

We, the delegates from the various districts in the Bombay Presidency, to the Fifth Provincial Conference held at the Town Hall, Hirabagh, Poona, on the 7th instant have the honour to submit for the favourable consideration of the Government of India the following scheme for the re-constitution of the Local Legislative Council on the basis of the India Council's Amendment Act :—

The Local Legislative Council should hereafter consist of twenty-four Members, exclusive of the President. Four of these would be *ex-officio* (the two members of the Executive Council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Advocate-General), eight should be nominated by Government, and twelve elected by the people in the following manner :—

That for the purposes of election the Presidency should be divided into five electoral divisions, *viz.*, (1) Bombay City; (2) the Maharashtra (including Tanna, Kolaba, and Ratnagherry); (3) Guzerat; (4) the Karnatic; and (5) Sind. That out of the twelve members to be elected, three be allotted to the Bombay City (one to be elected by the Corporation, one by the University and one by the Chamber of Commerce, the Mill Owners' Association and the Native Piece-Goods Association.) The remaining nine members should be distributed as follows :—Two for Sind, two for Guzerat, two for Karnatic and three for the Maharashtra, including Tanna, Kolaba and Ratnagherry. The electorate of each division, except the City of Bombay, should be divided into two parts: (1) Urban and (2) Rural. The elected members of all the Municipalities in each division will have the right to vote in the first, and the elected members of the Taluka and Zilla Local Boards will vote in the other. One member will be elected to represent the Urban and one to represent the Rural interest in Sind, Guzerat and Karnatic, while in the Maharashtra one will represent the Urban and two the Rural interests. That any defects in the popular election, such as the representation of minorities and Native States to be provided for, should be remedied by Government in making their nominations. We beg to remain, &c."

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—"That, in the opinion of this Conference, the recent orders of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission are highly unsatisfactory and disappointing, in as much as—(a) The posts taken from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised service if the scheme of the Commission had been carried out in its entirety, whereas under the present orders of Government they remain isolated and unconnected posts, to which

appointments can be made only under the Statute of 1870: (b) the quality and number of the posts proposed to be taken out from the schedule by the Government of India are inferior to those recommended by the Public Service Commission: (c) and the incorporation of the Statutory Civilians into the provincial Service is extremely unfair, and aggravates the injustice already done to these officers by the decision of Government that their appointments are to special posts only. And this Conference records with regret that on the whole the recent orders of Government put the natives of this Country practically into a worse position than they were in before the appointment of the Commission."

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—"That under the existing condition of this country, the promotion of higher education should be accepted as a primary duty of Government. That the policy of withdrawing from the direct control and management of higher education which is being pursued is injudicious, impolitic, and premature and that in this Presidency at least, where the State is the largest landlord, it is the duty of Government to spend a far larger proportion of public revenue for educational purposes than is now done."

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—"That this Conference is of opinion that the recent enhancement of Government assessments carried out under the revision survey settlement, is burdensome, and is calculated to retard the improvement of the *ryot*; and that this enhancement of assessment, as carried out in the Deyghad Taluka, of the Ratnagherry District, has the effect of seriously injuring the private rights of property in that Taluka."

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—"That this Conference heartily thanks Government for their recent resolution on the subject of the mitigation of the hardship of the administration of the Forest Department, and trusts that Government may see their way to remedy the state of things described in last year's resolution of the Conference, regarding concessions as to grazing and ownership of trees in occupied warkas lands."

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—"That this Conference generally approves of the remarks of the Commission, known as the Deccan Relief Act Commission, with reference to the system under which revenue is collected, and in particular begs respectfully to press on the attention of Government, the recommendation of the Commission about relaxing the rigidity of the collection of revenue by granting timely and more frequent remissions: (2) in fixing more convenient times of instalments; and (3) advocating a liberal system of Government loans at further reduced rates of interest; but the Conference regrets that the Commission is not in favour of the conciliation and voluntary arbitration systems, which are in themselves ancient institutions of this country; and which, besides being an educative step, have proved practically useful."

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—"That as one of the main objects of the extension of local Self-government was to educate people and to develop or create, if need be, the capacity of self-help, it is desirable that direct Government control should not be exercised as frequently as now; that some measure should be devised by which the Municipalities, or groups of Municipalities, may vest executive power and responsibility in a single executive officer on somewhat similar lines to those laid down in the Municipal Institution of the city of Bombay."

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—"That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of previous years on the subjects to salt, abkari, police, and village sanitation, and prays that Government be pleased to give effect to the recommendations contained therein at an early date."

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—"That the next Provincial Conference be held in Bombay or Gujrat to be settled hereafter, and that Messrs. Watcha, Tilak and Setalvad be appointed Secretaries."

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—"That this Conference sincerely thanks the Committee of the Town Hall and Deccan Club for the assistance they were pleased to give to the gathering of this year's Conference."

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—"That this Conference heartily and sincerely thanks the Honourable Mr. Perozshah M. Mehta, for having ably presided at this Conference."

REPORT
OF
SEVENTH
Provincial Conference,

HELD AT
BOMBAY.

On 2nd, 3rd, and 4th November

1894.

Bombay :
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1895.

The capabilities of India can never be fully developed by a process of perpetual dry-nursing. Our pupils, without being released from tuition or allowed to run riot out of bounds, must be allowed to grow, to use their limbs and faculties, and to exercise the arts and accomplishments that we may be proud of having taught them. And as they prove themselves able and willing to carry on the good work which we have planned and initiated, we may, with great relief and advantage to our own overstrained establishments, enlarge their bounds and place more confidence in them. (MAJOR EVANS BELL.)

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INTRODUCTION.

“ A candid exposition of native feeling and an occasional discussion of native claims would be of the greatest advantage and assistance to our rulers. The centralised despotisms of Europe are worshipped by officials because the views and commands of the Sovereign and his Ministers are in ordinary times carried out with promptness and effect ; but we know how liable they are to tremendous convulsions because they trust to physical force and ignore and disregard the feelings of the middle class, the educated minority, the living and active elements of the nation. But what should we think of a Government which habitually ignores and disregards the views and feelings of an overwhelming-majority ! Has not the British Government of India sometimes fallen into that danger ? Nothing could so effectually avert that danger, nothing would invigorate the Government so much as a real working opposition both within and without the Council Chamber ; it would at once enlighten and enliven the proceedings of the Council, add force and currency to its enactments and give weight to the decisions of the Executive Government.

*“ We have done a great deal for the people of India
We have shewn them a government of law and order, of rights and principles. We cannot stop here ; we must allow them to touch, to handle, to taste and to enjoy all those glorious fruits of British civilisation which we have taught them to understand and to appreciate. We cannot give and withhold at the same time. We must continue to show the way in reform and reconstruction ; we must always confer and never concede ; so long as the British Government keeps moderately in advance of native opinion and native capacity, it will preserve the moral support of the influential classes, without which peace and good order will for ever be precarious, and physical force will be a doubtful and discreditable safeguard.”—MAJOR EVANS BELL.*

It is a matter of sincere gratification to all lovers of progress and reform that, closely following in the wake of the Indian National Congress, their parent, Conferences in all the important centres of the Empire are becoming regular annual institutions, abiding in their character and far-reaching in their effects. They are fast taking deep root in Bengal, in Madras, and in Bombay. Their yearly meetings, be they in the capitals of the different Presidencies and Provinces or elsewhere, are slowly educating the people, enlarging the sphere of their utility, and generally influencing the country for good. Governors and governed are alike benefited by the healthy criticism pronounced at these unconventional conventions, representing the most cultured, the most intellectual, and the most progressive in the communities. The interests advocated at a Congress or a Conference are the interests of the people at large, which, it is superfluous to observe, are identical with those of the State. They are fundamentally wrong who would feign attribute such advocacy to a spirit of hostility to Government. Yet this is the fallacy in which those who look askance at these popular movements mostly indulge. The sooner such persons avoid the committal of such a fallacy and honestly strive to understand the true aim and object of Congresses and Conferences, the better for themselves. They are the real enemies of the country who would neither care to study that aim and object nor take pains to correct their erroneous impressions and ~~and~~ deep-rooted prejudices. It is always difficult to convince those who are determined not to be convinced at all. Congresses and Conferences, however, will not cease to carry on their noble and legitimate mission on their account. Any good work for the benefit of the human race never lags behind for such. . So long as a community, be it low or be it high in civilisation and in enlightenment, thinks what is and what is not good for its onward progress, and takes measures accordingly, no good

work is ever stopped. Obstructions there may be. But they must be overcome. The rivulet, before it swells into a river and reaches the ocean, meets with no little obstruction. All the same its progress is never retarded, albeit that it may be slow. Thus it is that Congresses and Conferences are steadily moving forward. They move slowly, but with all the force and strength of the Alpine avalanche. In the fulness of time posterity will reap the reward of the labour, the self-sacrifice, and the patriotism of those who are now instrumental in advancing them stage by stage.

Already the Conference in this Presidency has become a power for good and an influence to count with by the authorities. The reports of the six previous Conferences are a tangible evidence of the solid and useful work they have done. They are a creditable testimony to the ability, intelligence, and sound judgment of those who have taken a part in them. But if the previous Conferences have been a success, it may be unhesitatingly observed that the Seventh, which was held in Bombay in November last, was a decided success, surpassing, as it did, all in the number of practical problems of the administration on which it deliberated—and deliberated with care and accuracy of facts. The first five had their sittings in Poona, but the Sixth made a new departure by holding its meeting in the ancient and historical capital of Gujerat, thus rousing the dormancy of that part of the Presidency and bringing it in a line with the more advanced centres. The object-lesson learned by Ahmedabad can never be forgotten, while the value of the education imported by the Conference there cannot be gainsaid.

The Conference at Bombay also took a new departure. For the first time a praiseworthy effort was made to review the principal events of the Administration and criticise the shortcomings of its different departments. In this respect it may be said without hesitation that the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik, most successfully endeavoured to carry into practical effect the principal function of the Provincial Conference. In the elaborate address which he delivered thereat, he may be said to have run the gamut, as it were, of the entire administrative organ. No important topic of imperial or provincial concern, on which Native public opinion had pronounced itself, was omitted from his elaborate and comprehensive survey. The closure of the mints and the mischievous consequences which followed in its train were as graphically passed in review order as the disastrous effects of the iniquitous exchange compensation allowance which necessitated additional new taxation in the shape of import duties on foreign goods save cotton fabrics. The injustice of the exclusion* of the latter from the tariff schedule, to please Manchester, was as much criticised as the financial iniquity of laying the whole burden of the appalling military expenditure of 23 crores on the shoulders of this overtaxed and helpless country. Neither did he omit to exclude from his purview the healthy criticism of Sir David Barbour, our late Finance Minister, on the utterly irresponsible and uncontrolled character of Indian Finance, nor the valuable contribution of his predecessor in office, Sir Auckland Colvin, to the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* (October 1894) supporting those views and confirming the contention of the Bombay Presidency Association and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, that military

* It must be said that since the address was delivered the iniquity has been removed by the inclusion of the cotton fabrics in the Tariff.

expenditure, and not exchange, as has been studiously and persistently declared by the Finance Department, was the *principal* factor of the chronic embarrassment of the Indian exchequer. Then, referring to matters of moment in the Presidency, Mr. Javerilal reviewed at considerable length, and with much vigour, how interpellations in the local Legislative Council were resented, without any reasonable ground by the members of the Executive Government; how evasive, vague, and even misleading in some instances, were the replies of the different bureaux; how the rules of debate were strained in order to put closure on the perfectly legitimate strictures arising out of facts connected with the provincial budget; and how woefully wanting in imperial and provincial budget-making was financial statesmanship. Referring to interpellations, the President readily acknowledged that "in spite of these drawbacks there can be no doubt whatever of the fact that the privilege was most valuable. It is a tolerably wholesome check on official vagaries and acts as a powerful corrective against maladministration and favouritism. The knowledge that an unfair act on the part of the Administration, either in the districts or at head-quarters, will be dragged into the light of day cannot but operate as a powerful antidote against abuses on an official-ridden country like India, with public opinion not so strong or keen as one might expect." It is to be hoped that, with the growing influence of the Native Press and keener sense of public opinion, interpellations will fulfil the object Parliament had in view. And as to the replies, much, no doubt, will depend on the growing spirit of tolerance or non-official criticism and progress of broad and liberal ideas which the Executive may display. For in reality the independent non-official element in the Legislative Councils of the Empire represents, to take some of the words quoted at the head of this introduction, the loyal "working opposition," so to say, of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. Interpellations alone can invigorate listless administrations, deaf to enlightened public opinion; enliven the proceedings of these deliberative assemblies; "add force and currency to their enactments; and give weight to the decisions" of the Executive authorities. As to financial statesmanship, it is a notorious fact, and none gave it greater publicity than the late Mr. Robert Knight, that Bayard of Indian journalism, the like of whom India may never witness for another century, that it is woefully wanting. In its place we have mere superior book-keeping. Finance Ministers are more than superior book-keepers of State. But it is one thing to keep a set of accounts and another thing to manage the finances of a vast empire like India which now boasts of a gross revenue well nigh approaching 100 crores of rupees. As the President justly observed, "It is much to be feared that a systematic study of the principles on which public finance should be practically carried out is almost non-existent in India. Principles are often cast to the winds where increase of revenue is the only consideration. Political economy is often not in violent conflict with proposed remedial financial measures. But, while it may have to wait for financial statesmanship, it is to be earnestly hoped that the provincial budget-maker will carry out the practical suggestion of the President, namely, prepare an Explanatory Memorandum Note which, like the Parliamentary one annually issued in May, will give full detailed explanations as to increases or decreases in major and minor items on both sides of the Provincial Financial Statement. The Note would prove, not only of great service to honourable members discussing the annual budget, but also of economic time and energy

which might be thus concentrated on something equally important and interesting to the welfare of the Presidency. At any rate let us hope that the suggestion will not be evaded under the stock plea the public has grown sick of hearing, namely, that it may be "prejudicial to public interests," whatever may be meant by that hollow phrase.

Mr. Javerilal then passed on to the proposed rules for the new Provincial Service which Professor Gokhle, the principal mover of the Resolution on it, characterised as "ridiculous." As at present drafted they are so retrograde as to prove detrimental to the efficiency of that Service and liable to bring it into public contempt—a consummation which may, perhaps, be secretly wished for by the authorities, but which the public should strain every nerve to avert. The observations on this subject will be found most instructive as well as those on the operations of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, which has now undergone considerable amendment in the Supreme Legislative Council under the guidance of its nurse, the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner. But, however tinker and amend, amend and tinker, as you may, enactments of this grave character, it is impossible for us to conceal the fact, pointed out so pertinently by the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, during the debate on the first reading of the amending Bill. He observed that amendments of the character were simply palliatives that did not touch the root of the impoverishment of the Deccan peasantry. Not that the Government was neglectful of their condition; but still no broad attempt was as yet made to grapple to a reasonable extent with this appalling agrarian problem—a problem which has existed for years past, and is still causing, the gravest anxiety to the Government, and which is full of portent, if not handled in a statesmanlike way very soon. Compatible with the resources of the State.

Forest grievances, to which the attention of the Government has often been drawn, were next referred to. In dealing with these, Mr. Javerilal briefly referred to the dissatisfaction caused to the agriculturists by reason of the harsh operation of the rules under the Forest Act, and expressed the hope that the new resolution recently published on the subject of grazing of cattle and the reservation of forests for certain agricultural operations may lead to the removal of that dissatisfaction. He eulogised the statesmanlike efforts of the Earl of Elgin in the matter and the sympathy His Excellency had so far displayed towards the agriculturists. After referring to the State efforts in matters of high education, the deplorable riots which have left such a black escutcheon on the administration of Lord Harris, and the imperative necessity of the Government maintaining unswervingly the principles of the gracious proclamation of the Queen which are "the Charter of the liberties of the princes and the people of India," he brought his elaborate address to a close, which fully occupied an hour and a half in delivery.

The Subjects Committee having been nominated, the Conference adjourned its sittings till the next day in the afternoon. Fully four hours were devoted to the consideration of the following important resolutions:—

- (1) Land Revenue, Survey Settlements, and iniquity of enhanced assessments in certain parts of the Presidency, notably in Devghad, Alibag, and Pen.
- (2) Provincial Service Rules.
- (3) Legislative Councils, distribution of seats, interpellations and discussion of the Provincial Budget.

Concerning the First resolution, it may be unhesitatingly observed that on no previous occasion was the subject-matter thereof debated at such length, with such marked ability, force of statistics, and arguments as at the Seventh Conference. The question of survey settlements and revenue enhancements was threshed out in a way which left very little to be desired, bearing in mind the extremely limited time allowed to the mover and the seconder of the resolution and to its supporters. The reader must be referred to the resolution itself for its full context which almost occupies a page. It was divided into four sections, whereof the first treated of the tendency of Survey officers to tax cultivators' improvements in spite of the restrictions placed by the Governments of Sir Philip Wodehouse and Lord Reay. The second complained of the arbitrary ruling of Government in reference to the settlements in both of the reports of the Revenue officers. The third grievously complained of over-assessment where such was not warranted, especially in the Konkan. The last referred to the specific grievance of the Devghad taluka, where the Survey officers have settled the assessment at a rate higher than what the owners of land are able to recover from their tenants under the Khote tenure. In fact, it is virtually a confiscation of the prescriptive rights of the Khotes who are thus being ruined. The facts to which each speaker to the resolution referred were not only formidable but convincing—specially by reason of each of them having been personally conversant with the matters complained of. Whether it was the Hon'ble Mr. Natu or Mr. Maneksha J. Talyarkhan who spoke, or the redoubtable and ever accurate Mr. Gharat, or Messrs. Vithul Mahadeo, Gunesh Hari Devarkar or Budhap Mokul, they all spoke from their intimate knowledge and experience. Now, in his speech at the Byculla Club dinner on the 14th February, Lord Harris took credit for his general policy in the matter of Land Revenue Settlements and Assessments, that on the whole there was no cause for serious complaint, inasmuch as the Government relied on the accuracy of its Revenue and Survey officers. That is just where the Government grievously errs. Mr. Gharat, in his subsequent letters to the English dailies, has given a complete rejoinder to his Lordship's asseverations. It is a fact that Government refuses to hear appeals from those having a legitimate and substantial grievance. It often has refused to hear them on the ground of lateness after having taken care to give the briefest possible notice of increased assessment—so brief indeed that it was impossible for a class of ignorant men, dependent on others to put their case before the proper authorities, could prepare appeals and present them in time. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that the authorities apparently seem to be loth to hear such appeals at all. It is no wonder that, injustice of this nature rankles in the hearts of the complainants leading to sullen dissatisfaction. What, for instance, could be more oppressive than the enhancements in Alibag and Pen talukas, to which various speakers referred—enhancements ranging from 400 to 200 per cent. In one case it was pointed out by Mr. Mahdeo that it had reached 1,000 per cent., the taluka being Tanoapen. From the lists of the revised rates quoted by Mr. Mahdeo, it would be seen that Alibag taluka has had its assessment enhanced by Rs. 62,092-13-5 over that of the previous settlements! Similarly the assessments in Pen were increased by Rs. 46,037. And what is the commentary on these. Let it be stated in Mr. Madhev's own words: "Hundreds of people appealed to Government after the announcement of the revised rates, but they have received no reply as yet." It would indeed be tedious to recount all the tales of woe and

injustice to which the speakers referred. The primary duty of the Government is to see whether the settlements are made in obedience to the existing rules and regulations, and secondly, to give a patient hearing to those who may have appealed. That duty, it is a matter of regret to have to say, is never discharged, the Government blindly relying on the reports of its own officers. The fact is that there is no fixed and definite principle on which these surveys are made and the assessments raised. It all depends on the individual whim or caprice of the officer surveying, or the revenue official assessing the land, irrespective of all other considerations save that of bringing additional grist to the State mill. From the point of view of the official it is no doubt the very perfection of the system. It may mean promotion and decoration. As they allege in reference to police officers that there is no promotion without conviction, so here, too, it may be that there is no promotion without enhancements. It may be deplorable, but nevertheless it is true, that, so far as land revenue is concerned, there are no trustworthy or ascertained facts on which the Government could authoritatively go. And yet they talk of these systems as being as perfect as a human Government may make it! It may not, however, be un-instructive in this place to quote the late Sir Louis Malet's opinion on the point. "If there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. *There is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts.* I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us. *Now I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles.*" Is not this a satire on the policy of land revenue pursued by the various administrations in India? And is it surprising if holders of land bitterly complain of oppressive enhancements and arbitrary settlements? There is another pertinent observation of Sir Louis Malet with regard to them which is worth reproduction: "The amount of produce thus diverted (meaning the net produce of the soil) 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 with the prescribed limits, is uncertain, varying with the accidents of seasons, with the character of cultivators, and with the judgment and knowledge of the Settlement service." And what is the effect of this haphazard system—a system without principle and without any approach to ascertained facts? This only: "A marked absence of adequate accumulation of capital upon the soil, and (as a consequence) of any sufficient appropriation of such capital to purposes of agricultural improvements, deficiency of stocks, of manures, of roads, of tanks, often of seeds and implements." Is not this picture faithful and true to life even to-day? In this connection it has been dinned into our ears in season and out of season that the State dues are light as compared to what landholders paid to the Mogul Emperors. It is needful in this place to give a rejoinder to this plausible statement. And it shall be given in the words of a British official himself—no other than the Hon'ble Mr. J. Cotton, now Secretary to the Government of Bengal. In his "New India," a work which every enlightened Indian should read, mark, and inwardly digest, he observes: "Our Mogul predecessors were content to levy the state demand by simple processes which had grown imperceptibly with the administra-

tion and were sanctioned by immense usage. The harshness and cruelty of the Mogul tax-gatherers, on which we are too prone to dwell, were tempered by the contingency of migration which effectually acted as a check upon oppressive landlords. The rapacity of Oriental despotism was restrained by the self-interest of those who were employed on the assessment and collection of taxes." But it is of no use further burdening this Introduction with observations of authority on authority as to the ill-advised and mischievous system of periodically exacting increased land revenue from a peasantry far from prosperous and a considerable portion of whom are the subject of constant anxiety to the State. Sufficient it is to conclude this part of the Conference topic with Mr. Cotton's remarkable pronouncement: "The ryots cry aloud for bread, and we have given them a volume of new laws to comfort them. The statute book grows exceedingly. From an object of wonder it has become an object of suspicion and distrust."

Coming to the Second resolution on the rules regarding the new Provincial Service, it may be truly observed that no delegate could have done greater justice to the subject than Professor G. K. Gokhle of Poona. He brought to bear upon it the result of his own wide reading and knowledge. The official literature is not ample. It is, besides, obscure. And it bespeaks not a little to his credit that he grappled the difficult subject with a grasp and a mastery of details which are so essential to the rising politician intent on serving his country. It is of no use tracing the origin of the Provincial Service which must be read in the blue book regarding the Public Service Commission and the correspondence and despatches of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. But it may be pointed out here why the proposed rules are so unsatisfactory. Firstly, because the recruitment to the Provincial Service was originally intended to be by open competition. The Government, however, has relegated the competitive principle to a subordinate position. The competitive principle, it should be remembered, was demanded because it was understood that the men entering the Service would, in the ordinary course, rise to become Collectors and Sessions Judges, and be placed on a footing of equality with those who had passed the Covenanted Civil Service examination. But it would seem as if the object of the Government were to stamp this Service as a distinctly inferior service. Hence the following "ridiculous" tests have been proposed. In the words of the proposer of the Resolution, "on the literary side they should pass in one of the vernaculars of the Presidency and should have sufficient knowledge of English to write and understand official reports (!); on the mathematical side they are to pass in arithmetic up to simple interest, algebra up to simple equations, and the first two books of Euclid (!!); on the historical side they are to read a brief history of England and a brief history of India, and in addition they are to choose one optional subject" (!!!). The test is even inferior to the Matriculation standard of our University! It is to be hoped that after the healthy criticism passed by the Conference and the Press—English and Vernacular—the Government will reconsider the rules and endeavour to prescribe a standard which shall in no way be considered inferior to the standard under which Civilians pass their examinations in London.

Mr. Wacha moved the Third resolution, which was divided into two parts, the first reaffirming all that had been stated at the Ahmedabad Conference touching the

unfair distribution of the eight elective seats at the Legislative Council and the serious and unfortunate omission of the Central division from enfranchisement, while the second part related to the unsatisfactory manner of the replies by the Executive at the August sittings of the Legislative Council to the interpellations of non-official members, and the arbitrary manner in which the President in Council endeavoured to stifle the voice of the representatives of the people on grave questions of provincial finance, specially land revenue. The subject may be said to have been completely threshed out, and it is of no use encumbering these pages with a reiteration of the arguments with which the delegates and the public are now so familiar. Let us hope that the criticism has been taken by the Government in good part, and that with the change of a more sympathetic and liberal-minded ruler at the head of the Administration, the elect of the people in the Council may not have to complain again of closure and arbitrary rulings, and that a more generous spirit will be shown in the redistribution of seats whenever it comes to be again arranged. Meanwhile the exhaustive criticisms of the various speakers to this important resolution will, it is presumed, be read with profit. With the third resolution the proceedings of the Conference on the second day came to be adjourned. But, inasmuch as three more important resolutions remained to be closely discussed, the third day's sittings were commenced early in the morning of Sunday, the 4th November, at 8-30.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, whose legislative combats have made him not an inconspicuous figure on public platforms, opened the third day's proceedings by moving the Fourth or Omnibus resolution. This *olla podrida* of resolutions passed at previous Conferences seems to be relished the more stuff there is mixed in it. At any rate, judging from the notice it drew from a variety of speakers on a variety of subjects, it is clear that the omnibus resolution has lost none of its interest. On the contrary, it seemed to have derived additional freshness from the different points of view presented by each of the speakers. It is a question however, whether at future Conferences some of the resolutions embraced by the omnibus may not be conveniently dropped to make way for new ones of special importance, but which could not, for want of the necessary time, be discussed by themselves. Considering the gravity of such a resolution as the one on the separation of judicial and executive functions, it would have been a public advantage had it been moved separately so as to elicit further fresh discussion. However, it must be said to the credit of the mover that, within the extremely limited time at his disposal, he did ample justice to this particular topic of the day. He pointed out that the necessity of the separation was now recognised, though rather tardily. But the authorities still shelved it on account of its so-called cost. But Mr. Chimanlal gave a pertinent rejoinder to this, which elicited cries of "shame, shame" from the entire audience. He said, "There is money sufficient, gentlemen, to waste on exchange compensation, on gubernatorial tours, durbars, and grand tamashas, but there is no money to carry out this urgent reform." Mr. Mehta in his scheme, submitted at the Ahmedabad Conference, pointed out that the separation could be effected at a very trifling additional cost—that is, by transfer of the magisterial work to the subordinate judges. But for some reason or other the Government has looked askance at it and has evaded giving a categorical answer to the reform so urgently demanded by the entire public. After having given

“one more” instance of the mischief arising from the dual functions as now prevailing, Mr. Chimanlal expressed the hope that this reform would no longer be delayed.

Mr. Wacha then reviewed the question of village sanitation, remarking on the usual characteristic of all bureaucratic governments never to be guided by enlightened public opinion till the march of time and the Nemesis of events forced them to acknowledge the justice of that opinion. Exactly the same thing had happened with regard to the Village Sanitation Act. The Presidency Association and other bodies objected to some of the clauses referring to local cesses and voluntary contributions so called. The last were a misnomer. They were something like the old *Veith* system. “The district officer comes round, calls the men of the village together, and partly by bullying and partly by flattery gets them to consent to pay a contribution. It is then said that such and such a village has given its contribution *voluntarily*, and it is held up in district reports as an example to other villages! But there is something behind in the same way as there is something behind when hole-and-corner meetings are held to promote subscriptions for statues to retiring Governors and others—something behind as in the case of Lord Lansdowne’s statue, about which the poor princes were screwed and screwed till money was wrung out of them.” Mr. Wacha further remarked that “it is always the way with the bureaucracy. They will not believe what we tell them until they can no longer shut their eyes to the fact. It is just the same with regard to military expenditure.” Referring to the police, he severely criticised the conduct of that force : “The Government are bent upon having a strong police organisation everywhere, which means more money and less efficiency, as has been proved in the cases of Wai, Yeola, and Poona.” The expenditure on police in the Presidency was growing—growing larger per head of the population than in the sister Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. The expenditure had risen from 40 lakhs in 1889 to 56 lakhs in 1893. After referring to the recent abkari policy of the Government and the exposure made by Mr. Dantra in a series of able letters on the Khandesh farm, Mr. Wacha eulogised the forest policy of the Government of India as enunciated in the eleventh and fourteenth paragraphs of its recent resolution, and hoped that the new forest policy will be carried out to the satisfaction of the people in practice. How far, however, this policy for many a year past has been a fruitful source of vexation and hardship to the forest agriculturists as well as to the wealthy owners of private forests, was well depicted in an able speech full of incontrovertible facts by Mr. N. K. Gharat of Alibag, than whom none seems to have understood this question better. He deplored that forest laws had well nigh extinguished the privileges of the people. Nay more. They had been so cruelly strained by those administering them that “even the farmers’ domestic animals are practically deprived of pasture for grazing.” Mr. Dantra, that David of the interests of the consumers of the healthy and innocuous spirit, toddy, against the Goliaths of the rich and powerful interests of the mowra farming monopolists supported the resolution in a lengthened speech, in which he dilated at length with praiseworthy industry on the evils of the farming system. Him followed that thoughtful delegate from Ahmedabad, Mr. Benjamin, who, in a neat speech, denounced the growing drink traffic in his city and descanted on the subject of village sanitation. Mr. Dhamanker of Alibag

went minutely into the particulars of hardship inflicted on agriculturists by certain forest rules. Other speakers also spoke bitterly regarding their operation, which showed how keenly all over the Presidency was felt the iron grip of the Forest officials.

The next resolution referred to the injustice of the Customs authorities towards dealers in the indigenous tobacco industry. Perhaps the best way to give a complete idea of this local grievance would be to quote the resolution. "This Conference is of opinion that (a) offenders against the Tobacco Act should be tried by regularly constituted magisterial tribunals, when they can fully avail themselves of professional assistance, instead of being tried, as at present, before departmental tribunals, where they are denied such assistance; (b) definite and sympathetic rules should be laid down and announced for the transfer of licenses after the decease of license-holders to their heirs and relations who may be solely dependent upon them for maintenance and support; and (c) rules and regulations of the Tobacco Department should, in general, be so worked as to minimise, as far as possible, the existing hardships of country tobacco dealers. The speakers were all experts in the trade and spoke from their personal knowledge of the arbitrary manner in which offences under the Tobacco Act are dealt with. Attention was drawn to their grievances by means of interpellations in the Legislative Council, but the response was of the usual departmental character. Suffice to say that the conduct of those entrusted with the administration of tobacco licenses is open to criticism. And the sooner the Government leaves tobacco offences to be tried by properly-constituted tribunals, instead of by Customs underlings sadly wanting in knowledge of the law, the better.

The Sixth resolution referred to the amendments in the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act and complained that "the chief executive and administrative reforms suggested by the Land Indebtedness Commission in part III of their Report as essential complements to legislative action appear to have received no consideration" at the hands of Government. It further observed that, so long as the above reforms are not carried out and the rigidity of the collection of revenue is not relaxed in favour of the ryots and more credit facilities are not provided, the agrarian problem will remain what it has been hitherto—a source of anxiety to Government and of distress and impoverishment to the ryots. Rao Bahadur Bhide of Poona moved the resolution in a very thoughtful speech full of personal knowledge of the working of the Act. It is indeed a matter of deep regret that though the Act has now been amended, it hardly touches even the fringe of the great question to which the resolution refers. Mr. Mehta pointedly drew the attention of the Government of India to the matter, who have promised to deal with it after having first legislated for the Central Provinces. It remains to be seen when it may fulfil its promise. No doubt the subject is beset with vast difficulty. At the same time, unless the Government is prepared boldly to face the great problem, it is to be feared all attempts at mere palliatives will prove abortive.

The Seventh resolution referred to the iniquity of the Army Medical Service appropriating all appointments in the Medical department not properly appertaining to the Army—specially College professorships—and the expediency of detaching the higher Civil Medical Service from the Military Medical Service. It also dwelt

on the necessity of reorganisation of the Chemical Analyser's department, which was now at sixes and sevens. Dr. Bahadurji, in an eloquent and able speech, expatiated at length on the many anomalies of the Medical Service as at present constituted and the scandals and jobs arising therefrom. The speech is full of valuable information and facts of the highest interest to the enlightened public, and it is to be hoped it would never be allowed to be dropped till the reforms which he properly advocates are granted. Dr. Benjamin ably supported the resolution and fairly advocated the grievances of Hospital Assistants, who are at present most scurvily treated.

Mr. Rustim K. R. Kama moved the Eighth resolution on education in general and higher education in particular. The speech must be read in its entirety in order to comprehend exactly the present attitude of the Local Government in reference to education. It will be found that, even after the elaborate apology made by Lord Harris at the University Convocation on the 13th February, there is a strong case for pegging away at this important question. Dr. Deshmook ably seconded the resolution, excellently supported by Messrs. Bhatt and Javeri.

The remaining resolutions were of a formal character and require no notice.

The President brought the proceedings of the Conference to a close by delivering a short address, which was full of interest. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Government of Bombay, with a statesman of the liberal-mindedness of Lord Sandhurst, nurtured in the traditions of that great Liberal party in whose van may still be considered the Right Honorable William Ewart Gladstone, will endeavour to give to the several resolutions the consideration they deserve and such practical effect to some of them, if not all, bearing in mind that the reforms embraced in them are of a crying character and cannot be allowed to remain unfulfilled for any length of time. In that hope let us bring to a close this Introduction, only reminding those in power and authority to remember, as the late Major Evans Bell shrewdly observed, that "If the Paramount Power is not content to be the head, but will insist upon playing the part of hands and feet and lungs and digestive organs—if every centre of municipal and social life is to be sacked or starved to nourish an official metropolis at Calcutta and another in London—there may for a time be a deceptive appearance of plethora, but the Constitution of the Empire will not be permanently strengthened. There will be constant danger of convulsive fits, if not of a fatal apoplexy."

February 22nd, 1895.

Seventh Provincial Conference,

Held at Bombay on 2nd, 3rd & 4th November 1894.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution I.

I. (a) *That this Conference strongly deprecates the pronounced tendency of the Survey Department to set at naught the moderating restrictions placed upon excessive enhancements by Sir Philip Wodehouse's Government Resolution of 1874 and the Legislative enactment passed in 1886 by Lord Reay's Government guaranteeing exemption of private improvements.*

(b) *That this Conference notes with regret that during the last five years the Local Government has not been careful in enforcing these wholesome restraints upon the work of the department, and it has in many cases over-ruled the more moderate suggestions of its own revenue officers when they were in conflict with those of the Survey Department.*

(c) *That, as all recent enhancements relate to the revision of original assessment fixed in times of high prices, when the methods and appliances of the department had received their full development, the only two grounds of rough work and low prices on which enhancements were made in the earlier revisions have ceased to be operative, and that it deserves the most serious consideration of Government, whether in the Konkan talukas especially more stringent limitations should not be enforced in regard to all proposals for the enhancements on individual holdings and old village groups, and whether full exemption of varkas cultivation and conversion into rice lands should not as a rule be guaranteed.*

II. *That this Conference again urges upon the attention of Government the injustice of fixing the revenue survey assessments in the Devghad taluka at a rate higher than what the owners of land can recover from their tenants under the Khote Settlement, calculated as it is to practically confiscate Khote rights; and the Conference regrets that no steps have yet been taken for remedying this great evil.*

Resolution II.

That this Conference regards with feelings of dismay and alarm the rules which have been drafted by the Bombay Government to regulate first admission to the recently-constituted Provincial Service inasmuch as these rules are calculated to seriously impair administrative efficiency in the Presidency by reason of (1) the exclusion of the Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service; (2) the prescribing of a ridiculously-low educational test for entrance by competition; and (3) the complete

subordination sought to be effected of the competitive principle to the principle of direct nomination by Government; and that this Conference is emphatically of opinion that the introduction of race or class considerations in the apportionment of posts in the public service is in direct opposition to the pledges given in the matter to the people of this country by Parliament in 1833 and by Her Majesty the Queen and Empress in 1858.

Resolution III.

I. (a) That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective Members twelve out of the total number of twenty-five seats in the Enlarged Provincial Legislative Council.

(b) That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a division as the Central Division, as also of Sind, have been left absolutely unrepresented in the Enlarged Council, while other minor interests, like those of the European mercantile community, have been allowed over-representation.

(c) That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date so to amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matter to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different parts of the Presidency.

II. (a) That this Conference views with regret the unsatisfactory manner in which replies are generally made to questions put by Honourable Members in the local Legislative Council, thus defeating the wholesome object with which the privilege of interpellation has been granted in the Amended Councils Act, 1892.

(b) That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is highly desirable and most expedient in public interests that the rules laid down regarding interpellation under the Amended Councils Act, 1892, should be so modified as to enable Honourable Members to preface their questions by brief explanatory observations.

(c) That this Conference is of opinion that, under the rules of debate prescribed for the Legislative Councils, the Provincial Council is the fittest and the most legitimate place where, on the presentation of the Provincial Budget, could be discussed, with appropriateness and due responsibility, all questions affecting land revenue, excise, salt, assessed taxes, provincial rates, registration and forests, and the administrative policy respectively governing them, so far as that policy is directly or indirectly under the control of the Provincial Government; and that it is highly prejudicial to public interest to curb such debate by interpreting the said rules in an extremely narrow and illiberal spirit.

Resolution IV (Omnibus).

That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of the previous years on the subjects of salt, police, abkari, forests, local self-government, and village sanitation, and separation of judicial and executive functions, but in doing so it expresses its satisfaction at the recent enunciation of the policy of the Government of India in regard to forests, and hopes the spirit of the Resolution will be loyally carried out.

Resolution V.

This Conference is of opinion that (a) offenders against the Tobacco Act should be tried by regularly-constituted magisterial tribunals where they can fully avail themselves of professional assistance, instead of being tried, as at present, before departmental tribunals where they are denied such assistance ; (b) definite and sympathetic rules should be laid down and announced for the transfer of licenses after the decease of license-holders to their heirs and relations who may be solely dependent upon them for maintenance and support ; (c) rules and regulations of the Tobacco Department should, in general, be so worked as to minimise, as far as possible, the existing hardships of country tobacco-dealers.

Resolution VI.

That this Conference notes with concern that, notwithstanding the deliberate expression of opinion on the part of the late Viceroy and of Sir W. Hunter and other authorities, the Government of India contemplates an early amendment of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in very minor particulars only, while the chief executive and administrative reforms suggested by the Land Indebtedness Commission in Part III of their report as essential complements to legislative action appear to have received no consideration. This Conference is of opinion that, as long as these reforms are not carried out and the rigidity of collection of revenue is not relaxed in favour of the ryots, and the high pressure of enhanced assessment is not reduced and more credit facilities are not provided, the agrarian problem will remain, what it has been hitherto, a source of anxiety to Government and of distress and impoverishment to the ryots notwithstanding any amendment of the Relief Act.

Resolution VII.

(a) That, whilst re-affirming its resolution of last year on the subject of medical education and civil medical administration to the effect that, in the interests of medical education, the profession, and the public, and of the several medical departments of the State, no less than of economy, it was time that the higher Civil Medical Service was no longer a branch of the Military Indian Medical Service and with appointments exclusively confined to members of the Military Service and made to suit the convenience of such service, but formed a distinct and independent service by itself in which appointments were thrown open to the general profession and made, on the ground of special merit and training only, to meet the requirements of its various departments of education, science, and sanitation, this Conference is strongly of opinion that the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service, of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants, compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the public service require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open inquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(b) That, whilst this Conference views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to re-organise the Chemical Analyser's Department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistant or, as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on a footing of specialists.

Resolution VIII.

(a) *That this Conference regrets that adequate steps have not yet been taken to carry out the recommendation of the Education Commission to revise the antiquated standards now obtaining in primary schools, and strongly urges upon Government the necessity of introducing in those standards the important subjects of drawing, elementary science, and manual work, and of providing the necessary models, apparatus, and tools for that purpose, and lastly of bringing about a thorough improvement in the syllabuses and methods followed in the Training Colleges, so as to prepare really efficient teachers for conducting the work of primary education in a proper spirit.*

(b) *That this Conference is of opinion that the present agricultural and drawing classes attached to high schools are not fulfilling their purpose adequately, and strongly urges the necessity of framing a systematic grant-in-aid code for encouraging the establishment and maintenance of Science, Art, and Technical Schools by Municipalities and other Local Bodies, on the lines of the South Kensington and City and Guilds of London Technical Institute Regulations. That a Committee, consisting of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal, C.I.E., the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, and Mr. T. K. Gajjar, with the last two gentlemen as Secretaries, be appointed to submit practical proposals for carrying out the above object, and to move Municipalities and other Local Bodies, as well as Native States, to establish Science, Art, and Technical Schools, and formulate standards and courses of instruction suitable to the requirements of each locality and to take all such measures as they may deem necessary for the furtherance of the above object.*

(c) *That this Conference puts on record its satisfaction at steps having been taken by Government to increase the salaries of primary school teachers, but urges that Government will be pleased to carry out this reform without diminishing the present number of primary schools.*

(d) *That this Conference puts on record its sense of gratitude and satisfaction at the declaration made by His Excellency the Governor at Dharwar of the desirability of free primary education in this country, and this Conference trusts that His Excellency will, before the expiry of his term of office, take some measures in the direction of conferring the boon of free primary education on the people of this country as is the case in England under the Education Act of 1891.*

(e) *That this Conference is of opinion that the rules framed by Government under Section 2A of Bombay Act, VI of 1873, should be so revised as (1) to leave the Municipalities at liberty to make primary education in their schools completely free to all, or at least to all that are really unable to pay for it, without any distinction of caste or creed; (2) to allow the Municipalities to fix their own percentages of free studentships and scholarships; (3) to remove all restrictions regarding the distribution of free studentships and scholarships between the various classes, except that preference be given to pupils of backward classes; and (4) to allow the various Municipalities to determine for themselves, subject to the control of local educational officers, what classes other than Mahomedans should, according to local circumstances, be grouped with the backward classes.*

That this Conference is further of opinion that no hard-and-fast restrictions regarding free studentships or scholarships should be laid down in the case of aided schools and especially those aided by Municipalities.

Resolution IX.

That the meeting of the next Provincial Conference be held in Belgaum and that Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. A. M. Dharamsi, the Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natlu, and Mr. Chhatre be the Honorary Secretaries of the next Provincial Conference.

Resolution X.

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Reception Committee, and the Honorary Secretaries.

Resolution XI.

That a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President for his able conduct in the Chair.

JAVERILAL UMIASHANKER YAJNIK,

President.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Seventh Provincial Conference
HELD IN BOMBAY
On the 2nd, 3rd, & 4th November 1894.

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**FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.**

The first meeting of the Seventh Provincial Conference was held on the afternoon of Friday, November 2, in the large hall of the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, Dhobie Talao, Bombay, a large number of delegates\* representing all parts of the Bombay Presidency being present.

\*Vide Appendix A.

At 4 p.m., the time announced for the meeting, Mr. Currimbhoy Ebrahim (Bombay), the Chairman of the Reception Committee, rose and welcomed the assembled delegates as follows in a neat and brief speech :—

GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee I beg to tender to all the delegates of the Seventh Provincial Conference a hearty and sincere welcome. In doing so, I cannot, however, refrain from expressing the feeling which is uppermost in my mind that it would have been a matter of greater satisfaction had the honour of filling the chair I now occupy been conferred by the Committee on a gentleman every way more qualified than myself in the public affairs of this great Presidency. Gentlemen, I have merely taken a silent interest in public affairs, and not being accustomed to public speaking you should not expect from me a long speech. I trust you will, therefore, excuse my shortcomings. But I dare say the hon'ble gentleman who will preside at your deliberations will more than compensate you for my shortcomings by his interesting and instructive address. His known antecedents are a sufficient guarantee of a sober exposition of facts and statements relating to the welfare of the people of this Presidency. Gentlemen, you will have to discuss several important subjects, and I am sure that sensible and practical men as you all are, you will bring to your deliberations that sobriety, soundness of judgment, calmness and moderation which are so necessary in all public discussions. I have no doubt that our rulers who are well intentioned and solicitous of our welfare, will give to the deliberations of this Conference the weight and attention they deserve, and will endeavour to redress our legitimate grievances so far as it may be in their power to do so. Gentlemen, I again bid you a hearty welcome, and tender you on behalf of the Reception Committee our sincere thanks for the honour you have done us. I will now read to you a telegram I have received from the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta (*Cheers*) from Matheran expressing his inability to attend the meeting on account of his indisposition. It is as follows :—“ Say before Conference my sincere regret that ill-health prevents my attending.” (*Cheers.*)

Professor G. K. Gokale (Poona) then rose and said :—

GENTLEMEN,

I beg to propose that the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik be chosen to preside at this the Seventh Provincial Conference. (*Cheers.*) I believe, gentlemen, that it is the usual practice, in making a proposal of this kind, to present to the audience, if not exactly a brief biographical sketch of the President-Elect, yet something very much like it. But Mr. Javerilal is too well known to you. He has been so many years in Bombay—and those years have been years of public usefulness—that it would be simply presumptuous on my part to say anything in support of this nomination. (*Cheers.*) I am sure that the traditions of the Presidential chair will be quite safe in his hands. The first two Conferences were presided

over by the late lamented Mr. Gopalrao Hurry Deshmook ; the third by our venerable friend Raobahdur Mr. Bhide ; the fourth by Mr. Kazi Sahabudin ; the fifth by your own illustrious townsman, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta (*Cheers*) ; and the sixth by another Mahomedan gentleman, no other than our esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Sayani. And with the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal as President for this our Seventh Conference, I am quite sure your feeling will be that we are worthily continuing the series. (*Cheers*.) Mr. Javerilal is one of those men—now getting more and more rare—who works steadily and earnestly for the public good. He is one of those very few men in public life whose work has always been most thorough. It is unnecessary to detain you longer on the subject, and I therefore formally move that the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik be asked to preside on this occasion. (*Cheers*.)

Mr. Budrudin Abdulla Kur (Bombay) said :—In seconding the proposition I endorse all that has been said respecting Mr. Javerilal, who is well known in Bombay as a public spirited citizen, and a champion of the public cause. I am sure you will elect him unanimously. (*Cheers*.)

The motion was carried by acclamation.

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal, having taken the chair amidst loud applause, delivered the following address:—

GENTLEMEN,

Utility of Conference.

This is the Seventh Conference at which we are met for an interchange of views on questions of provincial interest. What these questions are will be placed before you later on. Your resolutions will indicate the importance you attach to them. But whatever interest your resolutions may possess for the general public, and whatever weight they may carry, one thing is certain, and that is that the value of such a Conference as this is not to be measured so much by its Resolutions as by the opportunities it gives to delegates from different parts of this Presidency of comparing notes and exchanging ideas on matters affecting our common welfare. The advantage of looking at the same questions from new and different standpoints, as they arise from time to time, is that it dissipates many prejudices and preconceived ideas and enables us to arrive at a definite opinion on a given question on a basis of ascertained facts—an opinion which gathers strength as it commands an increasing volume of assent among us. Moreover, a Conference like this promotes social intercourse and acts as a bond of union between intelligent men residing in different parts of the Presidency and leads to the formation of acquaintances and friendships in a way which no epistolary correspondence can secure. It seems to me, gentlemen, that, in selecting me for the honor of presiding over your deliberations on this occasion, you have in a sense departed from the usual practice, which is to appoint to the office of President of the Conference held at a certain centre a gentleman residing in another centre. But, while this departure does me high honor and adds to my sense of thankfulness, it also enhances the sense of responsibility, to which I feel myself unequal. I feel strongly my own unworthiness to take up a position which has been filled by far superior men. I say this in no spirit of false humility. The attitude of my life all along has been that of a learner, not teacher. Last year, the Conference met at Ahmedabad, the ancient and historical capital of Gujarat, under the presidency of my learned and eloquent friend, the Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani. The year before it assembled at Poona, that recognized centre of learning and intellectual activity, under the guidance of our distinguished citizen and brilliant colleague, the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta. And now, gentlemen, in welcoming you to Bombay, we welcome you to a City where the conditions of public life are most healthy, and where public affairs are discussed with a tolerance and freedom which have acquired for it a reputation for sobriety of which we may all

Bombay's welcome to Delegates.

be proud. And I am quite sure your deliberations of many knotty points at this Conference will be conducted in the same traditional spirit of tolerance, fairness, and moderation, and characterised by a tone worthy of the dignity of our provincial assembly. At no time, perhaps, do public questions in this Presidency, or all over the Empire, demand more serious attention on the part of the rulers and the ruled than at the present moment. We are, no doubt, passing through critical times, and it therefore behoves us to see how we give expression to our inmost thoughts and feelings. Serenity and sobriety are the first essentials at this juncture, and no place is, I am convinced, more distinguished for a calm and dispassionate discussion than Bombay. For, what is Bombay? Bombay is indeed a cosmopolitan City in every sense of the word. It is the centre of many-sided interests and activities, where all the forces—material, intellectual, and moral—conspire to raise it from the level of a semi-oriental city to the pinnacle of an advanced city of the West. It enjoys the position of being the second City in the Empire over which, it is justly said, the sun never sets. It is the gateway between the civilization of the East and the West. More than half the sea-borne trade of all India passes through her port. The two great trunk lines of railway, which draw the produce of the interior of central, southern, and western India to our docks, and carry back goods and merchandize to the remotest corners of the country, have their terminal points here. So closely is Bombay brought into contact with the capital cities of the world that nothing of importance passes on the Stock Exchange of London or the bourse of Paris which does not make its effects felt in the money market of Bombay. Bombay has outstripped Calcutta in the total value of her export and import trade. Our banks and merchants' firms, our princely shroffs and traders, our docks and harbour, our joint-stock institutions, industrial and others, our palatial public buildings, our hospitals and other charitable edifices, and, last, though not the least, our Municipal Corporation, Chamber of Commerce, Mill-owners' and Piece-goods Dealers' Associations—all these are so many evidences of our peaceful commercial pursuits. But the very circumstance of the city being the most thriving port of India, and the gateway of all Asia, has its disadvantages. For instance, the city has not been, and may never be, entirely free from foreign elements of turbulence and even of danger. The *bud-mash* classes are largely mixed up with the peaceful population. Though ordinarily controllable by the City Police, they on occasions have been known to set the law at defiance. The peace of the city is sometimes disturbed by these classes as it unfortunately was last year. Barring these occasional outbursts, one may fairly say that the attitude of the people of Bombay at large is uniformly opposed to all that savours of disorder; while the governing instincts of self-interest and self-preservation and of respect for the common good among the upper classes are, on account of their infinite inter-relations, overpowering. Again, the controlling influences of the press are potent enough to enable our citizens to assert their usual good sense and spirit of tolerance. Let us all hope that the combined influence of these well-ordered forces may prevent a repetition of the deplorable scenes of August 1893. (*Hear, hear.*)

Commercial interests being a prominent feature of Bombay life, I trust you will permit me, before I proceed to deal with the burning questions affecting our provincial welfare, to dwell for a few minutes on two legislative measures of the Imperial Government, which were introduced into the country last year. Though the closure of the mints has been in operation for the last sixteen months, it is notorious that the result so far is a dismal failure and a serious disappointment to its most enthusiastic supporters. The most to suffer by this legislative tampering with the silver currency of the country is Bombay. The Mill industry was at one stroke

Critical times and Bombay's sobriety.

The commerce and institutions of Bombay.

Imperial measures—Closure of Mint and its mischievous effects.



crippled, and it has not yet completely recovered from the blow. It is true that our total Indian exports to gold-using countries amount to three-fourths of the total volume of our trade, and to silver-using countries only one-fourth; but the balance of the one-fourth trade has hitherto been, to a considerable extent, our salvation. The heavy shrinkage of trade with the silver-using countries, especially China, to which are exported yarns and opium, valued at 16 crores of Rupees, at once told on the sale of Council Bills; while the elements of bank and bazar speculations alike seriously aggravated the situation and embarrassed the Indian treasury by the abnormal imports of silver subsequent to, and in spite of, the closure. This silver served for some time to supply the place of Council Bills, which the Secretary of State refused to sell below a fixed minimum amount. Exchange, which had gone up at one time to 16*d.*, immediately after the closure soon dropped and remained steady as long as the Secretary of State did not test the market, but the drop set in the moment he let go the Bills for what they might fetch. During this period the imports of goods from England proceeded on an unprecedented scale. Under the altered conditions of trade in Bombay, the import trade in cotton and other goods is carried on chiefly by means of indents or orders sent by our dealers through European houses, and where the rate of exchange has not been settled on advices of purchase, but sterling bills drawn against goods have to be paid for in rupees on arrival of goods at the exchange of the day, the transactions have proved disastrous. Mr. O'Connor's returns of the exports of opium and cotton yarns and other goods during the last sixteen months to silver-using countries show how terribly the balance has turned out against us. Doubtless the trade is coming round and adjusting itself to the new conditions, but not without having inflicted most serious disasters, of which it would not be surprising to hear that the largest share has fallen to the lot of Bombay.

Unfairness of exemption of foreign Cotton fabrics from Import Duty.

The other measure of Imperial finances which has seriously affected our interests is the invidious distinction made in exempting cotton goods from the 5 per cent. import duty on general merchandise. Against this unfairness India made a protest from one end of the country to the other—a protest loud enough to be heard by any responsible body of statesmen. The protest has proved unavailing. Lancashire's vote has proved too powerful, however stoutly Mr. Fowler may repudiate the suggestion. The British Ministry has shown that, where party interests are concerned, India's interests may go to the wall. Even the declarations of statesmen responsible for the government of the country carry no weight. "There is," remarks Lord Northbrook, "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." Nowhere is the unfairness of the levy felt more than in the taxing of raw materials for the purpose of dyeing goods. Dyed goods imported into India are free from duty, while the raw materials imported here for dyeing goods are subject to a 5 per cent. duty. With what principle of political economy is such levy consistent? But principles are put into pockets where party interests are concerned. As our friend, Mr. Hume, told us in his parting words in March last—told us very candidly—the professional politicians—Whig or Tory—who mostly compose our Ministries, however virtuous, honest, and upright in private life, "are in public life the veriest humbugs, talking like angels but ready even to do the devil's work—to sacrifice principle to party, and justice to those who are meek and politically dumb, as India is, to the exigencies of party political warfare." (*Hear, hear.*) They will bring in and carry out a measure

that they believe to be wrong merely to cut the ground from under their adversaries' feet. The time is fast drawing near to test the truth of what Mr. Hume says. The question of re-imposing duties on cotton yarns and goods hitherto excluded must be re-considered to meet the deficit, and the proposal to levy a countervailing excise duty on Indian mills which was shunted off for the moment must be faced. Believing Mr. Hume to be correct in his statement of ministerial tactics, I shall not be surprised if the re-imposition of cotton duty is synchronously accompanied by the imposition of an excise duty on our own manufactures. We have been told that Mr. Westland's visit to Bombay in July last satisfied him that practically no competition exists between Indian mills and the Lancashire factories. The goods which Bombay and Manchester turn out are of different counts and finenesses. They vary in quality and price and are consumed by a totally different class of people. You may ask, "Is the game worth the candle? Are Government prepared to face the enormous unpopularity which a measure, so manifestly unfair, is likely to evoke from one end of India to the other? Will Manchester really benefit by this policy, or will she not, on the contrary, enrich a third party, Japan, and pour into her depleted treasury what she cannot obtain for herself? What becomes, then, of the boast that in all financial questions the true interest of the people of India is the only consideration which the Government of India has to regard?" And here I may say at once, what I believe to be the case, that the people of India did not and do not desire the re-imposition of cotton duties or any import duties at all if the condition of Indian finance can dispense with it. And if the powerful influence of Manchester could be brought to bear upon the reduction of the overgrown military and civil expenditure so as to dispense with the necessity of extra taxation, we have no particular wish to see them levied again. (*Hear, hear.*)

In connection with the question of military expenditure it is pretty well known in well-informed circles that, when in office, Sir David Barbour fought with might and main against its perilous growth, but he was over-ruled. Removed from the shackles of office, he is now free to tell us, without any breach of official secrecy, how under the present system a Finance Minister is utterly impotent to control growing expenditure. In a paper on the Finances of India read in May last at a meeting of the Bi-metallic League he gives us a bit of his mind on the working of the system under the present constitution of the Government of India, and tersely summarises the whole situation in the following words:—  
 "An Eastern country governed in accordance with expensive Western ideas; an immense and poor population; a narrow margin of possible additional taxation; claims for additional expenditure greatly in excess of possible additional revenue; a constant tendency for expenditure to outgrow revenue; a system of government in India favourable to the increase, and unfavourable to reduction, of expenditure; no financial control by intelligent and well-informed public opinion either in India or in England; an insufficient check on expenditure in India; a remote and imperfect control exercised from England; a revenue specially liable to fluctuations from year to year; large and growing foreign payments." Recently, Sir Auckland Colvin, the predecessor of Sir David Barbour, has confirmed the protest of Sir David Barbour in an interesting article in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century* entitled "The Perilous Growth of Indian State Expenditure," and with rare financial insight into the working of the great departments in India he shows in the clearest manner what has been the increase in revenue and expenditure of India during the past ten years (1883-84 to 1892-93).

Proposed Excise duty and its unpopularity.

Military Expenditure—Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin's views.

The conclusion he comes to is that "the root of our financial difficulties is the insufficient check exercised, under the constitution of its government, by the Financial Department." It would appear that the Finance member is but one of six or seven members of Council, of whom every one, except the Viceroy and himself, is irresponsible for financial equilibrium and is directly interested in spending. Two members of Council are military men, so the military vote in Council is double that of any other department. "There is no control on expenditure from outside the Government, no fear of being turned out over an unpopular or extravagant policy." The fact is that these members of a paid bureaucracy have only a *present* interest in their work. They generally do not think of the future or of far-reaching policies as statesmen in England do. English statesmen, we are told, will feel the effects of their policy for life, and it will be felt by their children. The interest of Indian officials in India lasts only as long as they are in harness. The *London Spectator*, which is now devoting its energies to spreading sensational scares like that about the significance of tree-smearing, expressed robust common sense when it said a few short years ago: "Alone among the great states of the world, the Indian Empire is administered by men who have no interest in its future. The greatest officials—the Viceroy, the Governor, the Members of all Councils—intend, after five years of office, to depart to a distant land, where their achievements or their blunders are alike unknown, where they are lost in the crowd, and where, amidst the movement of a more vivid and intellectual civilization, they half forget the affairs of the secluded and monotonous peninsula they have helped to govern." We should be doing injustice to Sir Auckland Colvin did we omit to thank him on our behalf for the candour with which he notices the work done by the Indian Congress Committee in England to bring, in however humble a way, the condition of our finances before Parliament. "The body," says Sir Auckland Colvin, "which calls itself the Indian National Congress has not hitherto shown itself, in my judgment, very practical in its suggestions. But *it is difficult to differ with a great deal of what it has to say in this matter of expenditure.* If this paper correctly interprets the meaning of the figures which are embodied in it, it shows that there are good grounds for the assertion in the recent 'Note' presented to Parliament by Sir William Wedderburn, which shews that **IT IS MORE THE GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE THAN THE FALL IN EXCHANGE WHICH HAS led to the present DIFFICULTIES.** The charges on account of exchange have become mainly formidable because the administrative expenditure, which has caused in chief measure the growth of those charges, has been continuously increasing." A candid confession from Sir Auckland Colvin that the perilous growth of expenditure during the past ten years more than exchange is at the root of all our troubles—an opinion strenuously held by us all through the last ten years—is perhaps the best homage that our late Finance Minister can pay to the non-official Indian opinion on this vexed question. (*Cheers.*) To us it is a matter for congratulation, not for elation. It is a lesson, however, which, I am sure, will not be lost on Mr. Westland. He need not have abused the Congress party if he could not shake the position taken up in the memorial of the Bombay Presidency Association. The British Committee took up our case on the broad lines marked out in that memorial, and though Mr. Fowler treated the "Note" of Sir William Wedderburn, Chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, with scant justice, the Committee will find reason for satisfaction in this upholding of its view by so experienced a Finance Minister as Sir Auckland Colvin; while in India no body of men will view with greater pleasure this noble veering of the official view in its favour than the Bombay Presidency Association, and,

Sir William Wedderburn's Note on the Perilous Growth of Expenditure.

Bombay Presidency Association's memorial on the same subject.

especially, its talented Honorary Secretary, my esteemed friend, Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, who has studied Indian economic and financial questions in the light in which they deserve to be studied. And I take this opportunity of expressing humbly, but emphatically, the high sense we all entertain of Mr. Wacha's critical acumen and disinterested public labours. (*Cheers.*) The opinion of Sir Auckland Colvin shows that the truth after all must ultimately prevail with sober and thoughtful minds, in spite of much official palavering, prejudice, and narrow-mindedness. Sir Auckland Colvin's standpoint is justice to the Indian tax-payer. And he ends his paper with a remark as to what are the watchwords of this justice. These, he says, are: "Retrenchment, moderation, return to old maxims of Indian administration, and justice to the Indian tax-payer; but possibly this will not become evident so long as fresh funds can be raised from him." Here are words of wisdom which, it is to be hoped, will not only be attentively noted, but practically acted upon, by Lord Elgin's Government. (*Cheers.*)

Proceeding now to a consideration of public affairs in our own Presidency, I would first refer to provincial legislation. Our legislative sessions are growing shorter and beautifully less. We had perhaps the smallest number of meetings of the Provincial Legislative Council under the new Act of 1892 during the year. One meeting was held in this City during the last cold season and two in Poona during the late rains, lasting for about six hours in all. Only one small measure relating to the Peint territory was passed. The Municipal Balances Act—in my opinion a useless measure—which was ushered in with a blaze of trumpets during the first sessions of the new Council, has remained a dead letter on the statute book and, for aught I know, may remain so goodness knows how long. Perhaps it is just as well that it is so. It may not be long before public opinion up-country demands that the District Municipal Act of 1884 should undergo a thorough revision in the light of the experience gained during the decade. Possibly the amendments which have been suggested have not been licked into shape for approval by the local Government or higher authority preparatory to their introduction into the local legislature. Similarly, there are numerous amendments on the tapis in connection with the Municipal Act, 1888, of the Bombay City. These, too, will have to be submitted to Government as soon as the Corporation has been able to consider them. Though the sittings of the Council have been few and far between, a considerable number of administrative questions cropped up in regard to which the new privilege of interpellation has come to be exercised. The interpellations have evoked a good deal of criticism outside the Council Hall. Certain critics in our midst have nicknamed our legislative body as an "Interpellative Council." But I fail to see the justice of such an appellation. For what is the chief function of non-official members if not interpellation? It must be remembered that, under the rules laid down by the Governor-General in Council, the scope of questions is limited only to public affairs with which the Government of the Presidency is officially connected or to matters or branches of administration under its control and for which it is responsible. As to matters which are, or have been, the subject of controversy between the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State and the Government of Bombay, no questions may be asked or answered except as to matters of fact. The large number of questions which were put at the recent autumn session of the Council has in some quarters been the subject of adverse comment. The

Provincial Legislative Council.

Interpellations.

number would certainly be less if the Council meetings had been more frequent. What is, however, really felt as a disadvantage to the public in regard to interpellations is that the honourable member who puts a question has no opportunity allowed him of making his object clear by way of a few prefatory remarks, so as to enable the Government to thoroughly apprehend his point of view. Nor is he permitted to say how far the answer fails to meet the query put by him. The result very often is that the replies are either vague or evasive. At any rate the public is seldom the wiser or better for the replies given. In spite of these drawbacks, however, there can be no doubt whatever of the fact that this privilege of interpellation is most valuable. It is a tolerably wholesome check on official vagaries, and acts as a powerful corrective against mal-administration and favouritism. The knowledge that an unfair act on the part of the administration, either in the districts or at headquarters, will be dragged into the light of day, cannot but operate as a powerful antidote against abuses in an official-ridden country like India, with public opinion not so strong or keen as one might expect. (*Hear, hear.*)

Vague and evasive official replies.

Threatened Disfranchisement of Northern Division.

Re-distribution of seats.

Privilege of discussing Provincial Budget.

Wanted financial statesmanship, and not book-keeping.

At one time the Municipalities of Gujarat entertained some fears that they were about to be deprived of the privilege of electing a representative of the Northern Division, as would appear from a petition addressed to Government from Ahmedabad some weeks back. There does not, however, seem any valid ground for believing that the interests of municipalities and local boards—whether in Gujarat or the Deccan or even Southern Maratha Country—have substantially suffered or received no attention. Even the unfranchised Central Division does not, I am sure, feel that the omission in its case should be supplied at the expense of Gujarat. The prayer of the Central Division I consider most legitimate and fair, in spite of the reception the Deccan has recently met with from Lord Harris. When the present rules are revised, the way to gratify the desire of the Deccan will, let us hope, be found, not by depriving Gujarat of its privilege, but by either creating a new seat or transferring a seat from a province where its present preponderance has not brought out any distinct advantages. The other most valuable privilege conferred by the new Act relates to the discussion of the Provincial Budget. The value of the privilege depends, I need hardly say, on the force of reasoned truths which are brought to bear on the discussion. Sir David Barbour, in his paper on “Indian Finances” referred to before, remarks: “The number of men—official and non-official, English and Indian—who are possessed at any one time of sufficient information to give a sound opinion on the general condition of Indian finance might easily be counted on the fingers of one hand.” The remark is most true. If it has force in reference to imperial finance, it has much greater force and applicability to provincial finance. Neither among officials nor among non-officials are we able to point with confidence to men who could be thoroughly relied upon to give us a sound opinion on the general condition of provincial finance. In saying this, I mean no disrespect to the honourable gentlemen who are in charge of provincial finance in different parts of the country. It is not state book-keeping in this or that presidency about which there is anything to complain of. It is statesmanship, more than book-keeping, that is needed. It is much to be feared that a systematic study of the principles on which public finance should be practically carried out is almost non-existent in India.

Principles are often cast to the winds where increase of revenue is the only consideration. Political economy is oftener than not in violent conflict with proposed remedial financial measures. But it is impossible to overhaul Indian finance, both imperial and provincial, unless we are more fortunate in future in having trained financiers. The official members have perhaps neither the leisure nor the inclination for a critical study. And what about the non-officials? Most of them are busy men occupied with their own concerns and cannot afford the time and trouble for a critical study of financial problems, though they may give a general opinion on the merits of any case put before them. Well-informed criticism is as much the result of special training as skill in any other department of knowledge. It seems to me that it would greatly facilitate the discussion of our Provincial Budget if what are called "Budget Notes," prepared by the Accountant-General for the information of the local Government, were made available at least to honourable members, if not to the public at large. These "Notes," I am informed, give detailed explanations as to the increases or decreases in major items on the income and expenditure sides. They contain hardly anything which, to my knowledge, can be regarded as of a secret or confidential nature. (*Hear, hear.*)

As the Hon'ble Mr. Trevor remarked in his first financial statement, the preparation of a provincial statement does not, as a rule, present any special features of difficulty for the reason that the income is not affected by exchange and other difficulties which embarrass Imperial finance. It is true that last year pressure wholly outside the provincial budget was put in the shape of benevolences to the Imperial Government for exchange compensation allowance and a special contribution, which, in the case of the Bombay Presidency, came to over six lakhs for the current financial year. Owing to this outside pressure of about 13 lakhs of rupees, the adjustment of the normal expenditure to the normal revenue has not been found possible without a reduction of the public works allotment and without bringing down the balance to a minimum of 25 lakhs. The five years' "contract" under the decentralization system assigns certain receipts in fixed proportions between Local and Supreme Governments and no new expenditure can be incurred or taxes levied without the sanction of the Imperial Government. The Government of India gets most of its revenue from the Provincial Governments with which it thus shares, the collection of such revenue being made by the local Governments and Administrations. Under such arrangements it will be seen that in the Imperial Budget there is hardly much room left for a criticism of the receipt side. In the Provincial Budget, however, the receipt side, which indicates the burdens of the people, deserves as careful a scrutiny as the expenditure side. Land revenue, salt, abkari, income-tax, provincial rates, registration, stamps, and forest are the milch-cows to Government. At the same time most of these are sources of uneasiness to the people who have to pay the taxes. At the last Budget discussions in Poona an incident occurred which deserves notice on account of an important principle sought to be laid down by His Excellency the President in Council, which, if it correctly interprets the rules of debate is likely to stifle useful discussion. I regret that the incident has a certain personal reference, but the point involved is of such vital public importance that I trust you will leave the personal element aside and consider the question on its merits alone. In the debate on the Budget I was referring to the item of land revenue, the first and foremost item on the

Imperial benevolences to meet current year's deficit from Provincial Surpluses.

The President's ruling at the late sittings of the Legislative Council—Members estopped from discussing the land revenue.

income side of the Budget, and I wished to question the policy of Government which brought in a yearly increase of some ten lakhs of rupees to the state out of the pockets of a confessedly indebted peasantry in opposition to the limits of enhancement declared by the Bombay Government from time to time and confirmed by the Secretary of State. In drawing attention to this point, I believed I was strictly within the rules of debate. I had hardly proceeded with my preliminary remarks when it was pointed out to me by His Excellency the President that I was out of order inasmuch as the point on which I was dwelling was not germane to the budget item under consideration. His Excellency, at the conclusion of the debate, invoked the help of honourable members in his humane effort to save me from being drowned in the sea of irrelevancy into which I was taken to have fallen. You may imagine my surprise that the exponents of public opinion in the daily English press of Bombay, who may be expected to interpret the rules more liberally, unhesitatingly endorsed the view of the President. It was reserved for the *Calcutta Statesman*, among Anglo-Indian papers, to sift the question on its merits. The vernacular press, be it said to its credit, took a candid and impartial view of this point. Lest I might have the misfortune to misconceive the meaning of His Excellency, I will quote the very words used by Lord Harris as reported in the papers. His Excellency said : " My decided opinion is that yesterday I allowed the rules to be evaded far more often than I ought to have done, and that subjects were discussed which by no possibility could be brought within the four corners of the rules which govern the Budget discussion. Now the question is whether or not honourable members should have the privilege of discussing the administrative system of the Presidency of Bombay or of other parts of India. The question is, what are the rules which govern debates upon the financial statement ? This is not the place to discuss whether or not honourable members should have the right of discussing administrative questions. If they think they are disfavoured in that matter, there are *other media* of communicating knowledge. They can give vent to their thoughts in other ways, and there are other assemblies in which they can get their own friends to raise the subject of their privileges as members of this Council. The question to be considered here is this : Are the arguments used and the subjects discussed legitimate under the rules imposed on this assembly ? It was with very great regret that I interfered with my honourable friend, Mr. Javerilal, when he was talking about such abstruse subjects as " subsoil water advantage " in Gujarat and was proceeding to read an extract from the report of a Government officer in the year 1888. But that report could not be mundane to the financial statement of this year." The points at issue between His Excellency and me are—(1) Are such items of revenue and expenditure as land, abkari, assessed taxes, forest, &c., and especially the policy governing them, legitimate subjects of discussion under the existing rules of debate ? (2) Is not the Provincial Council the place, and the annual Budget discussion the time, for a criticism on them ? Rule 5 of the rules of debate says : " The discussion will be limited to those branches of revenue and expenditure which are under the control of the Local Government, and it will not be permissible to enter upon a criticism of Imperial finance." Here the distinction between what constitutes items under the control of the Local Government and those of Imperial finance, is sufficiently clear. No one can for a moment hold that the revenue from land is not under the control of the Local Government. I go further and say that the land revenue policy in this Presidency is initiated, moulded, and finally determined by the Bombay Government in consultation with, and under the sanction of, the Secretary of State, to whom every revision settlement

report is sent for final orders. The land revenue system differs from province to province, and our survey settlement is a question entirely under the control of the local Government. The rules relating to enhancements and the conduct of the survey officials are all under the control of the Local Government.

The second point to which Lord Harris referred was whether the Provincial Council was the place for criticising the administrative system of government. On this point there can perhaps be no higher authority than Lord Lansdowne himself. Remarking, in his farewell address, at the Calcutta Royal Exchange in January last, on the measure for enlarging the functions of Legislative Councils, the ex-Viceroy said: "There is no part of the scheme for which I have a greater personal responsibility than that in which this principle (of sending representatives) has been admitted. We have now a system under which the Provincial Legislature will be brought far more closely than heretofore into contact with local opinion, and under which again the non-official opinion of the local Legislatures is more closely reflected in the Imperial Council. It may be said that by this change we have greatly increased the work already thrown upon the Government of India and the Local Governments and that we are threatened with the prospects of irrelevant discussion and of the inconvenience of criticism of Government measures. In these days, however, when public opinion is allowed so large a measure of liberty in expressing itself, we cannot expect to escape discussion and criticism. If the discussion is reasonable and the criticism fair, we shall welcome them; but I hold strongly that it is better for all concerned that the critics should be responsible and should offer their criticism in the *Councils of their Provinces* or in the Council of the Viceroy, *where it can be met and replied to, and not elsewhere, where it cannot.*" (*Cheers.*) Here we have the keynote of the whole policy struck for the guidance of debates in our Legislative Councils—Viceregal and Provincial—under the new constitution in clear and unmistakable terms. The non-official members are brought face to face in a dignified assembly with official members who are supposed to be posted up to date in the latest developments of Government measures or public policy. It is no easy thing to criticise a Government measure or a Government policy. The critic is as much on his trial before the bar of public opinion as the Government whose measures he ventures to criticise. It demands hard study, and still harder thinking, to be able to venture any criticism for the simple reason that such criticism will, in the first place, be the measure of the critic's own knowledge of a subject or his ability to deal with it in a clear and dispassionate manner. The country is large, the interests are complicated, the grievances not few, and the Government is alien. With the best intentions in the world, the Government is after all liable to err.

"In a country," adds Lord Lansdowne, "with a population of 300 millions living under external rule, it is idle to expect that grievances will not arise and that dissatisfaction will not be exhibited. The best way of meeting it is to afford it a legitimate opportunity of making itself heard. I cannot resist expressing my hopes that, now that this opportunity has been provided, *the Councils will be regarded as the proper place* in which to bring forward, and in a manner befitting the occasion, complaints which are now preferred, sometimes with a good deal of recklessness, through other channels. I believe it will also be found that the views expressed by elected members will be of very great value in strengthening the hands of the Government in such cases—and we know that such cases exist where Indian interests might otherwise not obtain the consideration to which they are

Lord Harris's dictum opposed to that of Lord Lansdowne.

Non-official criticism and its value.

Reformed Councils and their use according to Lord Lansdowne.



entitled." One would fancy from a perusal of the above extract that the ex-Viceroy, when giving expression to these views, was addressing his audience from a Congress platform or after a careful study of Congress reports, for it often happens, as Sir Auckland Colvin's frank confession testifies, that those who openly disapprove of Congress or Conference movements do feel, when they read reports of what Congressmen have got to say, that after all there is a substantial basis of truth and justice in what they urge. Sir William Hunter tells us, in his work on "Bombay—1885 to 1890," that it was the policy of Lord Reay that "as an English Chancellor maintains personal communication in regard to the larger matters of finance with the leaders of the City, so an Indian Governor should maintain personal communication with the non-official leaders of the provinces which he administers." Where personal communications cannot be maintained, it must be regarded as only fair and reasonable if a sympathetic hearing is given to what non-official members may have to say in a provincial budget discussion. In a provincial budget like that of Bombay, nothing perhaps is more remarkable than the fact that the revenue of the Bombay Presidency has advanced 600 per cent. during the last sixty-four years. In 1830-31 it was Rs. 2,17,15,345, in 1862-63 the total receipts amounted to Rs. 7,17,86,638. From 1862-63 to 1892-93—that is to say, during the last thirty years—it has risen to over 13 crores. The items of land revenue, forest, and abkari show a growth of 365 lakhs in 1862-63 to 600 lakhs in 1892-93. Can any reasonable man say that this truly marvellous growth of revenue and the enormous pressure on the ability of the people to bear new or increasing burdens it indicates is a subject on which non-official members can have nothing to say? As the *Calcutta Statesman* truly remarked, when lately reviewing the Bombay Budget debate, "For good or for ill, the Imperial Government has frankly accepted the principle of giving the people of this country a voice in the management of its affairs; and it is neither wise, honest, nor politic to attempt to take away with the one hand what has been given by the other. To give native gentlemen seats at the Council Board and then to close their mouths to the discussion of the most vital points of the administration is a mockery to their public spirit. \* \* Deny them power if you will; grant it and resume it if it be wise: but do not profess to grant it and then surreptitiously resume the gift by subtle evasions and false pretences." I regret very much that I have taken up so much of your time on this point, but the question has not, as I said before, a merely local interest, but affects the privileges of Provincial Councils generally as to what items of revenue and expenditure should be allowed to be discussed or not, and that is my reason for trespassing upon your time.

The *Statesman* on Lord Harris's novel ruling.

Tax-payers' anxieties as to Imperial and Provincial finance.

Is not, then, the present position of Indian finance—whether provincial or imperial—calculated, I ask, to make the Indian tax-payer anxious? "Finance," said Mr. Samuel Laing, another of our Finance Ministers, in a letter to the *Times* the other day, "is the one subject of all others in which native opinion is most sensitive. Europeans cannot realize the intense suspicion and alarm with which orientals regard any attempt to levy new taxes, which come directly home to their pockets or feelings." The sensitiveness of native public opinion is not wholly groundless. No government in the world that had some regard for the feelings of its subjects would have made the blunder of putting a fresh burden of a crore of rupees on its exchequer for compensation allowance to its European and Eurasian servants at a period of grave financial crisis. Among thoughtful English-

men in England it is remarked that, if this concession was limited to those who entered the service of the Government of India when the rupee was at, or slightly below, par of exchange and who are now obliged to make actual remittances to England for the benefit of their families at the present low rates, it would be only fair ; but what justice or fairness can be urged in the case of compensation grants made to those who only entered recently, who are unmarried, or have no families to whom to make actual remittances ?

How, then, to touch the economic conscience of the Government in India and England, so as to enforce economy in expenditure and prevent increasing burdens being laid on the people ? This is the most urgent and the most serious Indian problem of the day or, I should say, of the hour. Three remedies may be suggested as offering some solution. The first is that the British Government should guarantee the Indian debt ; the second is that the Supreme and Provincial Councils should have the right conceded to them of voting on the budgets ; while the third remedy is that India should be treated, not on the footing of a dependency, but on that of a Crown colony. The guarantee of the Indian debt by England would enlist the sympathy of the English tax-payer, and his voice would be a potent factor in ensuring economy. In regard to the second remedy, it is not proposed to alter the constitution of the present Imperial and Provincial Councils. It is not intended to disturb the present number of seats in these Councils. The official majority will continue, as at present, decisively preponderant. All that is proposed is that members may have the right of voting on items when the budget discussions come on. Generally the official votes will preponderate and the non-officials will be in a minority, but there might be cases, similar to the one which occurred last year about the cotton duties, in which the officials who could not vote according to their conscience, could do so with freedom. The votes recorded will at all events indicate the preponderance of opinion on one or other side of a question. This preponderance will generally be on the official side, but the recording of votes will be an indication to the people at large of the economic conscience of our rulers. The public will know how to appraise the value of these votes at their proper worth. The concession here demanded is but a natural and legitimate development of the principle of self-government. It is only in this way, I say, that we can touch the conscience of our rulers. The proposal about treating India as a Crown colony has this in its favour—that, like other colonies, the cost of the India Office and a portion of the Indian military expenditure in England, which at present falls on India, shall have to be borne by England. Indian expenditure so far will figure in the English budget, and in that way Indian questions will prick the conscience of the English taxpayer.

The rules regulating first admissions to the new Provincial Service of the Presidency, which have been framed by the Bombay Government, and which are now awaiting the final sanction of the Government of India, formed the subject of a long and well-reasoned memorial by that ever-active body, the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, to the Government of India. The proposals, as embodied in the rules as at present drafted, are so retrograde in their character, and will prove, if carried out, so detrimental to the general interests of this Presidency and, particularly, to the interests of efficient administration, that one could hardly have conceived that they should have emanated from a responsible authority like the Government of Bombay. Coming after the unsatisfactory labours of the Public Service Commission appointed “to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality

How to touch the economic conscience of the Imperial and Provincial Governments ?

Wanted Right of voting on Budget.

Proposed reactionary rules regarding the Provincial Service.

Government of India's reply unsatisfactory.

and to do full justice to the claims of the people of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service," and after the scheme sanctioned by the Secretary of State in his despatch No. 104, dated 12th September 1889, to the Government of India on the subject of the Commission's Report, which reduced the number and quality of the posts to be detached from the Schedule of the Act of 1861 and refused to have recourse to Parliamentary legislation in the matter, as suggested by the Commission, the new rules are not calculated to allay the fears in the public mind that the efficiency of the Public Service will be seriously impaired. The exclusion of mamlatdars from the Provincial Service and the injustice resulting therefrom to those of the graduates among them who had preferential claims in the revenue line under the terms of the Government notifications; the recruitment of the service, partly by open competition, partly by nomination on the basis of race and creed distinctions, and, in very exceptional cases, by promotion from the subordinate service; and the low standard for the competitive examination were points, among others, which were brought to the notice of the Government of India. The reply of the Government sent through Mr. Secretary W. H. Harvey in August last has been scarcely satisfactory. The Government of India finds itself unable to apply to the Bombay Presidency a different rule from that which has been accepted in other provinces where the line of demarcation between the Provincial and Subordinate Civil Services has been so drawn as to include in the latter service officers of the tehsildar class to whom the mamlatdars correspond. Now it is true that as regards the work that the mamlatdars have to do, it corresponds in some respects with the work of the tehsildars; but there is this difference between the two that, whereas the tehsildars are recruited mostly from the lowest ministerial grades and can claim no high educational attainments, the graduate mamlatdars are quite a superior body of men in general character and moral tone. The rules of 1878 practically reserved all mamlatdarships for graduates of the University, subject to certain limitations for safeguarding the interests of non-graduate mamlatdars already of considerable standing in the service. These rules were altered for the worse in subsequent years, and now the exclusion of graduate mamlatdars from the Provincial Service cannot fail to operate as a discouragement to graduates to join the revenue line. At present most of our Deputy Collectors are men who have been mamlatdars once, and they can look after the work of the mamlatdars better. The very principle for which the Government of India contend, namely, that the scheme for the Provincial Services, which has for its primary end the establishment of the Public Service on a basis of thorough efficiency, will be sacrificed, while considerations of race and creed, which should not enter into account when sound administrative work is the end to be attained, will predominate. To the second prayer of the Sabha, that the competitive test may be raised at least to the level of the B. A. Examination of the Bombay University, the reply of the Government of India is that they agree with the Bombay Government that "the system of competitive examination proposed in the draft rules" should receive a fair trial. "Under this system," the Government observe, "not only have graduates any better chance of being successful than candidates of lower educational attainments so far as the obligatory subjects of the proposed competitive test are concerned; but, in view of optional subjects, they will have all the advantage over the latter that they can properly claim." Gentlemen, I leave it to you to say how far this reasoning is sound, which puts graduates and others together on an inferior competitive examination, and how far it meets adequately the very cogent arguments in the Sabha's memorial.

The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Acts Bill is another important measure on which the Sabha offered very useful suggestions. The Bill, which was introduced last year by the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner into the Supreme Legislative Council, has for its object the amendment of the existing Relief Acts. It will come on for discussion at Calcutta during the ensuing cold weather. The proposed amendment of the law is the outcome of a part of the recommendations made in the very able, elaborate, and eminently suggestive report of the Commission of 1892. These recommendations divide themselves under two heads—(1) judicial reforms and (2) executive reforms. The Commission is of opinion that the Act of itself cannot afford an adequate solution of the problem of agricultural indebtedness. In part III. of its report it recommends certain executive reforms in the direction of relaxing the rigidity of the present revenue system and showing greater liberality in the matter of granting suspensions and remissions. These forms of relief are, in the Commission's opinion, as much needed to improve the condition of the ryot as any amendment of the Act itself. The Government of Bombay objected to the recommendations touching executive reforms for the reason that the Commission had travelled beyond the scope and terms of its reference in making such recommendations. In the letter of the Bombay Government, written by the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner as Secretary, the Government also observed that, if the chief of the four recommendations made by the Commission—namely, the suspension of revenue as a matter of course in bad years—were acted upon, it would be tantamount to a virtual reversion to the old system which had been tried and found wanting. It is not clear how far such fears on the part of our Government are well-founded. On the other hand the crying want in the Deccan is how best to remedy the unsuitableness of a system which aims at securing a fixed annual payment regardless of seasons which play havoc with the crops. Mr. E. C. Ozanne observes that in every cycle of eleven years five or six are bad, and the rest either good or middling. The root of the evil is more climatic than social. It does not appear that the Supreme Government have adopted the view of the Bombay Government. On the contrary, if one is to judge from what has appeared in the public prints of this Presidency, the late Viceroy, prior to his retirement from the government of this country, had placed on record a minute reviewing the Commission's report and dealing with the problem of agricultural indebtedness. In this minute the ex-Viceroy emphasises the grave nature of this problem of agricultural indebtedness and the danger likely to arise from indifference in grappling with it by executive action. In his opinion any amendment of the Relief Act would touch merely the fringe of this serious problem. No legislative interference will be effective until the question is taken up as one of executive administration. But the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner, the same gentleman who, as Secretary to Government, signed the letter of protest on behalf of the Bombay Government, in moving the introduction of the Bill in the Supreme Council last year, said that the proposed Bill is not intended to give effect to "the larger projects recommended by the Commission," and that its chief object is to invest the Local Government with power to introduce the Act in any part or parts of a district without extending it to the whole district. Now it is a fact, as the Sabha points out, that the existing Act gives full authority to the Local Government to extend the provisions of the Act to any district in the Presidency with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council. But it is urged that the "physical and agricultural condition of various talukas in the same district differs greatly," and as the Government of Bombay desire to extend the Act only to those areas where it

Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Bill.

Supreme Government's views in conflict with those of the Bombay Government.

Poona Sarvajanic Sabha's contentions.

Opinions of mem-  
bers of Viceroy's  
Council.

may be really needed, an amendment of the Act becomes necessary. The force of this contention is not denied, but this is a very insignificant matter compared to the graver question of how best to deal with the growing agricultural indebtedness on which the late Viceroy has expressed so strongly and in no uncertain sound. When the Amendment Bill comes on for consideration before the Supreme Legislature, I am sure our honourable friends, the non-official members, will want to know definitely what opinions the ex-Viceroy has left on record. His views must doubtless have been based on the evidence of the expert witnesses examined by the Commission. Strange as it may appear, this expert evidence is not to be found in the report of the Commission. Appendix I. of the report indeed gives abstracts of the evidence taken by the Commission whilst on tour in the Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, and Satara Districts. But the evidence of the expert witnesses, such as the District Judges, the Assistant Judge, the Special Judge and his Subordinates, whose names are given in Appendix II. of the evidence, is not given in the report. When it is considered that it was on this expert evidence that the Commission based its recommendations, and on which the ex-Viceroy relied in recording his important minute, that it is this evidence to which the public in India would look for forming its opinion as to whether executive reforms are more needed than civil legislation in dealing with the complicated problem of agricultural indebtedness, some idea may be formed of the necessity of placing such evidence before the world. I notice that Sir William Wedderburn moved the Secretary of State for India for a return of this expert evidence, but so far it has not been forthcoming. It will be to some purpose if some honourable non-official member of the Supreme Council move for these papers before the Council proceeds to consider the amendment of the Deccan Relief Acts.

New Forest Policy  
approved.

From the land question to the forest is an easy transition. I was about to refer to the rules recently introduced into the Deccan and Konkan Districts regulating the number of cattle for which a cultivator may claim free grazing and the charge of fees for such of his cattle as are not employed in agricultural work ; but it seems to me that we would do well to await the effect of the recent resolution of the Government of India of 19th October last on the present rules which are a source of petty persecutions and harassments on the part of a low-paid subordinate agency to the poor ryot. It is a resolution which, if faithfully followed, should, in my humble opinion, greatly allay the dissatisfaction regarding the operations of the Forest Act now prevalent in all the districts of this presidency. The Government of India deserves the cordial thanks of the public for its renewed declaration of the true policy which should actuate subordinate administrations in conserving forests. The first public act of the Earl of Elgin needs to be hailed with satisfaction in all parts of the country. (*Cheers.*) Let us devoutly hope that it is the glad harbinger of a new departure in the administrative policy of the Government—a policy of sympathy in every way calculated to allay unrest and promote contentment among the dumb masses. (*Cheers.*)

Policy of the  
Bureaucracy.

That the comments on Government measures should be unacceptable and even intolerable to the officials generally is not a matter for surprise. It is so all the world over. But what the bureaucracy in India has to consider is that the conditions among us twenty or thirty years ago were different from what they are at present. Even this city of Bombay will be found to be different to-day from what it was five years ago. The great merit of the founders of the Indian Empire and of those who consolidated it was that they fully understood and grasped the circumstances

around them and realised what the necessities of the times were. They looked before as they looked back. What their successors have most to remember is that India is not the stationary country it once was. The world moves on, and so is India moving under the fostering care of the British Government. Moral forces are at work which bring about a moral unity among the people under the action, nay, often against the will, of the British Government itself. New circumstances arise and new developments take place. Such new developments bring new difficulties in their train. Such difficulties are becoming serious enough. But can any reasonable, thoughtful person believe that the resources of British statesmanship cannot cope with them? (*Hear, hear.*) Can any one believe that the successors of eminent Anglo-Indian statesmen, like the Elphinstones and the Munroes, the Metcalfes and the Earls Canning and Ripon, who have succeeded to the mighty inheritance left by them, cannot rise to the height of the situation and work in the spirit of the times in which they live? (*Cheers.*) New difficulties must make new and vigorous demands upon their intelligence and statesmanship. Their highest statesmanship consists in reading correctly the signs of the times, not in decrying them, not in making light of them, but in considering how best they can be met—in short, in a policy of conciliation and sympathy, and not of dogged obstinacy and a reliance on brute force. This changed attitude of mind on the part of the officials is, in the opinion of some observers, perhaps the most striking point of contrast observable all over the country at the present day. A policy of “divide and rule,” fraught with immense mischief to the stability of British rule in India, seems to them to be in the ascendant. Even thoughtful and responsible officials have not been slow to notice it regretfully and give it a public expression. No one has doubts as to the British Government having the giant’s strength, but no one at the same time would hesitate to say that it would be tyrannous and opposed to the best British traditions to use such strength like a giant. Fully realizing this, the British Government themselves have created moral forces of a self-acting nature. One of these forces is education which has made considerable advances in India. But there are some officials of eminence in India who either will not recognise this, or, if they do, think it has advanced to a dangerous extent. For instance, in an elaborate and learned paper in the last number of the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* on the conditions and prospects of popular education in India, Mr. J. A. Baines, a distinguished civilian of this Presidency and the Census Commissioner of India, while dealing chiefly with primary education, devotes a few passing remarks at the close to what he calls the highest product of the present system of education—the educated classes. Speaking of the relation which this educated class bears to the masses, the part it takes in the great life of the community, its numerical strength, how far it is predisposed to admit the rest of its gifted fellows to a share in the intellectual privileges on which it founds its claims, or how far it is inclined to perpetuate a traditional monopoly, what, again, is its attitude, not in precept, but in example, towards the deeply-seated influences that impair the general vitality of the country and cramp its energies, Mr. Baines is of opinion that “however glittering the surface that lies uppermost, it, by no means, follows that all below is gold.” Mr. Baines knows that Burke is studied in colleges, so in his desire to show what a microscopic minority they are, he gratifies the educated classes by quoting the famous passage in Burke, in which that political philosopher contrasts the chinking grasshoppers under a fern with the great cattle reposing beneath the shade of the oak, who chew the cud and are silent, and who do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field. In this connection it is amusing to compare the views of

British Govern-  
ment has to take  
cognisance of new  
forces which have  
sprung up.

Opinions of Mr.  
Baines and Sir  
Charles Elliott on  
Education and Poli-  
tics examined.

Mr. Baines with those of another eminent official, Sir Charles Elliott. Mr. Baines regards the educated classes as "pretty creepers, no doubt, but ephemeral and unproductive." His Honour the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal opens his mind to Mr. Blathwayte in *Black and White*, and remarks: "The Babu is becoming a most serious element in the population. We turn 5,000 out of our universities every year, and we can only provide Government employment for 150. The rest, therefore, are discontented, and full of complaints against the British administration." Again, "Here in Bengal dwells the educated Babu, who, with brilliant exceptions, yet, is, as a rule, discontented and disloyal." Mr. Baines has no sympathy with those who delight in putting back the clock and rubbing their hands over the appearance of retrogression; who, "in order to maintain their own position and influence, whilst the world is slipping past them, are ever croaking over a purely imaginary cessation of an advance, which, they are too conscious, will undermine their traditional interest." Sir Charles Elliott says: "Much of the hostility we meet with is due, I firmly believe, to the books we have ourselves placed in the hands of school-boys. We have fed them with the burden of Milton, Johnson, and Burke, and they have, with their great imitative faculty and pedantry, conceived that we stand to the people of India as the Stuarts and the Georges stood to the people of England." Mr. Baines looks for the solution of the problem not to any direct effort on the part of the State, of private enterprise, or of the literate classes, but to the stimulus of the steady advance of the masses in prosperity, in the educating influence of material circumstances, the opening of the mind by travel, commerce and industry, all of which are, he thinks, "in their lusty infancy." Sir Charles Elliott, on the other hand, thinks that the "Babu goes to England, is made much of, feted sometimes as though he were a prince. He returns to India full of conceit and self-sufficiency, and utterly unfitted for his old simple and natural ways." Mr. Baines protests against deception in the opposite direction by going about crowing and clapping over some figments of an *ex-parte* claim, "based on flimsy, garbled, and untested evidence, that the sun of enlightenment is standing in its blazing noon, when, in reality, it has only just reached the top of the mountain and all the immense valley below is still shrouded in the densest gloom of ignorance." I content myself here with merely presenting to you these shades of contrast in the views entertained in regard to the effects and measure of our intellectual acquirements. Mr. Baines speaks of the moral fibre of the educated classes, and considers that it has not yet been developed. "The head is growing faster than the heart." He arrives at this decision from a few stray cases of fraudulent acquisition of examination papers at the university examinations. "One boy, in a high school," says he, "who had been punished, burnt down the school and the master's house." Now, it would be as fair and correct to thus generalise and judge of the moral fibre of the educated classes in this country from such isolated cases of delinquencies as to judge of the moral character of the entire Indian Civil Service from stray cases of high-handedness, corruption and bribery, or of the Indian Medical Service from the Kissing Case which has recently become so notorious. It is enough to say that there are black sheep in every community, and the less said about its moral fibre the better for us all. Contrast this with the reply of Lord Wenlock to the address presented to him at Vizianagram by the teachers of the Maharaja's School. "I am bound," says His Excellency the Governor of Madras, "I am bound, as far as I have been able to judge, to say that the results of this education are producing nothing but good in those to whom it is given (*cheers*), especially to those who have been called upon to take part in administering the affairs of the country. Those who know this country

Approval of Lord  
Wenlock's states-  
manlike policy.

best assure me that there has been wonderful improvement in the work of those who have been educated in this country and who are now taking a prominent part in administering its affairs. We find on all sides remarkable improvements in the intelligence they bring to bear on their work and the despatch with which they get through their work and the honesty with which they deal with their work, and I think that says a great deal for higher education in this country." So you see, gentlemen, it depends very much on the frame of mind in which you are how you estimate the character of a people. Madras has, of late, far outshone other Presidencies in questions affecting the people's rights and liberties. It is to Lord Wenlock's Government that the whole of India, and especially the educated classes, owe a deep debt of gratitude for the noble defence of simultaneous examinations in India and England. (*Cheers.*) It shows His Lordship's capacity for taking broad and sympathetic views of public questions.

Gentlemen, we can make allowance for differences of view, but, when so shrewd, intelligent, and responsible an official as Sir Charles Elliott charges the educated classes among us with disloyalty, every educated man is bound in self-defence to indignantly and firmly repudiate the charge. (*Applause.*) On this point we can appeal to the high testimony of no less an authority than Lord Dufferin. The late Viceroy was a statesman not likely to mince matters. And what is his deliberate opinion? Speaking at the Mansion House in London after his retirement from the Government of India, Lord Dufferin observed: "I believe that, leaving out of account the absolutely ignorant, some fanatical sects, the discontented sections of society which are to be found in all communities, and individuals with a personal grievance, but including those who vituperate us in the newspapers, there is not a subject of the Queen in India, whether prince, or landholder, or merchant, or artizan, or cultivator, who is not convinced that the English administration gives him what he would get neither in an independent India nor in an India under the rule of any other power—namely, peace, security, justice, a free press, education, an enormous share in the Government appointments, a native magistracy, the conservation of the native dynasties as independent states, local self-government, the prospect of the gradual liberalization of our methods of administration, the supervision of the House of Commons, and a consciousness that English public opinion is always on the alert to notice any abuse of authority, and to temper the severity of that authoritative régime through which alone the vast congeries of nationalities, religions, and races inhabiting the peninsula can be effectually governed." (*Applause.*) And what has the foremost Bengali politician to say in reply to Sir Charles Elliott—I mean, the Hon'ble Surendranath Bannerjee? He says to Mr. Blathwayt: "We want to be associated *with* our rulers, not to supersede them. We want a policy of suspicion to be replaced by one of good will and confidence. We want you English here, we require you, we cannot do without you; but, above all, we ask for sympathy, sympathy, sympathy!" (*Loud cheers.*) Will Sir Charles Elliott say that language such as this breathes sentiments of disloyalty? The Indian reformer may say, in the words of the poet:

We want no flag, no flaunting rag,  
For Liberty to fight;  
We want no blaze of murderous guns,  
To struggle for the right;  
Our spears and swords are printed words,  
The mind our battle plain;  
We've won such victories before,  
And so shall we again. (*Cheers.*)

Lord Dufferin's views as opposed to those of Sir Charles Elliott.

Hon'ble Surendranath's views as to impolicy of suspicion.



The vernacular press defended against the ungenerous attacks of Sir Charles Elliott and other officials.

Sir Charles Elliott finds fault with the vernacular press. No reasonable man can say that the vernacular press is free from fault. It has its temptations of exaggerated and sensational writings. At the same time it cannot be maintained that this characteristic is the monopoly of that press. The vernacular press is a product of British rule. Journalism in India had no existence before the advent of the British rule. The power of the press for good or evil is immense. Moderation and sobriety of judgment are what one would expect the press to promote. The Indian journalist, however, follows the methods and tactics of his Anglo-Indian brother, and in trying to copy his virtues imitates at times his vices also. Bearing this in mind, Anglo-Indian journals incur no small responsibility as exponents of public opinion on Government measures and public policy. It does not promote a harmony of feeling by the pot calling the kettle black, and though the sermons of the pot to the kettle are often edifying in themselves, there are times when the coolest head and the soundest judgment are needed in helping the public to view burning questions correctly and impartially. Sensational articles and exaggerated reports of passing events appearing in Anglo-Indian journals do incalculable mischief to the people of India. The Anglo-Indian, be he a merchant, a doctor, an engineer, or a civilian in a remote part of the country, often takes his notions of things Indian from the newspapers. (*Cheers.*) He cannot be expected to verify the statements of the editor. Similarly, Anglo-Indian opinion is communicated to the leading English journals, and through them is circulated to the whole provincial press in Great Britain. When the Anglo-Indian journals put our case impartially before the Indian and the British public, our cause stands a chance of being half won. But if the nerves of the newspaper-reading public in India first and in England afterwards are played upon by some of them through exaggerated and sensational articles, you may well conceive the mischief they have the power to do. My surprise is that the British public so far has not formed a low and mean estimate of the loyalty and moral fibre of the educated classes as one would fear it might otherwise have been led to do under the influence of sensational literature constantly dished up in some Anglo-Indian newspapers. We may implore such writers not to permit their heavy artillery to bear on our inter-sectional or inter-racial interests, and if, while bringing to light our faults, they appreciate what there is of good points in us, the vernacular press will, I am firmly convinced, reciprocate the good feeling. In this way a harmony of feeling, so conducive to public interests, will be brought about. I may state here that it was thus that that Bayard of Anglo-Indian journalism, no other than the late Mr. Robert Knight, served the interests of this country, where his memory is cherished with an esteem and a gratitude which are at once the highest proofs of his sterling honesty and independence as an interpreter between the rulers and the ruled, and I cannot refrain from quoting that editor's lofty conception of what the true functions of a journalist should be: "It cannot," said he, "be too earnestly insisted upon that journalism implies a public trust and carries with it, whether we will or not, responsibilities of a moral order. *Every journalist is, under an implied pledge to his readers that he will tell them the very truth of things as he apprehends it.* If he errs as to facts, it must be honest, unconscious error into which he has fallen, and *not the twisting and distortion of facts to suit a purpose or cause he has in hand.*" (*Hear, hear.*)

R. Knight and the true functions of publicists.

Recent Riots and the unfortunate official policy.

There is one more topic, gentlemen, which I have reserved to the conclusion of this address. It does not properly fall within the sphere of our work as members of this Conference, but circumstances have given it of late a factitious

importance which would not justify my ignoring it altogether on this occasion. Meeting, as we do, to-day in this busy city of Bombay as representatives of the educated classes from all parts of the Presidency, we have no room here for class and race feelings and differences. (*Hear, hear.*) Hindus and Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, all join on this platform whose chief plank is one of fellowship bred in mutual sympathy and respect, and in a desire to promote our common, and not sectional, interests. (*Cheers.*) In all times and in all places, ignorance and bigotry, pride and prejudice go together, and there are some disorderly spirits in the lower strata of all communities, who sometimes rise to the surface, and, in the name of religion, seek to dissolve the holiest bond of all religions—that which joins man with man in mutual responsibility and helpfulness. Notwithstanding such momentary lapses into fits of insanity, the general good sense of the Indian community soon asserts itself and prevails in the end, for our people have always been distinguished for their freedom from religious fanaticism and the fury of political partisanship. (*Cheers.*) Their leaders have never attached undue importance to trifling matters, and have always been ready and willing to persuade their own communities that union is strength, and mutual alienation a deadly sin. Religious riots have, no doubt, been frequent of late years in many parts of the country, and it is a question which has baffled the highest statesmanship to understand the genesis of this unusual bitterness. Some have attributed it to a wave of fanaticism which, they think, has swept over the land. Others have, with equal ingenuity, attributed this untoward state of things to influences from without, which are supposed to be hostile to the Congress and which, it is alleged, give encouragement to these dissensions among the people for political and party purposes. On behalf of this Conference and the native community generally, I repudiate both these explanations, especially the last, as being based on very insufficient data, and untenable in the larger light of our intimate knowledge of current history. (*Cheers.*) The unrest we deplore is, I feel firmly convinced, not the result of any fanaticism or statecraft. The British rulers of this country have at heart the same interests that we cherish as our dearest possessions—the interests of order and peace, progress and co-operation. The noble Queen-Empress who rules over the land has the same motherly regard for all her children without distinction of creed or colour, and the nobler race of which she is the Queen will never falsify its past history by seeking to disunite what the highest statesmanship has joined together. (*Cheers.*) His Excellency the Governor the other day eloquently justified this noble attitude of official neutrality in matters of religion. It would certainly have been equally satisfactory if His Excellency, in his speech at Ahmednagar, had not singled out a particular community for an expression of his high displeasure. The Maratha community not long ago ruled, and still rules, over a wide stretch of territory inhabited by all manner of races and creeds, where no riots have yet occurred, and its representatives in the Deccan and elsewhere have certainly not lost their heads completely. (*Cheers.*) His Excellency himself, in his Satara address, made amends for this momentary disturbance of his usual equanimity of temper, and we may well afford to forget these incidents. The inability of the Police and District authorities to comprehend the real nature of these occasional outbursts of temper on the part of the lower orders of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities is, however, a fact which we cannot pass over in silence. Stern repression, and not timely prevention, has been their stock remedy for the disease, and this has been the source of much bitterness on both sides. (*Hear, hear.*) These apparently strained relations are really due to the increasing consciousness of their social rights which the lower orders of both the communities are slowly realising under the

The conduct of  
the Police.

protection of British rule. People who were in old times debarred from the exercise of certain privileges seek the help of the law, and, in the course of this self-assertion, it is but natural that certain classes of Hindus and Mahomedans should come into occasional conflict. Gentle management and a spirit of moderation and compromise will surely be of more practical account than indiscriminate punishments for such a state of things. (*Hear, hear.*) The leaders of both sides are willing to co-operate in a spirit of mutual conciliation if properly approached, and the executive authorities in the lower grades cannot be better employed than in bringing these leaders together and giving strength and stability to their wise counsels. The N.-W. Provinces Government have already succeeded in quieting the public mind in those parts by a resort to this policy of conciliation, and the same policy will succeed equally well here. It is an abnegation of the highest function of the Police when it waits till the mischief is done, and then fulminates its wrath through the prosecutions of the guilty and the innocent alike. It will be more to the purpose if they cease to find imaginary explanations in all conceivable quarters but the right one, and co-operate as citizens in this work, than which Christian charity can have no nobler field for its display. (*Cheers.*) This is not a question between the rulers and the ruled. The European district revenue and police officer must forget for the moment that he is a foreigner and a ruler. He must throw off the robes of office and come down as a member of the community to promote the cause of righteousness by undertaking to be a peace-maker. (*Hear, hear.*) I am still in hopes that the district authorities will come to see the matter in the light in which I have placed it before you. Even if they do not see their way to such a settlement, the path of duty lies plain before us. We, Hindus and Mahomedans, are the right and left arms of this great community—(*loud cheers*)—as was so convincingly made clear last week in the most able and well-considered speeches of my friends, Messrs. Dharamsi and Runchorlal Chotalal, at the Mahomedan Conference at Ahmedabad, and we cannot afford to slight and injure each other to our mutual ruin and wait till the doctor comes and amputates both the arms. We must remember that our disagreement puts the cause of our country, which is our cause, back for many years, for, as long as there are dissensions among us, we must look in vain for advancement in all directions. We must make allowances on both sides and fraternize as was done last year in this City after the unhappy riots and as has been much better managed in Pen, Chiplun, and other places. The unrest we deplore is an attendant evil of our transition from the old order of high and low status into one of conscious equality, and we must guide the vessel by a gentle hand, and our good sense and toleration will, I am sure, accomplish what mere repression with the heavy foot will never achieve. It is only in this way that the people of India can reap to their full extent the blessings flowing from the direct rule of Her Majesty. I am here reminded of a passage in Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort" which refers to the feelings which prompted Her Majesty to declare her real sentiments towards the people of India in the Proclamation of 1858. The passage runs thus: "The Queen has asked Lord Malmesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of eastern people on assuming the direct government over them, and after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the

Mahomedan Conference at Ahmedabad.

Prevention, not  
Repression, needed.

principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indian will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization." (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, let us show, by a spirit of mutual reconciliation, that we are fully alive to the blessings of peace and prosperity assured to us in the Proclamation, which, in the subsequent words of Her Gracious Majesty (1857), is considered "as the charter of the liberties of the princes and the people of India"—a charter whose "principles" it is her "earnest desire should be unswervingly maintained." Gentlemen, I have detained you long, but, if what I have said here affords some food for calm and dispassionate reflection on our present situation, I shall feel myself amply rewarded. (*Loud cheers and applause.*)

Inviolability of the sacred principles of the Queen's Proclamation.

A Subjects-Committee as under having been appointed, the President adjourned the Conference to 4-30 p.m. on the 3rd November, 1894.

#### SUBJECTS-COMMITTEE.

##### BOMBAY.

Mr. Curimbhai Ibrahim.  
 „ W. A. Chambers.  
 „ Vijbhoochundas Atmaram.  
 Dr. K. N. Bahadurji.  
 The Hon'ble R. M. Sayani.  
 Mr. Gokuldas Kandas Parek,  
 „ Maneksha Jehangirsha Talyarkhan.  
 „ Narayan Vishnu Gokhle.  
 „ Mulji Bhawanidas.  
 Dr. M. G. Deshmook.  
 Mr. Ebrahim Rahimtula.  
 „ Rustum K. R. Kama.  
 „ R. L. Gharat.  
 „ Vishnu K. Bhatvadikar.  
 Dr. Bhalchundra Krishna.  
 „ Atmaram Pandurang.  
 Mr. Amiroodin Tyabji.

##### POONA.

Professor G. K. Gokhle.  
 Rao Bahadur N. V. Bhide.  
 Rao Bahadur N. G. Kirtane.

##### AHMEDABAD.

Dr. J. Benjamin.  
 Mr. Manilal Bhagubhai Javeri.  
 „ Manishankur G. Bhatt.

##### SURAT.

Mr. Krishanlal Mohunlal Javeri.  
 Shett Thakorbbhai Choonilal Chakawala.

##### ANKLESIR.

Mr. Nathabhai Jagjivandas.

##### BELGAUM.

The Hon'ble V. R. Natu.

##### NASIK.

Mr. Ragoonath Narayan Gogate.

##### KALIAN.

Mr. B. J. Magmudar.

##### MAHIM.

Mr. Damodur Gopalbhai.

##### RATNAGHERRY.

Mr. J. K. Kulkarni.

##### ALIBAG.

Mr. Vithal Mahdev Dhamankar.  
 „ Gunesh Hurry Daveskar.  
 „ Pandurang Raoji Railkar.

##### PEN.

Mr. Waman Bapuji Dev.  
 „ V. S. Dharkar.

##### TANNA.

Mr. Jairambhaw Jaojerao Deskmook.  
 „ Govind Narayan Devdhakar.  
 „ Gopal Trimbuk Tarilkar.

##### MAHAD.

Mr. Chimnaji Narayan Bhate.

## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Conference re-assembled at 4-30 p.m. on the 3rd November.

The President, on taking his seat, said :—

GENTLEMEN,

The Subjects-Committee met in this hall last evening to consider and decide what questions should be brought before the Conference for discussion, and what resolutions should be submitted thereon. We will now, therefore, proceed to business. But before doing so I may inform you that I have received an anonymous communication over the signature of "Hospital Assistant." I may tell the writer, whoever he is, that this Conference takes no notice of anonymous communications. (*Cheers.*) The first subject to be brought on for discussion is the question of Land Revenue enhancement, which is one of the burning questions of the day (*Cheers*). I will call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Natu of Belgaum to move the first resolution, but will first inform the speakers that the time allowed to movers of propositions is ten minutes, and to seconders and supporters five minutes.

### Resolution I.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu (Belgaum) then rose, amid loud cheers, to move the first resolution, which was as follows :—

- I. (a) *That this Conference strongly deprecates the pronounced tendency of the Survey Department to set at naught the moderating restrictions placed upon excessive enhancements by Sir Philip Wodehouse's Government Resolution of 1874 and the Legislative enactment passed in 1886 by Lord Reay's Government guaranteeing exemption of private improvements.*
  - (b) *That this Conference notes with regret that during the last five years the Local Government has not been careful in enforcing these wholesome restraints upon the work of the department, and it has in many cases over-ruled the more moderate suggestions of its own Revenue officers when they were in conflict with those of the Survey Department.*
  - (c) *That as all recent enhancements relate to the revision of original assessment fixed in times of high prices, when the methods and appliances of the department had received their full development; the only two grounds of rough work and low prices on which enhancements were made in the earlier revisions have ceased to be operative, and that it deserves the most serious consideration of Government whether in the Konkan talukas especially more stringent limitations should not be enforced in regard to all proposals for the enhancements on individual holdings and old village groups, and whether full exemption of warkas cultivation and conversion into rice lands should not as a rule be guaranteed.*
- II. *That this Conference again urges upon the attention of Government the injustice of fixing the revenue survey assessments in the Devghad taluka at a rate higher than what the owners of land can recover from their tenants under the Khote Settlement calculated as it is to practically confiscate Khote rights; and the Conference regrets that no steps have yet been taken for remedying this great evil.*

The Hon. Mr. V. R. Natu said :—

I have much pleasure in moving the first resolution that has been entrusted to me and which, I feel sure, will meet with your acceptance. Now, gentlemen, at first sight this would be, as it is, a very limited and rather argumentative suggestion, but it no doubt involves the whole question of the recent policy of the Revenue Settlement Department. I can show you that this is the most important resolution that the Conference is called upon to pass. In the first place because it touches the vital interest of the bulk of the rural population, and, secondly, because it is practically excluded from the purview of the annual gathering of the National Congress. It is important also from another point of view ; because some of us had thought that the proper place for its discussion was the Legislative Council of this Presidency. But, as you are aware, Lord Harris ruled that it was not the proper place ; and there were other assemblies and platforms where it could be debated. (*Cheers.*) Therefore, in discussing this question here, it is simply under Government orders, and we are simply loyally carrying out the wishes of His Excellency. Now, the first point in this resolution is that the limitations placed on excessive enhancement in 1874 and again in 1886 have been practically removed by the recent policy of the Survey Department. The strong point of the decision of 1874 was that the increase of assessment at the revision settlement did not exceed 35 per cent. ; secondly, that in the case of new lands the assessment was not to exceed 66 per cent., and third and most important, that in the case of individual holdings not assessed at the time the assessment should not exceed 100 per cent. These were the most important of the restrictions placed on the powers of the Survey Department. And they were carried out for some years. But somehow or other during the last five years we have observed that these restrictions have been broken, and that, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, they have not been observed at all. Let me point out to you that that sanction has been obtained privately ; a report has been submitted to him without being issued to the general public and without any attempt being made either by Government, the Secretary of State or the Survey Department to consult the wishes of the people. Nor have those wishes been considered when an appeal has been made against the ruling of the department. As a matter of fact, the appeals of the people are not properly listened to. As regards the second part of the proposition, I would point out that the Government resolution to which I have referred says that enhanced assessment should not be made unless the material prosperity of the ryot is increased. The department should also consider the question of indebtedness. From our point of view, though not from that of the department, the most important feature of this indebtedness is that it is largely due to enhanced assessment of land revenue. (*Cheers.*) I have to urge for your consideration the fact that it is the duty of all who sympathise with the ryots to appeal to the Government to strictly follow the resolutions of 1874 and 1886, which were thought very valuable and wholesome by previous Governments. The second point contained in this resolution has reference to the policy of Government in adopting the wishes of its superior revenue officers and neglecting to follow the advice of some of their most experienced revenue officers. In my experience I will point to one instance where one high official thought that the proposed rates of the Survey Department were excessive and ought not to be in force, but the Government adhered to the suggestions of the Revenue Department. They told him in effect that to make such suggestions he did not know his business. When any controversy takes place between an officer and the people, the Government always brings its influence on the side of the increase of revenue. I can bring to your notice one recent example in the Dovghad Taluka, where the assessments have been fixed at a higher rate than the owners of land can recover under the *khote* settlement. The reasons given by this department often is that, when the settlements were originally made, the Government machinery was not complete and the department was only a new thing. Now that the machinery is complete, they contend they are justified in overstating the limits laid down in 1874. But Government fails to draw a line of distinction between talukas surveyed in 1860 and those surveyed after 1860. Before that year prices were abnormally low, but in 1860 and during the whole of the American War the prices rose to a very

magnificent rate. When those high prices prevailed, and when the Government machinery was fully developed, the Government assessed land accordingly ; so they have no reason to say that the results obtained were not correct or that the assessment was too low. There is a taluka in the Konkan where the Government not only failed to carry out the resolution of 1874, but has also failed to carry out the amendment of the Land Revenue Code made by Act IV of 1886. I would point at once to a specific instance ; in one taluka at survey of 1886 the total area was 50,000 acres, and at the revision survey it was reduced to 43,000 acres, the remainder being converted into rice-land. You also will be surprised to learn that in this instance the Government says that enquiry must be made as to what is spent by the ryot to make this conversion and how much share of the crop is due to the good quality of the land rather than cultivation. I say that in doing this Government have disregarded the section of the Land Revenue Code to which this resolution refers. The revenue officers have no right to say that they will enquire as to what is the result of the natural advantage of the land, what is the amount spent by the ryot, and we shall make our standard of assessment accordingly. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say how much money is invested by ryots in the conversion of their land, for, as you know, they are unable to keep proper accounts. The Survey Superintendent seems to suppose that the ryot can keep accounts like any firm in Bombay of the improvements he makes on his land. The point is that in 1886, when the survey was in operation, where any improvements had been completed by the ryots, the assessment of those lands should not be enhanced. Any contrary policy disregards the Land Revenue Code. But the officers always say " We cannot go into this question now, and the readiest way is to carry out the change as proposed." Now, gentlemen, we have in Mr. Javerilal a gentleman who has made a special study of this question, and I am only sorry that he was not permitted to deal with it at the Legislative Council. My friend, Mr. Talyarkhan, has also given the matter great attention, and as he seconds the resolution, I will not any further detain you from hearing what he has to say on the subject, but will once more read you the resolution. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Maneckshah Jehangirsha Talyarkhan (Bombay) seconded the Resolution as follows :—

The questions involved in the recent Revenue enhancements in the Konkan are very important and very complicated, and with the limited time allowed to me by the President I can only refer to the salient features of the settlement of the Panwel Taluka, which are really typical of the settlements in the rest of the country. In 1886, when the people of Panwel came to know that Government intended to revise the settlement of 1856, they assembled in a meeting and petitioned Government deprecating any revision, as it was likely to put them to considerable trouble and impose additional burdens upon them. But Government replied that the survey of 1856 was erroneous in some respects, especially as to *varkas* or grass lands, and it should be revised in those particulars in which it was erroneous, and that no unnecessary burdens would be thrown on the people. What was actually done at the new survey, however, was entirely to overhaul the whole of the previous settlement in all respects. The old survey of 1856 was made by a very able Survey officer, Colonel Francis, and if the new survey had been confined to the correction of the errors of the old survey, no such widespread dissatisfaction would have been caused. In the first place, no notice whatever was given to the landholders that an entirely new survey was to be made, in which the grouping of the villages, the classification of the soils, as well as the rates, were to be reconsidered and altered. The reply of Government, to which I have already alluded, rather misled them into the belief that only the errors of the old survey, especially with regard to *varkas* land, would be corrected. The only intimation the people had was that the different descriptions of land would be charged with certain rates. The actual result of the survey, however, has been that the grouping of the villages has been altered so as to benefit the revenue. Soils have been reclassified with reference to their quality with the result that in most cases lands have been transferred from an inferior to a superior class ; and thirdly, the maxima rates imposed are higher than those of 1856. It is not surprising that with all these various kinds of increments the entire assessment

of the taluka has been raised by 45 per cent.—that is, in round numbers from Rs. 1,80,000 to Rs. 2,60,000. Although the net increase on the entire taluka is 45 per cent., you will find that in individual cases and individual villages the increase has been from 100 to 1,200 per cent. In raising the assessment in this instance, every rule laid down by the Government for its own guidance has been directly infringed. The limits of increase in the case of a taluka was 33 per cent.; in that of a village, 66 per cent.; and in that of an individual khata, 100 per cent. All these limits have been exceeded, and, in order to validate their proceedings, the Government of Bombay obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State. Now this was a very unfair proceeding both to the people of Bombay and to the Secretary of State. The people had a perfect right to believe that, whatever the extent of the increase, the Government would not exceed the limits which they had themselves laid down. When therefore the Government of Bombay asked the Secretary of State to allow them to overstep these limits, surely it was only fair that the people should have been informed as to what was going to be done in order that they might have their say. But everything was done secretly, and it was only when the result of the settlement was announced that the people came to know that the sanction of the Secretary of State had been obtained. The proceeding was unfair to the Secretary of State also. He could not help giving the sanction asked for by the Government of Bombay when the latter had deliberately said that the taluka was a most flourishing one and when he had the glowing accounts before him of the Survey officers. He could not have known that the people never had an opportunity to have their say as to the largely increased taxation they were called upon to pay. And yet, when the survey papers were published, the people of Panwel were at once able to point out various inaccuracies and exaggerations in the reports of the Survey and Revenue officers. I will quote only one or two instances. One of the chief reasons for increasing the rates on *varkas* lands was that such land was largely used for the cultivation of superior kinds of mangoes. Now in the Panwel taluka proper, out of 43,000 acres of *varkas* land, only 200 acres (that is,  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) are planted with mango trees, so that the alleged extensive cultivation of mangoes dwindles into nothing. Again Panwel is credited with growing the whole of the grass shipped to Bombay from the ports of the taluka. An examination of the sources of the shipments at once showed that about half the total quantity was grown in *other talukas*, and only brought to Panwel for shipment. There are various other inaccuracies and mistakes with which I have no time to deal. The people have made a strong representation on the subject to the Local Government, and let us hope that they will get some measure of justice. But whenever the matter goes up to the Secretary of State, that officer cannot but feel embarrassed by the way in which his sanction to the increase has been obtained by the Government of Bombay on *ex parte* statements which have been shown to be erroneous in many particulars. (*Applause.*)

MR. R. L. GHARAT (Alibag), in supporting the resolution, said :—

This is not the first occasion on which this Conference has selected the subject of Land Revenue enhancement for its deliberations. Year after year the subject has been discussed, and resolutions pointing out the pernicious effects of the present policy of Government in regard to it and praying for redress have been adopted and passed by this Conference. It is most unfortunate that, in spite of all these representations, the Survey authorities should still persist in their oppressive policy. The subject is of vital importance, not only to the agricultural classes, but to the entire population—nay, even to our rulers themselves. What would be the result if, through any unbearable burden of taxation, the agriculturists should find themselves compelled to give up cultivation and resort to questionable methods of earning their livelihood? The necessity of preserving the cultivators in a state of comfort and contentment has been felt by all enlightened nations, whether ancient or modern. It would be a sad day for India if the agricultural population were to become sullen and discontented. Every attempt, therefore, should be made to watch the interests of this most important class. It may be urged that the enhanced assessment will not materially affect the cultivators inasmuch as the lands are for the most part owned by well-to-do landholders. But this is a mistaken view. We still have numerous small holdings belonging to poor agriculturists, and



the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act and the arrangement for *tagai* advances to cultivators are evidences of the solicitude on the part of Government to preserve the remnants of the once-flourishing peasantry of this Presidency. Even those who do not possess any land of their own but hold it by lease will indirectly suffer by abnormal increase in assessment. The landlords, in order to be able to pay the increased cess to Government, will undoubtedly demand a larger share of the produce of their fields and leave only a small fraction to the actual tillers.

The most salient points we have to consider in connection with these revision survey settlements are (1) to find out what the provisions of the Land Revenue Code and the various resolutions on the subject issued by Government from time to time are ; (2) to see whether the Survey authorities in carrying out their operations have loyally observed them ; and (3) to examine how any departure from them is likely to affect the interests of the people. (*Cheers.*)

In the Bombay Presidency the law allows only one regular revision survey after a stated period, generally of thirty years. It also authorises the Government to increase the revenue up to 33 per cent. on a taluka, 66 per cent. on a village, and 100 per cent. on an individual holding if such increase may appear justifiable to Government. Any departure from these principles requires exceptional grounds for justification and cannot be allowed without the special sanction of Government. Any improvements made by the occupants of lands at their own cost during their first occupancy are to be exempted from taxation at the second or revision survey. While the survey operations are in progress, the occupants of lands are to be called upon by public notification to point out the improvements they may have made. The revised rates are not to be levied in the same year in which they are announced, and the ryots are to have opportunities to petition Government when they are dissatisfied with the rates. (*Cheers.*)

So far, gentlemen, the law and Government evince the most anxious concern for the people's welfare. When, however, we come to see and examine the *practical* application of these principles, we have nothing but disappointment. The Survey authorities have, knowingly or unknowingly, disregarded the most important of these regulations. Without giving the people any opportunity for pointing out the improvements they had made, the survey classers, unhesitatingly taxed these improvements. In fixing their anna valuations, they never consulted the holders of lands in order to ascertain what ratio the natural capability of the soil bore to the fertility due to the farmer's labour and expense. In the Alibag Taluka of the Kolaba District, until a public meeting was held at Alibag after the completion of the survey operations, hardly any person had the least idea of the existence of a Government Resolution on the subject of improvements. The Survey officers neglected to issue the requisite notification in accordance with the resolution as they did not care to let the people have any knowledge of it. No copy of it has been recorded in the Mamlatdar's office. If the people readily attended to the instructions they got at the very outset to supply the Survey Department with labourers, &c., and forwarded their petitions to the Collector within two months from the appearance of the last notification, would it be fair, gentlemen, to infer that they took no notice of the intermediate notification which concerned their best interests? The late Mr. Telang (*cheers*) had to work very hard to get Government to insert clauses to this effect, but the ignorance of the people and the apparent unwillingness of the Survey authorities to give practical effect to them have made them almost a dead letter. Thus the amending clauses of 1886, so far from serving the purpose for which they were enacted, may rather be supposed to do mischief, since they are calculated to deceive the superficial observer into the belief that Government must have made an effectual provision against taxing improvements. We have, therefore, to express our emphatic, though respectful, protest and to see justice done to the agriculturists whenever attempts are made by officers of the Survey Department to avoid effect being given to the spirit of the law. (*Loud applause.*) The limit in the percentage of increase is in a number of cases wholly set aside. The circumstances are too well known to need recapitulation. In the Panwel Taluka of the Kolaba District we find the percentage going up as high as 44·8 instead of 33 allowed by the law. In the Alibag Taluka the

enhancements on individual holdings have in many cases far exceeded the legal limit of 100 per cent. In the absence of any report on the operations of the recent revision settlement, the percentage of increase on the whole taluka cannot be determined, but seeing that in a number of villages the increase has been over 40 per cent., and in one case at least over 100 per cent., it may not be far from the truth to presume that the increase on the whole taluka must have been over 33 per cent.

In the case of *bagayat* (garden) and *varkas* (grass growing) lands, the people of the Alibag Taluka have to make the loudest complaints. It is not easy to guess on what grounds the Survey authorities have raised the assessment on these two kinds of lands at such exorbitant rates. Lands containing a few jungle trees and having no apparent water-supply have been classed as *bagayat* lands. With stringent Forest and Abkari laws even coconut gardens leave a very small margin of profit to the holder. In the absence of any considerable *rabi* or dry crop in the taluka, the classing of the major portion of the old *varkas* land as *rabi* passes ordinary comprehension. Hundreds of acres of *varkas* land, where even cattle graze with difficulty, have been classed as *rabi* land and subjected to an increase in assessment of over 500 per cent.!!

One of the avowed objects of the revision survey was to ascertain the boundaries of the survey numbers of the *varkas* lands and to define the rights of occupants in them. Practically, however, it has been found that the Survey Department has done very little in this direction, and the old uncertainty and confusion as to the rights of individual occupants remain just as they were before.

In the case of the *kharapat* villages of the taluka, the clause enacting that no survey and classification work should be undertaken a third time has apparently been set aside. Although Government may say that the first settlement was based on a rough classification, Mr. Hearn, the Assistant Survey Superintendent, in his statistical reports of the Kolaba Agency in 1854, says :—“The Government has already taken it into consideration and the *kharapat* or salt batty land has undergone a complete survey and classification, and before long a new set of fair and equitable rates will be introduced to the great benefit both of the Collectors and Government.” In a footnote he adds :—“The revised and reduced rates here alluded to have since received the sanction of Government and been fixed for twenty years.” A landlord from Alibag petitioned against a third classification of land in these villages, and here is the reply he got from Colonel Godfrey, the Survey Superintendent :—“No classification work is in progress in *kharapat* villages. The Assistant Revenue Superintendent has been instructed to survey the land as far only as may be necessary to rectify any errors through oversight and committed at the former survey and to fix survey stones even at pot numbers in accordance with the regulations of the revision survey and this in no way affects clause 106 of Act V of 1879 and clause 1 of Act IV of 1886.”

The revision survey instead of doing good to the people has been a source of much anxiety to them for they do not know whence to bring money to pay the Government. A monster meeting of over 3,000 persons was held at Avas on the 21st ultimo. It is a proof of the widespread uneasiness pervading the taluka. Petitions made to Government have not yet been satisfactorily disposed of. The ignorant ryots are at a disadvantage in not being able to properly understand the survey regulations, which are very complicated, and hence they cannot set forth their grievances as best as they ought. Their petitions in such cases often fail, and they begin to despair. Under the circumstances, therefore, it would be in the interest of every body if Government give effect to their rules in a benevolent spirit and allow the ignorant ryot the benefit of doubt when there is fair room for any doubt. Nothing less than a commission of inquiry appointed by the Government is likely to set matters right. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, I come from Alibag Taluka and have taken some pains to study the subject of these enhancements as appertaining to that taluka. I can, therefore, assure you that my information is based on facts. Having already said a good deal on the subject, I do not wish to take up any more of your time, but beg most cordially to recommend for your acceptance the resolution which has been so ably proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Natu and which I have been asked to support. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. J. K. Kulkarni (Ratnagiri), in supporting the Resolution, said :—

PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I come from Ratnagiri District to represent the grievances of Khotes in Deogad Taluka regarding the enhancement of assessment in the recent survey of 1891-92.

In the last survey settlement the assessment has been, in most instances, enormously high. This increase of assessment is altogether out of proportion to any possible benefit the Taluka may have derived from facilities of communication and other conveniences, and even exceeds by far the proportion of the share to which Government deem themselves entitled, and which is fixed at 33 per cent. of the old assessment.

This fact is again well evidenced by comparing the assessment on the villages in this Taluka with that which has been laid on villages in the neighbouring Talukas of Rajapur, Vingorla and Malwan.

Most of the lands in these villages are held by tenants from whom the Khotes have to recover whatever rent is fixed by the Settlement Officer ; this settlement of rents to be paid by the tenants to the Khotes is very low. This settlement, taken in conjunction with the increased assessment, has resulted in a very heavy grievance, which would move you all with pity when I will hereafter give you a statement contrasting the rents with the assessment and loss in each village.

Before the introduction of this survey, Khotes used to recover from their tenants such rents as would cover the amount of old assessment *plus* the Khotes' profit. But the present rents to be recovered by Khotes from their tenants, according to the recent settlement, fall far short of the amount of enhanced assessment fixed by Government, and the necessary result of this has been that Khotes have either to give up their villages or pay annually a large amount of loss out of their pocket for the mere privilege of calling themselves Khotes.

Gentlemen, you are aware that these Khotes have been holding these villages for several generations, even before the introduction of the British rule, in their own right. The Khotes, without any fault of theirs, have been obliged to give up these villages, on which the very subsistence of several of their families mainly and entirely depends. It is really surprising that our so-called benign Government, whose duty it is to protect the interest of their subject, could not realize the most miserable and horrible condition in which these poor Khotes have been driven by ignorant, inexperienced, and injudicious Settlement Officers, who, instead of settling anything, have really unsettled the whole District.

To convince you more fully of these remarks, I give you a statement contrasting the rents with assessment and loss in some of the villages :—

| Village.             | Old Assessment. |    |    | New Assessment,<br>exclusive of<br>Local Fund Cess. |    |    | Rents recoverable<br>under the<br>Settlement. |    |    | Annual loss. |    |    |
|----------------------|-----------------|----|----|-----------------------------------------------------|----|----|-----------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|----|----|
|                      | Rs.             | a. | p. | Rs.                                                 | a. | p. | Rs.                                           | a. | p. | Rs.          | a. | p. |
| Birwadi ... ..       | 571             | 1  | 5  | 2,382                                               | 6  | 6  | 570                                           | 15 | 7  | 1,811        | 6  | 11 |
| Saugwe ... ..        | 874             | 1  | 10 | 2,509                                               | 12 | 10 | 881                                           | 12 | 8  | 1,628        | 0  | 2  |
| Harkul-Kurd ... ..   | 689             | 11 | 9  | 4,155                                               | 5  | 6  | 1,457                                         | 11 | 8  | 2,697        | 9  | 10 |
| Phonda ... ..        | 869             | 2  | 4  | 5,322                                               | 5  | 6  | 2,896                                         | 4  | 8  | 2,426        | 0  | 10 |
| Karange ... ..       | 413             | 2  | 2  | 2,402                                               | 2  | 0  | 881                                           | 2  | 0  | 1,521        | 0  | 0  |
| Lore ... ..          | 189             | 5  | 5  | 2,214                                               | 2  | 0  | 377                                           | 15 | 11 | 1,836        | 2  | 1  |
| Wagheri ... ..       | 280             | 12 | 2  | 1,326                                               | 0  | 0  | 278                                           | 5  | 10 | 1,047        | 10 | 2  |
| Janawali ... ..      | 834             | 13 | 1  | 2,318                                               | 8  | 6  | 936                                           | 1  | 2  | 1,382        | 7  | 4  |
| Harkul-Budruk ... .. | 1,740           | 8  | 11 | 3,762                                               | 13 | 6  | 1,879                                         | 3  | 11 | 1,883        | 9  | 7  |

The other villages too have more or less the same proportion. The Khotes have submitted a memorial to Government on the subject, but nothing seems to have been done as yet to remedy the evil.

I request, therefore, that this Conference would strongly urge upon Government the necessity of taking early steps in remedying the evil, which affects the maintenance of the several families of Khotes of Deogad Taluka. (*Applause.*)

Mr. P. B. Dantra (Bombay) supported the Resolution as under :—

The annual yield of crops in this country is fast diminishing every year on account of the scanty manure. This state of things is attributable to the poverty-stricken condition of the agriculturist and his want of knowledge of the rudiments of agriculture. *Propos* of the subject in hand, I might draw your attention to the following passage in "The Principles of National Agriculture applied to India," by Mr. Schrotky, a German writer of no mean fame on the agricultural question. This learned writer had so far back as 1876 delivered a series of lectures on this subject at the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute. This is what Mr. Schrotky says : "When entering upon this work I was stimulated by the belief, which is growing stronger and stronger with my prolonged sojourn in Bombay, that India, far from being that country about whose health and resources I delighted to read in my youthful days, is, on the contrary, a poor, impoverished land, and the majority of whose millions of inhabitants are living in abject and squalid poverty, trying to gain from mother earth the little remnant of its former wealth and fruitfulness which the recklessness and ignorance of preceding generations have left it, and that the reason of their poverty is the neglect of agricultural improvement, which past and present rulers have been guilty of, and the disregard which past generations' children have shown by exhausting the resources of a soil which once was remarkable for its fertility."

The same learned writer, in the course of his abovementioned work, observes that a hundred years before cotton produce in Broach was at the rate of 200 lbs. per acre, whereas now this is considerably reduced. It is a sad commentary on those responsible for this state of things that a foreign writer, unbiassed by any prepossessions, should feel and speak so strongly on the subject. Thirty years ago, when the land survey operations were commenced, assessment was fixed in proportion to the actual yield to the cultivator. When, however, the soil has every year grown poorer and poorer, the assessment ought *pro tanto* to be reduced. But, far from this being the case, the assessment has gone on increasing by leaps and bounds in the inverse proportion of the value of the crop. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Vithul Mahadeo, Vakil (Alibag), said as follows in support of the Resolution :—

GENTLEMEN,

I have been elected a delegate to this Conference by the people of Kolaba as well as the Bombay Presidency Association.

I have been carrying on the profession of a pleader for about twenty-eight years, and not only possess lands in the Kolaba Collectorate, paying an annual assessment of about Rs. 400, but cultivate a portion of these lands myself.

The people who elected me as their representative are almost all of them farmers, and they have requested me to state all the effects produced by the introduction of the revision survey.

I am now to place before you the sufferings of the agricultural population, which forms the major portion of the inhabitants of the villages, sufferings of which I have been a personal witness, having every day dealings with the villagers.

The Kolaba Collectorate contains seven talukas. The original survey in the zilla commenced about the year 1851-52 and closed in 1867-68. Rates according to revision survey have now been given out for the Karjat, Panwel, Pen and Alibag Talukas, and the work of revision survey is in rapid progress in the other talukas.

It will be seen from Col. Francis's report that the rates fixed at the original survey were in excess of those existing at the time of the previous administration.

When the Land Revenue Code was amended by Act IV of 1886, the Honourable Mr. Peile and the Right Honourable the then Governor, Lord Reay, declared, during the debate in the Council, that the revision survey was necessary to rectify the mistakes committed at the original survey by officers who were new to the work at the time ; and in pursuance of the same principle Government issued their Resolution No. 2619, dated 26th of March 1894. The officers committed no blunders of any importance at the original survey, and consequently the revision survey has only served the purpose of depriving the cultivators of many of their former privileges and imposing additional cess on them. The officers disregarded clause 107 of the Land Revenue Code and Government Resolution No. 2619 of 1884, which forbade the taxing of improvements on land at the cultivator's expense.

The Alibag Taluka contains about 52 villages, known as the *kharapat* or salt *batty* land. The villages were first settled in 1851-52 and were resettled in 1871-72 ; so that they ought not to have been surveyed and classified a third time. Their recent survey and classification and consequent increase in revenue enhancement are therefore unjustifiable.

At the time when the said Land Revenue Code was amended, the Honourable Mr. Telang, in discussing the inadvisibility of taxing improvements, pointed out how such a measure would create distrust in the minds of the rural population and debar the progress of agricultural improvements. He gave the instance of the cultivators of his own land at Lonauli. The Select Committee, who forwarded their report to Government on the 28th of February 1885, have laid down the same principle in it, and clause 107 of the Code was amended and Government Resolution No. 7447, dated 21st October 1886, was issued accordingly. This resolution requires the Survey Department to issue three notifications before the rates are given out, the second of which is to be to the effect that land-owners should inform the Survey Officers of any improvements they might have made in their lands at their own expense and labour. The third notification relates to the classification and fixing of maximum rates for the different groups. The Survey Officers failed to issue the second notification, so as to give full facilities to the farmers to point out their private improvements. Many agriculturists were ignorant of what this notification stated, so that they applied to the Mamletdar for a copy of it, but that officer said even he was not sure that any such notification had been issued at all. The Survey and Revenue Officers commenced giving out rates notwithstanding the provision made, in Government Resolution No. 7447, to the effect that the Survey Officers should give out their orders on hearing the farmers, and should consider any appeals that might be made after the issue of the third notification ; but the Survey Officers answered them not and commenced giving out the rates at once. When Col. Godfrey, the Survey Superintendent, began to announce the revised rates, I contended on behalf of the people that the applications they had previously made had met with no reply till then, and therefore the rates should not be announced at once. The Survey Officer said that he had intimation by wire to proceed with his work, and he would therefore announce the revised rates, adding that the people were at liberty to appeal to Government. When these new rates were announced, a notification, bearing date 7th May 1894, was read to the public. This notification stated that *navakird*, *bagayat* of the lowest class, *varkas*, *rabi* or *kharif* lands converted into *bagayat* are classed under one head, and the Survey authorities had received the sanction of Government to do so, but that alterations were liable to be made in them. The rates of assessment given out for *rabi* converted into *kharif* was to remain in force only till further orders were issued on the subject by Government.

After the announcement of revision rates a copy of notification of 23rd May 1894 was affixed in every village, which omits to state what has been said in the foregoing paragraph, and this difference between the two notifications was caused by an interval of only sixteen days.

I give here some examples for test of the revised rate of Alibag Taluka :—

| Name of Village. |     |     |     |     |     |     | Assessment at the<br>time of Original<br>Survey. | Assessment at the<br>time of Revision<br>Survey. | Percentage. |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------|
|                  |     |     |     |     |     |     | Rs. a. p.                                        | Rs. a. p.                                        | Rs. a. p.   |
| Umte             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 10 6                                           | 7 2 0                                            | 330 3 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 6 3                                            | 17 10 11                                         | 227 14 0    |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 6 2                                            | 18 2 1                                           | 116 6 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 3 6                                            | 13 0 0                                           | 325 0 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 9 0                                            | 1 11 8                                           | 200 0 0     |
| Tanasapore       | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 1 0                                            | 0 11 6                                           | 1,050 0 0   |
| Ramraj           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 7 0                                           | 48 6 0                                           | 213 3 0     |
| Morode           | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 14 4 0                                           | 52 15 0                                          | 273 3 0     |
| Thal             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 6 6                                            | 1 8 0                                            | 283 5 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 1 6                                            | 6 3 0                                            | 200 0 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 13 0                                           | 12 0 0                                           | 175 0 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 11 6                                          | 30 0 0                                           | 141 10 0    |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 14 3 6                                           | 31 0 0                                           | 114 4 0     |
| Sasavere         | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 15 0                                           | 8 0 0                                            | 250 0 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 13 6                                           | 3 8 0                                            | 223 1 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 13 0                                           | 9 8 0                                            | 300 0 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 9 8                                            | 8 14 9                                           | 191 10 0    |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 8 0                                            | 30 0 0                                           | 383 5 0     |
| Kolgaon          | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 5 2                                            | 4 9 7                                            | 300 0 0     |
| "                | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 6 1                                            | 5 1 10                                           | 300 0 0     |

From the above figures it will be seen that the assessment of the Alibag Taluka has been increased by Rs. 62,092-13-5. In like manner the assessment of the Pen Taluka has been increased by Rs. 46,037.

Hundreds of people appealed to Government after the announcement of the revised rates, but they have received no reply as yet.

The notification ratifying the revision survey and settlement guarantees the present rates for only thirty years, and the people feel exceedingly anxious as to what might befall them after the expiration of that period.

Every landholder ought to have been acquainted with the contents of the second notification, in order to afford full facilities for showing the improvements he might have made in his lands, and the Honourable Mr. Javerilal's contention in Council in this respect was quite to the point.

The landholders ought to have been acquainted with the contents of the second notification, especially as the Civil Courts do no longer exercise jurisdiction in matters affecting revenue enhancements, which has, by Act X of 1876, been transferred to the Revenue Courts.

Before the announcement of the revised rates the third notification was issued which, while showing the grouping and classification of villages, assigns the same maximum rate for *rabi*, *kharif*, and *navakird*. All these lands are each of them of greater or less importance than the other. The landholders would severally have liked to have previous intimation of this sort of classification.

I request the Conference to move the Government of India to amend Act X of 1876, so as to restore the jurisdiction of the Civil Court.

A curious incidence has occurred in the case of the Alibag and Pen Talukas. The revised rates were given out in the months of March and April of the official year 1893-94, when the revenue cess for that year had already been collected. The *khatas* had been closed but they were re-opened and the revised tax for 1893-94 was entered to his credit and debited to Government as *remissions*. Section 104 of the Land Revenue Code forbids the levy of the revised assessment in the year in which it was announced, and so the notification

of 23rd May 1894, taking 1894-95 for the year of levy, guarantees the rates to be in force till 1923-24. Properly speaking, the revised assessment ought to have been excused for the year 1894-95 and the year 1895-96 ought to have been the year of commencement.

It will be seen from what has been said that the revision survey in the different talukas has not been carried out with due regard to the provisions of the Land Revenue Code and the various Government resolutions relating to them.

As a justification of the abnormal increase of land revenue in the Panwel Taluka, the Survey authorities state improved means of communication, in that a bridge at Div and a road from Kalyan have recently been constructed, the cultivation of grafts and such valuable trees as the nutmeg are also advanced as reasons. Now the whole of the Alibag Taluka hardly contains more than ten such valuable trees as the nutmeg.

Now all these reasons are empty; on the contrary the agriculturists on this side of the Presidency have been losers inasmuch as the Abkari Act has reduced a great portion of their income from *bagayat* lands. They have been saddled with the Salt, Registration, Stamp and Local Boards Acts. They cannot get any supplies from the forests. The state of the farmers has indeed been of late so very deplorable that they can hardly get sufficient food. I must therefore urge this Conference to fight their case to the last.

A state of great dejection pervades the agricultural population, as will be seen from a petition to Government addressed by a meeting of about a thousand farmers from Pen, which had assembled at Mangrun a few days ago. The language of the petition is not polished; no doubt as it cannot be expected to be, being that to which the farmers are used. They request Government not to take legal steps against them in case they should commit suicide to which they say the burden of so many heavy taxes must ultimately lead them. They prayed God to inspire mercy into the heart of Government. The conduct of the peasants may appear ludicrous to some, but it is a sufficient proof of the depression which they experience.

I must, before concluding my speech, enjoin on you the necessity of preserving the agricultural population of this country, for on them chiefly depends the welfare of India. And on them we depend for our food. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Ganesh Hari Dewuskar (Alibag), in supporting the Resolution, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I wish to speak in connection with the Konkan Revision Survey Settlement. In the first place I would draw your attention to a few facts relating to the original survey. In his report on the Konkan survey, Captain Francis has admitted that in some talukas the rates of assessment fixed at the original survey were very high. From their experimental farms, Government have now known that in the Konkan much labour and cost are required to make the lands yield a good crop. I shall explain by an example how the original assessment was fixed. In the village of Shenawai, of the Roha Taluka, in the Kolaba Collectorate, I possess a piece of land, which is entered in the Government register in the name of my father, Hari Anant Dewuskar. At the original survey this piece was assessed at 18 *maunds* and 8 *payalis* of corn and Rs. 12-6-6 in cash. Calculating the price of the corn at Rs. 20 per *khandi*, which was taken as the average rate at the former survey, the whole assessment came to Rs. 31-1-2. To this were added two other cesses, one called the *galletasar*, which amounted to Rs. 3-3-6, and the other *gallepatti*, which came to Rs. 3-9-3. Thus the total assessment from all causes amounted to Rs. 37-13-11. At the revision survey the assessment on the same land has been fixed at Rs. 40-11-6. From this it is clear that the present settlement has unnecessarily loaded us with these two cesses—*galletasar* and *gallepatti*—in addition to an increase of Rs. 2-13-7. I say unnecessarily, because these cesses were levied by the former rulers, simply because they collected the assessment in kind (namely, produce) and had to dispose of it in distant markets. When the present Government collect the taxes only in coin, there seems to be no justification for levying the two cesses. When the assessment was in kind there were remissions in bad years, and we were also allowed to pay the

assessment in arrears. Although apparently it is only one kind of taxation, we have been indirectly obliged to submit to various cesses. It is a fact that the price of corn has now increased twenty-five per cent. over what it was at the original survey, but owing to various causes the produce of fields has been now much reduced. (*Hear, hear.*)

From considerations like the above one would be induced to reduce the former excessive rates of assessment, but as the Land Revenue Code lays down that the assessment may be increased to a certain per cent., our Survey authorities, instead of taking the existing circumstances into consideration, have unhesitatingly recommended abnormal increases. The average price of corn has increased 25 per cent., but the Survey authorities make their increases 33 per cent. or even more on a taluka. Our right to appeal to Civil Courts against unjust taxation has also been taken away from us. To show how the recent revision settlement has been contrary to the spirit of the law, I need only take the instance of the Alibag Taluka. In this taluka a notification, dated 16th November 1893, and giving the maximum rates, was issued by the Survey Superintendent to the various villages. Supposing the increase of 13 per cent. on the villages of the first group in that notification to be reasonable, the increase up to 33 per cent. in the case of sweet and salt rice-lands on the villages in the other groups seems to have no justification. The increase up to 50 per cent. on *bagayat* lands and up to 200 per cent. on *varkas* lands is equally unreasonable. According to the former survey *sweet rice*, *salt rice*, *bagayat*, *rabi* and *varkas*, were the five classes into which all lands were divided. At the recent survey a new class called *navakirda* or converted lands has been added to these. Formerly there were four groups of villages for sweet rice land, now there are only three groups. The increase in the case of the first two groups is Re. 1 per acre; but as the 14 villages of the former third group have been transferred to the second group, the increase in their case has been Rs. 2 per acre. These villages having no ports or other conveniences should not have been transferred to the second group. The old fourth group having been transferred to the third, has been subjected to an increase of Re. 1½ per acre. In the case of salt rice land villages, although there has been no alteration in the grouping, the increase per acre has been from 8 annas to Re. 1. Besides this the increases on individual holdings have in many instances far exceeded the legal limit.

In the case of *bagayat* villages the original five classes have now been reduced to two. All the villages of the former second class having been transferred to the first class, the percentage of increase has been 25 and 50 for the former first and second classes respectively. The villages of the former second class are at a disadvantage in being more distant from ports and having less fertile soil, but these factors do not seem to have been taken into consideration by the Survey authorities. The third class villages have all been transferred to the second and made to bear an increase of 25 per cent., while the remaining two classes have been eliminated. As in other cases the percentage of increase on individual *bagayat* holdings has been very high, the major portion of the former *rabi* land has been now classed as *kharif* or rice land. In the absence of any considerable grass produce in the taluka, the assessment on *varkas* land has been increased 200 per cent. All the level land that was formerly *varkas* is now *rabi*, and the increase on it has been from about 4 annas to about Rs. 2 per acre or 700 per cent. The increase on *varkas* land in some cases has exceeded even 1,000 per cent. *Navakirda* or converted lands have been similarly subjected to enormous enhancements.

It is a well-known fact that in the Konkan the fall of rain is generally great, and in the rainy season large quantities of earth and other matter are brought down into the fields from the hills and deposited there. The farmers are put to trouble and expense to remove them. If this were not done, the condition of fields would have been far worse than what it was at the former survey. The change for better in the quality of the lands is the result of our labour and, therefore, it cannot be said that the lands were classed as inferior and at the former survey through mistake. We have been constantly manuring our fields at considerable cost. *Rabi* and *varkas* were converted into *kharif* by us at great cost, and to tax them at abnormally high rates is to tax improvements. Government Resolutions No. 2619, dated 26th March 1884, and No. 7447, dated 21st October 1886, appear to have been wholly set aside in this connection. *Rabi* is,



properly speaking, land near the bank of a river, but it seems all lands that appeared to be level to the survey classers, whether they were capable of producing any *rabi* crops or not, were classed as *rabi*. The recent revision settlements were completed with the help of ignorant village *patels*, who, it seems never cared to find out what the spirit of the Code was or what the reports the Survey subordinate officials asked them to sign contained; otherwise we could have got the requisite instructions while the survey operations were in progress.

Before concluding, I beg to refer to Government Resolution No. 1028, dated 25th February 1874, by which no tax should be levied on water supply in the Konkan. In the Alibag Taluka large expenses have to be incurred to make provision for watering the trees on alternate days, but the survey authorities, in spite of the resolution quoted above, have apparently taxed the water supply. I may also mention that the change of the name of land in the new survey papers from the word *khalsa* to the word *sarkari* has been unintelligible to us. Do Government mean to intimate to us that by the insertion of the word *sarkari* or *government* we are to understand that Government can at any time dispossess us of our ancestral lands?

I earnestly pray that Government will be graciously pleased to give our complaints due consideration.

With these remarks I beg heartily to support the resolution. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Budhaji Nathu Mokal (Alibag), in supporting the Resolution, said:—

I come from a village in the Alibag Taluka. I am an Agri by caste, and therefore I cannot speak well. I hope you will kindly excuse my mistakes. I possess some paddy-land, which I cultivate myself. The salt rice-lands being subjected to great risks, such as being immersed in salt water on occasions of high tides, the increase of assessment on them will be a great hardship on the poor agriculturists. I hope Government will hear our prayer. With these few remarks, gentlemen, I resume my seat. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Nagurdas Raoji Sett also supported the Resolution.

Mr. Waman Bapuji Deo (Pen) observed in support of the Resolution:—

I am a landholder and come from the Pen Taluka of the Kolaba District to represent the landholding and cultivating classes. My predecessors have dealt with the question at length very ably and have explained to you how the Survey Department has acted in defiance of certain rules laid down from time to time, and how distressing its working and results have been. My taluka is one of the victims to the oppression above referred to, as the revised assessments have only been announced in May last to the utmost discontent and misery of the people.

As much has been said and written about this subject here, as well as in the local Legislative Council and in the Press, I shall but touch only two points in my address during the space of five minutes allotted to me.

First, I shall try to point out how the assessment is increased, by leaps and bounds, by the following figures:—

| Original Assessments<br>in rupees. |    |    | Revised assessments<br>in rupees. |    |    | Increase<br>per cent. |
|------------------------------------|----|----|-----------------------------------|----|----|-----------------------|
| Rs.                                | a. | p. | Rs.                               | p. | p. |                       |
| 1                                  | 0  | 9  | 3                                 | 12 | 0  | 300                   |
| 0                                  | 5  | 9  | 1                                 | 0  | 0  | 300                   |
| 14                                 | 3  | 8  | 27                                | 1  | 6  | 200                   |
| 19                                 | 14 | 2  | 38                                | 4  | 10 | 200                   |
| 13                                 | 7  | 9  | 29                                | 3  | 1  | 225                   |
| 1                                  | 2  | 6  | 4                                 | 10 | 3  | 400                   |
| 4                                  | 12 | 0  | 13                                | 8  | 0  | 325                   |
| 0                                  | 6  | 10 | 1                                 | 11 | 4  | 400                   |

The above figures are only a few among many of their kind ready with me, which I do not give for want of time. They will give you an idea of the fearful increase at which the people are vexed and growl.

The second and the last point to which I wish to draw your attention, is the conduct of business of the Survey Department, which is so cautious and deceptive as to leave no room for the combined efforts of the people, to make timely appeals. Everything is purposely kept vague till the moment of the actual announcement of the assessments.

On opening the survey works in a taluka they first exact expenses, for the survey and classification, from the people, through the Mamletdars, whose powers in a taluka town are almost unlimited. The expenses are equal to the revenue. In some cases even more than that, and are exacted for a work which the people never asked for or invited. (*Hear, hear.*) After the completion of the survey and classification work, they publish a notification, in which they give the old and new maximum rates against every village, according to the class or group of that particular village, and one common rate for all kinds of *navakirala* (new occupied) lands. This notification is the only written publication about the assessments to be revised, in which they invite objections within two months. But the notification states nothing about an individual holding and so the people remain silent and indifferent, as none of them know the exact sum to be increased in his own case. Besides, this vague and defective notification is known only to a few, only one copy being sent to every village, as well as only one to the taluka town. Petitions sent to the Survey authorities remain unreplied and those sent to the Local Government are refused on the ground that they do not reach them through the proper channel. This state of things keeps the people in a dilemma. How surprising it is, to a thinking mind, that when a permanent increase of lakhs of rupees is contemplated, such vague, or, in fact, no information is supplied to those who are to be burdened with the enhanced charge. Another difficulty of the people is that they do not get the settlement report, consisting of full information, till after a year and a half of the announcement of the assessments, although it lies ready even before the date of the issue of the vague notification. This simply means that the people should not get the opportunity of reasonably and properly refuting and criticising the reasons stated in the report by the Government officials for increasing the assessment proposed by them or, that they (people) should not have their petitions based on reliable information and facts or, that they (people) should not be armed with the necessary materials to refute the statements in the report. Where petitions are made, in the absence of the exact information, replies are sent that they are groundless and deserve no further consideration. (*Shame.*)

Such is the state of things, under which the people suffer, and such is really the treatment that the people get at the hands of the Survey Department, which, as shown above, has proved itself unfair in its operations towards the villagers. This mode of silencing the people is worthy of condemnation.

Their device is first to arrange everything secretly without giving any previous intimation to the people and then to refuse to receive the complaints of the people as being too late. Will this way of taxation be preferred by the English and tolerated by the great British tribunal, the House of Commons? Gentlemen, with these few remarks, I commend the resolution to your approval. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Jeyrambhai Jowjarao Deshmook (Tanna) also supported the Resolution.

Mr. Venayek Nayaran Bagwat, a Government pensioner, asked the President to allow him to make a few observations before he put the resolution to the vote. Permission having been granted, he drew the attention of the meeting to the sentence in the resolution "whether in the Konkan talukas

especially more stringent limitations should not be enforced in regard to all proposals for the enhancements on individual holdings and old village groups, and whether full exemption of *varkas* cultivation and conversion into rice lands should not as a rule be guaranteed." He said that the Conference asked too much and asked that which was in fact unreasonable. Those who had had an opportunity of studying the records of the Tanna District would know for a fact that there was a time when Government did not know what to do with a part of the district on account of its yielding very little revenue. In fact, the income was so small that it was not sufficient to conduct the administration of such parts of the district. The population in the district in those days was very sparse, though it had increased of late on account of the means of communication—namely, railways and roads—having been introduced since into the district. There were still many places which were sparsely populated, and therefore all that land which was classed about twenty-five or thirty years ago as *varkas* land was, really speaking, not *varkas* land, but land which produced rice, and it was therefore too much to ask Government to exempt such land from higher taxation. He accordingly moved an amendment that the sentence he had pointed out should be deleted.

The President : Is any gentleman prepared to second the amendment?  
(Cries of "No," "No.")

The amendment accordingly fell to the ground, and the original proposition was then put to the vote and carried amidst loud applause.

## Resolution II.

Professor G. K. Gokhle, M.A. (Poona), then rose amidst loud cheers to propose the second resolution as follows :—

*That this Conference regards with feelings of dismay and alarm the rules which have been drafted by the Bombay Government to regulate first admission to the recently-constituted Provincial Service, inasmuch as these rules are calculated to seriously impair administrative efficiency in the Presidency by reason of (1) the exclusion of the Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service ; (2) the prescribing of a ridiculously low educational test for entrance by competition ; and (3) the complete subordination sought to be effected of the competitive principle to the principle of direct nomination by Government ; and that this Conference is emphatically of opinion that the introduction of race or class considerations in the apportionment of posts in the public service is in direct opposition to the pledges given in the matter to the people of this country by Parliament in 1833 and by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress in 1858.*

He said :

Gentlemen, before I proceed to a criticism of the rules drafted by Government, I think it would be well to explain briefly at the outset what this new Provincial Service is. In the despatches of most of the Local Governments and Administrations, it has been stated that the Provincial Service was the creation of the Public Service Commission, that the Commission formulated the scheme and Government merely adopted it. I venture, however, to say that

this is not merely an inadequate representation, but to some extent it is even a misrepresentation, for, gentlemen, the scheme of the Commission differed in two most important respects from the scheme subsequently adopted by the Indian Government. When the Commission sat and reported, our Public Service—I am confining myself to the Revenue and Judicial branches only—was divided into two parts, the upper part comprising all the posts reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, from Assistant Collectors and Assistant Judges to Revenue and Judicial Commissioners and Members of Council, and the lower part, known as the Subordinate Service, comprising all lower posts up to the Deputy Collectorships on the Revenue side and First Class Subordinate Judgeships and Small Cause Court Judgeships on the Judicial side. Now the Commission proposed that, instead of this twofold division, the public service should be divided into three parts: the topmost part to be reserved for the Covenanted Civilians and to be called the Imperial Service; the middle part to consist of a few posts detached from the old reserved Covenanted Service and some from the Subordinate Service and to be called the Provincial Service; and the lowest part to consist of what was left of the Subordinate Service. Now this scheme of the Commission was on the whole most unsatisfactory, but one great merit of it was that it required Parliamentary legislation to permanently take away from the schedule of the Act of 1861 the posts that were proposed to be detached. But, gentlemen, when this question went to the Secretary of State, our great champion, Mr. Bradlaugh—*(loud applause)*—was living, and Lord Cross was somehow or other afraid of facing Parliament in Indian matters during Mr. Bradlaugh's life-time. *(Hear, hear.)* And the Secretary of State, therefore, decided to avoid the whole difficulty by trying to effect, by executive action under the powers conferred on him and the Indian Government by the Act of 1870, what the Commission wanted him to effect by Parliamentary legislation. Here was thus the first departure, and most important and at the same time a most unfortunate departure, from the lines laid down by the Commission. For, gentlemen, you can all understand that the guarantee afforded by Parliamentary legislation is infinitely more valuable than that afforded by a mere executive order which the Government could modify or even withdraw at its own pleasure. *(Loud cheers.)*

Another most regrettable modification of the Commission's scheme was that the quality and number of the covenanted posts proposed to be assigned to the Provincial Service was considerably reduced by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in passing final orders on the subject. Well, gentlemen, all this was bad enough, but the Commission and the Indian Government wanted that the Provincial Service should resemble, as far as possible, at least in form, the Covenanted Service, and because there is direct recruitment for the Covenanted Service, therefore they wanted that there should be direct recruitment also for the Provincial Service. And the question of framing the rules for regulating first admissions to the new service was left by them to the various Local Governments and Administrations. Here was then an opportunity for the Local Governments to show the stuff of which they were made, to show how capable they were of taking a broad and sympathetic and statesmanlike view of things. *(Cheers.)*

And how did the Government of Lord Harris choose to acquit itself in this matter? Why, gentlemen, the only answer that I can give to this question is that it acquitted itself like itself. *(Laughter.)* Its conduct in this matter was in entire keeping with its traditions. Gentlemen, you may remember that only the other day Lord Harris charged the Deccan with having become during the past twelve months a by-word for insubordination and disobedience. Well, whatever we may think of this accusation, one fact is clear, and that is that during these twelve months, and indeed more than these twelve months, His Lordship's Government has made itself a by-word for systematic blundering and for reaction. *(Loud and continued applause.)* I know, gentlemen, this is strong language to use. But when so high a person as the Governor of this Presidency allows himself to be so completely scared by the ghosts conjured up by the imagination of his subordinates and comes down from his pedestal to hurl charges indiscriminately right and left, it is time for us, humbler mortals, to speak out, and speak out fearlessly.

I will, therefore, respectfully suggest only one question to His Lordship. Let him ask himself in what condition he found this Presidency when Lord Reay—*(cheers)*—left the shores of India and in what condition he is now leaving it to his successor. Gentlemen, an unbounded faith in the infallibility of the official hierarchy, a careful and complete shutting out of all non-official light, a persistent and almost studied defiance of public opinion, and an obstinate clinging even to errors under the mistaken notion that that was a sign of strength—these have been the main characteristics of His Lordship's administration—*(loud cheers)*—and his conduct in this matter of the Provincial Service Rules has been marked by all these things. The general desire in regard to these rules was that the recruitment should be all by open competition and that the competitive test should be, as far as possible, identical with the Covenanted Civil Service test, so that it should not afterwards lie in the mouths of our opponents to speak sneeringly of the attainments of those members of the Provincial Service who might in course of time come to be appointed to the detached covenanted posts. But instead of this, what does the Bombay Government propose? In the first place, it relegates the competitive principle to a subordinate position in determining the mode of recruitment. Now it is all very well to say that the candidate who stands first in the examination is not necessarily the best of all the candidates. It is not a question of what is ideally the best mode of recruitment; the question is, what is the best method available? And from this point of view I am quite sure you will agree with me in thinking that open competition is vastly better than direct nomination by Government. The remarkable success of the Subordinate Judicial Service and the miserable failure of the Statutory Service are the two best illustrations of our contention. Then as regards the competitive test, the Bombay Government has proposed a curriculum so *ridiculously* low, it is difficult to believe that it could be the work of a responsible Government. *(Loud cheers.)*

Gentlemen, till the beginning of this year we were absolutely in the dark in regard to the intentions of Government in the matter. We had repeatedly before that urged for a publication of the proposed rules in draft form—even the last Conference passed a resolution containing this prayer—but the Government was pursuing its usual policy of secrecy and was preserving the silence of the tomb. But what the Government would not give us, an English daily supplied, and when we read the curriculum, surely it took our breath away. Here was a competitive test to be proposed for men who would one day be appointed Collectors and Sessions Judges and who would be placed on a footing of equality with those who had passed the Covenanted Civil Service examination—an examination stiffer in nature and wider in scope than a M. A. examination in the various groups. And yet the test proposed by the Bombay Government for these men is that on the literary side they should pass in one of the vernaculars of the Presidency and should have sufficient knowledge of English to write and understand official reports *(laughter)*; on the mathematical side, they are to pass in arithmetic up to simple interest, algebra up to simple equations, and the first two books of Euclid *(renewed laughter)*; on the historical side, they are to read a brief history of England and a brief history of India, and in addition they are to choose one optional subject. *(Loud laughter.)* Gentlemen, you will see that this test is far inferior even to our Matriculation or U. S. F. Examination. *(Renewed laughter.)*

Well, I think the mere reading out of this curriculum to you is the best condemnation that I can pass upon it. The next point in the proposed rules is the exclusion of the Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service. Here, however, it is necessary to observe, in justice to the Bombay Government, that it is not responsible for this exclusion. Our information is—and this information is supported by the tenor of the Government of India's reply to the memorial of the Sarvajanic Sabha—that it fought hard for the inclusion of the Mamlatdars, but that the Government of India disallowed the proposal for securing uniformity in all the Provinces. Well, gentlemen, this securing of uniformity at the expense of efficiency is, I think, a little too costly. The memorial of the Sarvajanic Sabha has dealt with this question of the Mamlatdars'

exclusion in all its bearings, and I don't wish to dwell on it any more in this place at this late hour. The last point in the rules which demands a protest is the introduction of race or class considerations in making appointments to the public service. And here, gentlemen, I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding. I am one of those that have the very strongest sympathy with the backward classes. I feel, and feel most earnestly, that, unless the backward classes come up educationally into a line with those that are more advanced, real progress is not only difficult, but is in many respects impossible. But the way to bring these classes up is not by pitchforking their members into places for which they may not be fit, but by giving them special educational facilities. And, in adopting this remedy, it is the imperative duty of us all to earnestly co-operate with Government. Gentlemen, the sympathy professed by a certain class of people for the backward classes is often in reality a desire not to push these backward classes forward, but to push the forward classes backward. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) While, therefore, we would welcome any special educational facilities which the Government would give to the backward classes, so far as the public service is concerned, we must insist that fitness, and fitness alone, should be the criterion of eligibility, as has been solemnly promised by Parliament and by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Gentlemen, I believe I have dealt with all the points mentioned in the resolution which I have moved. I know there is no hope that our protests and our prayers will be of any avail. But as it is more agreeable to live in this world with hope than to live without it, let us hope that Lord Harris will yet see his way to show some regard for public opinion in this matter. It may be a sign of strength to stick to one's own plan in spite of opposition, but I think it requires far greater and more real courage to turn back when the defects of your plan are pointed out to you. (*Loud and long continued applause.*)

Mr. Manilal Bhagubhai Javeri (Ahmedabad) seconded the resolution as follows :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I feel very great pleasure in seconding the resolution that has been so ably put forth before you by Professor Gokhle. As many of the salient points have been already touched upon, I shall not now trespass upon your valuable time by repeating what has been already said, but I shall confine myself to a few minor points which have not been alluded to.

In our demand to be allowed an adequate share in the administration of our own country, gentlemen, we find that our cherished rights and privileges instead of being gradually increased, to our great regret, are constantly being diminished. This fact will be fully borne out when we shall remember that before the appointment of the Public Service Commission about 150 higher posts usually given to Covenanted Civilians were reserved for the natives of this country. Being dissatisfied we agitated for more and the result was the appointment of the Public Service Commission. This Commission, no doubt, failed to carry out the specific object for which it was appointed, *viz.*, to do full justice to the claims of the people of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service. The ultimate result was that the Commission found the number of higher posts reserved for us too great and therefore it was reduced to 108, which was further reduced by the then Secretary of State to 93. The outcome of all this was the organization of the present Provincial Service scheme.

Gentlemen, in the drafting of the rules for the Provincial Service scheme, to our great disappointment, we find that the strongest recommendations of the Commission are set at naught. The Commission in its report observed as follows :—“As the conditions of admission to the Imperial Service aim at high English qualifications, so the conditions of the admission to the Provincial Service should be framed with a view to secure the best qualification in India.” Is the test prescribed at all sufficient to fulfil the above condition? No. (*Cheers.*) The Board of Directors of the East India Company recommended whatever tests of qualification

may be adopted, distinction of race and religion shall not be among the number. Fitness alone was to be the criterion of eligibility. Another disappointing feature of the present rules is the introduction of the considerations of caste and creed in the selection of the member for the Provincial Service. This is clearly quite inconsistent with the solemn declarations made by the East India Company when forwarding the Act of 1833 to the Government of India and also with the pledges given to us in the famous proclamation, known as the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. According to the present rules the admission to the Provincial Service will be made partly by open competition, partly by nomination, and, in very exceptional cases, by promotion from the Subordinate Service.

As for open competition the test provided is ridiculously low. This so-called open competition is further accompanied by the absurd condition that the appointments to be filled up every year will be allotted in certain proportions to the various castes and creeds. Gentlemen, nothing more harmful, nothing more illogical, nothing more calculated to weaken the moral tone of the service could be conceived than laying down the principle that considerations of caste and creed and not fitness alone are henceforward to be a factor in the granting of public appointments. (*Hear, hear.*)

As to the selection by nomination no educational test seems to have been provided except it be the attainment of the qualification of knowing as to how one should ingratiate one's self in the favour of His Excellency the Governor and other highly placed officers who can influence him. Gentlemen, look where we may, in every department of service we find that the system of nomination has never been a success. This system can work well and yield good results only if the selecting authority has an intimate knowledge of all the candidates, and that, too, in an equal degree; but this is impracticable in the case of such a constituted body as the Local Government.

In order to preserve the moral tone and to secure the highest efficiency in the service, it is very essential that a high educational test should be fixed and that no considerations of caste and creed, but that fitness, and fitness alone, should be the guiding criterion in the selection of candidates for the Provincial Service. Selection by nomination should be entirely expunged from the scheme. That the present system of selecting candidates for higher service in the Judicial Department, based as it is on high educational test, should be maintained.

Gentlemen, with these few remarks, I beg to second the resolution and trust that it will meet cordial reception at your hands. (*Applause.*)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with enthusiasm.

### Resolution III.

Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (Bombay), who was received with loud cheers, proposed the Third resolution, which ran as follows:—

*"I (a) That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective members twelve out of the total number of twenty-five seats in the enlarged Provincial Legislative Council. (b) That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a division as the Central Division, as also of Sind, have been left absolutely unrepresented in the enlarged Council, while other minor interests, like those of the European mercantile community, have been allowed over-representation. (c) That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date so to amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matter to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different parts of the Presidency.*

II (a) *That this Conference views with regret the unsatisfactory manner in which replies are generally made to questions put by honourable members in the Local Legislative Council, thus defeating the wholesome object with which the privilege of interpellation has been granted in the amended Councils Act, 1892. (b) That in the opinion of this Conference it is highly desirable and most expedient in public interests that the rules laid down regarding interpellation under the amended Councils Act, 1892, should be so modified as to enable honourable members to preface their questions by brief explanatory observations. (c) That this Conference is of opinion that, under the rules of debate prescribed for the Legislative Councils, the Provincial Council is the fittest and most legitimate place where, on the presentation of the Provincial Budget, could be discussed, with appropriateness and due responsibility, all questions affecting land revenue, excise, salt, assessed taxes, provincial rates, registration, and forests, and the administrative policy respectively governing them, so far as that policy is directly or indirectly under the control of the Provincial Government; and that it is highly prejudicial to public interests to curb such debate by interpreting the said rules in an extremely narrow and illiberal spirit."*

Mr. Wacha said :

The resolution which I have just read to you is, as you must have noticed, divided into two parts, the first of which simply re-affirms that passed at the last Conference at Ahmedabad. The second is entirely new and called forth by the recent proceedings of the Legislative Council at Poona. But, gentlemen, I do not know whether I shall be able to do justice to my task, as I feel at the present moment that I am suffering under two disabilities. It is already growing late, while time is limited. That is a serious drawback. But it is nothing as compared to my nervousness caused by what I noticed on the platform a few short minutes ago. There was a myrmidon of the police—a member of that dreadful Detective Department. I do not know what business he had in our midst. (*Loud laughter.*) But anyhow, his appearance had made my heart to sink to the sole of my shoes. (*Laughter.*) I fear I am growing tremulous, and that my voice may fail me. (*Renewed laughter.*) But to proceed. As to the allocation of the non-official seats I said enough, and more than enough at the last Conference, and demonstrated to the hilt how the principle adopted by Lord Harris's Government was artificial, and how far it was illogical and inconsistent. There was over-representation and sad want of representation. Had the territorial principle, for which we prayed, been adopted, Lord Harris's administration would have never come to grief—(*hear, hear*)—and avoided the indignation with which it was deservedly overwhelmed. In endeavouring to give undue preponderance to what His Lordship curiously called the principle of interests, of races and creeds, worked with territorial interests where possible, his Government did the greatest injustice by leaving out in the cold so important a division as the Central. To have neglected to give a seat to such a division was really tantamount to sacrificing the best interests of the public, for I am of the belief that there is no division which is so far advanced in enlightenment, public spirit, and legitimate political activity as the Deccan. (*Cheers.*)

I pointed out at Ahmedabad how the interest principle wrecked the Government of Bombay in the matter of the seats. I said that in practice it has proved to be illogical and inconsistent. Of three or four instances of such official vagary I will give one here. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce was allotted one, while the Karachi Chamber got another—as if the interests represented by the latter were not identical with those of the former. The Karachi Chamber is simply an adumbration of the larger Bombay body,—its interests being the same. The seat allotted was therefore simply a waste. Properly speaking, it should have



been allotted to the Central Division, which would have removed all cause of complaint. But if distinct and separate interests were to be taken into consideration as regards seats, why were such two important and distinct interests as those of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association and the Native Piece-goods Dealers' Association absolutely ignored? But I need not further dilate on the subject; suffice to say in this place, that it is hopeless to expect anything like liberality and justice from Lord Harris who, as I have more than once observed, is simply an exalted Tory mediocrity. (*Laughter and cheers.*) His government is a government of rabid Tories—(*laughter and cheers*)—entirely inimical to the principle of the amended Councils Act. From the very day of the inception of the legislation it has expressed its open hostility to it. This may be read in the minutes made by members of the administration. So that it is not surprising that the Councils Act is at present being administered in a most narrow, illiberal, and perfunctory spirit every way. And now the rumour is, according to the newspapers, that the Northern Division is threatened with disenfranchisement. Poor Guzerat! what a fate for her! (*Laughter.*) Why, gentlemen, she is the fattest milch-cow of the Government in point of land revenue. Broach alone pays the highest revenue per acre in the whole of the Presidency, and yet this rich district is to be deprived of its newly-conferred privilege! I am aware that Lord Harris has recently observed, in rather vague terms, that there is no foundation for the rumour. We are bound to accept His Lordship's word. At the same time you should remember the old and trite adage, namely, "Put not your trust in princes." (*Laughter.*) Let me warn you not to put your trust in Governors, or for that matter, in that of any exalted mediocrities. (*Loud laughter.*) Princes and Governors and their tribes are seldom true to their promises as past history and present politics abundantly testify. Time would show whether the rumour after all turns out to be true. If true, you will not be slow, I am sure, to enter your indignant protest against a step so arbitrary. (*Cheers.*)

Coming to our new-fangled Legislative Councils, I dare say you have carefully read the newspaper reports of the sittings held at Poona in August last. The official report was published in the local official gazette two days ago. I might say that I was a silent spectator of those proceedings, and I was keenly disappointed at the manner in which the members of the Government seemed to go through their work. To me it seemed as if they considered it an unmitigated bore to have to sit out for two or three hours for two consecutive days and answer inconvenient and even awkward questions and hear pungent criticisms on their precious finance. (*Laughter.*) Judging from their procedure, it appeared to me that they looked too eager to scuttle through their so-called legislative programme and run away next door to the Gymkhana and discuss with a genuine gusto the programme of the sports which were going on there. (*Loud laughter.*) But let me come to my point at once. There were 56 questions put by the honourable members. These have been criticised by the official *Moniteur* as "formidable." The Council was called an interpellative body. Imagine 56 questions by eight non-official members within a twelvemonth. It comes to an average of seven per head. Are these too many? If Council meetings were frequent the formidable array would not strike so much. When we notice every day the number of administrative errors here, there, and everywhere, are seven questions per head, on the most vital subjects, affecting the weal or woe of the people of this Presidency, too many? I say they are ridiculously few and most reasonable. But what about the answers? I can at once tell you, gentlemen, that I fully confirm what was stated on this subject in the exhaustive and able address of the President yesterday. In many cases they were simply evasive, in many equivocal, and in many inadequate. To say that they were generally unsatisfactory is no exaggeration. I have here crossed fifteen of such cases, but it is impossible I can refer to them. Of what use are interpellations when such answers are vouchsafed? They defeat the very object for which the privilege was conferred. (*Hear, hear.*) The representatives of the people were to ascertain, from the properly-constituted and responsible authorities, the accuracy or the opposite of facts appearing in the press, or which were discussed by the public. If the answers left the questions where they were before, of what use is this privilege? I will be told that the same is the case

in the House of Commons. True, but the House sits six months in a year, so that the questioner has every means to eventually getting at the bottom of the truth. Then, there is a vigorous and vigilant press, with hundred tongues to trip ministers. Here, there is hardly anything of the kind. So it is imperative that answers should be not only full, but honest and frank. It is to be hoped the Government would improve in this matter. Coming to the discussion of the budget, a suggestion was made by the President to give themselves the right of voting. No harm could come of such concession ; for constituted as the Council is at present, there can be no fear of the non-officials over-riding the officials. As a matter of fact, this exclusion of the privilege of voting on the budget is anomalous. On all other legislative measures members can divide, but on the all-important question of finance there is to be no division ! No ; they are a patriarchal Government, while we are grown-up children. They must take care of us ; our parents dread lest we should throw up our filial allegiance and prove very refractory. (*Laughter.*) Need I say this is all bureaucratic presumption, and altogether un-English in spirit. (*Hear, hear.*) But let this pass also. What are we to say, however, touching what I may call putting the closure during a budget debate ? May we ask whether it was fair on the part of the President to have called Mr. Javerilal to order, while criticising the item of land revenue in the budget ? Are the representatives of the people to be debarred from criticising items of revenue which vitally affect public interests ? Is not the land revenue directly under Government control ? Is not the land revenue code the creation of the Provincial Government ? Then why, in the name of that " common sense " to which Lord Harris appealed the other day, should honourable members be curbed in their criticism on local finance ? (*Cries of Shame.*) I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion that budget debates will be a derision, a mockery, and a snare, if Government persist in adopting the course it did in the case of Mr. Javerilal. (*Hear, hear.*) The rules relating to the debate should never be strained and interrupted in the narrow and illiberal spirit in which they were unfortunately strained and interrupted by the President in Council. It would be scandalous to curb non-official members from expressing freely and fairly their opinions on important questions of provincial finance. (*Hear, hear.*) Let us all hope that in this respect, too, the Tory Government will improve. (*Loud laughter and applause.*)

Rao Bahadur N. G. Kirtane (Poona), in seconding the Resolution, said :—

GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition moved for your acceptance by my friend, Mr. Wacha ; and in doing so I beg to bring to your remembrance one or two points connected with the history of our demand for Enlarged Legislative Councils, as I presume we may therein find cause both for a little congratulation and hope. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, we all remember this demand for enlarged Councils was one of the planks that formed the platform of the Indian National Congress and that it was once formulated by the late Mr. Bradlaugh. Ushered in thus, our late two Viceroy, Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne, were pleased, in some measure, to grant us the boon and comply with the desire of the people. Thus far the Congresswallas may congratulate themselves upon the fact that their efforts were not entirely unavailing or, in other words, their demands were such as to meet with the approval of cautious and even conservative statesmen. It is to be regretted, however, that their compliance, especially as it has been worked out here, as all—at least many—of the demerits of a half-hearted measure or a concession but grudgingly made. The number of seats originally proposed or contemplated has never been adequately filled, and as a consequence there is much dissatisfaction and some heart-burning. The important Central Division of the Deccan has had to go without a representative of their own, and now Guzerat seems to be threatened with a withdrawal of what it has deservedly got. None really need be thus left out in the cold if the number of seats, which is confessedly inadequate to meet the legitimate aspirations of the people or, for the matter of that, the efficient and smooth working of the measure itself, were but slightly increased. May we in this connection bring to His Excellency Lord Harris's mind the generous words of advice which he vouchsafed to

the Mahrattas on a recent occasion that it was more honourable to give than to take; also not to take back, we presume, what has been once conceded? There is not the least doubt that a little, very little, harmless concession would gratify the people and do away with the dissatisfaction that is visible. A better treatment of the interpellation and a wider scope of usefulness accorded to them may be equally satisfactory. But, says His Excellency, "cease rioting before asking for more rights." Hindus and Mahomedans may well lay to their hearts His Excellency's exhortations, but may we not make bold to ask His Excellency the question—if the progress of peoples were to be gauged by the sad occurrences to which some of the less thoughtful among them may have contributed to bring about—where in the scale of fitness to enjoy privileges and prerogatives, would the late strikers at London and Chicago land their countrymen? (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, two constitutional ways of redress of what we may conceive our grievances are open to us—(1) applying to the Government of India, and (2) applying to the authorities and people at home. Lord Lansdowne in one of his departing speeches has strongly advised us to look up more to the Local and Indian governments of the Governors and the Viceroy for the redress of their grievances and the gratification of their legitimate aspirations than to anybody or bodies anywhere else. Here, His Excellency said, the people would find more knowledge and more sympathy. Surely, the people of India would be quite content if they got what the late Viceroy said they would find and meet with at the hands of their Governors sent here. It rests with the latter to see that they govern the country well and righteously, and the Indian people so well known for their gratitude, even for what are considered small mercies, may well be left to do their duty by the Indian Government as they may be very safely trusted with the possession of the necessary common sense to know on which side their bread is most buttered. With an expression of this people so devoutly to be wished, I conclude, gentlemen, my brief remarks and ask you unanimously to accept the proposition laid before you by Mr. Wacha. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Gokuldas K. Parakh (Bombay and Ahmedabad), who was received with cheers, said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution that is submitted for your adoption. We must raise a strong voice against the small number of seats on the Provincial Council that are open to election and the manner in which they have been distributed. (*Cheers.*) The total number of seats on the Council are 25, out of which only 8 are open to election. Of these eight seats one is of the Bombay University, which represents the Educational interests of the Presidency. One of them is given to the Sind Zamindars, who are a small and very backward body; and one is given to the Sirdars of the Dekkan, another small body, the most important members of which are not amenable to our laws or the jurisdiction of our Courts. While these small bodies of landholders send two representatives to the Council, the large bodies of the Talukdars of Gujerat, the Khots of Ratnagiri, the Chagdars and Narnedars of Gujerat, and the Inamdars throughout the Presidency remain quite unrepresented. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce, which represents the small European community of this Presidency, are allowed to give one representative; but the important commercial interests which are represented by the Millowners and the Piece-Goods Merchants' Association are not given any representation at all. But Government are not content with giving a representation to the European commercial community through the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. The Karachi Chamber of Commerce, which is another body of merchants, is also given a representation. There are in all 31 firms of Europeans in Karachi, of which more than one-half are mere branches of the Bombay firms, and yet our Government have found it necessary to give them separate representation. In giving votes to these bodies, it seems that Government felt that they had too many and they did not know how to dispose of them. There are then left only three seats to represent the people at large, the Local Self-Governments of the country. One of these seats be-

longs to the Corporation of the City of Bombay, and between the four divisions of the Presidency there are only two seats, one to represent the urban and the other to represent the rural interests of the country. With only two seats to represent the people, it is necessary that some very important territorial divisions must remain unrepresented. Last time the omission of the Dekkan caused, for good reason, much discontent, and it was not long ago that we heard that the Northern Division will have at the next election to share the fate of the Dekkan. We thank His Excellency the Governor for his kindness in informing us that there is no ground for apprehending the omission of that Division. That may be satisfactory so far ; but so far as the number of the elective seats to represent the people at large is not increased, he cannot help omitting the general public of two of the four important territorial divisions of the Presidency from remaining unrepresented. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Narayana Vishnu Gokhale (Bombay), who was received with cheers, said :—

Some of the points embodied in the present resolution have been so fully discussed on this and other platforms that I do not think that any lengthy observations on my part are necessary to commend it to your acceptance. It is a matter of deep regret, gentlemen, that while the three sister Presidencies upon which the right of recommending members has been conferred have had very little to complain of on the arrangements made by their respective Governments for the expansion of their Legislative Councils, the people of this Presidency alone should have been compelled to raise strong and repeated protests against the scheme of representation revised by the local Government. Some of you at least must be aware that the Bengal Government with seven recommendation seats at their disposal have assigned four for the representation of Municipalities and Local Boards. In the North-West Provinces Municipalities and Local Boards have been divided into four groups, each group being represented by a member. There only six seats were thrown open to election and four of them were assigned to Municipal and Local Boards. In the Madras Presidency all the Municipalities and Local Boards have been enfranchised and are represented by four members, though Lord Wenlock's Government had only seven recommendation seats at their disposal. The Bombay Government, with eight seats at their command, have given only two for the representation of rural and urban interests. Lord Wenlock, in justifying the enfranchisement of all the Municipal and Local Boards in the Southern Presidency, observed at a meeting of the local Legislative Council:—"If we restricted the number of Municipalities and Local Boards, as we might have done, and asked only a few of them to send up representatives, a large part of the country might have felt that they were kept out, and there would, therefore, have been dissatisfaction." Gentlemen, you know how these prophetic words were more than amply realized in this Presidency. Yet we are told that all the adverse criticism passed upon the action of Government is due not to want of sympathy or statesmanship on their part, but to their strict impartiality. To give over-representation to microscopic minorities and ignore the interests of majorities is one striking illustration of strict impartiality. The Karachi Chamber of Commerce is simply an adumbration of the Bombay Chamber, and as if to give a practical illustration of the story of the Three Tailors in the Tooley Street, to which Mr. Gladstone referred in his memorable speech during the passage of the Amended Councils Bill in the Commons, foreign merchants were given double representation, while the interests of native trade and industry were absolutely ignored. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, what would have befallen the Presidency, if Government had increased the number of elective seats to at least ten, it is difficult to divine. They would have still had an overwhelming majority. The Municipalities and Local Boards in Western India were established and are being worked under conditions more or less similar to those in the other Presidencies, and it required no very great political sagacity to foresee the certain dissatisfaction that the scheme of the Bombay Government was destined to produce. (*Hear hear.*) Quite recently, Mr. Cotton, a name with which you are quite familiar, in proposing the toast of the Indian Civil Service at Darjeeling, observed that what was required in these days of change from his brother officers was not simply administrative capacity, but higher qualities of statesmanship,

and that statesmanship, according to Mr. Bright, consisted in foreseeing difficulties. The omission of the most advanced division in the Presidency, containing two capitals of the Mahrattas, and the certain deprivation of the division or other of the franchise conferred upon it at every interval of three years, must lead to perpetual but needless friction between the people and Government. Nobody likes to be left out in the cold in the midst of his peers ; no one likes to part with a hard-earned privilege, and it should never be forgotten that no amount of plausibilities or sophistries ever succeeds in giving complete satisfaction to people who have a substantial grievance. Whatever little hope the Central Division entertained is now, it appears, destined not to be realized. Gentlemen, in his Sholapur speech, which, with all due deference to His Excellency, I must call one of the lamentable blunders of his administration, His Lordship observed that he had respect for the Mahrattas for having written a chapter on Indian history, but that, as they had lost the confidence of Government, he would not be in favour of enlarging the privilege already enjoyed by the Deccan. Gentlemen, although the Mahrattas lost power after completing their chapter, they have not fallen back in intellectual and moral development under the benign influences of British rule; but, on the contrary, distinguished themselves in the different professions and in the different branches of the administration thus greatly facilitating the work of Government. The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Justice Jardine has borne testimony to this fact in his learned paper on the establishment of a University at Rangoon. Is it, then, fair to contend that they do not deserve to be enfranchised because some thoughtless Hindus and Mahomedans choose to wrangle over a petty matter? If that contention is sound, those who have been enfranchised will have to be disfranchised for precisely the same reason. You know, gentlemen, what happened in this very city and at Belgaum. But I have never heard it suggested that the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Javerilal, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Mehta, or the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Natu should be deprived of their seats in the Legislative Council. Gentlemen, the right of discussing the budget, such as it is, is not a very extensive privilege, and it is to be regretted that an attempt should have been made at the last sitting of the Legislative Council to further curtail that right. Gentlemen, a latter day sage has remarked that there are three degrees of lies—lies, internal lies, and statistics. My friend Mr. Wacha, who is himself so well-versed in figures and has done such valuable service in the discussion of the military expenditure question, will never accept this dictum. At the same time there is no doubt that figures as figures cannot speak for themselves. They are like dry bones into which blood and flesh has to be put to invest them with real significance. Financial results are the outcome of administrative measures, and no discussion of particular items can be of much value, unless examined in the light of the policy which produces those items. It is not the product that is of importance, but the machinery which requires to be carefully examined. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Javerilal has ably discussed this question in his exhaustive and thoughtful address. I will not, therefore, detain you further than to remark that if His Excellency's ruling on the point raised by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Javerilal is right, then, the discussion of the budget is destined to be a mockery and a delusion. The ruling is capable of indefinite extension to other branches of revenue, and virtually it means that Councillors must sit like dummies, silently contemplating the numerous figures supplied to them, like the gods of Epicurean philosophers, who simply contemplate the beauty of the universe without troubling themselves about mundane affairs. Land revenue is the sheet-anchor of provincial and imperial finance. The question of enhanced assessments has become the question of questions, and with the exception of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Ranade, it would be impossible to point to any other gentleman in this Presidency than the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Javerilal who could be expected to deal with it with intimate knowledge of the subject. When petitions are addressed to Government by ignorant men, it is complained that they contain only vague statements and disclose no grievances. Baboos and Brahmins are discredited agitators, while men like Mr. Javerilal are precluded from ventilating a glaring grievance of the people in the Council Chamber, where alone, according to Lord Lansdowne, criticism directed against Government measures can be effectively replied. This is, gentlemen, a very unfortunate position both for Government and the people, and the Conference has done well to bring the present subject to the notice of Government in a very prominent manner. The right of inter-

pellation is even a more valuable privilege than the right of academic discussion of the budget. Councillors have freely availed themselves of it since the very first sitting of the Enlarged Provincial Council. I believe that the total number of questions put by honourable members comes to something like one hundred. They embraced a variety of topics. Some of the interpellations related to educational, municipal, revenue, abkari and judicial branch of the administration ; others related to the medical service, the Chemical Analysis department, the Petit Institute, the tobacco department, railway development and administration, religious riots, local option and various other administrative and miscellaneous matters. There were also questions regarding the grievances of Inamdars, Sardars, Watandars, and Khotes. Gentlemen, while Government complain that the comments upon their measures are not well-informed, the public in their turn complain of the veil of secrecy under which the intentions of Government are shrouded. Interpellation is a powerful agency for checking official vagaries, removing administrative abuses and spreading correct knowledge regarding official acts and intentions. The number of questions put shows in how many directions the public through their representatives are anxious to gain further light and information. But it is a matter to be deeply deplored that Government should have in many instances given very misleading, or utterly evasive and useless, replies. It will not be difficult, gentlemen, to cite instances. Take the questions that my friend, Mr. Chimanlal, put regarding the appointment of an official President to the Bandora Municipality, when a distinguished native member of the Bombay bar had signified, in response to a request communicated to him, his willingness to accept the presidentship and remission of one lac of rupees and a half to the Khandeish liquor farmer. What the public wanted to know were the specific grounds on which Government based their decision, and instead of stating them in a straightforward manner, Government were good enough to say that they did what was best under the circumstances. This can scarcely be called a very *bonâ fide* attempt to enlighten public opinion and remove misunderstandings. I will cite to you another instance to prove how Government at times assume inconsistent positions in replying to interpellations. The Hon. Mr. Chimanlal put a question regarding the degradation of an educational officer in Surat based upon tolerably well-founded allegations made in a certain native paper. It was remarked by Government in course of their reply that they were not bound to take notice of irresponsible contributions in newspapers. Yet, gentlemen, His Excellency himself condescended to give a flat contradiction to the absolutely unfounded allegations which appeared in the *Bombay Guardian* with regard to the disposal of the Opium Defamation case. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) Gentlemen, if time permitted, I might go on multiplying instances to further illustrate my observations. It only remains for me to express my sympathy with the prayer on the resolution for a further extension of the right of discussing the budget and interpellating Government. Whatever the attitude of the present administration towards the enlarged Council, the ultimate responsibility for the proper working of the amended Councils Act rests with the Viceroy. This was made distinctly clear in the speeches of eminent English statesmen delivered in Parliament and the House of Lords. We are all grateful for the privileges conceded to us, but we contend that their exercise shall not be unduly fettered. Let us hope we will not fail to obtain justice and sympathy from the Provincial Government ; but if unfortunately we do not succeed, we look up to Lord Elgin to place our rights and privileges on a reasonably fair and liberal basis and thus fulfil the solemn promise His Excellency has often repeated to the people of India that His Lordship's administration will be worthy of the noble name and traditions he has inherited. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Mulji Bhowanidas, who was well received, said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution I am called upon to support is one of vital importance to this Presidency. When the Indian Councils' Act Amendment Act of 1892 was being passed into law in Parliament, it was held out to us that under the regulations that would be framed out under the Act, we would have substantial representation by election and the non-official element would prevail.

But, gentlemen, what do we find? Out of twenty additional seats, eight only are allotted to the electoral bodies to recommend, while the remaining twelve seats, of which nine are for officials and three only for non-officials, are reserved for nomination. Is this substantial representation by election? I say no, and we cannot but come to the conclusion that what was held out to us has not been carried out.

Again, under the rules which have been framed for the conduct of business in the Legislative Council of this Presidency, when the financial statement has been explained every member has a right to make observations, but under Rule 5, he is not allowed to enter into criticisms on imperial finance. Now, every financial statement, whether provincial or imperial, has items of revenue and expenditure in which the administrative policy of the Government is involved, and if a member be prohibited from making observations on the ground that they relate to imperial finance, the result will be that no member will have an opportunity to express his views on such policy, however unsatisfactory it may be to the public. I say that liberal construction should be placed upon these rules, and no member should be prevented from offering his remarks unless they relate to matters exclusively imperial.

Then under the rules, a member asking a question on matters under the control of the Governor in Council, has to give six days' notice in writing submitting his question in full. He can read the question in Council and then an answer is given by the President or some other member deputed for the purpose. This right of interpellation is a wholesome measure. The member in charge of the answer does not suffer, but can appease the mind of the public by giving a satisfactory answer. It brings the grievance to the notice of the Executive, who can remedy the evil by adopting measures satisfactory to the public. For instance, the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad, some time ago, asked a question about the low salaries of the masters of the indigenous schools in this Presidency, and I am informed that measures have been, or are being, taken to increase them. But, gentlemen, many of the answers are either evasive or unsatisfactory, and in order to have complete and satisfactory answers, it is essential that the member asking should be allowed to state his object in writing or by making observations in Council confined to such questions. This procedure is adopted in the House of Commons, where a member has a right to make observations or state the source of his information upon which he has framed out his questions.

I really fail to see why when this privilege is conferred the rule of the House of Commons has not been adopted here. The above rules are said to be tentative, and I hope that they will be amended in such a manner as the public may appreciate. (*Loud cheers.*)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The President then adjourned the Conference until the following day, Sunday, November 4th, at 8-30 A.M.

### Third Day's Proceedings.

The Conference re-assembled under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal, at 8-30 A.M., on Sunday, November 4th.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, who was received with cheers, moved the fourth or "Omnibus" Resolution :—

"That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of the previous years on the subjects of salt, police, abkari, forests, local self-government, village sanitation, and separation of judicial and executive functions, but in doing so expresses its satisfaction at the present enunciation of the policy of the Government of India in regard to forests, and hopes the spirit of the resolution will be loyally carried out."

Mr. Chimanlal said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me assure you that I am not presuming to take upon myself the task of driving your now heavy-laden omnibus. (*Cheers.*) The veteran driver of your omnibus, my friend Mr. Wacha, has driven it in the past so well and smoothly that you cannot entrust that task to better hands, and it is with his indulgence, gentlemen, that I now stand before you only for the purpose of asking you to permit an additional passenger to ride in your omnibus. That passenger is the resolution about the separation of executive and judicial functions. (*Cheers.*) It is needless, gentlemen, to say anything now in support of this reform, for all the responsible authorities, including Viceroy and Secretaries of State, of both political parties have admitted its extreme desirability. (*Hear, hear.*) But the objection urged against it is one of cost. There is money sufficient, gentlemen, to waste on exchange compensation, on gubernatorial tours, durbars, and grand tamashas, but there is no money to carry out this most urgent reform. ("*Shame,*" "*Shame.*") The Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, in his able minute on the question which was laid before you at Ahmedabad last year, has suggested a very happy method of carrying out the reform at a very little additional cost, if at all, by transferring the magisterial work to the subordinate judges. But, gentlemen, what reception did it meet from Government? Last year, when he indicated these suggestions subsequently embodied in his minute, several official members joined in ridiculing them. When he again pressed it this year, at the time of the budget discussion and suggested the appointment of a Committee, no answer at all was vouchsafed to that request. Gentlemen, such a treatment may pardonably lead one to doubt the sincerity of Government when they call the desired reform a counsel of perfection. The special feature of Mr. Mehta's scheme, gentlemen, is that it proposes to transfer the criminal work to subordinate judges. This would secure for criminal justice judges not only better trained but more independent. How necessary it is to have judges who are practically subordinate only to the High Court, and have nothing to do with the executive branch was brought prominently to my mind by a little incident that occurred during a recent trial of a case in a mofussil town in which I appeared for the defence. It was really a very small matter in itself, but it shows how the present system moulds the official mind. At the close of the sitting one evening I applied to the Court that the case be not taken up on the next day as it was a Hindu holiday, and the prosecuting counsel said he did not object to my application. And, gentlemen, what did the Magistrate do? He called the police officer who was instructing the prosecuting counsel, seated him near himself on the bench, and held a private consultation with him in open court for about five minutes before he could make up his mind whether or not to grant my application. ("*Shame,*" "*Shame.*") Then, after some time, the Magistrate announced his regret to comply with my request, as the Collector, in consultation with whom he had fixed the case would not like such an adjournment. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, I again pressed my application, and the Magistrate sat in conclave again with the police officer, and after a few minutes granted my application. Of course, as I said, this is indeed a very small matter, but it shews how an officer whose interests are bound up with the executive department does not feel himself at liberty even to dispose of an ordinary application for adjournment, practically agreed to by both sides, and to which the Magistrate himself was apparently not opposed, without consulting the police officer in charge of the prosecution. Gentlemen, you will agree with me that we must repeat our resolution about the desirability and manner of carrying out this much-needed reform. I will not now further detain the omnibus, and request Mr. Wacha to drive it with this additional passenger that I have given him. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, in rising to second the proposition, was received with loud cheers. He said :—

No doubt Mr. Chimanlal was right when he said that I was a veteran driver of your omnibus. But I feel that I am getting old and toothless—(*laughter and cheers*)—having



driven the coach not only at this Conference, but also at the Congress. I am glad, therefore, that on this occasion a new and vigorous driver should have been appointed in the person of my friend, Mr. Chimanlal, and I should have been relegated to the back seat. (*Laughter and cheers.*) I shall now proceed to speak of the various points in connection with the omnibus resolution ; which, first of all, directs our attention to the salt revenue. I believe that we have said enough at previous Conferences respecting the terrorism exercised by inspectors on small dealers and others in reference to the smuggling of salt. There have, in past years, been High Court prosecutions in reference to this matter ; and you will remember that, about two years ago, the High Court put its foot down on some of the most illegal practices of the inspectors and the police. The police who are supposed to check disorder were the very first to break the law. The High Court has, however, put them on their good behaviour. (*Cheers.*) You will remember the case which came before Mr. Justice Birdwood three years ago, in which an old woman was put to trouble for having a pice worth of salt in her possession. Since then we have heard very little of these irregularities and vexatious restrictions. The High Court may well be called the palladium of our liberties. What would become of our liberties without it ? (*Cheers and laughter.*) The salt revenue is in itself a very large subject of Imperial policy, but of course it is not necessary to enter into it at any length at this Provincial Conference. With regard to local self-government a great deal was said last year at Ahmedabad, and the year before at Poona, by my friend Mr. Nam Joshi. It is felt that in each Municipality, where Government exercise the control of appointing the President, there ought to be besides an executive board an executive officer, so that the latter may perform his duties under the authority and with the sanction of the former. What happens now is this : that very often there is a division in the Municipal Camp which is divided into two parties, one taking the official view and the other the non-official view. A tug-of-war comes on, and there are conflicts which, to say the least, do not advance the interests of self-government. But I will not say much on this subject now, because, as you know, only last September a Conference was held at Poona for the furtherance of the cause of local self-government, and when the full report of the proceedings is issued we shall, no doubt, learn a good deal on the subject. As to village sanitation, you know it was some four or five years ago, in the time of Lord Reay, that the first bill on this subject was introduced into the Legislative Council. The Bombay Presidency Association memorialised Government at that time in regard to those parts of the measure which referred to local cesses and the raising of loans and other contributions. We pointed out that the villagers themselves had very elementary notions indeed in regard to sanitation. No doubt we should hear less of cholera if more attention was paid to the water-supply of villages and their sanitation. But the villagers are very conservative, and are not at all inclined to alter the practices which have prevailed for the last three thousand years. We said they must be coaxed, and sympathetically coaxed, into adopting the provisions of the Act. To them small burdens are heavy, and they ought not to be asked to pay for sanitation ; for some time to come at least Government ought to undertake the cost. The so-called system of "voluntary contributions" cannot be relied on. It is something like the old *veith* system. The district officer comes round, calls the men of the village together, and partly by bullying and partly by flattery, gets them to consent to pay a contribution. It is then said that such-and-such a village has given its contribution *voluntarily* and it is held up in district reports as an example to other villages ! But there is something behind, in the same way as there is something behind when hole-and-corner meetings are held to promote subscriptions for statues to retiring Governors and others—(*laughter and cheers*)—something behind, as in the case of Lord Lansdowne's statue, in which the poor princes were screwed and screwed until money was wrung out of them. The memorial of the Presidency Association, to which I have alluded, had its effect, and some objectionable clauses were removed from the bill—(*cheers*)—although others remained. The Governor of Bombay speaking in another place, a month or two back, said that the villagers must not be forced into adopting the provisions of the Act, but gradually coaxed into doing so. That was exactly the thing we said four years ago—(*laughter and*

*cheers*)—but they would not believe it! Now they have been obliged to admit it. But that is always the way with the bureaucracy; they will not believe what we tell them until they can no longer shut their eyes to the fact. It is just the same in regard to military expenditure. After we had hammered away at it for years, Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin have delivered themselves on the same subject. They now confess that it is the military expenditure which is embarrassing the finances of India. It is only when such men talk that Government begins to open its eyes. Is that statesmanship? I must say that, as far as statesmanship goes, it has vanished from the country since the day Lord Dufferin landed on its shores ten years ago. (*Hear, hear, and laughter.*) The resolution also refers to the police question. Previous Conferences have passed resolutions in favour of the recruitment of a better class of policemen, to keep watch and ward over the Presidency. You know very well what has been the policy of Government of late, not only in Bombay but also in the mofussil. It has been a policy of stern repression—“You are such bad boys; you are always disturbing the peace of Government. So you must all be put down with a strong arm.” This is in substance what our rulers say. The Government are bent upon having a strong police organization everywhere—which means more money and less efficiency, as has been proved in the cases of Wai, Yeola, and Poona. (*Loud cheers.*) I would not criticise the whole Indian police. There is no need to do so since such an out and out official apologist as the *Pioneer* has condemned them. (*Laughter.*) When we speak on the subject we are denounced as windbags, but when the *Pioneer* takes up the matter, of course, it is all right. He talks substance and sense! This is the way they give heed to the voice of the people! (*Laughter.*) Gentlemen, the growing expenditure on the police of this Presidency is a very serious matter. You will be astonished when I tell you that our expenditure for the whole of the police, including the city, has risen from forty lakhs in 1889—six years ago—to fifty-six lakhs, the figures given in the latest budget. There has thus been a growth of sixteen lakhs in five years, and what have we got in return? Why, dissatisfaction all over the Presidency? (*Loud laughter.*) In the recent trials it was clearly shown that the police were all tutored and had perjured themselves. This is our precious police for which we are paying sixteen lakhs a year more than we did five years ago! The most extraordinary thing about it is that the outlay on its maintenance is very heavy compared to similar outlay in Bengal and Madras. It is greatly in excess when we take the cost per head of the population. In fact, all sorts of provincial expenditure, whether it is police or anything else, are in Bombay always in excess of other provinces. I suppose the reason is that Bombay is looked upon as a rich “kingdom,” and therefore considered to be able to afford lavish expenditure. (*Laughter.*) That is a matter on which I hope non-official members will have a good deal to say in the Legislative Council on the occasion of the next budget debate. (*Hear, hear.*) As to the abkari policy of Government the subject is one upon which I have spoken and written so much at Congress and on other platforms that it is unnecessary for me to say more about it, more especially as we have on the platform this morning such a veteran temperance worker as Mr. Dantra, a veritable David going out single-handed to meet the Goliaths of the Abkari Department. (*Cheers and laughter.*) For instance, you know how Mr. Dantra has exposed the trickery and mystery connected with the remission of a lakh and-a-half of rupees to a liquor farmer, whom I tremble in my shoes to name. (*Laughter.*) Mr. Chimanlal put a question to Mr. Trevor on the subject at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Trevor gave a most unsatisfactory and evasive reply, unworthy of a member of Council. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Dantra has fully vivisectioned that official in a series of articles in the *Times of India* and *Bombay Gazette*, and I take this opportunity to thank those journals for the great service they have done in allowing those letters to appear. I acknowledge that service with thanks and gratitude. (*Cheers.*) Well, Mr. Dantra exposed the whole of the trickery, but no Government official has endeavoured to make a reply in the columns of the two dailies. We know that there are certain people inspired from time to time to defend the policy of the Government in the Press, but so far not a single letter or article has appeared in defence; so that it is very evident the case is rotten from top to bottom. (*Hear, hear.*) The abkari revenue goes up year by year by

leaps and bounds. Ten years ago our provincial receipts amounted to 70 lakhs of rupees ; they are now 102 lakhs, which is a growth of 45 per cent. In Bengal the abkari revenue was 92 lakhs in 1882, now it is 115 lakhs, or only seventeen per cent. This difference is all the more remarkable when we consider that Bengal has a population of seven crores, while Bombay has only one and three quarters—that is, only one-fourth of the Bengal population. And yet we are always hearing the old but exploded cry from Government about the “maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption.” That is all nonsense, for if you examine the detailed figures you will see there has been a great increase in consumption during the last ten years. The obnoxious farming system of Government has brought home to the doors of every village that cheap nasty liquor called *mowra*. It is clear that the policy of Government is not to stop consumption but to put as much money as possible into their treasury. Mr. Dantra has pointed out that the system is one which inevitably leads to drinking. Is that a righteous policy? (Cries of “No.”) They are always bringing up the phrase “India is sober compared to the United Kingdom,” meaning by that that the consumption of alcohol per head is not so great in India as in Great Britain. But you must remember that the United Kingdom has a climate where, they allege, alcohol is required. Not so in India where the people have been sober for centuries. It is a legend to say that India has in the past been a drinking country, and to say that India is sober because, compared with England, she consumes less alcohol proportionately per head of the population. The omnibus resolution also refers to the forest administration. It gives me very great pleasure to say that Government policy in regard thereto has undergone a new departure, which we owe to the statesmanship of Lord Elgin, whom we warmly thank for the forward steps he has taken. (*Cheers.*) As Mr. Javerilal said in his speech, we hope that this new departure may be the harbinger of a new policy which may be more sympathetic towards the people than it has been. (*Loud cheers.*) The *Pioneer*, which in former years supported the harsh forest regulations, now turns round and favours the change. It is the way of the *Pioneer*. It is never consistent—(*laughter*)—and I suppose it enhances the credit of the paper not to be so. The *Pioneer* says : “Generally it may be said that Government will relinquish several lakhs of revenue, so that the cultivator may be freed from harassment, but there will be no loss in the long run. The Supreme Government will cordially support provincial governments in providing for local requirements, and this being so we should hear less of petty tyranny and persecution.” We thank the Allahabad paper for the latest declaration of its views on forests. I may say this that there are two cardinal points involved in the resolution. The first is enunciated in the eleventh paragraph in which it is laid down that the poor may have greater latitude in regard to clearing plots for cultivation. I shall read it over to you :—

Para. 11.—“It has been stated in paragraph 9 above that our main object towards which the management of their minor forests should be directed is, the supply of fuel and fodder ‘to the greatest advantage and convenience of the people.’ In doing so, due regard must be had to their habits and wishes. It may be that strict preservation and periodical closures, or the total prohibition of grazing, will result in the largest yield both of fuel and of fodder in the form of hay. But that is of small avail if the people will not utilise the increased supply in the form in which it is offered them. The customs of generations alter slowly in India ; and though much may and should be done to lead the people to their own profit, yet it must be done gently and gradually, always remembering that their contentment is no less important an object than is their material advantage. It must be remembered, moreover, that the object of excluding grazing from the preserves in question is the advantage of the *neighbourhood* ; and that the realization of a larger income than grazing would yield, by preserving the produce, only to sell it to the highest bidder for consumption in large towns at a distance from the preserve, is *not* always in accordance with the policy which the Government of India has inculcated.”

Then as to the other principle which is laid down in paragraph 14th. It refers to grazing rights.

Para. 14.—“It is to be distinctly understood that the Government of India do not desire that grazing should be looked upon primarily as a source of income. But it by no means

follows that all revenues from scattered Government lands should be relinquished. It is, indeed, inadvisable that this should be done, as to do so would give the ryots an interest in opposing allotment and making things unpleasant for new occupants. But the objections to direct management which have just been pointed out are reduced to a minimum or altogether avoided when the management is placed in hands of the resident cultivators or of representatives from among them. It will generally be possible to lease or otherwise manage the unoccupied lands of a village through the agency of the community; not, indeed, at the highest price which they are ready to pay to escape such evils as have just been alluded to, but at a moderate estimate of their value to them, fixed in view of the fact that herds and flocks, which cannot exist without grazing, are often a necessary condition of the successful conduct of that cultivation upon which the Government land revenue is paid."

You will thus see how far the Government of India recognises the importance of grazing land, because it is evident that where the cattle do not get fodder, cultivation dies out. In saying this the Government of India have rightly diagnosed the reason which has compelled them to carry out the reform. For the sake of the land revenue, as well as for the good of the dwellers, it is to be hoped that the new forest policy initiated will be carried out fully and satisfactorily. With these observations, gentlemen, your veteran driver resumes his back seat. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Narayen Krishna Gharat (Alibag) supported the Resolution :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The subject of Forest laws involves a question of present inconvenience as well as a question of customary right. Where a deprivation of the latter is not in conflict with public interest no special attention is paid to it; but where it is attended with injury of any sort, we must, in appealing to Government, take our stand as much upon the infringement of such a right as upon the hardships or oppression consequent thereon. (*Applause.*) From time immemorial it had been the custom in this country to allot all forest lands for the free use of the people and especially for their cattle. Whatever faults or shortcomings may be laid at the door of the Native Governments that preceded the British rule, it is certainly to their credit that their laws regarding forest regulations were far more lenient than those existing at present. The farmer could then prepare rabi for manuring his fields, could procure fuel for his kitchen, could fence his fields and gardens, could take his cattle to graze, and the forests were a free source of supply. (*Cheers.*) Why, this state of things continued under the British themselves until their mercantile genius revealed to them this particular field for making revenue. Forest laws were then enacted which had the effect of restricting—alas! in course of time extinguishing—many of these privileges till at last they have now come up to that stage at which even the farmer's domestic animals are practically to have no pastures left to them for grazing! (*Hear, hear.*)

A perusal of the recent grazing regulations will at once convince you of their intricate and oppressive nature. The farmer can no longer depute a son, a daughter, a servant-boy, or even his wife to watch after his herd of cattle; nay, gentlemen, in some instances he cannot be a fit person to undertake this once very simple function himself. The herdsman of a farmer that needs take his cattle to graze in the forest lands set apart for the purpose must now be possessed of qualifications that are not thought necessary even for the forest guards of Government. He must possess almost all the qualifications of a forest guard beside those properly required for his avowed calling of a herdsman, and he must do the duties of both; at the same time he must have a very strong physique. He must be capable of understanding all the complicated duties imposed upon him as also the responsibilities attending a failure of their performance. If a part of the forest takes fire, he must help in extinguishing it and will not be excused if the affrighted animals under his charge or those of any other trespass over any forbidden part of the forest. He must be diligent in watching that no animals not possessing a right to graze in the block where he is permitted to take his herd trespass on it. In fine, he must be a paid

servant of his master as well as an unpaid—or the poor fellow might think it a compliment to be an honorary—servant of the Government. The herdsman shall also have to put on his buckle and his leathern belt. The farmer who might choose to watch his own herd and be qualified for the purpose shall also have to do the same. If he must engage a servant, he must be prepared to pay enormous wages ; if he must be his own herdsman, he must allow the whole of his year's labour to go a wool-gathering by absenting himself from the farm at such busy times as the sowing, transplanting, and reaping seasons. Those only of you, gentlemen, that might have an experience of rural life, or at least might have been closely acquainted with it, can form a true idea of the burden imposed upon the agricultural population. But this is not all. The regulations will prove equally, or even in a greater measure, vexatious in another direction—I mean in the fees laid down for all animals not required for such immediate agricultural purposes as ploughing, &c. (*Applause.*)

Henceforward a farmer wishing to take advantage of the forest grazing grounds cannot breed cattle without having a heavy tax imposed upon his herd. If his plough oxen or buffaloes die or be in any way incapacitated, he must no longer look for a fresh supply from his own manger, but must be prepared to buy new pairs. Professional dealers in cattle will have to pay for their animals double the fees leviable on farmer's animals, so that, if they at all continue in their trade, which it will hardly be possible for them to do, they must ask very high prices for herds of cattle. When the farmers are to get manure for their fields, they must look up to themselves.

Then there are the petty little sircars—the village officers—who are authorized to gather together the herds of a village at any place and time sufficient excuse for them to give as much trouble to the farmers as they might choose to think necessary to give the people an adequate idea of the dignity of their officer's high position. But, apart from the trouble caused to the farmers, what is to become of the poor animals themselves? The impoverished peasants can hardly afford to feed them at home or take them to the forest under such stringent rules. We have in this Presidency a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and we need now to have, gentlemen, a society for the prevention of starvation of animals, aye, and of their owners as well, and we can hardly do anything better in the interests of our country than to form ourselves into such a society and to represent their case to Government as fully and forcibly as we can. (*Loud applause.*)

This is an excellent time for us to do so. The Government of India have been pleased to issue a resolution which is a valuable document revealing to us the policy which the Government of India intend to pursue with regard to forest administration. The sole object, says the resolution, “with which State forests are administered is the public benefit.” Are you now prepared to believe that the grazing resolutions of the local Government have this sole object in view? Are you prepared to believe the various restrictions which they contain are calculated to give impetus to agricultural enterprise? I suppose not. While the Government of India declare in one form or other in almost every paragraph of their gracious resolution that it should be distinctly understood that considerations of forest income are to be subordinated to those of satisfaction, the local authorities try to assuage the people. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. P. B. Dantra was warmly received on rising to support the motion. Subjoined is a translation of his speech, which was delivered in Guzerati :—

An immoderate use of bhang, ganja, opium, or spirits may lead to a deterioration of health and even to death. But I would challenge anybody to prove even deterioration of health—let alone death—from toddy. Toddy may be alcoholic. But when alcoholic substances are heated, the alcohol in them evaporates, and toddy is generally drunk hot after the alcohol in it has evaporated. Besides, it is spiced with pepper, garlic, and molasses, and then it becomes doubly nutritious, and does no harm in whatever quantities it be taken. One shopkeeper used to sell it thus spiced, but he was prohibited by the Abkari Department. On writing to the Collector of Bombay on this subject I was informed that in the license granted to the shopkeeper there was no provision for spicing.

Now I come to the root of all the evils in the Abkari Department, namely, the farming system under which one monopolist is granted the whole drink traffic in a district. This system is the cause of the corruption prevalent in the department, and promotes dishonesty amongst the contractors. Common sense can tell us that an irresponsible monopolist would resort to dishonesty and carry on his business by bribery and with hardness upon the consumers who, if they want at all to purchase liquor, must purchase it from him. The people look with suspicion upon certain officials. The farming system—the *fons et origo malorum*—is black, and it is impossible to whitewash it. It is necessary for the sake of the honour of the British Empire that it should be swept away. The Native States have farmed out various revenue departments to contractors, but the British Government forced them to do away with the monopoly system. It is a disgrace to the Bombay Government that it still sticks to this vicious system in defiance of public clamours against it. (*Hear hear.*) The Government of Madras abolished the system on the recommendation of a Commission of Inquiry. The results of the change are described by the Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State, dated 18th February 1889.

With the Abkari Act of 1878 the system of farming was introduced. Tenders were invited and were given to the highest bidder. The farmer could distil as much liquor as he chose and sell it at the price fixed by Government. Thereafter the duty per gallon was fixed and the contract was given to the person who guaranteed the maximum of consumption. If the contract were thus to be given to the highest bidder, some favourites of the department would have to be disappointed. To prevent this Mr. Pritchard hit upon a most artful device. In 1882 Sir Charles (then Mr.) Pritchard attempted to introduce the farming system into Surat, but the Government of Sir James Fergusson wisely yielded to popular opposition and disallowed the proposal. When some time later two or three distillers were detected fraudulently distilling liquor of greater strength than they paid for, Sir Charles seized upon that incident to secure greater power for the Abkari Department and introduced the farming system. Tenders were invited; but care was taken that the tender should be given to the favourites of the department. Intending tenderers were referred to the Collector of Surat for detailed information. On enquiry at the Collector's Office they were told that the tenders were for one year and the farm to be allotted did not include Mandvi Taluka. The tenderers seeing that the farm was to be given for one year only, and that, in the event of their tender not being accepted next year, they would have to sell off their plant and other stock-in-trade, as also that the area did not extend to the whole Surat District, tendered a small amount. Here was a plain dodge. The farm was finally given to Mr. Dadabhai Dubash by a private arrangement, not for one year according to the information from the Collector's Office but for three years, and that including the taluka of Mandvi together with the monopoly of toddy traffic in half the taluka of Mandvi !! All this was given for Rs. 4,75,000. Thereupon, the tenderers complained that, if the terms on which the farm was given to Mr. Dubash had been made known to them, they would have offered a lakh more than Mr. Dubash. But their complaint was unheeded. They then consoled themselves with the thought that on the expiry of the three years they would tender higher amounts and get the farm themselves. But they were doomed to disappointment; they were not favourites of the department. The Surat farm has never been allowed to go into other hands than those of Mr. Dubash. It has always been given to Mr. Dubash by a private arrangement without inviting tenders. At last, when the cry against this scandal grew very strong, the Government, in order to save appearances, did invite tenders this year from the 1st of August for three years. But, as I said at the time to a newspaper editor, it was only as a blind to mislead public opinion. The farm was again given to Mr. Dubash. It would be too long to give you a detailed account of the sufferings of the people and their complaints against the spirit they get. I have already published the whole history of the Khandeish farm, and I will hereafter do the same in regard to the Surat farm. I trust my account will be read with interest by all who have at heart the welfare of the poor in this country. The story of the Surat farm is an exact counterpart to that of the Khandeish farm. Those of you who have read my account of the latter will have seen what disgraceful, infamous

transactions are going on in the department. After I published my account a Parsee gentleman who has some experience in the liquor business of two talukas and who is now in Bombay informed me that he had tendered Rs. 7,50,000 for the farm which was given to Mr. Dubash for Rs. 5,40,000 by private arrangement. (*Hear, hear.*) It is enough to state this fact. All people will draw their inference themselves. When Mr. Caine denounced the system of maximum guarantee as leading to intemperance, the Abkari Department had recourse to another device. Knowing the consumption of past years, it fixed a certain amount as the probable consumption of the years for which tenders were invited, and demanded a guarantee for that amount leaving the contractor to make good any deficiency. In case the actual consumption exceeded the estimate he had to pay additional duty for the excess. The farms were to be given by the Abkari Commissioner who was given an opportunity of patronising the favourites of the department. Sir Charles Pritchard gave the three or four farms for opium, liquor, etc., to Mr. Vakil, of Ahmedabad, who had nothing to do with the liquor business. The Nasik farm has been given to a gentleman who has livery stables and a furniture shop in Bombay, both being gentlemen who seem to be unacquainted with the business and who possibly did not understand the meaning of terms like London-proof, underproof and overproof, till after they had run the business. In the Deccan and in the Northern Division the consumers being all poor have no means of bringing their grievances to the notice of Government. In Surat and Thana where some of the consumers are well-to-do people there have been loud complaints. It is said that Mr. Vakil who got the Bassein and Salsette farm had stipulated that he would also sell toddy-liquor, together with mowrah, but from whatever reason, he does not keep toddy-liquor at all the shops under his control. Toddy-liquor is not so unwholesome as mowrah liquor and a proof of how the people are tantalized, even starved by want of toddy and toddy-liquor, is to be found in the letter of a respectable Christian gentleman of Bandora which was published in the *Times of India* of 30th August.

The East Indian Association—composed mostly of Indian Portuguese gentlemen—has memorialised Government on the subject, but no answer has as yet been received from Government. The Abkari Department seems to be even kinder, if possible, to Mr. Vakil than it is to Mr. Dubash. The Government has no feeling for the poor. The contractors are mostly my co-religionists, and I regret to say that, in spite of large gains for themselves, some of them give such low pay to their servants as to force them to dishonest ways of making money. (*Hear, hear.*) Some of their servants are paid Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 a year, and have from that meagre sum to defray incidental charges, such as carriage hire, etc. Others who are more rapacious still extort a “kujur” from the consumers—a dishonest practice which the Hon’ble Mr. Trevor described as follows when he was Abkari Commissioner :—

“Nay, not content with this, they sell the good-will of their shops. They deduct ‘kujur,’ when giving liquor to the shopkeepers. They receive the money without any money orders or bills which might be brought in evidence against them. They bribe Abkari Inspectors to co-operate with them in their dishonesty and connive at their fraudulent grant of less liquor than they are paid for.” It is a most painful fact that the poor consumers have to suffer in consequence of all these villainies. I will read you a letter from a Parsi gentleman, now a retired Government servant, which will throw light on this question. The post-card I have in my possession will show how liquor-contractors co-operate with Government officials in grinding down the poor. The tyranny of contractors is no new thing; it is a very old evil. A deputation of respectable gentlemen from Bombay and Thana was sent to Poona with a petition to Sir James Fergusson signed by 25,000 men, from which I will quote some extracts.

The Abkari Department defends the system on two grounds: (1) that it brings in the revenue in a lump sum all at once to the Government, and (2) that by the minimum guarantee principle it secures the co-operation of the contractor with Government in checking illicit distillation. Both these grounds are untenable. If the arrangement is advantageous from a financial point of view, why does the Government force the Native States to abolish the system? And why does it not farm out other items of revenue in a similar manner? Why confine the system to the Abkari only? Secondly, granting that the contractor is interested

in checking illicit distillation, is it not equally true that the people require some safeguard against the tyranny and rapacity of the contractor? What remedy have the people got against him if he does not give them the full amount of liquor they pay for? Against these universal complaints the Government say that the inspectors do all this. But is it not possible for the contractor to get the upper hand by greasing the palm of the inspectors? Moreover, could not control be exercised by the inspectors if separate licenses were given? The contractor pays no license-fee. If now separate licenses were to be given and moderate guarantees demanded from the licensees against illicit distillation or any malpractice on their part, the system would work much better. Besides separate licenses would have this advantage that a healthy competition and rivalry amongst the shopkeepers would force them to give wholesome liquor and satisfy their customers in every way. The system has been abolished in Madras to the advantage of both the Government and the people. Why it has been kept up in Bombay is a mystery known only to the Abkari Department and the liquor contractor, and let us hope to God. The abolition of the system in Bombay would effect a gain of from 15 to 20 lakhs to the Government and people. Some of you might be aware that most of the sugar we use is imported from Mauritius and elsewhere. Sugar could easily be manufactured in our own country but for Abkari restrictions. The French Government give a bounty on the manufacture of sugar. But our Government seems bent on crushing it. When the saccharine juice from which sugar is made is concentrated by heat and other means, the sugar separates in grains from the bye-products. Now it evidently would not do to throw away the molasses. It is generally used to distil rum from. But the Abkari regulations obtaining in this Presidency do not allow the manufacturer of sugar to sell his rum to the great detriment of the sugar manufacturing industry in this Presidency. An enterprising Parsi gentleman erected a factory at Poona in the hope that he would be allowed to sell his rum. But the Government disallowed him on the ground that the sale of rum by him would interfere with the monopoly in spirits granted to the liquor contractor. As, however, the contract system prevails all over the Presidency except the city of Bombay, the sugar manufacturer can sell his rum only in Bombay. But in bringing it to Bombay he has to incur a large carriage expense and is moreover subjected to a heavy customs duty which makes it impossible to sell it at the price at which imported rum is to be had in Bombay. The German rum of 168° overproof costing one shilling in Germany free on board (a gallon of which diluted with four bottles of water gives spirit of 250° underproof) is made from rotten rice and potatoes. When the duty on imported spirits was Rs. 4 a gallon, rum used to be imported from Shahjahanpur in the North-Western Provinces and from Aska in Madras, but the increased duty has ruined the indigenous rum and set a premium on unwholesome foreign stuff. The Abkari Commissioner, Mr. Spence, has explained the decrease of Indian-manufactured rum brought to Bombay in his report for 1888-89, para. 62.

What an injustice! The department is convinced that worthless foreign stuff drives away the finer home product, acts as a slow poison on the consumers, and crushes an indigenous industry. But still it does not lessen the duty on the home manufacture. Nay, it does not allow the Poona sugar refiner to sell his rum on the spot even on the payment of the high duty, the only reason for this extraordinary procedure being that the department wants to stick to its farming system even though the system crush the growth of a native industry. I leave you to judge how provoking, how disgraceful this policy is.

Cologne water is imported in large quantities from Germany and has to pay a duty of Rs. 8 per gallon, and if exported against receives a drawback. But the Parsi Cologne water manufacturer of Navsari, who pays an excise duty of Rs. 8 per gallon, gets no drawback when he exports his article.

In the Bombay Presidency no man can remove without special permission more than a gallon of spirit and four gallons of toddy from one place to another within a unit of area nor more than a dram of toddy or a dram of spirits from one area to another. Now a dram (*i.e.*, a wine glass) of toddy is worth about a pie and a dram of spirits about an anna or an anna



and-a-half. But he can take whole railway wagons of English spirit from place to place without permission. Good country spirit is to be had only in Bombay, and the people of Bombay prefer it to imported foreign spirits. Now suppose a consumer of country spirits is urgently called abroad and wants to carry with him, say, half a bottle of spirit, he would have to apply to the inspector for a special permission and wait till he gets a reply. If he cannot wait all the time, he has, perforce, to take English spirit with him. If a person in Surat or Navsari wishes to send its well-known toddy to a friend or relative outside, he has to get a special permission for it. If he neglects to do it, he is liable to a fine of Rs. 1,000 and six months' rigorous imprisonment.

The foreign liquors we get are mostly continental and of low quality and operate as a slow poison on the system and drain away our money, and it is a matter for regret that Government encourages the use of poisonous drinks. Twice the Bombay Presidency Association memorialised the Government to appoint an independent commission of enquiry, but the Government, perhaps through fear of an exposure, have sent no reply to either.

What then, gentlemen, is our remedy in our sufferings? The nerves of the Abkari Department seem to gloat upon our sufferings and to take delight in increasing them. We have no hope from the Government of Bombay. Our only hope seems to me to lie in calling a public meeting here to memorialise the Secretary of State and Parliament, praying them for redress against the tyranny of the Abkari Department.

The year 1878 witnessed the passing of both the Abkari and the Forest Acts. A year before the passing of these black enactments which have ruined and do still ruin innumerable people in this Presidency, a land-owner could with pride look upon his estate and the produce it would yield. But this very natural pride vanished in a year. There was no flood. There were no conflagrations. But these unspeakable enactments proved a greater curse to holders of property than the combined evils of flood and fire. In that year Mr. Mulloch (whose name will rouse hatred in the hearts of delegates from Surat and Thana) was Collector of Thana. He sent forth a most Draconic order prohibiting by severe penalties a land-owner from cutting even so much as a branch or slip from the trees on his own estate except on payment of heavy license fees. The people complained against the injustice of having to pay for the use of their own property. But their complaints were of no avail. The Abkari Act established the right of Government over toddy trees, and directly the Act came into force the owners of toddy trees found themselves deprived of the right of tapping toddy trees, even on payment of the duties which had been increased at one jump at rates varying from 500 to 1,600 per cent. Only monopolists could tap toddy trees and sell toddy, raw or distilled. Who these monopolists are, I will presently tell you. Well, they are persons who, not content with the profits of honest licensed sale, have—in many cases dishonestly—enriched themselves by wringing their hard-earned money out of half-starved and half-naked ryots by the sale of spirits weak in quality, and less in measurement than they were paid for.

It was Lord Lytton's Afghan War—the cause of immense loss of human life and of money—that called these enactments into existence as financial expedients. Then Mr. Pritchard assured a too eager Government that, if he were left to have his will, he could bring in lakhs in the shape of revenue. The heartless, rapacious Government of Sir Richard Temple fell in with the proposal. The late Mr. Bengalee, who was then a member of the Legislative Council opposed the idea of lessening—however slightly—the existing facilities for the obtainment and consumption of toddy which, he said, was a staple of food with the poor and was used by them in place of curry in eating their rice. But in its frantic efforts to increase the revenue the Government closed its ears to his counsel of wisdom and carried the bill in a packed Council. For three years after the passing of these Acts the people were subjected to the most grinding tyranny and one after the other their proprietary rights were snatched by the Forest and Abkari Departments. Popular well-being is the condition of loyalty as popular misery is of discontent and disloyalty; and I will give you, from my own experience,

an instance showing what curses this monstrous legislation brought on the heads of Government. About the time of the taking of Kabul by the English I happened to be crossing the deck at Oomergauni. Among the passengers with me was a Jabu Brahmin agriculturist who told me that the Afghans had taken Delhi. I assured him that I had read in the papers that the English had taken Kabul. He replied that the papers published as the Government instructed them to do. I then asked him where he got his precious information from. But, instead of giving a straight answer to my question, he asked me in anger whether I was a friend of the British rule. Wish is father to the thought, and I could plainly see that it was his sufferings incited him to speak as he did. The man was a victim of governmental tyranny. I can give another instance of an outward manifestation of popular indignation against these two Acts. It was the first of its kind in India. "Galled past endurance" by the tyrannical administration of these Acts, the leading men of Thana resolved to convene a meeting to memorialize Government, and sent notices of the meeting to every accessible corner in the district. On the appointed day whole droves of men came flocking to the place of meeting, some by rail, some on foot, travelling distances in not a few cases of close upon 100 miles. The Collector of Thana, who was not then in town, came to the place of meeting on information reaching him and attempted by a promise of redress to persuade the people to dissolve the meeting. But the people were implacable. An open-air meeting was held. The reporter of the *Times of India* places the number of the assembly at 3,000, while the Secretary of the meeting, speaking through the *Rast Gofiar*, places the figures at 7,000. Even taking the lower figure, the fact must be considered a portentous one where the people are known for their patient and silent endurance. In 1882, when Sir Charles (then Mr.) Pritchard was Abkari Commissioner, it was at his instance mainly that the Mowrah Bill was carried in spite of the unanimous protest of the non-official members. But the measure was vetoed by the righteous government of Lord Ripon. A committee of inquiry was appointed, and the Conference will, I have no doubt, listen with attention to the evidence of Mr. Sadas Shiv Moreshwar Sathe, a pensioned Mamlutdar, who urged upon the Government the necessity of acting in accordance with popular opinion in the manner of the ancient kings of India. Let us now respectfully pray the Government still to change their policy in a manner that would reflect honour upon the British Government. So long as Lord Harris is at the head of affairs in this presidency, I fear there is no hope of a redress of our grievances. Lord Harris' unsympathetic administration has darkened the last lingering ray of hope in the hearts of the people. Whatever faith he may have in the power of the sword, he is an enemy of the British Government who degrades that benign rule by basing it on other foundations than those of popular well-being and popular contentment.

From its very inception the Abkari Department has made it its policy to raise the revenue by stimulating the consumption of liquor. But to effect this it is necessary to diminish the consumption of toddy, for in the dry season the people care little for liquor so long as they get toddy. Toddy contains albumen and saccharine, which are very nutritious food, and a bottle of toddy can well replace solid food. It contains less of alcohol than beer, and even that little is produced after it has been kept for three hours. Dr. Lyon, Chemical Analysor to Government, in his report to Government, says that, on an examination of two specimens of cocconut toddy which had been kept for four hours, he found that one contained 9.2, the other 8.8 per cent. of alcohol; after 24 hours they both contained 13 per cent., and there was no more rise in the percentage after 48 hours. A similar examination of date toddy showed 4 per cent. in four hours, 9 and 6 per cent. in 24 hours, and a little over 9 and 6 per cent. in 48 hours. A similar examination showed that German beer contains 9.10 per cent., London porter 7.34 per cent., Bass' beer 13 per cent., and stoutest Guinness's beer 18 per cent. of alcohol. On comparing the taxes on the two, we find, while the duty on beer is one anna a gallon, that on toddy varies from 2 to 2½ annas a gallon. The license fee varies from Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 to Rs. 2,000, while the Poona brewer, who sells thousands of gallons, pays a license fee of Rs. 50. In Surat, where the greatest mischief has been done, toddy is four times taxed.

Then there is the tapping tax. Then there is a license fee of Rs. 20 for every 25 trees. Even after paying this tax, the licensee is not allowed to sell toddy. The right of selling toddy

at licensed shops is allowed by auction to the highest bidder. The selling price has been fixed by Government at rates varying from 3 to 4 annas, which, compared to the duties to be paid, is so small that it is impossible for the vendor to make any profit without adulteration.

As mentioned above, the Abkari Department saw from the beginning that an increase in the liquor-tax would stimulate the consumption of nutritive toddy and has to this day spared no efforts to crush it out of existence. Below are figures showing the consumption in the first three years of raw toddy and of liquor in the Thana District :—

|         |     |     | Raw toddy in gallons. | Liquor in gallons. |
|---------|-----|-----|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1879-80 | ... | ... | 86,535                | 546,734            |
| 1880-81 | ... | ... | 137,241               | 5,1,554            |
| 1881-82 | ... | ... | 154,741               | 740,061            |
|         |     |     | 378,517               | 1,868,349          |

From the above table it will be seen that the average annual consumption of toddy was 126,272, while that of liquor was 122,783 gallons. The annual rate per head of population was one bottle of toddy and 4½ bottles of liquor. What is the reason of this difference? The reason is that the license for toddy was given to the liquor contractor, who, attracted by the larger gains to be made in the liquor business, discontinued the sale of toddy. When thus discontent was spreading amongst the people, who could not get toddy, the Mowrah Bill of 1883 was brought into the Council at the instance of Mr. Pritchard. There were at the time six non-official members in the Council—Mr. Macaulay, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy; the late Rao Sabib V. N. Mandlik; the late G. H. Deshmukh; the late Solomon David Sassoon; and Mr. Budrudin Tyabji. These members showed no lack of energy. They did not owe their seats to a promise given beforehand to support any measure the Government might bring. Mr. Macaulay and Sir Jamsetji especially made the minutest personal inquiries and opposed the measure with vigour.

Some liquor contractors visited Sir Jamsetji, hoping to win him over to their side, but he remained firm, and in his speech in the Council said that the measure was intended as a sop to the liquor contractors. In a lengthy speech Mr. Mandlik vigorously stood up for toddy and condemned mowrah liquor. But his words might be discounted by the objection that he was a native of India. I will, therefore, quote a few words from the speech of Mr. Macaulay, who, being a European, had nothing to do with either toddy or mowrah liquor. He said: "The proposal does not affect the Europeans nor does it affect the wealthy natives; it is the very poor alone who will be sufferers. Fresh toddy is largely consumed by the poor agriculturists who are not represented here, and it is on their behalf that I appeal to you not to carry this amendment." These words do no little credit to the person uttering them, and, if the officials were men of this character, there would be none of the discontent at present existing. The measure was carried by an official majority, but was vetoed by Lord Ripon's Government. Two reasons mainly have induced me to make this lengthy reference to what is now ancient history regarding the Mowrah Bill of 1882. The first is that I want to show how honourably the non-official Members of Council acquitted themselves on the subject in 1882 and how mindful they were of their duty towards the people; secondly, because some orthodox Hindu gentlemen and their exponents in the press, who take an active interest in public affairs, look upon this question of the drink of the poor as no concern of theirs and are indifferent to it. But I would request the gentlemen who adopt this line of thought to bear in mind the fact that Mr. Sathe, Mr. Mandlik, and Mr. Deshmukh, who were also orthodox Hindus, did not consider their religious views as setting a bar between them and their duty to the public. For you must remember that the present abkari policy forces the people to resort to strong drink by depriving them of mild drink and thus ruins them both in money and in health. The prosperity of Government and of the trading classes is connected with the happiness of these poorer classes. But even our friends in Parliament—Mr. MacLaren, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Caine, who, as total abstainers, are opposed to all forms of intoxicants—have been complaining that the restrictions placed on toddy by the

Bombay Government are a positive hardship on the poor. It was only last year our friend Mr. Samuel Smith presented to Parliament a petition from Mr. M. J. Talyarkhan on behalf of the people of Thana. If, therefore, Hindu gentlemen are anxious to diminish the consumption of liquor, they ought to give up their attitude of indifference and join together in a demand for cheaper toddy. The Government of India, writing to the Chief Commissioner of Burma in July 1892, say :—

“A heavy duty should not be imposed on toddy, lest, owing to over-taxation, the people should be driven to have recourse to stronger drink or injurious drugs.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Crole, the head of the Revenue Department in Madras and Abkari Commissioner from 1889 to 1893, in his evidence before the Hemp Drugs Commission on January 22nd, said :—

“I have no reason to suppose that the consumption of the drugs is on the increase, but I should think that the probabilities are that it is on the decrease, because under the regulations a healthy liquor is available in toddy, and distilled liquor and probably drugs also have suffered. Toddy has been driving out distilled liquor I find. As I have no reason to suspect increase in drugs, I fancy the same operation is going on there. The toddy traffic has been placed under strict regulation, a better liquor is provided, and there is no possibility now of forcing the sale of distilled liquor against fermented liquor. This seems to me a great benefit, like the substitution of light-gravity beer for Hennessy's brandy.”

Shortly after Lord Ripon's Government vetoed the Mowrah Bill, the people of Dahanu and Oomergaum in the Thana District petitioned Government complaining that toddy was not to be had, and Sir James Fergusson's Government resolved to take away the license for toddy from the liquor contractor and to grant a separate license for toddy. The Hon'ble Mr. Mackenzie, the present Abkari Commissioner, who was then Collector of Thana, reported as follows on the working of the new system :—

“One of the most noticeable features of the past year is the introduction of the sale at the tree's foot and in licensed shops of fresh toddy. It was eagerly taken up by nearly all classes of the community in Dahanu and Oomergaum. Parsees (of whom there are many in Oomergaum), Dublas, Bhandaris, and even some Brahmins availed themselves of the privilege, and one result is, setting aside the increased revenue, the allaying of discontent in that part of the district, while another pleasant feature is that offences committed by those toddy licensees were but few, being but six in all, and of these, convictions were obtained in only four cases. There is no doubt that there will be a considerable increase in the current year of the revenue from these licenses, and I hope that breaches of the Abkari law in connection therewith will be proportionately few” (Abkari Report, 1882-83, para. 54). It is a matter for regret that the official who, as Collector, reported on the advantages both to Government and to the public of facilities for the consumption of toddy should, when Abkari Commissioner, allow an increase in the tax and the already vexatious restrictions on toddy. Lord Reay's Government, convinced of the grievances of toddy consumers by this report, as well as by the report of the Bombay Commission of Inquiry, forbade the grant of licenses for toddy to liquor contractors. But Sir Charles Pritchard could not brook this wise step and, during his reign as Revenue Councillor of the Bombay Government, re-imposed all the odious, vexatious restrictions and taxes on toddy which remain undiminished up to date. Mr. D. E. Wacha, the enthusiastic Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, sent a memorial to Government praying for the relaxation of the restrictions on toddy, in which he showed conclusively, on the strength of facts and figures, that the sole object of the restrictions on toddy was to stimulate the consumption of liquor. A more impregnable document was never presented to Government. It distinctly established two points : first, that the duty on toddy is greater than that on liquor relatively to the amount of alcohol in each, and secondly, that the claims of promoting temperance made by the Abkari Department were a sham. One fact quoted in the memorial will well bear repetition : a Parsi

gentleman of Oomergaum applied for permission to buy 3 gallons of strong bevada, 9 gallons of mild liquor (rasi), and 20 gallons of toddy on the occasion of a marriage feast. He was given permission for the liquor to the full amount applied for, but was allowed only 4 gallons of toddy, though there is no Government restriction of this kind as to the amount of toddy a man can get on special permission. The Government shirked a reply to the memorial, but, after repeated persistent inquiries, Mr. Wacha succeeded in eliciting a very lame reply. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Joseph Benjamin (Ahmedabad) said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The omnibus has been so very ably driven by the Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad and Mr. Wacha that my weak support to it might retard its onward progress, though, however weak my support may be, it will not be lacking in sincerity. Now, as regards salt, as a medical man I may tell you, gentlemen, that it is necessary for the very existence of life. Wherever there is a deficiency of salt, leprosy and that scourge of diseases—cholera—prevail to a great extent. However, as the Government of India have taxed it heavily, the poor people and cattle do not get it in sufficiency, and the consequence is that they suffer. It is, therefore, necessary that Government should reduce the tax and relax the rules as regards the Salt Act. Now, as regards abkari, let me tell you, gentlemen, that drink is on the increase in India. However I do not think it is the wish of Government that it should so increase here. His Excellency Lord Harris said, in a speech delivered four years ago at Ahmedabad, where he was requested to grant the concession of local option in regard to the opening of liquor shops, that, if for instance 49 per cent. of the residents of a locality wanted that there should be a liquor shop for them in that locality, it was his duty to look to their interests. But, gentlemen, are the interests of the majority to be sacrificed to the interests of the minority? Certainly it cannot be the wish of Government that the liquor shop-keepers should, by opening their shops against the wishes of the majority of people, thrust down liquor into their throats against their wishes. (*Cheers.*) We simply want at present the concession that wherever two-thirds of the population of a locality desire that a certain liquor-shop in that locality be closed, it should be closed, and that a new shop should not be opened in that locality if they do not desire it. Certainly our paternal Government, which is a Christian Government, should accede to this our humble prayer. The concession has already been granted to the people of the United States, and even in England there is a movement going on about it. One good result of the Opium Commission, which was appointed by Government through the instrumentality of Mr. Caine, the leader of the temperance movement in England and India, and who deserves our highest thanks for his disinterested efforts in our behalf, has been that even Government officials had to admit before the Commission that drink was much worse than opium, and that it was necessary to check its use, which was now on the increase in India. We, therefore, beg to appeal to Government that this humble prayer of ours may be heard. Now, as regards local self-government, let me tell you, gentlemen, that it is merely a sham and a delusion in some taluka towns. I tell this to you from personal experience as I was connected with taluka local self-government for some years. There generally the Mamlatdar is Chairman of the Municipality, and therefore everything is done as he desires. Non-official members cannot speak anything against his wishes, which must always be carried. If any one tries to go against his wishes, he is sure to suffer, as the Mamlatdar has got both executive and judicial powers as well as the power of the imposition of income-tax. It is, therefore, necessary that not only the Mamlatdars should not be appointed Chairmen of Municipalities, but they should not also be nominated as members. Now, as regards the next subject of village sanitation, which is of such vital importance to the masses, who form the backbone of this vast empire, Government has passed the Village Sanitation Act, but it has not yet been brought into force, as the question of money seems to block the way. It has already been stated during the first resolution that the ryot has been very heavily taxed as is evident from the enhanced land assessment. When such high taxes are taken from them, it is the duty of Government to do something for the poor villagers out of them in return. The ryot

is unable to bear any extra taxation because now, as he is, he generally has to live on insufficient food. It is, therefore, necessary that Government should spend the local cess collected from a particular village on that village alone, and not outside it as is done at present. If this be done, no additional rates will have to be levied on the already over-taxed villager. His Excellency Lord Harris, in his speech at Bijapur the other day, said that he was considering the subject of appointing itinerant medical practitioners for villages. We would highly be indebted to His Excellency's Government if the project be carried into effect. These Hospital Assistants should also be entrusted with the work of looking after the sanitation of the places they visit, so that the work may be properly done. Villagers require pure water, conservancy, and superficial, or, as it is otherwise called, surface, drainage. It is also essential that the necessity of these things should be impressed upon villagers, which cannot be better done than by giving them education. Gentlemen, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing from this public platform our gratefulness to that philanthropic lady, Miss Florence Nightingale, for her disinterested and generous efforts to improve the sanitary condition of our villages. Now, as regards the last subject of the separation of judicial and executive functions, let me tell you, gentlemen, that the sooner it takes place the better. Gentlemen, you know but little what goes on in taluka towns in the mofussil. There nobody dare go against the Mamlatdar's wishes. The Hon'ble Mr. Setalwad has said that there will be a little more additional expenditure if this scheme be brought into force. But I say there will be no additional expenditure at all, because, when the magisterial work will be taken away from Mamlatdars, the revenue work of more talukas than one can be entrusted to them. (*Cheers.*) Besides, there are Deputy Collectors and Assistant Collectors whose half-pay is debited to Law and Justice. But when the magisterial work is taken away from them, there can be placed two Assistant or Deputy Collectors in a district where there may be three at present and one where there are two, and the saving thus effected out of their pay, as well as by giving Mamlatdars more talukas than one, should be used in appointing Sub-Judges for magisterial work, and as they have done their work creditably on the civil side, there is no doubt that they will do it equally well on the criminal side. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Vithal Mahadev Dhamankar (Alibag and Bombay), in supporting the Resolution, said :—

I wish to address this meeting on the subject of forest administration. After the enactment of Act VII of 1878 by the Government of India, the ryots were subjected to great oppression and their rights of thousands of years' standing were taken away from them. The complaints of the peasants, who could no longer enjoy the privilege of having fuel and materials for agricultural implements free of charge from the forests, attracted the attention of Lord Reay, who, by Government Resolution No. 5977, dated 24th July 1885, appointed the Forest Commission to enquire into their grievances, and to this Commission I have served as a Secretary for the Kolaba Collectorate.

The purpose for which the Commission was appointed was not accomplished in its entirety ; only the immediate difficulties of some people were removed. The Forest Commission did not grant all the requests of the ryots, but only served to lessen the oppression and *zooloom* which the inferior officers of the Forest Department practised upon the people. The ryots have still to pay for fuel and materials for implements which they have to get from the forests. Still there were up to this time no injunctions laid upon the peasants' cattle to graze in the forests, and these have been sought to be imposed by the circular which has made its appearance under the signature of the Oriental Translator to Government. People have been holding meetings throughout the taluka to protest against these grazing regulations, and I am one of the delegates who have been elected at these meetings to represent the ryots' grievances in the deliberations of this Conference.

These new regulations affect the people, not only in pecuniary matters, but in others also as I hope to show subsequently.

At the time when this Act was still in its Bill form, about 10,000 people petitioned Government to consider the effects of such a legislation; but the ryots' petition was not taken into account. The forests are now turned into one of the sources of revenue. The establishment of the Forest Department vies with the Revenue Department in having officers from the Conservator and the District and Deputy Forest Officers down to the Round and Bid Guards. The maintenance of this establishment requires thousands of rupees per month, and this will give you an idea of the enormous revenue which Government make out of the forest lands. This revenue, of course, means taxation to the poor farmers. I assure you that the forest taxes have been greatly enhanced since the Forest Act of 1878 was enacted. You would perhaps require me to give you proofs if I tell you that the burden of taxation in connection with forest laws is heavier now than in the time of previous administrations. I will, therefore, ask leave to give a short account of previous times.

The Kolaba Collectorate comprises seven talukas; of these, the Alibag Taluka and a portion of the Panwell Taluka belonged to Angriya and lapsed to the British in 1839. The rest of the Collectorate was under the rule of the Peshwas and was taken over by the English in 1818. There is no means available to show what the state of things previous to these dates was; but there is a letter from the officer in charge of the zilla to the Secretary to Government (No. 412, dated 31st October 1831,) in which that officer plainly states that there was but one jungle in the Salsette Taluka and two only in the Kolaba zilla which were reserved by the State. The Collector of the Konkan District had issued, by order of Government, a notification in 1824 from which it is apparent that Government had ceased to exercise any right over forests. From this and from a letter to Government sent at that time to ask sanction for the pay of two peons for the reserved jungles I already told you of, the relation of the State to the forests in former times is not difficult to be conjectured.

In 1839, Mr. Reid, the Chief Secretary to Government, wrote to the Revenue Commissioner (No. 775 of 1839) informing him of the intention of Government to retract the notification of the Konkan District relinquishing the right over forests and to require the local authorities to reserve the forests for the State. Then the Collector of Thana has made a reference to the Revenue Commissioner at Surat stating that it would be very expensive to keep an establishment for the reserved forests and asking if it would not be more advisable to entrust that business to the Village Patel. The Revenue Commissioner addressed a letter (No. 288, dated 10th March 1840), in which he recommends the appointment of a Conservator of Forests and suggests that till his appointment the Revenue Officers might be placed in charge of the work.

The Collector of Thana in his letter dated 4th October 1847 and addressed to Dr. Gibson, who had been appointed Conservator of Forests, says, in reply to the latter, that the Collector approves of Dr. Gibson's proposal to enter into agreement with some prominent person in each village for the reservation of a forest and allot a portion of the income accruing from the hewn trees to such a person.

After this procedure had been sanctioned, agreements to the effect were entered into with the leading persons of the different villages. These agreements, however, contained a clause which provided that the forests would be set free when the restrictions on those of the khots and the rate-payers were removed. This shows that Dr. Gibson had persuaded the people into these agreements, and this has been further made clear by Dr. Gibson's letter (No. 6, dated 19th February 1850,) to the Mamlatdar of Roha, where he re-affirms his promises to remove the doubts of the people.

Agreements were thus entered into with most of the people of the Pen, Roha, Mangaon, and Mahad Talukas; still the people were enjoying their customary privileges.

The rates of assessment of the original survey were first brought in force in 1860-61, when some portions of the unassessed pasture lands were affiliated with the reserved forests;

some were left as grazing grounds, while others were brought under assessment as grass-growing lands. Still the survey registers contained remarks to the effect that people were to be allowed the free use of grazing grounds and loppings of trees for *rab*. Only the trees in the reserved forests were to be protected.

After the Forest Act was passed, several pieces of land left for grazing were added to the lands of the reserved forests. People however still used to take their cattle to graze there.

1. The Forest Inspector of Alibag has, on the report of Patels, issued permissions for 28 persons to take fuel from the forests free of charge.

2. Government Resolution No. 1710, dated 24th March 1875, permits timber and wood to be taken out of the forests for building chowkis, temples, and farmers' huts and for the construction of wells, as also for the implements of husbandry.

3. Accordingly, the people of Pezari have been allowed to take bundles of fuel.

4. The Sub-Collector's Order No. 375, dated 12th June 1865, is to the effect that the peasant should be allowed to take fuel and materials for farming implements free of charge from the forests.

5. Government have issued Resolution No. 4082, dated 23rd August 1871, to the effect that the rights of people in the reserved forests would continue as before.

6. Sir Richard Temple has, in the 5th clause of his minute of 7th June 1878, given permission for the free use of brushwood and the loppings of certain trees for *rab*, bramble or brushwood for fences, and fodder and pasture for cattle.

7. On the 19th of April 1874 the Conservator of Forests, Northern Division, issued a notification declaring that only landholders from villages were to be allowed to take fuel, &c., free of charge and that others would have to pay eight annas for a cartful and one and a half anna for bundles. A cartful of bramble wood is now charged at one rupee.

There is a curious decision given by the settlement officer who was appointed to enquire into the forest question and to determine the rights of the people. This decision refers to survey No. 119 in the village of Sahan in the Alibag taluka. The settlement officer says that passes had to be issued for fuel; the public had no right to it, and that by para. 8 of G. R. No. 4919, dated 15th September 1879, and para. 3 of G. R. No. 2206, dated 26th April 1880, and letter No. 2565, dated 20th October 1880, from the Commissioner, Northern Division, he held that no right of the people existed with regard to the materials for *rab* and pasture for cattle. This decision is to be taken in the light of a judicial finding.

Thus people lost all their rights in the forests, and the Forest Acts have even gone so far as to state that the moss accumulating on water and bones and hair of animals found in reserved forests were to be considered as products of the forests.

It is the earnest prayer of the farmers to Government that whatever Acts were necessary to be passed with regard to forests, they cannot do without free fuel and materials for *rab* and implements and fodder and pasture for cattle being granted them.

Letter No. 412 of 1831 from the zilla authorities referred to before clearly indicates that the ryots derived the entire benefit of the forests, and we see they have suddenly been deprived of their privileges.

Hitherto there was no tax on cattle which is now proposed to be imposed in the form of fees, which are to be 8 annas for each buffalo; 4 annas for an ox or a cow, an ass, or a mule; 2 annas for a goat; and 1 anna for a sheep.

This rate affects classes 38 and 39 of the Land Revenue Code.



There are about 360,148 head of cattle in Kolaba, and there are about 54,794 acres of pasture land including tanks, &c. This gives an average of about one acre for 6 animals. This land contains too much of waste and salt land of no use whatever for the purpose of grazing.

Allowing one pair for each plough, 122,094 animals are required for the total number of ploughs, viz., 61,047, will be exempted from fees. The rest, 238,054, will have to pay fees, which is a tax imposed upon the agriculturists.

The Government of India have recently issued a Resolution in which they urge the Local Governments not to make their respective regulations oppressive to the people. We feel grateful to the Government of India, and hope they will see that the spirit of the Resolution is scrupulously carried out.

Besides the burden of taxes, there are numerous other inconveniences attending the qualification of a herdsman, but as they have been referred to by another brother-delegate from Alibag, I will not further dwell on them.

In defining the animals of agriculturists, there is no distinction drawn between the animals of the actual tillers and those of others in clause 38 of the Land Revenue Code, and it is illegal for Government to frame rules that are not consistent with law. Chief Justice Westropp has expressed himself on this point in the case of Bala Patel vs. the Collector of Thana (I. L. R., Bom., vol. II, page 110).

Several witnesses of standing and experience were called before the Forest Commission, and Mr. W. F. Sinclair, one of those examined, gave it as his opinion that, as there were no animals in the Kolaba Collectorate, it would be proper to impose fees upon them for grazing.

I feel sorry indeed to say that the people are groaning under a number of heavy taxes. All the means of getting a livelihood have now been taxed. The tax upon cattle of course completes the list, if we may not take into consideration the free use of air, which has been allowed us and on which there is not yet any ground for believing that Government contemplate imposing a tax. (*Laughter.*) That the subjects of so august a Sovereign as Her Majesty should be taxed for every little necessity of life is indeed deplorable, and I would therefore request this meeting to appeal to Government and move them to grant to the poor ryots the necessary materials for agricultural purposes and the use of grazing grounds for their cattle free of charge. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Tukaram Dharmaji Mokul (Alibag) said :—

I am a delegate from Alibag and represent the farmers of the taluka. I possess lands for which I pay an annual cess of over Rs. 500.

The lands of Alibag may be divided into two great classes, namely, sweet lands and salt lands. The latter sort of lands may indeed be compared to a glass-pot. When once this land gets drenched with the sea-water all the arduous labour of the peasant throughout the year and all the expenses incurred by him are lost for nothing. We do everything in our power to build up mounds and level up the fields, but then we are quite helpless when spring tides at new and full moon time rush on, sweeping everything before them, while all our efforts are fruitless to check their violent progress.

There have been years when, on account of this havoc, the poor peasants could hardly get any grain from their fields and they had but to look to the forests for some eatable vegetable products.

We require various implements of husbandry, both for sweet and salt lands, which we used to supply ourselves with from the forests. We are now prohibited from so doing. Our cattle too that could freely graze on jungle pasture lands have now fees levied upon their heads. Some of us possess as many as 50 or even more animals, for it is necessary for us to

keep them for agricultural purposes, and imagine now what difficulties would befall their owner should these trespass on the forbidden grounds. The animals will all be taken to the Government pounds. The peasants, through necessity and a sense of disgrace, will have to pay enormous sums for fines and ruin themselves. I feel a great temptation to relate our grievances in full, but, gentlemen, I am an *agri* by caste and have not the power to do so before such an intelligent audience. I must therefore only implore you to take up our cause, to do something on our behalf, and with this request I will offer you my *Ram Ram* and take your leave. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Govind Narayan Deodhaker, in support of the Resolution, said :—

PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

You are aware that the administration of the Forest Department pressed so heavily on the people of the Thana District, that it was owing chiefly to their persistent demands that the Forest Commission came into existence. That Commission in their final report to the Government made certain recommendations which, though they did not come up to the full expectations of the ryots, would have proved, had they been acted upon, to be beneficial to the subjects. It is also well known to you that certain rules framed by Lord Reay, that were calculated to do good to the poor ryots and made much of in the then published newspapers, have been either suppressed or ignored. The officers employed in the administration of this department have been, not without honourable exceptions, so scrupulous about the interests of the Government that they ignore the very ryots and manage the affairs of the department rather very high-handedly. I wish to allude to two recent aggressions that the authorities engaged in the Forest Department have commenced making on private and immemorial rights of ryots in the Thana District. The first aggression I complain of is with respect to teak, blackwood, sandal trees and trees standing in the *varkas* lands in the occupancy of the ryots. The Bombay Government made a resolution No. 10087 on 23rd of December 1892, by which they ruled that trees of whatever sort standing in the rice and rabi lands in the occupancy of the ryots belonged to the occupiers, and that the owners thereof might do with them as they thought fit. By the same resolution they ruled that the injayali trees in the *varkas* in the occupancy of the ryots belonged to the ryot. As regards the trees of the four kinds standing in the *varkas* in the occupancy of the ryots, the Government resolved that they would frame rules as to the conditions of enjoyment of such trees by the ryots. The District Forest Officer of the Western Division of the Thana District called for tenders for felling trees in the *varkas* lands in the occupancy of the ryots. When the ryots came to know of this call, they gave notice through a solicitor to the officer concerned in the matter, that he had no authority to dispose of the trees standing in the *varkas* in their occupancy as long as the Government had not published rules as promised in their resolution of 23rd December 1892. As you might expect in the case of such officers no reply was given. Then, on the 7th of August last, the ryots made an application to the Collector that the District Forest Officer should be asked to postpone his passing of tenders till the Government issued its long-promised rules. No written reply was given to this application. At the same time I must tell you that the Collector was kind enough to direct the District Forest Officer to postpone the passing of tenders for a fortnight, and inform the ryots that the occupier will be given the first choice if he offered the tendered amount at the passing of the tenders. The District Forest Officer accordingly, in the presence of a large assemblage of the ryots, declared that the passing of the tenders would be postponed for a fortnight and that the occupiers if they offered would be given the first choice. But unfortunately for the poor ryots, the District Forest Officer forgot his declaration—forgot or ignored the direction of the Collector in two days—and passed the tenders on the 10th August before the expiry of the promised fortnight. (*Hear, hear.*) It will be very difficult to find a parallel for such wanton high-handedness and regardlessness of others' rights. The poor and ignorant ryot has quietly to submit to it. The ryots, however, have given notice to the District Forest Officer for passing the tenders before the expiry of the fortnight. But no reply has yet been received. That such unjust and unmerited treatment accorded to the subjects is highly reprehensible, and that Government should, for increasing the peace and prosperity of its agricultural classes, keep a watchful eye over their too zealous officers, will not be doubted by

any one. But apart from the conduct of the officer concerned, the department has been entirely ignoring the rules and regulations of the enjoyment of the private property by its owner. The ryots have been paying the assessment of the *varkas* lands on the understanding that the trees growing on the land in their occupancy belong to them. When the Government proceeds to sell the before-mentioned reserved trees, not to occupiers, but to strangers, it is heedless about the heavy loss that the occupier will suffer on account of the felling of such trees.

Gentlemen, before I close I shall allude to one more point. I spoke till now about the reserved trees standing in the *varkas* land of occupiers. I wish you to accompany me to another branch of the Forest Department—I mean Forest Demarcation. You all know that as regards Government forests we have been in enjoyment undisputedly from time immemorial of the privilege of grazing cattle, cutting *tohal* for *rab*, and taking fuel for domestic purposes. But since the advent of the settlement of forests certain restrictions have been introduced. Not content with what has been done till now, new methods are being invented to prevent people from enjoying their wonted privilege. The forest demarcation has been causing at present deep-felt anxiety for the future in the minds of the people in my taluka. The officers engaged in the operations of the demarcation draw a charmed line which, if transgressed, transforms an honest peasant into a trespasser or a thief. The operations of this demarcation have been proceeding in such a way as to cause the greatest inconvenience if not in all, at least in the case of most, of the villages. In some villages *guracharan* plots have been made reserved, and in others there is left no protected forest as every number has been made reserved. In many instances lands in the occupancy of the ryots have been taken away and turned into reserved forests. In many cases the surroundings of a field in all its directions have been made reserved, so there is not an inch of ground left beyond or by the side of the cultivated land. Consequently, an honest cultivator must either perforce set at naught the line of demarcation, or give up his cultivation in despair, or learn to do the cultivation business by means over which he will have the least conceivable control. It is superfluous for me to add that under these circumstances this measure will give full scope to the lowest subordinates of the Forest Department to overawe and intimidate the poor and ignorant ryots. In some villages no plot has been left from whence the poorest can draw their supply of fuel. You must remember that everybody residing in a village has no lands. There are many families in villages who live from hand to mouth on daily wages. How are they to live if no space is left for them to draw their supply of fuel from? They are too poor to buy fuel. Gentlemen, you have seen what new difficulties have arisen in the daily life of a poor man owing to the operations of the forest demarcation. We should place before Government these points which are not perceptible when the broad features of a scheme are discussed, but which stand facing us when we enter the details. Let us join hands and pray with our united voices that the Government should be pleased to restore to us our former harmless privileges of grazing our cattle, cutting *tohal* for *rab*, and taking fuel from Government forests without payment of any dues. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I forgot to say a word as to the *guracharan* lands. When our private lands at the time of the survey operation were entered as *guracharan* lands, we submitted petitions as directed by law. The Government then replied that that matter would receive consideration at the time of the operation of demarcation. That matter is still left undecided. We do not in the least wish to hamper the administration of the Forest Department by raising cries against it. We have not the least hesitation in saying that the Government should make reserved every inch of ground where the rights of the poor occupiers and other ryots are not interfered with. The Government does not pause to note as to who would be responsible to the occupier for the loss he sustains. If the Forest Department makes money, is it not then its concern to keep its eyes open and see the immense loss the occupier will suffer as regards *injayali* trees and the future crops till the felling operation is over? The conduct of the District Forest Officer in a matter of such vital importance to the poor ryots causes a very great distraction, as it is notoriously contrary to the tenor and spirit of the Government resolution of 23rd December 1892 and the general laws of private property and welfare and well-being of the poorer classes. It is very harassing to note that these officers

choose the way best calculated to cause distress and discomfort among the industrious peasantry. Instead of calling for tenders if the authorities had arranged to give the reserved trees to the occupiers themselves on such terms as might have been thought proper by both the sides, a great deal of heart-burning and trouble would not have ensued. Knowing, as I do, the people in my taluka in the Thana District full well, I am sure that if proper terms had been offered the occupiers themselves would have closed with them. Gentlemen, it is rumoured that the Government has ruled that where in an acre of *varkas* land there are only fifty reserved trees, such trees should be sold to the occupier of such *varkas* land on easy terms. If there be any correctness in this rumour, the action of the over-zealous District Forest Officer appears very mysterious. Out of the two plots sold away, one plot is 117 acres in extent and contains only 5,000 trees, *i.e.*, less than 50 per acre. Thus you will clearly see that the action of the authorities in question has been causing a great hardship and anxiety, and it is therefore our bounden duty to approach the Government with a prayer to remedy the evil. (*Applause*).

Mr. Govind Narayan (Umbargam), in supporting the Resolution, said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the first occasion on which I have made bold to speak in public. I do not understand English, and in consequence there may be inconsistencies in my speech; but I hope my learned friends will excuse me. The Commission of Inquiry into the administration of the jungles of Thana and Kolaba which the Government had appointed cost both the Government and the ryots a good deal. Gentlemen, you may have heard the rumour that after the Commission had made their report the Government of Lord Reay issued certain orders, but several clauses were afterwards eliminated from these orders. Afterwards Government issued a resolution, which bears No. 10087 and is dated 23rd December 1892. By that resolution the ownership of landholders to all jungle trees grown on their lands, and to teak, sandal, sisoo, &c., grown on *kharif*, *bagayat* and *rabi* lands was fully established. It was ordered that rules would afterwards be framed to regulate the terms on which teak, sandal, and sisoo grown on *varkas* lands would be given to their owners. These rules have not yet been framed, and yet tenders were asked by the Forest Department for the disposal of teak grown on *varkas* numbers belonging to the ryots! The people petitioned the Collector against such a course, whereupon the District Forest Officer told those who had presented their tenders to wait for a fortnight, as the trees would be given to the owners of land if they liked to buy them, and if they declined the tenders would be accepted for consideration. In practice, however, the owners of the *varkas* numbers were not consulted, and the tenders were accepted. In the absence of any rules for their sale, the trees were given to others to the great detriment of the interests of the owners of land, who will suffer by having their other trees felled, and by being unable to get sufficient *rab* materials. Our prayer, therefore, is that Government will be graciously pleased to deal with us in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission and the spirit of their notification in 1870. (*Cheers*.)

Mr. Waman Bapuji Dev (Pen) said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

The Omnibus Resolution, gentlemen, refers to several matters, but I shall speak on one of these—the poor people's question—I mean the *forest* grievance.

This grievance works directly upon them, while that of *abkari*, police and salt works indirectly. Because, if the poor people have money, they will buy salt and liquor and not otherwise. But when they cut a shrub or a small branch of a tree in the forest for manuring purposes, they are prosecuted or their cutting instrument confiscated by a forest guard, or while grazing, if cattle happen to cross the limit and were simply to enter the Government forest, they are fined or their cattle sent to the pound, and the ploughing work of the poor and unhappy cultivator stops. This will give you, gentlemen, an idea of the sufferings of a moneyless and poor cultivator, governed by an illiterate forest guard.

My friend, Mr. Wacha, and others thanked the Government of India for their recent forest resolution as one enunciating a better policy. You, gentlemen, from towns and cities under-

stand English and therefore better appreciate the sweet and beautifully-worded resolution than ourselves. We, the residents of the country and villages, will at present only join the chorus by word, and not by heart, unless and until we see that the enforcement of the resolution lessens our sufferings. (*Hear, hear.*)

The resolution does not state anything distinctly as regards grazing, for which we are so anxious. In our district we have at present full liberty of grazing in Government forest, but we are afraid of losing that liberty from the next month, as we learn it through the village officers. The cattle throughout are counted and a fee is, we hear, about to be levied per head of cattle. This has made the whole of the cultivating class uneasy and dissatisfied. In my taluka the grazing question has created so much discontent that on the 17th of last month *over one thousand* of the poor cultivators from over 75 different villages held a meeting at a village called *Mangrul* to consider this question and adopted a petition to be sent to the local Government, a portion of which I shall read to you, so that you will have an idea of their anxiety of this forthcoming grievance under which they are labouring.

The petition states: "At present the village officers of our taluka are counting and registering the cows, oxen, goats, buffaloes and agricultural cattle, and on being asked the reason of it, they say that they register them because the Government wants to tax them as they graze freely in the Government forest. We do not see any new cause for this taxation over poor people like us. Since the original survey we are making free use of the forest till now on a clear understanding, being informed to the effect that we are allowed to make use of everything in the forest, except certain kinds of wood used for building purposes, and entire freedom for cattle grazing. It being so, why are we to be taxed and our cattle registered? We think the Government do not see the misery of the poor ryots. Because in our present state we live on one meal a day for half the year, and on certain days we are obliged to live on roots and leaves. The Government should convince themselves as to the truth of what we say. We shall only think that the Government makes some arrangements for our maintenance if our complaints be heard and the cattle grazing is made free. Not only are our hopes lessening every day as to any concession by the Government for cultivation and grazing, but we are being reduced to starvation on account of an increase of taxation in these respects. We are at a loss to know what to do in future. We hear several things on inquiry for this taxation on grazing."

"Whatever be the reason of this tax, its effect will be that we shall not be able to maintain our cattle, and without cattle the agricultural business in the Konkan will cease. We are quite unable to buy manure from Bombay or other places for our soil, and we cannot maintain our cattle in the way in which the honourable gentlemen of our Councils maintain their horses, specially well fed at a great cost. By this reason we shall have to starve miserably for want of food. We are very much afraid of it and leave the decision to Government."

"Since the commencement of the British rule the land revenue has increased over four-fold, the salt tax over sixfold, the abkari tax over eleven-fold, and the tax on ganja and opium over thirty fold. Besides there are many new taxes, such as stamp, forest and others. On the whole by taxation we have been reduced to poverty and to utter want of wood. The sources of maintenance are much lessened and the taxation on the contrary heavily increasing and nobody attends to our prayers. But we hope that our prayers on the present occasion at least will be duly attended to. Gentlemen, with these observations, I resume my seat, leaving the proposition to your approval." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Damodar Gopal Bhai (Kelwa Mahim), in supporting the Resolution, said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The former speakers have already dwelt upon the different subjects embodied in the resolution. I intend to speak only on forest and local self-government. I come from the Thana District, the forests of which were for a long time known to be second only to those of

the Satpura and North Canara hills in the Bombay Presidency. I may say that this superiority of our forests has been the cause of their destruction and our misery. About the year 1823 it occurred to certain Government officers that the forests of the Thana District, which were full of valuable timber, could be conveniently made a fruitful source of income. The first report to this effect was submitted to Government in 1823 by Mr. Dunlop, the then Collector of Southern Konkan. If we examine the history of the forest administration since that time, we shall find that the officers for the most part were engaged in finding out the most useful things grown in the forests and taxing them to the great inconvenience and annoyance of the ryots. The relation between the king and the subjects is that between the father and his children, that is, of the greatest cordiality, but the officers who rule over us seem to forget this principle altogether. Having in view the sole object of increasing the revenue, the Forest officers, without considering the conveniences of the people, are always engaged in suggesting new rules and regulations. The subordinate officers, knowing the inclination of their superiors, lose no opportunity to worry the ryots.

An interesting instance of the way in which Government officers issue their orders without making due inquiries may be cited from the Mahim Taluka. In that taluka the original revenue survey was commenced in 1865 or thereabout. The Survey officers on that occasion marked off certain lands as "protected forests." Of these, the piece marked off as "protected forest" in the village from which I come contains houses inhabited by not less than 200 souls. My own house and the compound surrounding it have stood in their place for the last 75 years, and yet in 1865 the piece was marked off as "protected forest!" This may appear very strange, but when the officers can draw red lines to mark off "protected forests" in their tents, there can be no reason why they should neglect to inquire whether the spots they thus mark off contain inhabited houses, stones, or trees. We do not even for a moment entertain the thought that our gracious Sovereign would ever like that her subjects should in any way be put to trouble and annoyance, but it is the doings of her servants who govern us that are the source of our troubles. It seems to be the law of nature that rivers, forests, seas, &c., should be principally utilized by those who live in their neighbourhood, for those living at a distance will hardly think of using them without much waste of time and energy. It is for reasons like these that we have been enjoying rights to bring materials from the neighbouring forests for agricultural and domestic purposes from time immemorial. In view of agricultural wants these rights should obviously have a predominance over mercantile considerations. Owing to stringent forest regulations, however, we have been obliged to manage our farms and gardens at a great disadvantage.

As to local self-government we have already shown our aptitude for it; let us now see to its extension. Of the various reforms required in the system, the most important is the concession of the power to mofussil municipalities to elect their presidents. The correspondence between the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad and the official presidents of the Broach and Sholapur municipalities, which appeared in the public press, is a clear proof of how official presidents behave as they please and wholly disregard public opinion. It should be remembered that only official presidents declined to supply the information required by the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad, the others having given it willingly. The two official presidents did not even think it necessary to place the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad's letter before the members of their respective municipalities! Such an attitude by official presidents towards the representative of the municipalities of the Northern Division in connection with a question of public utility, and the indirect endorsement of it by Government do not certainly reflect credit on our just and impartial Government.

With these observations I cordially support the resolution. (*Applause.*)

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

## Resolution V.

Mr. Lalji Ramji (Bombay), speaking in Guzerati, moved the subjoined Resolution :—

*This Conference is of opinion that (a) offenders against the Tobacco Act should be tried by regularly-constituted magisterial tribunals, where they can fully avail themselves of professional assistance, instead of being tried, as at present, before departmental tribunals, where they are denied such assistance; (b) definite and sympathetic rules should be laid down and announced for the transfer of licenses after the decease of license-holders to their heirs and relations, who may be solely dependent upon them for maintenance and support; and (c) rules and regulations of the Tobacco Department should, in general, be so worked as to minimise, as far as possible, the existing hardships of country-tobacco dealers.*

The resolution that has been entrusted to me is made up of three parts. The first deals with a complaint which is of a very important character. Offenders against the Opium, Abkari, and Salt Acts are tried by independent magisterial tribunals, and there is no reason why those who transgress the provisions of the Tobacco Act should be tried and punished by departmental officers. The magistrate's court does not object to the appearance of pleaders, while departmental tribunals deny to poor people such professional help as is available to them. This is a great hardship, and no departmental usage can justify this cruel injustice. Secondly, the magisterial tribunal is independent and thoroughly disinterested, and its decision is open to revision by the High Court. The magistrate's court is accessible to the public and its decision is amenable to public criticism. But there is nothing of the kind in the case of a departmental inquiry, which is wonderfully short and swift. It is no use appealing to the higher authorities, because the reply is of the usual stereotype character, *viz.*, "We see no reason to interfere." The present subject, though somewhat of local importance, has an important bearing on the question of separating judicial and executive functions. In the mofussil pecuniary objections are raised against the proposal on the score of increased cost. But the objections do not hold in Bombay. If the offenders against the Tobacco Act were placed before Presidency magistrates for trial, that cannot impose a heavy burden on them and no additional cost will be entailed on Government. Government have themselves admitted that magistrates have concurrent jurisdiction along with departmental tribunals to try such cases. If so, why are the authorities unwilling to transfer them to magisterial courts and thus meet the wishes of tobacco dealers? The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal, who has taken so much interest in this subject, interpellated Government on this point; but, as usual, the reply was highly unsatisfactory.

The country-tobacco dealers belong generally to poor families. When a license-holder died, it was customary to transfer his license to his wife, son, daughter, mother, father, brother, sister, or some relative. This was a very humane practice; because after the death of the principal supporter of the family, those who were dependent upon him were thus enabled to earn their livelihood and were not sent afloat upon the world. No, the department has, for reasons best known to itself, departed from this practice, thus bringing about the ruin and misery of some families. In good many other matters, when Government are asked to explain something, they say that it has been the practice and usage of the department. But, strangely enough in this matter, where adherence to the past traditions is very necessary, their officers have deviated from them to the general discontent of the poor traders in tobacco. There are no definite rules regarding the transfer of licenses. Everything depends upon official discretion and the reports of subordinate officers. What this means you can better imagine than I can describe. What the tobacco dealers complain of is the injustice of depriving the heirs and relations of the means of living after their decease, and I trust Government will lay down more sympathetic and sensible rules than are being enforced at present.

The third part of the resolution is of a general character. It asks Government to render the working of the Tobacco Department more lenient and sympathetic, and thus minimise the hardships of tobacco dealers as far as possible. Why foreign traders should be liable to less troublesome rules and restrictions than dealers in country-tobacco passes my comprehension. We know there is a good deal of difference between the white and the black skin. (*Hear, hear.*) But why that should be recognized by a Government department is more than any one can explain. Native traders are harassed by all sorts of stringent rules and restrictions from which the privileged European traders are altogether free. Their very licenses prove this. They contain two clauses, while the licenses issued to country-tobacco dealers have no fewer than eleven. The latter cannot leave Bombay without obtaining permission from the Customs authorities, and that, too, is obtained with great difficulty. Sudden emergencies, like sickness, death in a family, &c., arise, necessitating some months' stay in the Konkan. Besides, the presence of agriculturists is required in their villages to look after the small holdings which it is necessary to till for the support of their families, as dealing in tobacco alone is not sufficient for that purpose. The present rules, therefore, need to be recast, if at all any such are in existence. Dealers in foreign tobacco are better off in this respect and can go out anywhere at any time. Licenses are granted in a most capricious fashion, while the applications of even respectable people are disregarded. Licenses are granted to the butlers, barbers, coachmen, and ayahs of influential persons and even to prostitutes. (*Shame.*) The present arrangements for the weighment of country-tobacco are inconvenient to dealers in country-tobacco, while those for the foreign tobacco are what they should be. Why this should be so it is difficult to say. Country-tobacco dealers naturally look to their own Government for a sympathetic hearing of their grievances. I have mentioned only a few of them, and trust Government and their officers will redress them in a spirit of justice and sympathy. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Govind Desarath seconded the Resolution. He observed :—

Mr. Lalji has fully dealt with the resolution, and very little remains for me to say on the subject. The dealers in country-tobacco want no special privileges from Government. They want justice and fair-play. If Government or their departments acted in a spirit of prompt justice towards European merchants, there is nothing unnatural in it. But why are poor Indians differentially treated? I suppose, because they cannot make a sufficiently loud noise. (*Hear, hear.*) Tobacco dealers say that they should be tried by independent and unbiassed tribunals. Is this request unfair? They urge that after their demise, those who are dependent upon them should not be made to starve. Is that demand unfair? They entreat Government that the Tobacco Department should be so worked as not to cause the least annoyance to poor people. Is this prayer unfair? They pray that officers who are, or, at any rate, ought to be, conversant with the habits and customs of the people and with their requirements, should administer the rules and regulations of the department in a kindly spirit. Are they wrong in making these prayers? If not, we entreat Government through this Conference to look to the grievances of men who have so long been crying in the wilderness. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Manmohandas Dayaldas (Bombay), in support of the Resolution, said :—

Mr. Lalji Ramji has laid before you the resolution urging the advisability of amending the law regulating the trial of cases arising out of the Acts regulating the sale of tobacco and the grant of licenses for the same. You will see, gentlemen, that the proposals of Mr. Lalji are such that no right-minded person can take exception to them. He has shown to you satisfactorily how harshly native tobacco-dealers are dealt with under the present state of the law. The subject of this resolution is all the more important as it affects the interests of that class of Her Majesty's subjects which is too poor and illiterate to ventilate its grievances properly unless backed up by such an influential body as this Conference. Just as all offences arising out of the working of the Acts regarding abkari, opium, cruelty to animals, and municipalities are tried before an independent judicial tribunal as the Presidency magisterial court, in the



same way all questions arising out of the Tobacco Act ought to be tried before the same independent tribunal and not, as is now done, by the Executive Department. In the present state of things no poor tobaccoist who is dragged before the head of the Abkari Department (who is the judge in these cases), has the right to be defended by a legal professional gentleman. It is impossible that claims of justice and fair-play could have any chance seeing that a party immediately interested in the dispute is sitting in judgment upon the acts of the subordinates of its own department; and that, too, where questions of Government revenue are involved. One painful feature of the working of the present Act is that Native and European tobacco-dealers are, as regards their rights and liabilities under the law, treated differently. The latter is not only favoured but most indulgently treated while the former not only is not favoured but is barely treated with justice. It looks as if those concerned were bent on repressing the native tobacco industry at the expense of the foreign which is rather extraordinary, bearing in mind the solicitude of the Government of India to encourage by all legitimate means indigenous arts and industries. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was put to the vote and unanimously carried.

### Resolution VI.

Rao Bahadur N. M. Bhide (Poona) moved the subjoined Resolution :—

*This Conference notes with concern that, notwithstanding the deliberate expression of opinion on the part of the late Viceroy and of Sir W. Hunter and other authorities, the Government of India contemplates an early amendment of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in very minor particulars only, while the chief executive and administrative reforms suggested by the Land Indebtedness Commission in Part III of their report as essential complements to legislative action appear to have received no consideration. This Conference is of opinion that, as long as these reforms are not carried out and the rigidity of collection of revenue is not relaxed in favour of the ryots, and the high pressure of enhanced assessment is not reduced, and more credit facilities are not provided, the agrarian problem will remain, what it has been hitherto, a source of anxiety to Government and of distress and impoverishment to the ryots notwithstanding any amendment of the Relief Act.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution which I have been asked to propose for your consideration this afternoon may appear to some to be too technical a matter and as such not properly within the sphere of a popular representative meeting like this. It may also be urged by some that the question does not affect all the districts of the Presidency. The fact, however, is that the agrarian problem is not a question of the Deccan only, nor of this Presidency either. It is a problem which concerns the whole of India, and it is a problem by the side of which all other problems sink into comparative insignificance. It is an open secret that the late Viceroy of India was so impressed with the importance of this question that he left as a legacy for his successor a very important confidential minute reviewing the situation in all its bearings. When the agrarian riots first broke out in the Deccan twenty years ago, Government appointed a commission of enquiry, and as the result of the deliberations of that Commission, a scheme of economic and legislative reform was sketched out by the Commissioners. The Commissioners were unanimous on the point that the reforms should be, so to speak, double-edged, affecting the relations of Government as also of the sowkar towards the peasantry, that is to say, the great majority of the population. Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Carpenter, among the Commissioners, gave expression to the necessity of

economic and executive reforms with an emphasis which left nothing to be desired. When the report of the Commissioners of 1875 passed through the sieves of the Secretariat the economic suggestions dropped out, and only the legislative remedy of providing a more equitable procedure in the adjudication of private claims against the ryots was recommended for adoption. In his discussions of the Bill of 1879 Sir R. Egerton, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, Sir W. Hunter, and others again called attention to the inadequacy of mere legislative remedies, and the Government of India itself was so far persuaded as to admit its readiness to take up executive reforms alongside with the reform of law courts and their procedure. After thirteen years a new Commission was appointed by the Government of India, and that Commission again reiterated the same view, namely, that reforms in the procedure of courts, though good as far as they went, would prove of no avail. (*Cheers.*)

Again, there was a conflict between the Secretariat and the independent Commissioners' views, and as the outcome of this we have the Bill recently introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner in the Viceroy's Council which will shortly come on for fuller consideration. The late Viceroy has recorded his views emphatically on the point, and has suggested that unless the rigidity of the levy of land revenue collection is largely modified by timely remissions and postponements, unless greater facilities are afforded to the ryots to borrow money for improvements and similar other reforms are carried out, no legislative improvement can produce any lasting good; you will thus see, gentlemen, that we are in good company in this matter. We have the support of two independent Commissions on our side and of a retired Viceroy. (*Cheers.*)

In one part of the country we tried to secure the support of Government in the matter of providing greater facilities for loans to agriculturists by undertaking to start an experimental agricultural bank. The local Government and the Government of India in Lord Ripon's time were agreeable to the experiment, but the higher authorities overruled them, and now the Viceroy suggests the same remedy. No improvement in the system of *tagai* advances will suffice. The relations between the sowkar and the ryot must be made more intimate and cordial. We have on our side any amount of capital seeking investment, and for want of it consenting to a conversion of 4 per cent. to 3½ per cent. without a demur. We have, on the other hand, a vast mass of people sadly in need of money and unable to obtain it by reason of insecurity of tenure and seasons and their inability to pay it back at usurious rates. Nobody wants Government to undertake the business of banking. We want it to support the efforts of private banking which will tap new resources of capital reserves if they are properly approached. The insecurity of tenure is due to the irregular and excessive enhancements which Government claim the power to make from time to time. The irregularity of the seasons places the ryots under an obvious disadvantage when they are expected to pay up the assessment punctually under penalty of forfeiture. These are really the chief sources of the ryots' misery. They drive him to the sowkar, and being restricted in the choice of sowkars he has to suffer the additional misery of worry and eviction. I hope I have made myself clear on the point. The Civil Court reforms are all good so far as they go, but they do not touch the root of the evil. The evil is not peculiar to Bombay. The Central Provinces and the Punjab Governments alike have asked for help. It is on this account that we must raise our voice and request Government to adopt a really effective remedy which will go to the root of the evil instead of contending itself with merely scratching the surface. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Ramchandra Ganesh Barve (Yeola) seconded the resolution, the consideration of which was postponed owing to the absence of Mr. Chambers. On the arrival of that gentleman, its consideration was resumed.

Mr. W. A. Chambers (Bombay), who was warmly received, said:—

That they were often accused of discussing rich men's questions and neglecting those which related to the poor. This resolution, however, showed that they did not neglect the

interests of the poverty-stricken. Politics, unless they held out some hope to the masses of the people, were a hollow mockery. The Government of India was in the position of a landlord. There were two classes of landlords—the Irish—the bad and the good. The former took from their tenants all they possibly could and gave nothing in return; the latter sympathized with their tenants and endeavoured to help them. In which class should the Government of India be placed? He was afraid in the Irish class. The rulers of India did little or nothing to aid the ryot. True, during the last ten years they had lent to the peasantry one crore of rupees, and in Madras they had helped the cultivator to make wells. The one crore of rupees merely represented about half per cent. of the amount of money which they had taken from the ryot, and such meagre help was simply playing with the question. The problem was a serious one, and whether the Government liked it or not loans, on reasonable interest, must be given to the ryot; there must also be more elasticity in the land revenue and the cultivator must be protected against the money-lender. In every civilized country the peasant was saved from the usurer. Even Russia—that Russia which was supposed to be coming to India—stood between the cultivator and the Jew. (*Hear, hear.*) In this respect the Russian Government was a good one. Of course, in other respects, it was not so good. For instance, were the people of India under Russian control, all the delegates who were present would probably be sent to Siberia, but to speak honestly, the Russian Government did help its peasantry. The only effort in this direction made by the English Government was the Deccan Agriculturalists Relief Act. It was a valuable piece of legislation, but it was scarcely sufficient. Small as it was, however, it had many enemies; Commission after Commission had examined into its workings and attempts had been made to stultify the Act. Fortunately it had triumphed, and it still lived to help the Deccan ryot. Some amendments—they were very small—were to be made to this Act, and the recommendation had gone forth that it should be given a wider application. This was satisfactory, but no real solution of the question would be arrived at until the Government advanced loans to cultivators and a more elastic system of land revenue existed. It was interesting to compare the method of land taxation under the old native rule and under English rule. Under the native rule a man was always left enough to feed him and his family, with sufficient for seeds; under the English rule he had to borrow at the rate of 24 per cent. in order to meet the tax-collector's claims. Still, however hard as this might be, they should not wholly blame the Government. There was another party equally as bad. The man who took advantage of the poverty of his fellows; the man who lived by grinding the faces of the poor, was one from whom they should shrink as from a leper. He (the speaker) wanted them to despise and hate the money-lender. Look at this individual in Bombay. Wherever poor men congregated there he was to be found. Had any of the audience noticed a Bombay mill on pay-day? Had they seen the money-lenders hanging about like vultures after carrion? Within a hundred yards of nearly every mill in Bombay there was a money-lender's shop. He (the speaker) appealed to the mill-owners to invent some means by which people could be saved from these despicable creatures. The Government might be a grasping landlord, but after all the man who lived on the afflictions of his fellows was contemptible, and, whether he was a prominent citizen or not, whether he erected statues or built fountains, their voices should be lifted up against such persons. (*Cheers.*)

The President remarked that it seemed that the experience of the last speaker was confined to the City of Bombay. If he had had a larger knowledge of the mofussil, he would have known that the money-lender was necessary to the ryot and was most useful to the cultivator. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was then unanimously carried.

### Resolution VII.

Dr. K. N. Bahadurji (Bombay) was received with loud cheers on rising to move the Seventh Resolution which was as follows :—

*I. (a) That, whilst re-affirming its resolution of last year on the subject of medical education and civil medical administration to the effect that, in the interests of medical education, the profession and the public, and of the several medical departments of the State, no less than of economy, it was time that the higher Civil Medical Service was no longer a branch of the Military Indian Medical Service and with appointments exclusively confined to members of the Military Service and made to suit the convenience of such service, but formed a distinct and independent service by itself in which appointments were thrown open to the general profession and made, on the ground of special merit and training only, to meet the requirements of its various departments of education, science, and sanitation, this Conference is strongly of opinion that the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service, of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open inquiry by a mixed commission of official and non-official members. (b) That, whilst this Conference views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to re-organise the Chemical Analyser's Department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistant or, as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers and place them on a footing of specialists.*

Dr. Bahadurji observed :—

Whilst speaking with natural pride of "home-grown" professors—a commodity unknown in this country—of his school, an Irish professor very appropriately remarked the other day that the medical school of a country, like its University, of which it formed a part, may be regarded as a fair index of the intellectual life of a nation. (*Hear, hear.*) Medical education and science and the institutions in which they are imparted and cultivated have as much, if not greater interest for the general public as for the workers gathered together in such institutions; and very naturally too, considering that the highest aim of medical science, to which all departments of human knowledge are tributaries, is the alleviation of human suffering and the promotion of human happiness. It is very gratifying, therefore, to find the Indian public taking such keen and increasing interest in matters affecting the condition of medical science and education in their midst, and co-operating with the profession to root out evils which militate against a healthy growth of advanced medical science in the country. Some recent curious phases of the existing constitution of the Civil Medical Service of the country have made it clear that the doctrine—whatever it is right—however suitable or workable it may have been over half a century ago, is wholly incompatible with the needs of the present times. You are now pretty well familiar, no doubt, how indefensible, unjust, extravagantly costly, and even mischievous in its working, is the present constitution of our Civil Medical Service; but both from its great importance and the glaring character of the anomalies and absurdities it bristles with, the subject will bear repetition and emphasis. Let us study a few of its salient features in the light of local experience, and see what a terrible tale they tell. To take the last subject—the Chemical Analyser's Department—mentioned in the first resolution, it cannot but be a matter of extreme satisfaction to note that, in spite of their outward protests to the contrary, Government have felt, and felt keenly too, the force of recent exposures in connection with the department, for the Imperial Government have evidently lost no time to take steps to reorganize it as a special scientific department. Only it is to be hoped that a scheme of reorganization recommended by

a military department does not, as usual, mean extension and increased expenditure, and Government will, in the words of a local paper, "utilize their own material ready at hand and take up the Assistant Surgeons, who are already in the department, for this special new service and place them on an independent footing of specialists," and not be misled into an extension of the I.M.S. monopoly and further expenditure, as was recently the case in the department of jail administration in which some eleven posts—many of which had been so long efficiently and economically filled by Assistant Surgeons—were unjustifiably docked into the I.-M.-S. schedule. The case of Hospital Assistants and Assistant Surgeons has only to be mentioned to command immediate attention and redress. Contrast them with their military brethren—the warrant medical officers and the members of the I. M. S. The Hospital Assistants are non-matriculated licentiates. They are the people who really popularize the Western system of medicine in India and carry its blessings to the masses. They practise medicine, midwifery, and surgery amongst thousands in the districts, perform *post-mortem* examinations, and give evidence in medico-legal cases. But would you believe that their commencing salary is no higher than what you would pay to your pattawalla, coachman, or cook, *viz.*, Rs. 16, and that they end with Rs. 50 if sent on military work? It is no wonder that they have often no social position, and are looked down upon even by bill-collectors. Their military brethren—the warrant medical officers—though they go through a trifle lower preliminary educational test, start with Rs. 50 and rise to Rs. 400, and may even get Rs. 700 when on civil duty, which is done only to give them the higher pay, for surely the civil department has men enough and to spare. This Warrant Medical Service, which carries military rank and titles, was at first open to non-Christians, but was latterly closed against them, and the only reason for such inconceivable disparity between the Hospital Assistant and warrant medical officers is that the one belongs to the Christian race, whilst the other does not. Let the Government lay its hand to its heart and say if this grossly unfair treatment of non-Christian public servants is at all worthy of a Christian Government and befitting the honour and traditions of British rule. Would it not redound to the honour, justice, and even "common sense" of our local Government to take the initiative to repair the wrong that is still being done to the Hospital Assistants, without waiting to be asked to do what is their plain duty? (*Loud cheers.*)

The Assistant Surgeons are our University graduates in medicine. In point of preliminary examinations and professional tests they are on a level with the I.-M.-S. men, and such as could afford a passage to England, used to go through the Burlington House examination as easily as they did in Bombay, so long as the prescribed tests were fair and dealt with questions of competence and not colour, caste, or creed. Contrast their position with members of the I. M. S. The latter, members of a military service, begin with Rs. 400 odd and rise to Rs. 2,500, and have the sole right to all the higher grade civil medical posts in the country, whilst the home-grown graduates, the Assistant Surgeons, whatever their ability or work, begin with Rs. 100 and rise to Rs. 200! (*Shame.*) Whilst careers are open to talent in all other Faculties of our University, they are denied to members of the Medical Faculty. An Arts graduate may rise to be a Deputy Collector; a Law graduate, a High Court Judge; and Engineering graduates may rise to be Presidency Executive Engineers, but our Medical graduate can go no higher than an Assistant Surgeon on Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 a month! If this be due to our medical graduates lacking the necessary qualifications for high posts in the Medical Department of the Public Service, the inference forces itself upon us that our medical schools have failed to discharge their duty by the State to the people, and that the work and care of our medical institutions has not been confided to proper hands. (*Hear, hear.*) So far back as 1867 the Government of India created minor College Professorships and the Uncovenanted Medical Service, on the lines of the Uncovenanted Service in the judicial, revenue, and other departments of the Public Service, to give play and recognition to local talent. But the execution of these laudable measures of Government having, unfortunately, been placed in the hands of military medical officers, the result has been deplorable. They only smuggled the professorships into their schedule and turned the Uncovenanted Service into a dead letter, by diligently closing all admissions into it ever since its inception, except in two cases in which admission was allowed

under exceptional circumstances. This stratagem of the Military Medical Department Mr. Birdwood tried the other day to explain away by a simple assertion that admissions were made into the Uncovenanted Service only when men were not available from the Military Covenanted Service. But how this bold assertion is at total variance with facts is clearly demonstrated by the very two instances which Mr. Birdwood specified, and which have been the only two admissions into the Service since its inception in 1867. Dr. Colah, the late Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, was admitted into the uncovenanted grade simply because of the then temporary closing of the Covenanted Service against natives, and Dr. Dalgado was simply *promoted* to the uncovenanted grade, keeping to his original post, which by the way cost Government not a penny, for the salary is paid by a Native State, and not that members of the Covenanted Military Service were not available for these posts. The experience of a quarter of a century has abundantly proved that a liberal feeding of the Military Service with ample yearly admissions is not likely to allow the Service to run short of hands especially when it is a unique military service which gives for civil employ a loan of some 370, whilst its own military requirements want only 260! That an open inquiry by a mixed commission into the case of Hospital Assistants and Assistant Surgeons is an imperative necessity cannot be at all gainsaid, and it is such an open inquiry that was urged on the attention of Government by a local paper in its recent very fair and sympathetic editorial on the grievances of the Assistant Surgeons. What then is responsible for all this injustice to, and degradation of, a useful body of public servants? It is the I. M. S. monopoly and the Trades' Union spirit it breathes into its members. (*Hear, hear.*)

That military loans for civil employ must, of course, be costly you can very readily perceive, and the question of their excessive cost to medical education and the Civil Medical Department has been fully gone into on previous occasions. I shall, therefore, refer to some other features of the monopoly. The story is told that the monopoly is the work of the Secretary of State, and the Indian Government are helpless in the matter. But is it so? The C. S. Covenant guarantees fixed posts to the civilians, but the I. M. S. Covenant guarantees nothing of the kind. It is purely a military enlistment, with settled scales of pay and pension. The I. M. S. Covenant makes no mention even of any civil posts. The "scheduling" of civil posts for the I. M. S. has been pure usurpation and plunder perpetrated by some powerful military medical officers, and unthinkingly acquiesced in by the Indian Government, but protested against by some high-minded brethren of their own service, who thought more of the traditions and honour of their profession and the progress of Western medical science, than comfortable berths for their caste-men (*Hear, hear.*) When it was seriously asked by the then Surgeon-General how his men would like to have all medical professorships and scientific appointments in the country reserved for members of their service. Dr. (now Sir George) Birdwood, brother of our Civilian Councillor, Mr. Birdwood, who tried to defend the unjust treatment of the Uncovenanted Medical Service, and Dr. (now Sir Guyer) Hunter, and their comrades in our Medical College loudly protested against such unfair treatment, not only of the profession, but of their science, for Dr. Birdwood bitterly complained that already then, *i.e.*, in 1867, and twenty-three years after the implanting of Western medical science in the Western Presidency, "the authority of the Surgeon-General over the Grant Medical College had enervated the College and injuriously affected the progress of scientific medicine in Western India," and that "it was soon found to be difficult to make professors of certain arbitrarily named military officers, as it was easy to order them to be made? If such was the crippling and enervating influence of an unformed I. M. S. monopoly on our medical schools and medical science more than a quarter of a century ago, what must have been the working of this monopoly cast in a settled schedule all these five and twenty years? Is it to be wondered at that India has no scientists of her own, and that our medical schools have not contributed in fifty years what a provincial medical school in England does in as many months towards the advancement of medical science? Early this year I had occasion to explain to a famous European professor, then in Bombay, the constitution of our medical

schools and of the higher civil medical service, and he would not believe that it was possible that members of a military service had a monopoly of them both, for that would mean, he maintained, that the British Government in India were fifty years behind European civilization, if they did not realize that military enlistment did not meet the requirements of medical education and science, or of the civil medical needs of a country. When the information I gave him was confirmed by his inquiries in military medical circles, he was shocked at it. (*Cheers.*) And so would you all be to find it all so wrong, if you only knew what the right thing was in all civilized countries, and that science did not reveal its secrets only to those who held commissions in Her Majesty's Army.

You have only to look around you to see what this I. M. S. monopoly means to the profession of your country, your medical education, and the state of medical science in your midst. See what this unnatural and objectionable caste-system perpetrated by this monopoly means for the profession of India. Every country has its van section of the profession, consisting of members actually engaged in the work of the advancement and cultivation of their science and art—members gathered together in colleges and hospitals and laboratories—members who have advanced with the consent and respect of their brethren, who move aside as they hear the recognised steps of merit and ability. They are no armed soldiers who are hustled forward and placed over the heads of others by simple orders from a military office. All the world over this van section is a natural growth, and consists of members who have advanced and risen to their high positions, in an open race (in which no elbowing is allowed) in the field of science to which every member of the profession is allowed admission without let or hindrance, without distinction of caste, colour, or creed; and it is but natural that such a natural van section of the profession should form its natural head, and no mere blotch or engrafting on it, and command and receive the respect of all its members. But in India there is no such natural growth—there is no open race. It is all elbowing and handicapping, and unnatural and unjust awards. (*Shame.*) The rituals gone through in Burlington House in London admit a member of the profession to a caste (and, as already observed, it is no secret that the spelling of one's name is no insignificant factor in gaining admission for rejection for its owner) which entitled admission to a body engrafted on the profession in India, under orders, it is said, as its van section, whose members have the sole right, and are the sole agents to our hospitals, laboratories, and colleges. They rise not to their places by means which are recognised as natural in every civilized country, but simply walk up to them soldierlike, sword in hand, jostling and elbowing, and trampling under feet whatever lies in their path. They retain their places, as they acquire them by force of arms and "schedules," and their fame is resplendent with the insignia won by prowess at musketry, and not by achievements in the field of science. Such is the unnatural and foreign lump imposed on the body of the profession in India, and ordered to be recognised as its head—a head which is no natural growth and claims nothing in common with the body. The interests of the head are not the interests of the body. How long is the unnatural caste-system to last? I have nothing to say against the individuals who are the instruments of such a system. But I cannot help asking every one of them—is it not against the instincts and traditions of a noble profession—is it not subversive of all the principles which build up the honour and dignity of a profession which is rightly deemed the most noble—is it not in a line with trades unionism, what your unnatural caste-system makes you stoop to and keep up?—will you not, Birdwoodlike and Hunterlike, rise to resent and protest against, and work to remove an anomalous system which employs you to demoralize and debase the principles and dignity of a profession to which you really owe so much, and which ought to have the first claim on your consideration? (*Loud applause.*)

There is to be a Congress at Calcutta next month of what is called the Indian medical profession after the manner of European Medical Congresses. To begin with, there is no such thing as an Indian medical profession, as you can now readily see. In European Congresses men who have run open and fair races in the field of science meet to discuss the

subjects of their achievements. But such cannot possibly be the case with the Calcutta Congress. Here men who have been all along denied all admission to even races, and have been decried as incapable of investigating or teaching the science and art of their profession, are now invited to meet the highly placed individuals of the foreign body engrafted on the profession in India, where they have the sole run of the whole field, *to take part in discussions of scientific matters with them—just for the purposes of a Congress gathering!* Who is ignorant and incompetent to work at a science is surely incompetent and unfit to discuss matters pertaining to such science. But this proposition is to be dropped from particular memories for the convenience of a good congress gathering! This is plain language, though it may speak painful facts. Let us see, however, what the Calcutta Congress is going to do to place the profession in India on a par with the British and European profession, which it is now imitating only in their external ceremonials of Congresses. As regards education, let us have an actual example from local experience. An official professor of the I. M. S., who has never even so much as handled a frog or looked into the inside of a black beetle in the course of his training, is considered competent to examine for our University its B.A., B.Sc. and M.A., M.D. candidates in the science of Zoology! (*Loud laughter.*) Look, then, at the teaching of Zoology in our College, for which every Zoologist must be a born Ophthalmologist and *vice versa*. It consists of some two dozen readings from text-book notes from a pulpit decorated with a few samples of bottled specimens; and when the readings are over, the class has a permit to the Natural History Society Museum and a personally conducted tour (by some one in the Museum) round; this begins and completes a practical course in Zoology. (*Laughter.*) Is not all this a farce and a fraud? Will it be tolerated in any civilized country? Government have long since decided to abolish this professorship, but they do not want to order it to cease till the permanent incumbent retires! It costs the tax-payer Rs. 2,400 a year, and if the professorship, from whatever reason, is to be no more, why allow this sponging on the public revenue from year to year simply because the military professor will not give up his Zoological performances which are no more required? In which other department does Government allow its men to stay on when their services are no longer required? An attempt was made by Lord Harris' predecessor to improve matters, but things soon reverted to their original anomalous condition, for Lord Harris, sad to say, made it his guiding principle simply to go by the advice of the paid advisers of Government and to see that the people conformed to the wishes and ruling of his advisers.

Whatever the advantages to the head of the Government from such an understanding of his position, this much is certain, that recently this non-exercise of personal judgment has entailed large wastes of expenditure and made the scientific resources of Government the laughing-stock of the thinking world. Every reader of a newspaper knows that a piece worth of ice and a few adjustable lamps will give a bacteriologist any temperature he may want for his cultivation purposes, but this simple information was not available to Government, and they were coaxed by their scientific advisers into abandoning their Poona and Bombay Laboratories—costing several thousands of rupees—and removing the whole concern to shady and cool regions about the Himalayas, on the plea of the Bombay and Poona climates being too hot for bacteriological work! The heat dodge having once answered well in gaining the objects of their desire, it was pressed into service again to extinguish the pharmacology professorship. Here again, pharmacology gives being to a laboratory in Bombay. But the chair of pharmacology was not to the liking of the official medical service. To circumvent its death therefore, various expedients were resorted to, and, as you are doubtless aware, a temporary strangulation was easily effected. But when Government showed inclinations for its resuscitation, their advisers were ready with their singularly unique information that pharmacology could not live here at all because of the Indian heat! Now, pharmacology means elucidation of effects of drugs on healthy systems. If, indeed, Indian heat was prejudicial to faithful observations of remedies on healthy systems, would it not be



equally, if not more, prejudicial to similar observations in unhealthy systems, and where, then, would be the use of treating disease in India? Perhaps this difficulty of military medical men may explain the state of science in the country, and their eagerness to pack their white patients off to their European homes to give them the last chance of recovery, even with livers laden with pints of pus! When public attention was being drawn to this state of affairs, it was bound to draw some sort of apologetic defence from official quarters, and His Excellency himself was ready with it at the last Council meeting. "We select our men for the College with scrupulous care, and I have heard nothing but good things of the professors from their pupils." This is surely a bold reply to outside criticism. Why, even "Business" himself, a member of the I. M. S., has openly declared that selections for the College staff, even from his own service, were by no means satisfactory. Perhaps it was all His Excellency's dream that he related, for it is difficult to imagine his having personal communication with the pupils of the Medical College on the subject of their professors. The key to it all is to be found in his consistent policy of acting as the mouthpiece of his paid advisers and subordinates. The stock answer to appeals to discontinue the I. M. S. monopoly has been that the College and other appointments must meet the Imperial needs of a reserve for the Indian army. Does England allow her medical schools and other institutions to be utilized as reserves for the British army? But this reserve answer is not an argument, but a thoughtless subterfuge, which would throw no small doubt on the professions and declarations of the British Government; for, if our medical schools are to be military depôts for army reserves in times of peace, what becomes of the declaration of Government that they founded medical schools "not for any executive of Governmental wants, but for the cultivation of Western medical science and the promotion of the happiness of the people of India." Otherwise let the Government of the day be honest at any rate, and frankly declare that, with whatever noble intentions their predecessors may have founded their medical schools and fostered medical education, it was no more their intention to rear medical science and education for their own sake, for they wanted medical schools and hospitals for the purposes of depôts for military reserves. No, the monopoly of the I. M. S. and the constitution of our higher civil medical service cannot fit in with the good intention of the Indian Government and the honour and tradition of the British nation, nor can the glory of the British rule in India shine with the fleeting splendour of the gold it may enable a few Britons to take from India by a misuse of educational institutions for military depôts, but by the lasting effulgence of the science and art reared in India in institutions existing solely and wholly for science and education, and not for the convenience of any particular service. (*Loud and long continued applause.*)

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang (Bombay), who rose amid loud cheers, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition so ably placed before you by our friend Dr. Bahadurji. There is no doubt in my mind—and I trust you have been convinced about it already—that, unless the Civil Medical Service is completely separated and removed from the thralldom of the Military Medical Service, or in other words, until these two services have been completely divorced from each other, there is no possibility of any really good, honest, and healthy work being accomplished by the medical profession in this country as is done in other civilized countries in the world. Let me at the outset, in seconding the motion, beg of you not to misunderstand me, but distinctly to believe that I do not put forward claims of any particular class, such as the countrymen of Lord Salisbury's black man, but that I am actuated by no other consideration than of the advancement of the profession itself and placing it on a footing of equality with the same in all other countries in the world. Nowhere else, gentlemen, you will find the system of placing the entire medical service in the hands and under the control of military medical men trained for military services and rising at the top of the profession by the consideration of their rank chiefly. The system of filling up all higher civil medical appointments under Government by gentlemen exclusively drawn from the Military Medical Service

exists in India only, but nowhere else. It may have been necessary perhaps fifty years ago, when there were no other medical gentlemen in the service of Government than the regimental medical officers, and when civil medical appointments were but few. But whatever necessity there may have been in the beginning for drawing for civil employment from the Military Medical Service, no such necessity exists at the present day. All improvement and advance in medicine in all civilized countries elsewhere are made by medical men employed as teachers in medical schools and by those attached to civil hospitals. But when the official heads of the profession are so chiefly on the consideration of their military rank and not because of their high professional attainments, it is preposterous to expect any benefit to be derived by the profession working under so unique a system as that existing in this country and nowhere else. India has afforded a very extensive field for observation and research work in all branches of the medical service to our Surgeons-General and the medical officers by their having had the entire control of medical education and charge of all civil hospitals throughout for upwards of fifty years now. And what have they done? Have they themselves or those who have received their education under the system adopted by them produced within this long period any such good result in medicine as India can be proud of and as will bear any comparison with work done in even a provincial medical school in England? It is a system of close monopoly that no doubt benefits those individual members of the profession belonging to it, but it can never advance medical profession itself. Let the control and charge of all military hospitals be then confided to Surgeons-General and their military medical officers as is done in all other civilized countries in the world, but nothing more. But the control over education, civil hospitals, science, and sanitation are entrusted to medical gentlemen as high in their professional attainments in medicine as the High Court Judges are in law, and the highest posts in connection with these should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste, colour or creed as is done in law. (*Loud cheers.*)

Dr. Bhalechandra K. Bhatawadekar (Bombay), who was cordially received, supported the Resolution as follows :—

I rise to support the proposition so eloquently proposed by my esteemed and valued friend Dr. Bahadurji and seconded by the revered Dr. Atmaram. It was now nearly half a century ago that medical education was begun in this Presidency, and the pioneers of that education had a very limited field for selection as professors at the Grant Medical College. This was mainly confined to the Army Medical Service. This was the origin of the monopoly of the service for the professorial appointments. This monopoly grew so strong in later years that men like Dr. (now Sir William) Hunter, Dr. (now Sir George) Birdwood, and others of that noble band of principals and professors of the Grant Medical College strongly protested against it. But, in spite of their protests, this mischievous monopoly was strengthened by scheduling the appointments, thus stifling the aspirations of the best graduates of the College. It was time now to break the neck of the monopoly. This pernicious system of filling the professorial chairs should be knocked on the head. This system at once attracted the attention of that sagacious and liberal-minded statesman and educationist who ruled over the Presidency five years ago—Lord Reay. (*Cheers.*) In a Government Resolution in 1887 he deprecated the system and instituted reforms which would have led to satisfactory results. But it was a matter for regret that the policy of reform was not only not pursued but was actually neglected and reversed. Lord Harris sought to justify his policy towards medical education in an official speech at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, in which he said “the very greatest care is taken in endeavouring to select for the various chairs men who have had some experience in each particular subject. It is not a haphazard selection which inducted them into these chairs.” Was this supported by actual facts? There have been several changes in the professorial staff during the last five years. The Professors of Anatomy, Chemistry, Botany, Materia Medica, Pathology, Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, and Medical Jurisprudence had each in their turn either gone on leave or been shifted from one chair to another. The most remarkable instances, however, were those of the chairs of Anatomy, Chemistry, Pathology, and Medicine being temporarily filled by men from

the Army Medical Service who had no special claims to be there except the fact that they belonged to the heaven-born service and had some influence in high quarters to back them up—this especially in the face of the fact that each of these chairs would have been most appropriately filled up by very competent and able men who had devoted special attention to each of these subjects and whose only fault was that they had the misfortune not to belong to the Army Medical Service. The Professor of Pathology was pitchforked into the chairs of Chemistry and Medical Jurisprudence and the important appointment of Chemical Analyser to the Government, without any of the responsibilities and cares attaching to that office, but simply with a view to sign papers regarding vital and important work done by his Assistant, and the Professor of Materia Medica was transferred into an efficient Professor of Pathology. He would not comment on this subject further, but would leave it to the public to judge as to how detrimental such a system must prove to the cause of medical education in this Presidency. It was a matter of very great surprise and regret that such a baneful policy was pursued in spite of protests from the public and the press. Further on His Excellency said : “ I have never heard anything but expressions of good feeling and regard and respect towards the professors from those who have benefited by their teaching. I have never heard anything but expressions of that character. The students recognise what high ideals these gentlemen set before them in the educational task they have in hand, so that it may certainly be said that those who are under them are grateful and thankful for it.” It was a matter of surprise that His Excellency required to be reminded of the simple fact that no student who had any regard for his own fortune would be so foolish as to go and complain to His Excellency about any professor. (*Hear, hear.*) His Excellency might be assured that if he did, he would be ruined for life. This was only a common-sense view of the matter. All he would urge was to leave an open field for fair competition. That would stimulate medical education in all its branches and in the field of original research. It was sought to be made out that the graduates did not possess any aptitude for original research, but considering the deplorable condition of the system of teaching and the almost entire want of sympathy between the teachers and the taught, there was no wonder that it was so. In the long run it would be reasonable to throw open the appointments to the best talent, the salaries might be smaller than they were at present, and the men holding them would stick to the appointments for a number of years and would take real interest in the subjects, and the teaching would be more efficient. But who would be able to find out this? It had been hinted in some quarters that there was an entire absence of higher order of statesmanship in high quarters, and he was inclined to believe in its truth.

The Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants had their grievances, which had been over and over brought prominently to the notice of the Government both by the officials and by the public, but they had received no favourable consideration at the hands of the Government. The Assistant Surgeons' class was mainly composed of graduates, some of whom were men of very high abilities, and had done very useful service in the civil and military branches of the Medical Service. They had excellent medical and surgical skill, but had been treated with coldness by the Government, whereas their compeers in the Revenue, Judicial, and Engineering branches could rise from Mamlatdars to Deputy Collectors, from Sub-Judges to Small Cause Court and High Court Judges, from Overseers to Executive Engineers, drawing from Rs. 500 to 1,500 or even Rs. 3,700 per mensem ; the poor Assistant Surgeon must remain content with his official rank of first grade Assistant Surgeon drawing a maximum salary of Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 after thirty years of service, and with the prospect of a magnificent pension of Rs. 100 per mensem. The Apothecaries, who had only superficial training of three or four years, had their designation recently changed into Senior and Junior Assistant Surgeons. They could rise to Rs. 700, and even to the grade of Honorary Surgeons.

The Hospital Assistant class also deserves sympathy and consideration. After a training of three years, they were appointed third class Hospital Assistants on a salary of Rs. 16 to Rs. 25, and after a service of thirty years, the highest salary that they could aspire to

was Rs. 60, with a magnificent pension of Rs. 30 per mensem. Members of this class were intelligent and hardworking, and were generally in charge of stations, the population of which ranged from 7,000 to 20,000. They had done good service in popularising European medicine in the mofussil, and had relieved suffering humanity. My friend Dr. Benjamin, who would speak after me, would dwell upon the grievances of the Hospital Assistants at some greater length. I would, therefore, with these observations, warmly support the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

Dr. Joseph Benjamin (Ahmedabad) supported the Resolution as follows :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution so ably moved by our renowned townsman, Dr. K. N. Bahadurji, the most distinguished ornament of the native medical profession, and seconded and supported by such eminent medical gentlemen as Drs. Atmaram and Bhalchandra. Dr. Bahadurji has done full justice to the subject. Let me, in addition, tell you, gentlemen, that we want specialists as professors in the subjects they are called upon to teach of the type of Dr. Bhicaji Amrut, teacher of Anatomy in the Byramjee Jejeebhoy Medical School at Poona, who has been teaching the subject for the last twenty or thirty years, and who has made it his special study. However, at present in the Grant Medical College frequent changes take place among the professors, and the consequence is that the students suffer. As stated above, we want specialists to teach their special subjects, and therefore, for the sake of economy combined with efficiency, indigenous or local talent should be availed of for the purpose whenever obtainable. But now-a-days it happens that a Professor of Midwifery is the next day called upon to teach Pathology, and so on, and this can be compared to something like a person picking up a smattering of Hindustani in the bazaar and then standing out for a professorship of that language. It might be asked that, if the teaching in the Grant Medical College was not properly carried on, how was it that Assistant Surgeons have proved to be such able men? The answer is, formerly no changes took place among the professors who were specialists in the subjects they taught. Gentlemen, I have to speak specially on the grievances of Hospital Assistants; but, before doing so, let me tell you, gentlemen, that the grievances of Assistant Surgeons also are very great. From the last annual report of the Civil Medical Department it may be seen that 1,819,440 patients were treated at 251 dispensaries manned by Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants, whereas the total number of patients treated at civil hospitals was only 341,347. But the salaries of Civil Surgeons amounted to Rs. 2,46,068, whereas of the other medical officers to Rs. 90,294 only. Thus with economy more work was done at dispensaries. Formerly Assistant Surgeons got Rs. 200 at the start, whereas now they get Rs. 100 only, thus, though the preliminary educational standard has been raised, the service, instead of progressing, has retrograded in point of pay. Assistant Surgeons have produced such able men as Dr. Bhalchandra and Ghole. As regards the surgical skill of the latter, it is admitted on all hands that very few can surpass him. Assistant Surgeons are gazetted officers; still officers of similar standing in other departments of Government have got better prospects and status; even their position at levees, darbars, and other official meetings is not as it should be. Gentlemen, now as regards Hospital Assistants, Dr. Bahadurji has already told you that their pay at the start is no better than that of a pattawallah. This pay is quite inadequate to a decent maintenance, whereas their qualifications are of no mean order, as they have to undergo a previous training in a Medical School for three years in Anatomy, Chemistry, Materia Medica, and Pharmacy, Physiology, Theoretical and Clinical Medicine, Theoretical and Practical Surgery, Midwifery, and Medical Jurisprudence. When such passed hands are sent in charge of dispensaries, the question put on all sides is as to their pay, and they are considered worth only their pay whatever their abilities may be. Besides subordinate revenue officers look down with an air of superiority on them, so much so that I know of instances in which subordinate revenue officers had expressed themselves to the effect that it was derogatory to them to socially associate with low-paid Hospital Assistants. Once a very good-hearted Assistant Collector had said to a Hospital Assistant that though Government

had entrusted to his care some thousands of persons, whom he could kill at his pleasure, Government paid him for the purpose the very grand sum of Rs. 25 per month. By the remark he meant that, though the responsibility placed on him was so great, he only got the paltry sum of Rs. 25. The entrance examination of the students to the Hospital Assistant class is as stiff as that of the Apothecary class. However the latter students get Rs. 26 in addition to uniform and lodging, &c., whereas the former only get Rs. 8 or 9 to 10 only. Members of the Apothecary Class can rise to Rs. 700, whereas Hospital Assistants can rise only to Rs. 55 in the civil department. (Cries of *Shame!*) In the Police a Constable can rise to be a first grade Inspector drawing Rs. 275. In the Revenue Department there have been instances of persons having studied as far as the fifth or sixth standard who have risen to be Deputy Collectors. In the Public Works Department there have been instances in which subordinates have risen to be Executive Engineers. In the Military Department a private can rise to be a Subedar-Major. But the Hospital Assistant must rest content with Rs. 55, and 55 only. It is true that Government do occasionally confer the title of Rao Bahadur or Khan Bahadur on senior military Hospital Assistants for meritorious services. But the newspapers naturally ask why such high titles should be conferred on those who get such small pay. In the mofussil it is the Hospital Assistants who have made European medicine so popular. Even at civil hospitals the name of the Civil Surgeons is known to only a few, whereas the Hospital Assistant attached to the hospital is known to everybody, and his services are availed of by all. As an instance, I may mention that at Ahmedabad it was the late Mr. Abraham Benjamin Erulkar who made European medicine so popular there. Besides there are two Hospital Assistants who are teachers of *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy in the two medical schools of Ahmedabad and Hyderabad (Sind). Mr. Luxmonsingh, the teacher of *Materia Medica* in the former, has been highly eulogised from time to time in every annual report. Besides he is House Surgeon to the civil hospital of the place, whereas at Poona there is a House Surgeon on Rs. 500, though the population of the latter city proper is less than that of the former. Thus a great saving is effected to Government. I beg to quote below what the *British Medical Journal*, the most influential medical journal in the British Empire and the organ of about 15,000 medical men, says about Hospital Assistants. It says:—"The title of 'Hospital Assistant' distinguishes in India a large and useful class of native medical subordinates, who in native regiments occupy a somewhat analogous position, and perform similar duties to the class of Assistant Surgeons (formerly Apothecaries) in European regiments. Hospital Assistants are also employed in charge of jails, dispensaries, sub-divisions, &c., in the civil department, and are often entrusted with independent medical charges of importance. They receive a good practical education and training. In Bengal they are called 'vernacular licentiates.' This official designation, by which they have hitherto been known, was felt to be hardly descriptive of the status which they occupy and the duties which they perform. It is now proposed to bestow on them the title of 'Sub-Assistant Surgeon.' They are a most useful and meritorious class of men and deserve encouragement." (*Loud cheers.*)

I therefore beg to suggest that, as recommended by the *Indian Medical Record*, a very influential and able medical journal published in Calcutta, the maximum pay of Hospital Assistants be raised to Rs. 150. The present designation of 'Hospital Assistant' is a misnomer. In fact, it has no meaning. Even a hospital bhisti or sweeper is one who assists at a hospital. It is therefore necessary that Government should change the designation to Sub-Assistant Surgeon as recommended by Dr. Sir William Moore. Hospital Assistants have got no substantive rank at present. Now they are said to be holding a rank above all non-commissioned and below all commissioned officers. But in reality such a rank does not exist. Senior Hospital Assistants should be given the rank of Subedar-Major and the others of Subedar and Jamadar. Hospital Assistants are frequently transferred from one part of the Presidency to the other. The consequence is that they are put to great pecuniary loss. I know the instance of a Hospital Assistant who was transferred for no fault of his from one

division to another. He had to incur an expenditure of Rs. 150 for his travelling with family, whereas he got only Rs. 22 from Government. What a great hardship it must have been to him who received such poor pay. Therefore Hospital Assistants should not be transferred from one division to another. When Hospital Assistants pass their final examination, they get only a certificate to the effect that they are qualified for the grade of Hospital Assistant. This certificate has really no meaning. Truly speaking they should be granted the diploma of licentiate of medicine and surgery, whereas the present licentiates should be granted the degree of M.B., as they are graduates and not mere licentiates. (*Loud applause.*)

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

### Resolution VIII.

Mr. R. K. Kama (Bombay) then rose to move the Eighth Resolution as follows:—

I. (a) *That this Conference regrets that adequate steps have not yet been taken to carry out the recommendation of the Education Commission to revise the antiquated standards now obtaining in primary schools, and strongly urges upon Government the necessity of introducing in those standards the important subjects of drawing, elementary science, and manual work, and of providing the necessary models, apparatus, and tools for that purpose, and lastly of bringing about a thorough improvement in the syllabuses and methods followed in the Training Colleges, so as to prepare really efficient teachers for conducting the work of primary education in a proper spirit.* (b) *That this Conference is of opinion that the present agricultural and drawing classes attached to High Schools are not fulfilling their purpose adequately, and strongly urges the necessity of framing a systematic grant-in-aid code for encouraging the establishment and maintenance of science, art, and technical schools by Municipalities and other Local Bodies on the lines of the South Kensington and City and Guilds of London Technical Institute Regulations. That a Committee, consisting of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal, C.I.E., the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, and Mr. T. K. Gajjar, with the last two gentlemen as Secretaries, be appointed to submit practical proposals for carrying out the above object and to move Municipalities and other Local Bodies, as well as Native States, to establish science, art, and technical schools, and formulate standards and courses of instruction suitable to the requirements of each locality and to take all such measures as they may deem necessary for the furtherance of the above object.* (c) *That this Conference puts on record its satisfaction at steps having been taken by Government to increase the salaries of primary school teachers, but urges that Government will be pleased to carry out this reform without diminishing the present number of primary schools.* (d) *That this Conference puts on record its sense of gratitude and satisfaction at the declaration made by His Excellency the Governor at Dharwar of the desirability of free primary education in this country, and this Conference trusts that His Excellency will, before the expiry of his term of office, take some measures in the direction of conferring the boon of free primary education on the people of this Presidency as is the case in England under the Education Act of 1891.* (e) *That this Conference is of opinion that the rules framed by Government under Section 24 of Bombay Act VI of 1873 should be so revised as (1) to leave the Municipalities at*

*liberty to make primary education in their schools completely free to all, or at least to all that are really unable to pay for it, without any distinction of caste or creed ; (2) to allow the Municipalities to fix their own percentages of free studentships and scholarships ; (3) to remove all restrictions regarding the distribution of free studentships and scholarships between the various classes, except that preference be given to pupils of backward classes ; and (4) to allow the various Municipalities to determine for themselves, subject to the control of local educational officers, what classes other than Mahomedans should, according to local circumstances, be grouped with the backward classes. That this Conference is further of opinion that no restrictions regarding free studentships or scholarships should be laid down in the case of aided schools and specially those aided by Municipalities.*

Last year this time at Ahmedabad I had the pleasure of advocating before you the cause of higher education, but because I am going to lay for your acceptance this afternoon a proposition essentially dealing with primary education, I wish you by no means to believe that we are satisfied with, or any the less anxious for, the progress of high education. I therefore take this opportunity, as I feel strongly on the subject, to remind you of the weighty words of the late lamented but distinguished scholar, Kassinath Trimbuk Telang—(applause)—in his celebrated minute to the Education Commission, “that without higher education mass education can be of no avail although it might be secured.” And the argument so often urged that for the money spent on giving higher education to one student you might give primary education to more than one hundred students is to my mind utterly futile and unworthy even of a moment’s consideration. These remarks need no comments ; but, gentlemen, we have found such utter indifference and disregard in educating the masses for all known rules and principles of the modern schools of educationists as regards infant culture and elementary popular education that I cannot help telling you that the State has been unpardonably neglectful of its duty in not rearing the infant mind of the Indian peasant with that vigilant and fostering care which is necessary for making him an intelligent and moral citizen. This Conference has therefore thought it necessary to lay the propositions which I move for your acceptance.

I will, gentlemen, now, with your permission, deal with that portion of the resolution only which relates to revision of standards and curriculum of primary education, leaving the other speakers who follow me to deal with the rest. To begin with, let me remind you that the educational charter of the people of India—the famous despatch of Sir Charles Wood, which lays down amongst other things that the State should undertake the education of the masses,—dates so far back as 1854. There existed then what is known as the indigenous schools conducted by *puntujis* on Oriental lines. Side by side with them was established the village school as laid down by the late Mr. Erskine, of the B.C.S., the first Director of Public Instruction, to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and accounts, the map of the zilla, together with the rudiments of useful knowledge and the science of common things, and a little singing and drawing. This comprehensive course was thought adapted to the Bombay ryot so far back as forty years ago. Since then, instead of improving this course or keeping it abreast with the times, our educational authorities have slept over it ; nay, they have even allowed it to deteriorate. Though drawing, science, and singing form part of that scheme, would you believe me, none of these subjects have been taught up to this date ! In 1866-67, and latterly in 1870-71, when the demand for village schools grew more apace than Government could meet it, these schools were founded on a firm basis by the levying of the cess on elementary or vernacular standards, which were finally adopted and prescribed, but neither drawing, singing, nor science formed any part of it, and that facilitated course is still considered good, if not too good and too liberal, though a whole generation has since passed by. Society has advanced, our wants have advanced, science and knowledge have advanced by fast strides, and owing to the last the methods of teaching have also advanced. The educational codes of France, Saxony, and

Prussia have been, from time to time and from year to year, altered and revised to keep in line with the highest modern thought of the scientific and educational world. The Americans incorporated them, Great Britain adopted them not to be behind in the race for civilization, but Great Britain of which India is a part has not kept at a respectful distance from the march and advance of elementary education. Not only are the European codes altered and revised as time advances, but instructions are issued to inspectors and teachers containing directions as to the best and most enlightened methods of training the infant mind. These modern educational codes and instructions have, so to say, not been introduced, but the matter taught and method pursued being decade back. The first principle now recognised in teaching is that the concrete should precede the abstract or at least should go hand in hand; but the abstract should never precede the concrete. Therefore the numeration and notation of figures are no more taught by rote. The principles of numbers are explained, so that the child is made to understand and grasp whatever it is made to say. The child is no more expected to repeat his *anks* and *ka kha* by heart without understanding in an intelligent way their functions. These the child can never do unless it is led by the modern process from the concrete to the abstract, the synthetic to the analytic. The arithmetic taught in our village schools would be considered in any advanced civilized country as nothing short of inhuman or fit only for that species of the animal world known as parrots.

I will read to you what the report of the Education Commission says on this. In the first, second, and third years their minds are stored with figures, but their imagination and emotional faculties are entirely ignored. Take another instance, reading. In the code for Saxony, reading by spelling is entirely prohibited. The practice of oral spelling is not only wearisome and uninteresting to the children, but it often fails to effect its intended purpose. Learning of syllables before words is condemned as the syllable by itself creates no interest in children's mind. Even word teaching is excluded. The process is the reverse. The child is made to express in simple sentences what it hears, sees, or feels. The sentences are broken into phrases, phrases into words, and so on. I can go on multiplying instances, but the examples already given suffice to elucidate what I mean. Gentlemen, further we are not behind the European masses, but the Bombay ryot is far behind that of Bengal and Madras. (*Applause.*)

Dr. M. G. Deshmukh (Bombay), in seconding the motion, said :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

In seconding the resolution proposed by Mr. Rastam K. R. Cama, I beg to refer to the second part of it which deals with technical education. Technical education, gentlemen, is the great and pressing want of our country. This fact is admitted by all—by the Government as well as the people. Still during the past years no substantial progress has been made in that direction. The Government has always shown in its despatches and resolutions great concern for the industrial development of this country. The burden of the great educational despatch of 1854 is the imparting of useful and practical knowledge to the Indian people. The Education Commission in their report emphasised the same principle—that of giving useful knowledge to the masses. But the resolution of 1886 regarding technical education issued in Lord Reay's administration dealt more directly with this subject. It has surveyed our industrial condition in a fairly sympathetic spirit. It divides our industrial arts into three classes: (1) agriculture, (2) art industries, and (3) mechanical industries. It found the Poona College of Science well equipped to teach high scientific agriculture, and the Bombay School of Arts to teach fine arts, such as drawing, painting, and sculpture, and it noted the deficiency of a central institution competent to teach mechanical arts, the knowledge of which had of late been in great demand owing to the rapidly-growing mill industry of Bombay. This deficiency was made up by the establishment of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay which may be said to be the direct outcome of this important resolution of Lord Reay's Government. It also notes the



several agricultural and drawing classes attached to the High Schools in the Presidency as supplying a great want. But it should be mentioned here that, as complained of in the text of the resolution before you, these classes being misplaced are not fulfilling their object adequately. The sons of agriculturists rarely go up to High Schools for their education, and hence the agricultural classes attached to the High Schools are not so well availed of as they should be. The proper place for these classes would be small towns and villages where they must be incorporated with the primary schools. Similarly, instruction in drawing must be begun very early, and it must also be incorporated with primary education. The Government resolution further suggests that, beyond maintaining the three central institutions and the agricultural and drawing classes attached to High Schools, Government is not, owing to its financial difficulties, able to do anything more for the technical education of the country but give grants-in-aid to local efforts in that direction. Thus you will see Government leaves a good deal to local efforts and private enterprise to do for the technical education of the people. For technical education to be really useful it must reach the industrial and agricultural classes. Its real work then is in the mofussil. Our agriculture as well as our industries require a thorough infusion with the new scientific ideas and methods, and to do this we must have a network of small trade schools and technological and science and arts classes all over the country. Government cannot do this and it leaves it to the people. With the extravagant military expenditure and the very costly Civil Services to maintain, Government cannot find funds to devote to such objects of internal reform! But they have liberally promised to give grants-in-aid to local efforts. The people therefore must take up this task on themselves and the municipalities, local boards, and private associations of rich capitalists must move in this matter. The people do recognise the necessity of this kind of education, and there is a vague notion to do something in this direction. They are not unwilling to spend large sums of money too for that purpose, but they do not know the way in which they should proceed to do this. Without the knowledge of the proper methods of dealing with this subject of industrial development of the country, their efforts are sometimes productive of ridiculous results or are merely wasted. I shall mention a few instances. At Ahmedabad, where there is a large industrial population, there is, I am told, what they call a technical school. It is maintained by the local municipality, and, will you believe, it consists of a single drawing class, and its monthly expenditure does not exceed Rs. 5! At Limbdi again there was erected in the Jubilee year a nice building for the Jubilee Technical Institute. Seven full years have rolled on, and the building is still vacant. Again, there is what is called the Imperial Institute established in London. There the best samples of Indian indigenous arts are collected in a museum for the edification of the British manufacturer and tradesman. Similarly, all sorts of Indian raw produce are collected there and small tracts, called the Imperial Institute series, are published in English, giving full particulars as to the places whence they can be got, in what quantities and for what prices. This is what the Imperial Institute does for India! Will this tend to the development of our indigenous arts or will it rather lead the British manufacturer to apply his service and his improved appliances to the production of articles at a much cheaper cost and compete with the products of the Indian indigenous arts in their own markets and drive them out of them and thus crush the only surviving Indian arts to extinction? Yet, with the idea of doing some service to the development of our industrial condition, our princes and noblemen and our rich merchants subscribed liberal donations for the establishment of this Imperial Institute in London, not to mention that a part of its maintenance charge is saddled on the Indian taxpayer. This, however, shows that our people are very anxious to do something for the industrial development of this country and are willing to spend money too for that purpose, but what is wanted is that their desires and efforts require to be properly directed. This can be done by an association or committee of private gentlemen taking interest in technical education and able to collect information and give advice on the matter. With the purpose of forming such a body we ask your permission to appoint a small committee to begin with of persons mentioned in the resolution. It will be their duty to approach Government with suggestions regarding the

formation of a regular grant-in-aid code for technical schools and classes and also advise local bodies and gentlemen regarding the formation and equipment of schools according to the requirements of each district. Some few years back the condition of technical education in England was far from desirable although there were the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute and the science and art department of South Kensington offering liberal grants for technical education. But when the National Association for technical and secondary education was formed, it gave such an impetus to the improvements and spread of technical education that it produced wonderful results in a few years. We must work here on the lines of this Association, and we will be able to produce satisfactory results in a short time. We must take up this task and do our best to achieve progress in the desired direction. We must help ourselves in this matter. We must apply our shoulders to the wheel if we would drag the industrial car of our country out of the mire in which it has stuck for many long years. (*Loud cheers.*)

The Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad (Bombay), who was received with cheers, supported the Resolution as under :—

GENTLEMEN,

In supporting this proposition, I propose to confine myself to clauses (d) and (e) relating to the subject of free primary education and the rules governing free studentships and scholarships in schools maintained and aided by municipalities. Gentlemen, it is now recognised in all civilised countries that the education of the children of the country is not the private concern of their parents, but is a matter of public concern like vaccination or other sanitary measures, and is considered of such special importance that the public purse should bear the cost. (*Hear, hear.*) Said Lord Macaulay, "I hold that it is the right and duty of the State to provide for the education of the common people. I say that the education of the people ought to be the first concern of a State, not only because it is an efficient means of promoting and obtaining that which ought to be the main end of Government, but because it is the most efficient, the most humane, the most civilised and in all respects the best means of attaining that end. (*Cheers.*) The duty of Government, gentlemen, is not discharged by enacting laws for the prevention of crime and erecting prisons. (*Hear, hear.*) They are bound to go further and provide effective preventatives of crime, and foremost amongst them is the education of the masses. It has been found by experience that as education advances crime decreases and, as Sir John Lubbock very patiently remarked only recently, the opening of a school means the closing of a prison. Following these principles, in almost all civilised countries in Europe primary education is now made free, and in some it is even compulsory. By the Education Act of 1891 primary education in England is now made completely free without any charge for books, slate, and drawing materials. It is given free, not on the ground of poverty, but to all alike as a matter of right. Mr. Auckland, in introducing the educational estimates in the House of Commons last August, said that, as the result of the Act (42,50,000) forty-two lakhs and fifty thousand children were receiving education free in England, and £8,213,816 sterling are spent on primary education in England and Wales. Two millions sterling was passed this year for compensation to school managers for compulsory remission of fees. (*Hear, hear.*) Contrast this, gentlemen, with what we are doing here in this Presidency. The total number of children going to primary schools comes to only 5,25,817 and the total expenditure on education on all heads is only twenty-four lakhs and twenty thousand rupees, making the magnificent percentage on the total revenue of the Presidency of 1·7—(*Shame*)—the expenditure on primary education alone being only Rs. 15,26,000. Gentlemen, it is to be remembered that we are spending over fifty-six lakhs of rupees on the Police, which is nearly double that spent on education. (*Shame.*) Not only is the educational grant inadequate, but the tendency has been to increase fees and lessen the number of free studentships. In Government schools free studentships are abolished altogether and the municipalities are restricted from entertaining more than a particular percentage of free studentships in their schools, and now these restrictions are sought to be applied even to schools aided by municipalities. In future such schools will only be allowed to have a certain percentage (fifteen) of free students, otherwise they will lose their grant. (*Shame.*) So, while the

authorities in England are progressing in one direction, their wise representatives here are marching exactly in the opposite direction, while the managers of private schools are to be given a large amount of compensation for being compelled to forego fees in their schools. Such managers in this country are told that they would suffer a penalty if they attempt to entertain more than a small number of free students. (*Shame, shame.*) But, gentlemen, the importance of spreading primary education in this country can be over-rated. I attribute the disgraceful scenes that have caused us so much anxiety of late, not to any of the fanciful causes that have been suggested by various imaginative minds, not even to the latest invention in this behalf—the sedition of the Brahmins—(*laughter*)—but to the lamentable want of education in the lower strata of the conflicting communities. (*Hear, hear.*) I believe, gentlemen, the money that is being wasted on punitive police and expensive trials would be better spent on the education of the masses. (*Cheers.*) It must be said, gentlemen, to the credit of His Excellency Lord Harris that the grant on primary education has no doubt increased in his time, but what I do say is that it must increase much more and much faster. It is indeed gratifying to find that Lord Harris in his recent speech at Dharwar admitted that, so far as he was concerned, he believed that free primary education in this country was really a good thing. I must say, gentlemen, that the announcement came to me with mingled feelings of gratification and surprise, and looking at the predilections of the Educational Department, I still entertain apprehensions that the department might prove too strong for His Lordship. I sincerely trust His Excellency at least in this matter will be able to rise above the manoeuvres of the beaurocracy and enforce his views. (*Cheers.*) Clause (e) of this resolution asks that the municipalities should be at liberty to make primary education in their schools completely free or at least to fix their own percentages of free studentships and be also unhampered by the present meaningless and mischievous restrictions regarding their distribution. Gentlemen, I have fully treated this matter in a memorandum that I have recently submitted to Government and am anxiously awaiting the orders of Government about the matter. I will not, therefore, detain you at any length on the subject beyond going to the salient points of the controversy. In 1884 the Vernacular Masters Code was introduced and was made applicable to schools maintained by municipalities. That code did not lay down any maximum percentage of free studentships, but said that in the free studentships to be distributed half was to be reserved for the backward classes. In 1887 a revised code was introduced, without consulting the municipalities, laying down that the municipalities cannot offer more than fifteen per cent. free studentships, and these again must be divided into two halves, one-half being absolutely reserved for the backward classes. The result of an absolute reservation of one-half for the backward classes can well be imagined in certain towns where there is no backward population at all. The result is that even the fifteen per cent. maximum is only in name, and many towns are hardly able to attain even ten per cent. Take, for instance, the case of the city of Ahmedabad. The maximum number of free studentships for the municipal schools in Ahmedabad is four hundred and seventy-two, of which number two hundred and thirty-six are reserved for Mahomedans and backward classes, but as there are very few applicants of these classes, the majority of these two hundred and thirty-six, there being only 116 free students of their classes, go unfilled. In the new rules that have been proposed lately these restrictions are to be applied to other schools, and further in the case of such schools that are secondary; still that one-third of the free studentships must be issued for Mahomedans, one-third for other backward classes, leaving only one-third for the so-called forward classes. I may quote the instance of a private English school at Ahmedabad and show how unfairly these restrictions would work. That school has three hundred and forty students on the roll, only two of whom are Mohamedans, but under this scheme eleven scholarships must be reserved for Mahomedans, so that nine of the studentships will remain unfilled, and poor Brahmin or Bania students will not be allowed to get them. And if the managers of this school fail to perpetrate this iniquity, this grant must be withdrawn. (*Shame.*) This is a grievance so patent that its condemnation does not require any strong advocacy on my part. (*Cheers.*) However, the classification and so-called forward and backward classes, which absolutely lays down that a Brahmin or Bania in any locality must

go in the list of forward classes is unjust and arbitrary. I need not tell you that in many parts of the mofussil Brahmins are only cultivators or are doing domestic work ; why should there be any hard and fast rule that they must be considered as belonging to the forward classes irrespective of local circumstances ? (*Cheers.*) We want this grouping to give way to a more rational and reasonable system. It is important to note, gentlemen, what Mr. Howard had to say in 1860 in regard to this distinction of classes. He said : " It seems as if it might be again necessary to indicate the impartiality of Government from the attacks of an opposite party, those who would lay a penalty on Brahmins.\* \* \* It appears to me beyond question that it would be unbecoming for the administrators of State education to show the partiality of favour or of disfavor to special classes on the score of birth or religion." I think, gentlemen, I have sufficiently laid before you the importance of the resolution and the reason why I support it, and I now commend it to your acceptance. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. M. R. Bhatt (of Baroda) said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

I heartily second the proposition just laid before you about the reforms so urgently required in primary schools and the schools of their masters—the training colleges. I know, gentlemen, that some of you might be holding primary education in such an esteem as to sympathise with, for instance, the Emperor Napoleon, when he sent word to Pestalozzi that he had no time to devote to questions of A. B. C. But I may tell you, gentlemen, that this same Pestalozzi was once affectionately embraced by Alexander the Great of Russia, that after the battle of Jena, the Prussian Government adopted the educational system advocated by him for the development of their country and that Queen Louisa wrote the most touching words of sympathy and reverence in her diary.

I may tell you, gentlemen, that primary question, if a small question, is small like the acorn which holds the mighty oak within it. As a matter of fact, gentlemen, the question is of the highest importance. Why ? Perhaps you know the story how Antipater asked 50 children as hostages from Sparta and Sparta sent a hundred grown-up men. Sparta thought and rightly that the development of grown-up people had reached its limits, while they thought that children, if properly educated, can be developed into anything. That is the spirit, gentlemen, in which I wish you to handle all questions of education. I wish you to understand the deeper significance of Wordsworth's well-known line, " The child is father of the man." I wish you to understand that our greatest hopes are in our children. I wish you to understand that educational agencies, though they may not show their great results soon, do bring them forth in the course of a generation. (*Cheers.*)

They are like those whispering galleries in which words spoken in one corner, though not heard in the middle, are distinctly heard in the open corner opposite. I wish you to realise, gentlemen, the importance which all civilized countries attach to education. The people in Switzerland spend no less than one-fourth of their total income on education. When you realise that, I am sure you will agree with me that our educational machinery wants repairs, removals and innovations to a large extent. I take my illustration from the manufacturing industries to suggest to you that the folly of contemning inadequate methods and courses of study is not less than that of a merchant working his spinning factory with machinery which is a hundred years old. In fact, gentlemen, the evil is far greater. Our teachers know nothing at all about the question of why to teach ; they know nothing about the final cause of all education. No wonder that they fail. Again our teachers know little about the question of how to teach. They know little indeed of the right methods of teaching and educating. Even the question which is much simpler than the other two the question of what to teach, the question of standards has not met with any adequate consideration. I find that our primary standards have remained the same, with all their errors of gradation, with all their conflicts with the known laws of logical and psychological sequences,

with all their defiance of the very aim of education. The reason is that the question of what to teach has been divorced from that of why to teach, and efforts are made to bring forth results without understanding their actual tendency. What would you say, gentlemen, to a carpenter who sets about making a chair without knowing what it is used for? The position of our teachers is similar. I therefore wish you to understand the absolute necessity of urging the Government to do what the Governments of Saxony, France and many other States in Europe have done, *viz.*, to prepare their codes with full instructions to the teachers about how the different subjects should be handled, with directions to the Inspectors to inspect the methods more than the results—the causes more than the effects. I find, gentlemen, that the reports of the Director of Public Instruction contain nothing but figures, that the Inspectors report nothing but figures, and naturally the teachers care for nothing but figures. Are there any reports published in our Educational Records like those of Dr. Arnold, who showed the same great qualities as an Inspector of Schools as he did as a critic and a scholar? And now, I may be allowed to give you one instance of what I regard as a lamentable want of zeal in our educational authorities. You know, gentlemen, that there ought to be and there are different methods of teaching the foreign languages. Many of you must have seen the French Principia, German Principia, a Greek Principia, and other like books. Have the educational authorities hitherto done any thing whatever to facilitate the study of English? Our boys read the same books in the beginning that are read by English boys, and the result is a great waste of time. Once let that go. Let us now remind the educational authorities of their responsible duties and let us urge on them the necessity of fulfilling them better. My business now is only to press upon you that necessity of reforming our standards both of our primary schools and training colleges, but I can't help drawing your attention to the fact that the work of primary education is more important and more responsible than that of the so-called higher education and demands better teachers. I have said, gentlemen, you would not entrust the big trees, but the tender plants in your garden to the best gardner, and still you think the work of spiritual formation can be entrusted with impunity to incapables.

I believe all of us are grateful to your worthy friend the Hon'ble Mr. Chunilal Harilal Setalwad for having raised to whatever small an extent the position of assistant teachers. I don't think I need enter into the details of the primary school standards and show the errors one by one. You may take my word for it, for I have been connected with a training college for the last four years and have had opportunities to go into all details. Those details of the course of education are not likely to interest you. I now only appeal to you respecting your school-boy days. Think, gentlemen, of what you felt then and say in all frankness whether you did not like all holidays, whether you did not even run away on several days, whether you did not privately curse many of your lessons as dull and dislike your teacher. And then think whether any teaching which cannot be made interesting can be really good. (*Cheers.*)

But let us not be hard on the poor teachers. They know no better and mostly because the teachers of teachers, the teachers of training colleges themselves, know not what they should do. You will hardly believe, gentlemen, the gross ignorance of the very first principles of education betrayed by people calling themselves educationists. People pretending to teach all methodology, do not yet know the meaning of analysis and synthesis, as you can very well find out if you cast a glance at the text-books. The Principal of a Training college lectures on the methods to be followed in teaching different subjects, while the professors or teachers of those different subjects know nothing of those methods. Can anything be more deplorable? And there is hard by our Training College in this Presidency in which the evil does not exist. Again, after teaching their would-be teachers the methods by which they must teach different subjects, who are appointed to examine their work—people knowing all about methods? Not in the least. I believe, gentlemen, you will see specimens of the highest folly if the questions of Primary School Inspectors are brought to light. But the educational minister of Holland spoke wisely when he said that the Inspectors are men whom you ought to select with lamps in your

hands, for it is they who can influence the profession for better or for worse. And really, gentlemen, it is the Inspectors to whose demand supply will respond. If the Inspectors want it figures will be produced ; if they want only memory, memory only will be exercised. And what else is done ? I therefore suggest, as I have already said, that there should be full instructions to the Inspector specified in the educational code that they may really know what sort of demand to create. (*Cheers.*)

I am not digressing, gentlemen. The question of examiners and examinations is too intimately connected with the question of standards to be separated from it. And how are our examinations conducted from the primary school to the university ? Are not many of the examinations a torment and a scourge ? I am not irreverent, gentlemen. I do not speak against the system of examination, which is certainly not an evil when duly conducted. Why, examinations in the abstract may be the best possible thing in the world. (*Cheers.*)

But the best things when corrupted become the worst. And certainly some regulations are imperatively required to guard many of our examinations against the easy work of examining by mere rote learning, &c.

But I should return to the training colleges. And now I think I may draw your attention to a most absurd practice that has been religiously followed for the last 20 years. What is it you will ask. It is the practice of sending all the new youths as they enter the training college immediately to the practising school to experiment on the tender children sent there. They are sent there, and—note this, gentlemen—before these are instructed even in the rudiments of pedagogy, they are sent to work on the finest faculties of their children. What would you think, gentlemen, if the Principal of the Medical College took it into his head to send all freshmen to the hospital with full powers to experiment on the poor patients. Why the dissecting house will have all its wants supplied. Is education then less responsible than medicine ? To my mind it is more. Its aim includes forming as well as heating ; its object is to produce mental strength and health as well as to remove all diseases of the mind. Education is to medicine what the mind is to the body, and yet people seem to think otherwise, and do not care to see how their spiritual nurseries and hospitals are conducted. Why if they look into them, they will find a great number to be mere quacks and impostors. (*Cheers.*)

I say, therefore, get your standards reformed, improve your training colleges, which are at least as important as your medical college. Let the license be given after an adequate list, let your professors be no quacks, but really sound in their respective subjects. This is what I mean by a reform of standards. Reforms in paper are important to do any good ; let reforms be introduced in the actual working of the institutions. Let the institutions be reformed. For if you look to it, no subject is of greater consequence. What did the French do after 1873 ? One of the first things was the reform in education. Let us be inspired by a similar spirit. Let us have a similar faith. By education, and by education alone, to a very great extent we shall determine our rank in the scale of nations. I therefore once more affirm that I heartily support the proposition about educational reform placed before you by our friend Mr. Kama. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. K. M. Javeri (Bombay) said :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

The subject I am going to take in hand this evening is one which shows how the unfortunate order of the day with Government, viz., the accentuation of the difference in caste and creed, has been brought upon to bear the province of free education, a province which it is evidently desirable should at least have been kept free from it. Gentlemen, you perhaps know that primary education, since the passing of the Education Act in 1891, is rendered wholly free and unconditional in England and Wales. If in countries which stand in the van of civilization, education is considered such a necessity, I leave you to judge how much more so would

it be in such a backward country as ours. Our masses are ignorant, and it is the bounden duty of an enlightened and humane Government to give them every possible facility in the way of their education. I think every one of you will admit the justice of what I have said. We shall now see how Government have discharged this trust. (*Cheers.*)

Before going into the present state of free education in the Presidency, I shall reproduce the views held by responsible Government officers of the department. The first was Mr. Erskine, who so far back as 1855-56 had fixed one anna a month and in some cases one anna and-a-quarter as the fee in vernacular schools. Over and above this low scale of fees there were free studentships provided for any number of such scholarships, be they Brahmins or Kolis or Bhils. Books were freely supplied to them without any charge. Mr. Howard's distinguished elementary vernacular education soon advanced, and that in certain special cases raised the standard of fees a little, but still with regard to free studentships he followed the practice of Mr. Erskine. In 1866 Sir A. Grant talked of at least 25 per cent. of free studentships, and in 1869 the number was reduced to 20, but this measure was then confined only to Government schools and again took no notice of class distinctions. It was in 1876 that Mr. Chatfield pressed that the claims of the backward classes should be preferred, but it was left wholly to the energies of that versatile Secretary of the Government to first lay down by circular in 1885 that the free studentships should be divided equally between the advanced and the backward classes; and supposing there were no candidates of the backward classes to avail themselves of the boon, it should remain unawarded, but under no circumstances should it be awarded to the advanced ones. Unfortunately enough, the idea of the advanced class is inseparably associated with the Brahmins, and to those who remember Professor Gokhle's words about the strange conduct of some officer unnamed who withdrew his contribution because there were many Brahmins among the class of recipients, the order would not appear inconsistent. (*Cheers.*)

Well, gentlemen, that is the case with schools belonging to Government, but what with regard to schools belonging to, or aided by, Municipalities, that state is far worse as I hope to show you.

The Municipal Act of 1873 vested the administration, control, and management of all public institutions maintained by them into their own hands, keeping a proviso open in respect of public education. There they were to follow rules laid down by Government. The proviso itself, I say, betrays on its face a want of *bona fides* on the part of the Government in their dealings. (*Cheers.*) If they could leave everything else to their discretion, why not leave this then also. I do not suppose they need apprehend any evil consequences from a rapid advance of education. (*Cheers.*)

In 1886 Government promulgated a rule that the rules of the Educational Department as regards free students shall be observed in municipal schools. These rules were that free students should in no case exceed 15 per cent. of the total number on the roll, and that free boys of the advanced classes, such as Brahmins and other trading classes, must in no case exceed one half of the sanctioned percentage, the other half being reserved for the so-called backward classes. All this looks very fair on paper, but when we come to see how it works we at once find out the mischief lurking within. In the first place it lays down a restriction, says you can entertain only 15 boys out of the total number on the roll and no further, and also half of these 15 must be no other than Bhils and Kulis; if there are none of the class to avail themselves of it, leave them unawarded, but do not give them to deserving poor boys of Brahmins or Banias. Gentlemen, mind that this is in case of schools maintained from municipal funds. It is in one sense prohibiting them from using their money at their free will and tying down their hands in matters educational. I will not enter into figures, but give you very shortly facts as to their reliability which show that in no school do the so-called backward classes come up to the limit specially reserved for them, and that consequently the free studentships reserved for them are lost to the poor deserving boys of the advanced classes. Again in the case of the school-going population the so-called backward classes are comparatively less poor than the higher classes.

The second restriction about the division of the school-going into advanced and backward classes is arbitrary. We give full credit to Government for their kind intentions. The restriction was intended specially as an attraction for such backward races as Bhils and Kulis, who, being unable to pay any school fees, might avail themselves of this free education. But the same division works quite in a reverse way in case of towns and cities. A Bania in Broach or Surat earns from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per month as a gumasta and feeds a whole family, the others being unproductive members of the family. A mill-hand, a member of the backward class, and his family earn from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per month. The Brahmin, who is on the brain of so many Anglo-Indians, yet lives on his alms in towns, and in villages he is still in the swaddling clothes of an agriculturist. Still it is these who are considered to be advanced and in a position to pay their fees, and are on that score considered unfit to have any more share in free studentships than one-half. (*Cheers.*)

What was the easiest solution of this difficulty, gentlemen. Most obviously that the Municipalities ought to have been left to use their own discretion in the matter and not kept in the leading strings of Government. When the time came for revision of the rule did, Government take a lesson by the arbitrary and unfair working of this rule and modify it? No, if it had done so, it would have broken the continuity of its traditions and hurt its own conscience. The proposed new rule is still more stringent and mischievous.

To show the mischief and stringency of the proposed new rule, I would analyse it. The old rule made no distinction between primary and other schools; *i.e.*, English schools, it did not apply to award of scholarships, nor did it put schools aided by Municipalities on the same footing as schools aided by Government. Again the old one applied only rules of the Educational Department to the award of free studentships, while this one lay down three distinct standards for such awards. (*Cheers.*)

The first is the application of the Vernacular Master's Code to free studentships in schools maintained or aided by Municipalities. It is the same as that in the old rule for schools maintained by them, the only addition being in case of aided schools. How unnecessary and objectionable this 15 per cent. limit is and how arbitrary the division we have seen before.

The above objectionable feature is still more accentuated by applying the principle of Government scholarships to free studentships in secondary schools, such as English and Anglo-Vernacular schools aided or maintained by Municipality. The limit here also would not be greater than the 15 per cent. fixed for primary schools. The division here is not in halves, but in one-third for the non-Mahomedan backward classes, one-third for the Mahomedans, and one-third open to all. That the one-half division looks mischievous enough in the case of primary schools is apparent enough, neither the Mahomedans nor the backward classes nor both of them coming up to the limit reserved for them. How very monstrous it is then to keep two-thirds of free scholarships for them in secondary schools. Had I time, I would have shown you how this restriction works against the classes themselves and unnecessarily prevents poor students of the advanced classes who deserve in all respects, but for that of being Bhils and Kolis, to receive the advantages of free studentships. (*Cheers.*) The third feature is that with reference to the award of scholarships. The old rule was utterly silent about it. According to the proposed rule here the 15 per cent. limit and the division into three equal portions are to be observed. We all know the reason scholarships are awarded. They go by competency, and not by caste and creed. One does not know why in such matters which can readily be governed by just principles Government draws such invidious distinctions. Apart from this, I will show you how this rule defeats its own object.

All this relates to schools maintained by Municipalities. If it is so mischievous here, how far worse would it prove in case of aided schools. Government requires that the moment a school begins to receive aid from a Municipality it should conform to all those conditions, and



a Municipality can aid only these schools which bow to these restrictions. It is curious that Government bind themselves by no such restrictions. When they grant aid to any school, do you, gentlemen, realise the position of Government? Like the fable of the dog and the haystack, the arbitrary character of the threefold division has taken no note of the relative strength of the different communities.

The hollowness of the answer given by Government to the note of Mr. Chimanlal has been sufficiently shown by him. Government said that, as the Municipalities had made no written suggestions on this point, the inference was that these rules were accepted. But it is really scandalous on the part of Government to say so when neither the new rule nor intimation of Government's intention to make any change in them was brought to their notice. (*Cheers.*) The mockery of this answer will be apparent when I tell you that the moment they were published in the *Government Gazette* the Municipalities objected to them. (*Cheers.*) In the end I would only ask you to unanimously join me in asking Government to let Municipalities have a free hand both in the case of schools maintained and aided by them and that they should be left to judge who are the deserving free students either from the advanced or the backward classes, preference always being given to the latter. (*Cheers.*)

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

### Resolution IX.

On the motion of Mr. Karimbhoy Nensey (Bombay), seconded by Mr. Sadashiv G. Gokhle (Bombay), and supported by Mr. Setlur, Barrister-at-Law, (Bombay), it was resolved—

*“That the meeting of the next Provincial Conference be held in Belgaum and that Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. A. M. Dharamsi, the Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu, and Mr. Chatre be the Honorary Secretaries of the next Provincial Conference.”*

Mr. G. S. Gokhle said :—

BROTHER DELEGATES,

I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition put forth by my friend, Mr. Karimbhoy Nensey. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Natu requested me to invite you, brother delegates, to hold your next year's Conference at Belgaum. The Honorable Mr. Natu would have invited you personally, but some urgent business compelled him to leave Bombay for Belgaum. I can confidently assure you that your next year's Conference will be as complete a success as it has been at other places up to this time. You will be cordially received, and every arrangement will be made by the Honorable Mr. Natu and his friends to make your Conference a complete success. Under these circumstances, I recommend that the proposition proposed by my friend should be carried unanimously.

Mr. S. S. Setlur said :—

GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition just put before you by my friend Mr. Karimbhoy Nensey. The proposition asks you to consent to hold your deliberations next year in Belgaum. Belgaum, as you know, is, in a sense, the capital of the Southern Division. It has an excellent climate. Its natural aspect is not uninteresting. Apart from all this, its citizens have given unmistakable proof of their public spirit. Last year or year before last they tried their best to induce the leaders of the Congress to hold their meeting in Belgaum, and not only that—they had collected more than Rs. 20,000 for that purpose. It is therefore but proper, gentlemen, that you at least should honor them with your presence there next year. As to the success of your next Conference, you need have no misgivings. The public spirit of the city

and the disinterested earnestness of the Belgaum citizens whom you are asked by this proposition to associate with Messrs. Wacha and Dharamsi as Honorary Secretaries are sufficient guarantee that your Conference next year will be as successful as any that has gone before even including the present one. Being myself a Kanarese man, though not a citizen of Belgaum, I have a right to ask you to honour the Kanarese Districts by accepting this proposition, and on behalf of the people of the Karnataka country, I assure you, gentlemen, that you will have a right hearty welcome in Belgaum. (*Cheers.*)

The Resolution, on being put to the vote, was carried unanimously.

### Resolution X.

Dr. Joseph Benjamin (Ahmedabad) proposed :—

*That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Reception Committee and the Honorary Secretaries.*

Dr. Benjamin said :—

I have the honour to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and the Honorary Secretaries. Gentlemen, you know the arrangements made by the Reception Committee were all that could be desired, and, considering the difficulties a large city like Bombay presents, the Reception Committee did all they could for the proper reception of the delegates. Our best thanks are also due to the Honorary Secretaries for the able manner in which they arranged everything in connection with the Conference to make it such a grand success as it has been.

Mr. V. N. Apte, in seconding the resolution, observed that the Conference Committee of Bombay, which is constituted of well-known and busy men of Bombay, are always so busy that their time is money; however, they had taken so much trouble in arranging for the cordial reception of the mofussil delegates and the proper management of the Conference that it was their duty to give their hearty thanks to such high-minded persons for the great public work they had done by sacrificing wealth and health, and he hoped that they would always do such work for the good of their poor and needy countrymen. With these remarks he seconded the proposition of thanksgiving, which he felt would be approved by all.

The motion, having been put to the vote, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Ameerchand Purmar then recited verses in Urdu which he had specially composed for the occasion.

Mr. Bulvantrao next recited verses in Marathi recounting the proceedings of the Conference and complimenting those who had taken an active part in its deliberations. The verses were loudly cheered.

### Resolution XI.

Mr. Vijbhucandas Atmaram (Bombay) proposed the Eleventh Resolution as follows :—

*That a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President for his able conduct in the chair.*

GENTLEMEN,

The subjects treated of at this Conference have been of an important character, and our resolutions are nothing but the expression of loyal feelings in respect to grievances under which we have been labouring for several years past. There may be some shortcomings and some defects in our proceedings, but they are nothing but expressions of general feeling, and the Government

as a kind parent should take an indulgent view of their children. If they take these expressions of opinion in the same generous spirit in which they are uttered, I am sure that immense good will have been done by our meeting here for the last three days. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Wacha, in seconding the motion, said :—

Mr. Javerilal has more than fulfilled our anticipations. It is especially satisfactory to note that he has taken a new departure by reviewing the provincial administration of the past year, for nothing could be better, both for the rulers and the ruled, than such a refreshing vivisection, so to say, of the administrative work as the one performed by him. (*Cheers.*)

The motion having been cordially agreed to,

The President, in thanking the meeting heartily for its vote of confidence, said :—

GENTLEMEN,—We had four sittings during three successive days. It is not for me to say how far the Conference acquitted itself on the whole in dealing with the various questions which came up before it. One remark I would make, and that is that, taking everything into consideration, the speakers generally showed knowledge and ability in discussing the topics they had to deal with. It had often been remarked that speakers at Conference or Congress meetings, who talked so loudly about popular grievances, were not in touch with the people. Those present here must have seen that the delegates are not merely from this city, but come from the Deccan, Konkan, and villages so near Bombay, such as Alibag, Pen, Mahim, Oomergaum, Avas, and from the districts of Gujarat. A number of them addressed the meeting and spoke from practical knowledge. (*Hear, hear.*) On the first resolution about revenue enhancements, they were addressed by one or two agriculturists who actually ploughed their fields, and who are known to have twisted the tails of their bullocks while ploughing. (*Laughter.*) One of the delegates, Mr. Mokal, of Alibag, said he paid over Rs. 500 for Government demand on his land, and put his case as to the pressure of that demand on him and as to forest grievances in a few words so tersely and vividly as to carry the whole meeting with him. (*Cheers.*) Other delegates from the Konkan villages discussed the rules relating to free grazing and pasture lands and the levy of fees for such grazing. They expressed their general approval of the new forest resolution of the Government of India, but there was a distinct minority among them, who, while joining in this chorus of approval, qualified it by saying that their appreciation would be more genuine and heartfelt when they found that the new policy was faithfully carried out in their villages in the work of actual administration. Well, I can very well enter into the feelings of this minority. It seems to me that the new forest resolution comes to these people in the Konkan and the Deccan as a godsend at a most critical hour in the history of forest administration in their villages. One of the delegates told us the thrilling story of how only a few weeks back some 3,000 people in the village of Mongrol, in Pen, in the Kolaba District, met in the temple of Mahadev to adopt a petition to Government about the oppressive working of grazing rules for free pasturage lands, and the vexation, annoyance, and harassments they were put to by a low-paid subordinate agency. After the adoption of the petition, they offered their prayers to the great Deity, that He, under whose canopy they had met, would inspire Government with mercy and benevolence in this their hour of distress. The strange coincidence between this prayer offered with one united voice and the appearance of the humane and statesmanlike resolution seemed to these people that the god Mahadev had really deigned to hear their prayer at last. In their pleasing bewilderment they asked themselves if they were not dreaming, and naturally awaited the faithful carrying out of the new resolution in actual work. Hitherto, as you all know, the forest officer pulled one way and the district officer another. The governing principle, you gladly notice, which runs throughout the resolution, is that considerations of revenue are to be subordinated to those of contentment and peace among the forest tribes, especially in small matters, and in deference to ancient customs, and that the claims of cultivation are stronger than the claims of forest preservation. We may

similarly hope that a like humane resolution will take under its wing the land revenue policy of the Bombay Government. (*Hear, hear.*) I would now pass on to what fell from Mr. Chambers on the hard bargains of the money-lender with the ryots, and would attribute Mr. Chambers' somewhat exaggerated account of the character of the money-lender to his want of familiarity with mofussil life, and the part that the Marwari or Bania sowkar played in rural social economy. He seemed to generalise from what he saw of the Marwari's relations with the mill-hands in Bombay. Otherwise, Mr. Chambers, I feel sure, would find that, under the present condition of things, the ryot could hardly dispense with the sowkar. In saying this, I do not for one moment defend the action of the money-lender. Indeed my own sympathy is the other way. All I wish to point out is that, if they drove the Marwari out of the village, the villagers would be at their wits' ends to know how to manage their affairs. And how would Government, I ask, receive its instalments of revenue, which they do at present with the punctuality and regularity of clock-work even under the rigid rules in force? We all know that Government offer to lend money at low rates, and yet the ryot prefers the sowkar to Government for accommodation in spite of his hard bargains. And why? Because they find the sowkar more accommodating than the Government. The highest authorities are agreed on this point. With regard to the subject of the attitude of the Vernacular press towards Government, which by some is thought hostile, I am not prepared to deny that the Vernacular press made at times hard hits on Government measures—perhaps harder than the occasion demanded—but, in judging of them, I think every allowance should be made for the excited times in which we live. On the whole, I am prepared to say that the tone of the Vernacular press in this Presidency generally is sober, loyal, and moderate. In this opinion I do not stand alone. I am glad to be confirmed in this view by the testimony of no less a critic than the *Bombay Gazette*. A three months' study of the Vernacular press in this Presidency enabled the writer in that paper to “confess, and confess with pleasure, that a closer study of the native papers than was previously habitual to us on the whole raised our opinion of the ability and judgment with which many of them are conducted.” (*Cheers.*) I feel sure that, if the critic had a longer experience of the Vernacular press, he would have paid a still higher compliment. At the same time I take this opportunity of counselling my friends who write for the press to appreciate better than they do the difficulties of their rulers while commenting on their action or their conduct. My own opinion is that nothing is lost by a case stated moderately and temperately. It stands a fair chance of receiving attention from the authorities. (*Hear, hear.*) We should remember how we ourselves would have acted if placed in the position of our rulers. (*Hear, hear.*) Again, we should never omit to give honour and credit where honour and credit are due. In this connection nothing gratifies me more than the fact that in one of the resolutions—that on education—the Conference has acknowledged its sense of gratefulness to Lord Harris for the steady support and encouragement His Excellency has all along given to the extension of primary education throughout the Presidency, even at a time of financial pressure. (*Cheers.*) I am in a position to say this from my study of the last financial Budget for this Presidency. On this account I feel that Lord Harris is entitled to our heartfelt thanks. (*Cheers.*) In conclusion, I hope that, if the deliberations of the two Conferences just held have tended in some way to bring about a better understanding and greater harmony of feeling among the two great sections of the people, the Bombay Provincial Conference and the Ahmedabad Conference have not met in vain. (*Cheers and applause.*)

The Conference was then dissolved.

LIST OF DELEGATES

AT THE

SEVENTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE,

HELD AT BOMBAY,

ON THE 2nd, 3rd and 4th NOVEMBER 1894.

| No. | Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, &c.                                                                                    | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                              | How and when elected.                              |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, J. P., Fellow of the Bombay University.                                                                                              | Hindoo ...         | Medical Practitioner, Bombay.            | At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association. |
| 2   | Dr. Ardashir Dadabhoy Mody, J. P., and a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                                                        | Parsi ...          | Do. ...                                  | Do.                                                |
| 3   | A. M. Dinbandoo, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                   | Hindoo ...         | Do. ...                                  | Do.                                                |
| 4   | Dr. A. G. Viegas, L. M. & S., Fellow of the Bombay University and a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                             | Portuguese.        | Do. ...                                  | Do.                                                |
| 5   | Anant Mangesh Bidikar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                             | Hindoo ...         | Pleader, Belgaum ...                     | Do.                                                |
| 6   | Ameerudin Tyebjee, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                          | Mahomedan.         | Merchant, Bombay ...                     | Do.                                                |
| 7   | Abdoola Mehrali Dharamsey, Esq., B.A., J.P., President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.              | " ...              | Solicitor, High Court, Bombay.           | Do.                                                |
| 8   | Byramjee D. Tarapurwalla, Esq. ...                                                                                                                          | Parsi ...          | Merchant, Bombay ...                     | Do.                                                |
| 9   | Byramjee Dadabhoy Banajee, Esq. ...                                                                                                                         | " ...              | Do. ...                                  | Do.                                                |
| 10  | Babaji Gopal, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                      | Hindoo ...         | Civil Engineer, Bombay ...               | Do.                                                |
| 11  | Badrudin Abdulla Kur, Esq., J. P., a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                                                            | Mahomedan.         | Merchant, Bombay ...                     | Do.                                                |
| 12  | Balajee Pandurang, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                          | Hindoo ...         | Govt. Pensioner, Bombay...               | Do.                                                |
| 13  | Bhaishanker Nanabhoy, Esq., member of the Bom. Municipal Corporation.                                                                                       | " ...              | Solicitor, High Court, Bombay.           | Do.                                                |
| 14  | Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna, J. P., Fellow of the Bombay University and a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation                                            | " ...              | Medical Practitioner, Bombay.            | Do.                                                |
| 15  | B. N. Bhajekar, Esq., B. A., LL. B.                                                                                                                         | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...                  | Do.                                                |
| 16  | B. S. Shroff, Esq., L. M. & S., J. P.                                                                                                                       | Parsi ...          | Medical Practitioner, Bombay.            | Do.                                                |
| 17  | The Hon'ble Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B.A., LL. B., member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. | Hindoo ...         | Pleader, High Court, Bombay.             | Do.                                                |
| 18  | Choonilal Lallubhoy Parekh, Esq. ...                                                                                                                        | " ...              | Assistant, Messrs. Lukmidas Khimji & Co. | Do.                                                |
| 19  | W. A. Chambers, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                    | European ...       | Civil Engineer ...                       | Do.                                                |
| 20  | Chhimaaji Narayen Bhate, Esq. ...                                                                                                                           | Hindoo ...         | Landlord & Pleader, Malad.               | Do.                                                |
| 21  | C. Shanker Ling Nadur, Esq. ...                                                                                                                             | " ...              | Banker ...                               | Do.                                                |
| 22  | Curimbhoy Ebrahim, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                          | Mahomedan.         | Merchant ...                             | Do.                                                |
| 23  | Dalpatram Pranjivan Khakar, Esq....                                                                                                                         | Hindoo ...         | Government Pensioner ...                 | Do.                                                |
| 24  | Dharamsey Morarji Goculdas, Esq....                                                                                                                         | " ...              | Merchant and Millowner ...               | Do.                                                |
| 25  | Dinsha Edalji Wacha, Esq., J. P., member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.                            | Parsi ...          | Mill Agent ...                           | Do.                                                |
| 26  | Damodar Gopalbhai Becherdass, Esq., a member. Mahim Municipality.                                                                                           | Hindoo ...         | Land-owner ...                           | Do.                                                |
| 27  | Dhondoo Moraba Sanjgiri, Esq., B. A., LL. B.                                                                                                                | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...                  | Do.                                                |
| 28  | Dinshaw Jijibhoy, Esq., B. A., LL. B.                                                                                                                       | Parsi ...          | Solicitor, High Court ...                | Do.                                                |
| 29  | Damodhar Goculdas, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                          | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ...                             | Do.                                                |
| 30  | Damodardas Tapidas, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                         | " ...              | Do. ...                                  | Do.                                                |

| No. | Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, &c.                                                                                  | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                                | How and when elected.                              |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 31  | Damodhar Lukmidas Khimji, Esq. ...                                                                                                                        | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ... ..                            | At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association. |
| 32  | Dharamsey Morarji Goculdas, Esq. ...                                                                                                                      | " ...              | Millowner ... ..                           | Do.                                                |
| 33  | Dharamsey Soonderdas Moolji, Esq. ...                                                                                                                     | " ...              | .....                                      | Do.                                                |
| 34  | Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B.A., LL. B., J. P., Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                   | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...                    | Do.                                                |
| 35  | Dwarkadass Dharamsey, Esq. ...                                                                                                                            | " ...              | .....                                      | Do.                                                |
| 36  | Damodar Gocaldas, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                         | " ...              | Secretary, Native Piece Goods Association. | Do.                                                |
| 37  | Rao Saheb Ellapa Balaram, J. P. ...                                                                                                                       | " ...              | Contractor... ..                           | Do.                                                |
| 38  | Fakirchand Premchand, Esq. ...                                                                                                                            | " ...              | .....                                      | Do.                                                |
| 39  | Fatehalli Shaik Ahmed, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                    | Mahomedan.         | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 40  | Fazulbhoy Jumabhoy Lalji, Esq. ...                                                                                                                        | " ...              | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |
| 41  | Goculdass Gordhandas, Esq. ...                                                                                                                            | Hindoo ...         | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |
| 42  | David Gostling, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                           | European ..        | Civil Engineer and Architect               | Do.                                                |
| 43  | Govind Dasrath, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                  | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 44  | G. S. Gokhale, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                   | " ...              | Civil Engineer ... ..                      | Do.                                                |
| 45  | Gordhandass Goculdass Tejpal, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                             | " ...              | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 46  | Ghansham Nilkanth Nadkarni, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                       | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...                    | Do.                                                |
| 47  | G. K. Gokhale, Esq., B. A. ...                                                                                                                            | " ...              | Professor, Fergusson College, Poona.       | Do.                                                |
| 48  | Govind Hari Deo, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                 | " ...              | Landholder, Pen ... ..                     | Do.                                                |
| 49  | G. S. Muccadam, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                  | " ...              | Do. Umbergam ... ..                        | Do.                                                |
| 50  | Govind Narayen Deodhkar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                         | " ...              | Do. do. ... ..                             | Do.                                                |
| 51  | Gopal Trimback, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                  | " ...              | Do. do. ... ..                             | Do.                                                |
| 52  | Goculdass Khandass, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                               | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...                    | Do.                                                |
| 53  | Goverdhandass Khatao Makunji, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                             | " ...              | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 54  | Govind Balal Kher, Esq., L. M. & S. ...                                                                                                                   | " ...              | Medical Practitioner ...                   | Do.                                                |
| 55  | Harichand Sadashivji, Esq., J. P., M.I.C.E., Fellow of Bom. University.                                                                                   | " ...              | Civil Engineer ... ..                      | Do.                                                |
| 56  | H. S. Dixit, Esq., B.A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                                       | " ...              | Solicitor, High Court ...                  | Do.                                                |
| 57  | Hari Vishnu Lele, Esq., L. C. E. ...                                                                                                                      | " ...              | Civil Engineer ... ..                      | Do.                                                |
| 58  | Haji Goolam Hossain Haji Surfudin.                                                                                                                        | Mahomedan.         | Bhiwandi ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 59  | Hari Mahadeo Pranjipay, Esq. ...                                                                                                                          | Hindoo ...         | Journalist... ..                           | Do.                                                |
| 60  | Jaya Karadi Lingu, Esq. ...                                                                                                                               | " ...              | Contractor ... ..                          | Do.                                                |
| 61  | Jaithabhai Valjee, Esq. ...                                                                                                                               | " ...              | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 62  | Jamsetjee Ardashir Wadia, Esq. ...                                                                                                                        | Parsi ...          | Mill Agent ... ..                          | Do.                                                |
| 63  | Juggonath G. Sanjigiri, Esq. ...                                                                                                                          | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 64  | Joseph Benjamin Bamulkar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                        | Jew ...            | Medical Practitioner, Ahmedabad.           | Do.                                                |
| 65  | Jayaram Bhaorao Deshmukh, Esq. ...                                                                                                                        | Hindoo ...         | Sarelgam ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 66  | Dr. John D'Cunha, L. M. & S., J. P. ...                                                                                                                   | Portuguese...      | Medical Practitioner ...                   | Do.                                                |
| 67  | Jehangir R. K. Kama, Esq., B.A. ...                                                                                                                       | Parsi ...          | Barrister-at-Law ... ..                    | Do.                                                |
| 68  | Jagmohandas Vandravandass, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 69  | The Honorable Javerilal U. Yajnik, J. P., Member of the Legislative Council of the Government of Bombay and a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. | " ...              | .....                                      | Do.                                                |
| 70  | Jamsetjee Nusserwanji Tata, Esq., J.P. ...                                                                                                                | Parsi ...          | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 71  | Karimbhoy Nensey, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                | Mahomedan.         | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |
| 72  | Karsondass Chabildass, Esq., a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                                                                | Hindoo ...         | Barrister-at-Law ... ..                    | Do.                                                |
| 73  | Kumar Samantsingji, Prince of Palitana.                                                                                                                   | " ...              | .....                                      | Do.                                                |
| 74  | Khersetjee N. Wadia, Esq., member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                                                                    | Parsi ...          | .....                                      | Do.                                                |
| 75  | Dr. K. N. Bahadurjee, a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and a Fellow of Bombay University.                                                    | " ...              | Medical Practitioner ...                   | Do.                                                |
| 76  | Karsandass Vallabdass, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                    | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ... ..                            | Do.                                                |
| 77  | Luckmidass Khimji, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                        | " ...              | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |
| 78  | Lalji Ramji, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                     | " ...              | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |
| 79  | Lalbhoy Dalpatbhoy, Esq. ...                                                                                                                              | " ...              | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |
| 80  | Manubhai K. Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                                 | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...                    | Do.                                                |
| 81  | Motilal M. Munshi, Esq., B.A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                                 | " ...              | Do. ... ..                                 | Do.                                                |

| No. | Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, &c.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                         | How and when elected.                              |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 82  | M. V. Bhat, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Hindoo ...         | Pleader, High Court ...             | At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association. |
| 83  | Mulraj Khatao Mukanji, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | " ...              | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 84  | Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, M. D., B. Sc., J. P., a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                                                                                                       | " ...              | Medical Practitioner ...            | Do.                                                |
| 85  | Muthuradass Goculdass, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | " ...              | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 86  | Mulji Bhawanidas Barbhaya, Esq., J. P., a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                                                                                                                                                                                    | " ...              | Solicitor, High Court ...           | Do.                                                |
| 87  | Manekji Kawasji Patel, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Parsi ...          | Assistant Teacher, Fort High School | Do.                                                |
| 88  | Manmohandas D. Shroff, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 89  | Maneksha J. Talyarkhan, Esq., B. A., LL. B., J. P., member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                                                                                               | Parsi ...          | Pleader, High Court ...             | Do.                                                |
| 90  | N. R. Ranina, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Parsi ...          | Auditor ...                         | Do.                                                |
| 91  | N. G. Velinkar, Esq., M. A., LL. B.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Hindoo ...         | Professor, Wilson College...        | Do.                                                |
| 92  | Dr. N. N. Katrak, J. P., member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Parsi ...          | Medical Practitioner ...            | Do.                                                |
| 93  | Nagindas Laldass, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 94  | N. V. Gokhale, Esq., B. A., LL. B., Fellow of the Bombay University.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | " ...              | Pleader, High Court ...             | Do.                                                |
| 95  | Narayan Padurang Indulkar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | " ...              | Landlord, Umbergam ...              | Do.                                                |
| 96  | Narsingrao Syaboo, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | " ...              | Contractor ...                      | Do.                                                |
| 97  | Nazer Mahomed Fattehally, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Mahomedan.         | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 98  | Nusserwanjee J. H. Ready money, Esq.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Parsi ...          | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 99  | Noormahomed Jairazbhoy Peerbhoy, Esq.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Mahomedan.         | Merchant... ..                      | Do.                                                |
| 100 | P. P. Khare, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Hindoo ...         | Pleader, High Court ...             | Do.                                                |
| 101 | Pranlal Kahandass Joshipara, Esq., L. C. E.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | " ...              | Civil Engineer ...                  | Do.                                                |
| 102 | Pestonjee Byramjee Dantra, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Parsi ...          | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 103 | The Hon'ble Pherozshaw Merwanji Mehta, M. A., C. I. E., J. P., member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, and of the Governor of Bombay, member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, President, Bombay Presidency Association, Fellow of the Bombay University. | " ...              | Barrister-at-Law ...                | Do.                                                |
| 104 | Premchand Roychand, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Hindoo ...         | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 105 | Ramji Luxmon Gharat, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | " ...              | School Master ...                   | Do.                                                |
| 106 | Ratiram Durgaram Dave, Esq., B. A., Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | " ...              | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 107 | Ranchordass Vallabhai, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | " ...              | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 108 | Ramchandra Hemraj, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | " ...              | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 109 | R. W. Balajee, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | " ...              | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 110 | The Hon'ble Rahimtoola Mohamed Sayani, B. A., LL. B., J. P., member of the Legislative Council of the Government of Bombay, a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                     | Mahomedan.         | Solicitor, High Court ...           | Do.                                                |
| 111 | Ravji V. G. Shunkersett, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Hindoo ...         | Landlord ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 112 | Ramkrishna Narayen Parmanand, Esq., L. M. & S.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | " ...              | Medical Practitioner ...            | Do.                                                |
| 113 | Ragoonath Bhicaji Gogle, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | " ...              | Pleader, Nasik ...                  | Do.                                                |
| 114 | Rustom K. B. Cama, Esq., B. A., LL. B., Fellow, Bom. University.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Parsi ...          | Solicitor, High Court ...           | Do.                                                |
| 115 | R. S. Chitguppi, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Hindoo ...         | Barrister-at-law ...                | Do.                                                |
| 116 | Ramchandra Gunesb Barve, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | " ...              | Sir Deshmookh Landlord...           | Do.                                                |
| 117 | Sale Mahomed Ebrahim, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Mahomedan.         | Merchant ...                        | Do.                                                |
| 118 | S. G. Velinkar, Esq., B. A., LL. B....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Hindoo ...         | Pleader, High Court ...             | Do.                                                |
| 119 | S. S. Setlar, Esq., B. A., B. L. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | " ...              | Barrister-at-Law ...                | Do.                                                |
| 120 | Sorabjee Cawasjee Khumbatta, Esq....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Parsi ...          | .....                               | Do.                                                |
| 121 | Sadanand T. Bhandare ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Hindoo ...         | Salesman, Messrs. Wallace & Co.     | Do.                                                |

| No. | Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, &c.                                                                                               | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                                                                             | How and when elected.                                   |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 122 | S. W. Kane, Esq., L. M. & S., J. P.                                                                                                                                    | Hindoo             | Medical Practitioner                                                                    | At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association.      |
| 123 | S. M. Rele, Esq. ... ..                                                                                                                                                | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 124 | Sorabjee Edaljee Warden, J. P., Esq.                                                                                                                                   | Parsi              | Merchant ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 125 | Tribhowandas M. Nathoobhoy, Esq., J. P.                                                                                                                                | Hindoo             | Do. ... ..                                                                              | Do.                                                     |
| 126 | Tribhowandas N. Malvi, Esq., M.A., LL. B.                                                                                                                              | "                  | Solicitor, High Court                                                                   | Do.                                                     |
| 127 | Vishnu Narayen Bathkhande, Esq., B.A., LL. B.                                                                                                                          | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 128 | Vassonjee Kimjee, Esq. ... ..                                                                                                                                          | "                  | Merchant ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 129 | Vishnu K. Bhatawadekar, Esq., B.A., LL. B.                                                                                                                             | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 130 | Rao Bahadoor Vinayek N. Bhagwat, J. P.                                                                                                                                 | "                  | Government Pensioner                                                                    | Do.                                                     |
| 131 | Vinayak S. Dharkur, Esq. ... ..                                                                                                                                        | "                  | Pen ... ..                                                                              | Do.                                                     |
| 132 | The Hon'ble Vishnu Ragoonath Nattoo, B.A., LL.B., member for Southern Division in the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay.                                   | "                  | Pleader, High Court, Belgam                                                             | Do.                                                     |
| 133 | Vinayak Bicajee Pimpalkar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                    | "                  | Landlord, Umbergam                                                                      | Do.                                                     |
| 134 | Vithal Mahadeo Damankar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                      | "                  | Pleader ... ..                                                                          | Do.                                                     |
| 135 | Vijbucandas Atmaram, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                                   | "                  | Merchant ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 136 | Vandravandass Purshotamdass, Esq., J. P.                                                                                                                               | "                  | Do. ... ..                                                                              | Do.                                                     |
| 137 | Vasodev G. Bhundarker, B. A., LL. B., J. P.                                                                                                                            | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 138 | Verchand Dipchand, Esq., J. P. ...                                                                                                                                     | "                  | Merchant ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 139 | Jamietram Nanabhai Haridass, Esq., B. A., LL.B., Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                            | "                  | Advocate, High Court, Bombay.                                                           | At a meeting of the Standing Congress Committee, Surat. |
| 140 | The Hon'ble Chimanlal H. Setalvad, member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, Fellow of the Bombay University and a member of Municipal Corporation. | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 141 | Jamietram Jivanram, Esq. B.A., LL.B.                                                                                                                                   | "                  | .....                                                                                   | Do.                                                     |
| 142 | Prof. T. K. Gajjar, M. A., B. Sc., Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                                          | "                  | Principal, Kala Bhavan, Baroda.                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 143 | M. H. Nazar, Esq. ... ..                                                                                                                                               | "                  | Merchant ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 144 | Batiram Durgaram Dave, Esq., B. A., Fellow, Bombay University.                                                                                                         | "                  | .....                                                                                   | Do.                                                     |
| 145 | Icharam Surayaram, Esq. ... ..                                                                                                                                         | "                  | Journalist... ..                                                                        | Do.                                                     |
| 146 | Markand Nandshanker, Esq., B. A., LL. B.                                                                                                                               | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 147 | Krishnalal Mohanalal Zaveri, Esq., M.A., LL. B.                                                                                                                        | "                  | Do. ... ..                                                                              | Do.                                                     |
| 148 | Thakurbhai Chunilal Chulka, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                   | "                  | Merchant ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |
| 149 | Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshvar Bhide, Esq.                                                                                                                               | "                  | Pensioned First Class Sub-Judge, Chairman Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona, Hon. Magistrate.     | At a meeting of the Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona.            |
| 150 | R. B. Nilkanth, Esq. ... ..                                                                                                                                            | "                  | Ex. Divan Divas ... ..                                                                  | Do.                                                     |
| 151 | Shri Vasudew Harikur alias Baba Mahez, Esq.                                                                                                                            | "                  | Jagirdar, Kolapur State, First class Sirdar and Vice President, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha. | Do.                                                     |
| 152 | Vishnu Hari Karandikar, Esq. ..                                                                                                                                        | "                  | Assistant Secretary Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona.                                            | Do.                                                     |
| 153 | Vishnu Narayen Apte, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                          | "                  | Secretary, Poona Mercantile Bank.                                                       | Do.                                                     |
| 154 | Luxmon Raghoonath Gokle, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                      | "                  | Pleader ... ..                                                                          | Do.                                                     |
| 155 | Gopal Krishna Gokale, Esq., B. A., Professor, Fergusson College, Poona, Hon. Secy. and Editor, Quarterly Journal, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha...                            | "                  | .....                                                                                   | Do.                                                     |
| 156 | Motilal Dalpatram Desai, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                      | "                  | Solicitor, High Court                                                                   | At a meeting of Broach Rate-payers' Association.        |
| 157 | The Hon. Chimanlal H. Setalwad ...                                                                                                                                     | "                  | Pleader, High Court                                                                     | Do.                                                     |
| 158 | Krishnalal M. Javeri, Esq. M.A., LL.B.                                                                                                                                 | "                  | Do. ... ..                                                                              | Do.                                                     |
| 159 | Amba Shankar Utmaran, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                         | "                  | Landholder ... ..                                                                       | Do.                                                     |
| 160 | Dwarkadass B. Naigamkar, Esq. ...                                                                                                                                      | "                  | Vatandar ... ..                                                                         | Do.                                                     |



| No. | Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, &c.                           | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                     | How and when elected.                                                             |
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| 161 | Prabhudass Nagurdass, Esq....                                                                      | Hindoo             | Merchant                        | At a meeting of Broach Rate-payers' Association.                                  |
| 162 | Anupram Mitharam Dinbandoo, Esq...                                                                 | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 163 | Syed Hossain Miya Najmudin, Esq. ...                                                               | Mahomedan.         | Jagirdar                        | Do.                                                                               |
| 164 | Mohanlal Maneklal Vakil, Esq. ...                                                                  | Hindoo             | Pleader                         | Do.                                                                               |
| 165 | Amba Chanker Hariprasad, Esq. ...                                                                  | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 166 | Seth Chunilal Lalubhai, Esq. ...                                                                   | "                  | Banker                          | Do.                                                                               |
| 167 | Bapuji Mazumdar, Esq. ...                                                                          | "                  | Barrister-at-Law                | At a meeting of the Guzerat Sabha, Ahmedabad.                                     |
| 168 | Moolchand Asharam, Esq., B.A., L.L.B.                                                              | "                  | Pleader                         | Do.                                                                               |
| 169 | Manishanker Gowrishanker Bhat, Esq., B.A., LL. B.                                                  | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 170 | Manilal Bhagubhai Zaveri, Esq., B.A., LL. B.                                                       | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 171 | Dr. G. Benjamin                                                                                    | Jew                | Medical Practitioner            | Do.                                                                               |
| 172 | Jata Shanker Liladar Vaidya, Esq. ...                                                              | Hindoo             | "                               | Do.                                                                               |
| 173 | M. V. Athlai, Esq., B. A. ...                                                                      | "                  | Landholder Inamdar              | Ratnagiri.                                                                        |
| 174 | R. K. Rajwade, Esq., Municipal Commissioner.                                                       | "                  | Landholder                      | Do.                                                                               |
| 175 | Juggonath Keshev Kulkarni, Esq. ...                                                                | "                  | Government Pleader, Landholder. | Do.                                                                               |
| 176 | Vishnu Hari Barve, Esq., Member, Taluka Local Board.                                               | "                  | Landholder                      | Do.                                                                               |
| 177 | Harichand Nemchand, Esq. ...                                                                       | "                  | Merchant                        | At a meeting of the Sholapore People's Association.                               |
| 178 | Dinker Balal, Esq. ...                                                                             | "                  | Pleader                         | Do.                                                                               |
| 179 | Rowji Nemchand, Esq. ...                                                                           | "                  | Merchant                        | Do.                                                                               |
| 180 | Rajaram Yeshwant Rege, Esq. ...                                                                    | "                  | Pleader                         | At a meeting of the Sarvajanic Sabha, Nasik.                                      |
| 181 | Vasudev B. Akoot, Esq. ...                                                                         | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 182 | Gangadar Narsinla Kirtikar, Esq., Member, District Local Board.                                    | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 183 | Ragoonath Bicajee Gogati, Esq., B.A., LL. B.                                                       | "                  | Pleader, High Court             | Do.                                                                               |
| 184 | Narayen Vinayak Gole, Esq. ...                                                                     | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 185 | Vithal Mahadeo Damanker, Esq. ...                                                                  | "                  | Do.                             | At a meeting of the Avas Association of the Alibag Taluka of the Colaba District. |
| 186 | Nagesh Roopji Seth, Esq. ...                                                                       | "                  | Merchant                        | Do.                                                                               |
| 187 | Ganesh Hari Devuskar, Esq. ...                                                                     | "                  | Landholder                      | Nagam Association.                                                                |
| 188 | Keshaw Pandurang Vasalkar, Esq. ...                                                                | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
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| 190 | Booram Valad Malgamri, Esq. ...                                                                    | "                  | Merchant                        | Do.                                                                               |
| 191 | Narayen Krishna Gharat, Esq. ...                                                                   | "                  | Landlord                        | Avas Association.                                                                 |
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| 193 | Tookaram Dharmajee Mokal, Esq. ...                                                                 | "                  | Farmer                          | Do.                                                                               |
|     | Bhudajee Nathoo Mokal, Esq. ...                                                                    | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 195 | Vittoba Govind Patel                                                                               | "                  | Landlord                        | Do.                                                                               |
| 196 | Babajee Gopal, Esq....                                                                             | "                  | Civil Engineer                  | Do.                                                                               |
| 197 | Ramji Luxmon Gharat, Esq. ...                                                                      | "                  | School Master                   | Do.                                                                               |
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| 200 | Chunilal Javerchand, Esq. ...                                                                      | "                  | Banker                          | Do.                                                                               |
| 201 | G. B. Phansalkar, Esq. ...                                                                         | "                  | Pleader                         | Satara.                                                                           |
| 202 | G. V. Ranade, Esq....                                                                              | "                  | Do.                             | Do.                                                                               |
| 203 | Dossabhoj Manekjee, Esq. ...                                                                       | Parsi              | "                               | Do.                                                                               |
| 204 | Mangesh Jivaji Telang, Esq. ...                                                                    | Hindoo             | "                               | At a meeting of the Belgaum District Association.                                 |
| 205 | The Hon'ble V. R. Nathu, B.A., LL.B., Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay. | "                  | Pleader, High Court             | Do.                                                                               |

P. M. Mehta

REPORT  
OF  
*the*  
EIGHTH  
PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE,

HELD AT  
BELGAUM,

*On 12th, 13th, and 14th May*

1895.

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BELGAUM:  
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1895.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The Provincial Conference of Bombay is now a permanent and well developed institution for the discussion of practical political questions affecting primarily the people of the Presidency. The utility of this annual Provincial assembly is already recognised by all and even by the Anglo-Indian Press which is notorious for its pronounced antipathy towards the great Indian National Congress. Every year the Provincial Conference is gaining in strength and practical character. The resolutions passed and discussions carried on at this assembly every year show a decided improvement in the ability, moderation, and sound judgment of those who take part in its deliberations. With the growth and development of the Indian National Congress, a necessity was felt of holding separate annual provincial meetings with the two-fold object of discussing purely provincial questions which could not be taken up by the Congress and of formulating sound opinion beforehand on subjects which come within the proper scope of that National assembly. The earlier Conferences met in Poona but it was found necessary to move the Conference to different centers of the Presidency with a view to make its deliberations more accessible to and more in touch with the people of the different parts of the Presidency. The educational influence of holding these Conferences in different localities is immense. The Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani, the President of the Ahmedabad Conference, has clearly pointed out in his Presidential address, the objects of the Conference and its distinguishing features from the Congress.

He said—"It will be seen therefore that like the National Congress, the Provincial Conference is a political body but its scope and territorial limits are more limited. That in matters affecting the political welfare of the whole of the country it is an ancillary body to the National Congress. That in matters affecting the political welfare of its own province it is an independent body." In his address as President of the Bombay Conference, the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umayashanker Yajnik has mentioned in choice language the advantages of these Provincial gatherings. Addressing the assembled Delegates he said :—

"But whatever interest your resolutions may possess for the general public, and whatever weight they may carry, one thing is certain, and that is that the value of such a Conference as this is not to be measured so much by its Resolutions as by the opportunities it gives to delegates from different parts of this Presidency of comparing notes and exchanging ideas on matters affecting our common welfare. The advantage of looking at the same questions from new and different standpoints, as they arise from time to time, is that it dissipates many prejudices and preconceived ideas and enables us to arrive at a definite opinion on a given question on a basis of ascertained facts—an opinion which gathers strength as it commands an increasing volume of assent among us. Moreover, a Conference like this promotes social intercourse and acts as a bond of union between intelligent men residing in different parts of the Presidency and leads to the formation of acquaintances and friendships in a way which no epistolary correspondence can secure."

In Madras people have begun to hold not only a Provincial Conference but District Conferences where matters affecting the welfare of the people of the District are considered and discussed. Such organisations are not yet developed in this Presidency but they are necessary. Such local institutions will be of much use in giving due consideration to local requirements and grievances and also in bringing more and more solid facts to light. Even a Provincial Conference cannot spare time to

consider questions affecting different Districts and therefore the organisation of such District and Taluka associations will be of immense help to the consideration and solution of local questions. Mr. Wacha, in his Presidential address and closing speech has rightly given prominence to this subject.

“If each village and taluka, each town and district were to put forth all its combined ability and strength for the promotion and advocacy of the common object in view, then, I am sanguine of hope that the reforms in the administration—imperial and provincial—for which Congress and Conferences are crying aloud or agitating would be accomplished facts. The one end and aim of the organisation I wish you to institute is the collection of unimpeachable facts, such facts as may bear the scrutiny of the closest examination by the authorities—facts unimpeachable and unimpugnable.”

He has laid much stress on the utility of such local organisations and urged upon the attention of the delegates the importance of developing District and Taluka associations. He said :—

“Before I bring this address to a close let me entreat you, Delegates from the different parts of the Presidency, to weigh well the imperative necessity of a complete provincial organization. It is true that at each leading centre there exists at present a kind of organisation. But you will admit that it is susceptible of great improvement. Without a perfect system of organisation, it will hereafter become an arduous task to carry on the work of either Congress or Conference. We may not at once arrive at perfection. But it is our combined duty to bring it so near to perfection, as we possibly can, compatible with the resources available at present in each district and each taluka of a district. Conferences and Congresses will have to deal more in the future with such important questions as land revenue and rural indebtedness, revised assessments and survey settlements, police and justice, education and sanitation, abkari and forests. For effective representation on such matters it is highly desirable to collect unimpeachable facts in the first instance—such facts as we may be able to stand by in case their accuracy is impugned.”

It is to be hoped therefore that these practical suggestions of the President will receive due consideration at the hands of the leaders of opinion in the Districts and Talukas of this Presidency, and a complete system of Taluka and District organisations will be established.

On the last day of the Seventh Provincial Conference held in Bombay, the Hon'ble Mr. Natu, on behalf of the people of Belgaum invited the Conference to that town. The date of the Conference was not then settled but after consulting the different standing Congress Committees and Associations the dates fixed were 12th, 13th and 14th of May 1895. Here was a little departure this year in the time of holding this meeting, the usual month being November. However the Conference met at early part of the year to allow the active workers in political matters sufficient time to make arrangements for the next Indian National Congress which meets this year at Poona.

Although the people of Belgaum had given some proof of their public spirit in inviting the National Congress to their city still they had little practical experience in the direction of arranging on a suitable grand scale such political meetings and therefore doubts were entertained regarding the success of this year's Conference which was to meet for the first time in the S. M. Country. But now after the event it can confidently be asserted that the citizens of Belgaum acquitted themselves very well. They fully understood the responsibility of the undertaking and made complete arrangements for its success. This year's Conference was not only a success but was even a greater success than any of its predecessors. The whole thing was carefully arranged on the lines of the Indian National Congress, but necessarily on a smaller scale. The arrangements made by the people for the lodging, boarding and other comforts of the representatives who came from almost

all parts of the Presidency evoked expressions of praise from every one. In his concluding remarks the President gave expression to the general feeling of the Delegates. He said :—

“ I am glad that Belgaum seems to have thoroughly understood the value of this organisation in the very able efforts which Messrs. Chhatre and Natu, along with their other colleagues, have made in their organising the Conference, in collecting funds, in enlisting popular sympathy, and in awakening the ryots themselves, as witness the telling speech of the patel, with all his rustic fervour and eloquence. (*Cheers.*) It has made a good beginning. I think I am echoing the sentiments of all assembled here, when I say that Belgaum has more than realised the expectations formed of it. (*Cheers.*) If this be the beginning of its political activity, we can, gentlemen, safely augur what its energetic public men can do later on.”

Under the auspices of the Belgaum District Association working committees were appointed, and agents were sent to the different parts of the District to explain to the people the objects and utility of the Conference and to collect funds. The lectures delivered by these agents and the distribution of numerous vernacular leaflets aroused the enthusiasm of the people to such an extent that even poor villagers came forward and voluntarily contributed their mite towards the expenses of the Conference. Numerous petitions signed by village people and setting forth their grievances were sent to the Hon'y. Secretaries of the Conference for consideration. The people knew that only through the medium of such bodies as the Conference, they can get the ear of the *Mabap* Government. Hundreds of peasants came from the rural parts specially to state their grievances in respect of the harsh forest rules and one of their own representatives made a telling speech on the subject. The working committee had secured for the erection of the pendal a beautiful piece of open ground to the west of the town situated in the midst of a mango grove. The ground was lent by a Mahomedan gentleman. A spacious and handsome pendal was erected at a considerable cost sufficient to accommodate 3,000 people. The pendal and the grounds were beautifully decorated with gay banners and buntings and a temporary garden was constructed in the front. Grand decorated arches were erected at the entrance bearing appropriate mottos. Early showers had made the surrounding grounds green with fresh grass and the temporary erection of refreshment rooms, fruit stalls and Conference office tents had made the whole scene charming. In the pendal at its one end a raised platform was erected on which were arranged the seat of the President, and chairs for the members of the Reception Committee, and for distinguished Delegates and Visitors. During the three days of the session of the Conference the pendal was literally full and there were eager crowds assembled outside. It was a general remark that Belgaum had never witnessed such a large and representative gathering. The delegates began to arrive from morning of the 11th May, and were welcomed at the Railway Station and conveyed to their lodgings where they were supplied with every comfort. The number of delegates at this year's Conference was greater than at any of the previous meetings, the total number being 219. Excepting Sind, every other part of the Presidency was represented, although Gujerat did not make as good an appearance as it should have, a fact which naturally led the President to pass some remarks on the public spirit of the Guzerathis. The delegates represented all classes, creeds, interests and social position and the meeting was thoroughly a representative one.

On the 12th of May a little before 4 p. m., the time fixed for the commencement of the proceedings, the delegates having taken their seats, the President elect, Mr. D. E. Wacha, entered the pavillion with the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta. Both of them received quite an ovation from the assembled people. The name of Mr. Mehta, who had rendered such sterling services for the country in the Supreme

Legislative Council was familiar to every one and the people of the Southern Division had specially gathered to see the distinguished representative of their Presidency.

The proceedings of the Conference were opened by Mr. Anandrao Mane, a leading and influential merchant of Belgaum with an address of welcome to the Delegates. The next business was the election of the President. In proposing the name of Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. Bhate had no difficulty to introduce the gentleman, as every one familiar with the Congress and Conference work in this Presidency was fully aware of the qualities of that public spirited, energetic, straightforward and zealous worker for the popular cause. Mr. Wacha's admirable simplicity, his fearlessness, his business-like habits, ready wit, and eloquence made him a very popular President. The long, continuous and disinterested service rendered by Mr. Wacha to the people of India and the encyclopedic information which he possesses on all matters of Indian political reform, made him pre-eminently a fit person to preside over the deliberations of the Conference. The President, being duly elected, rose amidst loud and continued cheers to deliver his Presidential address which took nearly two hours to read. The whole of the audience was listening in rapt attention to that able and exhaustive survey of all the leading questions of the day, both Imperial and Provincial. The address as a whole was a remarkable review of the administration of India and Mr. Wacha in his usual way discussed every point of importance displaying his straightforward character, immense store of accurate information and a complete mastery of the subject considered. It is needless here in this introduction to mention all the points dwelt upon by Mr. Wacha, but some of the principal topics cannot be omitted. The President at the outset explained why the consideration of Imperial questions was necessary to understand the Provincial topics. Provincial matters are clearly dependent upon the Imperial and the broader the Imperial survey the clearer the perception of the Parochial and Provincial. Mr. Wacha considers and rightly that the present times are of a very critical nature to our Country.

"I believe, gentlemen, it will not be considered the language of exaggeration if I say that the present is a time of grave crisis in the history of the empire. Neither will it be considered that language of alarm if I say that vessel of State is in great peril. She is being tossed to and fro in the midst of troublous sea as she never was tossed before. She is being furiously lashed on one side by the surging waves of disordered finance, set into motion by the doubly mischievous elements of external aggression and mistaken currency nostrum; and on the other by the sullen waves of intense domestic unrest and dissatisfaction. It will require all the firmness, skill and sagacity of the steersman at her helm to bring her to a haven of safety and repose. But the steersman will, it is to be feared, be able to do little unless loyally assisted by his crew. If they prove refractory, if they refuse to heed his authority, if they plume on their own superior omniscience and heavenly infallibility, it is impossible to say where she may be drifted to."

Every well-wisher of India and every Indian statesman would do well to ponder over these thoughtful and significant remarks. Mr. Wacha then dwelt upon the policy recently adopted by the Supreme Government in the Legislative Council, a policy notorious for its utter disregard of public opinion. The Police Act, the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act; the Cotton Duties Act and the Cantonment Act were cited as good examples of the attitude of the Supreme Government which betrayed their want of sympathy and knowledge of the people of the country. He very strongly deprecated the attempts of the State Secretary for India to defy the authority of the Imperial Parliament. He pointed out that the *mandate* principle, which was acted upon openly by the Official Additional Members of the Supreme Legislative Council was utterly unconstitutional and a dangerous innovation. If this principle is to be followed up again the act which constitutes the Legislative Council becomes practically worthless. If the freedom of conscience given to



individual members is to be sacrificed to *Jo Hukum* policy then surely the Legislative Council of India is a body in name only. The next and perhaps the most important point touched by the President was the Imperial Finances. It is needless to point out that there are very few non-official persons in India like Mr. Wacha who can speak with accuracy and authority on the subject. He has got a complete grasp of the principles of the subject and a thorough mastery over its complicated details. It is undisputed that the present financial position of the Government of India is deplorable, a fact which comes in the way of every reform in the administration. He clearly pointed out how the Indian Budget shows surpluses which are fictitious. "There have been years in which deficits have been converted into surpluses by a process which all sound canons of public finance absolutely condemn—by a process which no private merchant or banker having a reputation to lose would ever venture to adopt. Some of the surpluses were arrived at by crediting to current revenue items of receipts which should have been properly credited to capital or debt account." This chronic state of deficit of the Indian Finance, is rightly traced by Mr. Wacha to aggressive frontier policy, unchecked and extravagant Military expenditure, general costliness of administration unsuited to the condition of the people and to want of proper control. The great spending departments are practically irresponsible and under these circumstances there is very little hope of improving the financial condition of India.

To remedy this principal evil, Mr. Wacha made some practical suggestions. He said :—

"The practical measures required for placing Indian finance on a sound and prosperous footing are :—(1) A slow reduction of the costly civil and military expenditure of the empire—a reduction more adapted to the poor condition of this country than a costly organisation suited to States of the West ; (2) more extensive employment of native agency ; (3) a stable sinking fund for the reduction of the public debt ; (4) a rigid policy of incurring all State liabilities in silver ; (5) and last though not least an improved method of husbandry with liberal State aid."

Turning to Provincial affairs Mr. Wacha referred to the change in the head of the administration. He expressed his hope that Lord Sandhurst with his distinguished lineage, his inherited Liberalism, broadmindedness and warm sympathy might endear himself to those over whom he has been called upon to rule and would leave behind him an imperishable name. He referred in warm terms to his lordship's first act of enfranchisement of the Central Division. The recent acts and utterances of His Excellency have fully shown that the hopes of the President will be realized. The deep interest which His Excellency has taken in popular education and his sympathetic attitude towards the people have already made him a popular Governor.

Mr. Wacha then referred to the interpellations in the Legislative Council. He regretted that there was no noticeable improvement in the answers which were given to questions put by non-official members. He further advised the non-official members of the Council to study carefully the Financial Budgets so that they would be in a better position to point out defects and suggest practical measures of economy.

"A critical examination of the finances is the most important part of their function and I do not see why their combined ability should not make future sessions not only lively and interesting but fraught with great good. The wasteful departments could be checked in their extravagance, while the miserable starving departments, like that of education, could be wonderfully well fed. Retrenchment and economy in some of the overgrown departments would greatly contribute to the relation of that imperative judicial reform about which we have been agitating for some years past, I mean the separation of the executive from judicial function. Again, the question of excise is one, which if carefully looked into from the financial point of view, is likely to yield good results. Look how much might have been done even with that sum of 1½ lakh awarded as compensation to a liquor

farmer for nothing in particular. It might have been more profitably spent on giving the University its full grant and primary and secondary education a more generous support. Again, the police charges are a study by themselves. But the greater utility of financial statistics lies in correctly appreciating their significance and applying them to the problems of administration. For this purpose comparison of financial statistics of other provinces is most important. It is by a comparative study alone that we shall be able to see our way to economies and reforms in our own Presidency."

He then referred to the agitation due to enhanced revenue settlements. He supported the cause of higher education and expressed satisfaction that His Excellency, Lord Sandhurst was a staunch friend of higher education and hoped that the march of higher education would no longer be obstructed.

Referring to the Universities he said that it was time for Government to free the Indian Universities from official shackles and to allow them to work out unaided their destinies in the better intellectual and political welfare of the people. He referred to the draft Provincial Service rules which were condemned by everybody. The last point taken up by Mr. Wacha was the defence of the Native Press against the most unreasonable and unfounded charges made against it by the Anglo-Indian organs of opinion. Every criticism of official act is construed into disloyalty by these opponents of native public opinion. "Any expression of opinion which is diametrically opposed to that of organs which advocate the interests of the selfish governing classes, is set down as inimical to Government and therefore disloyal." In the eyes of these critics of the native press it is a crime that a native journal should be so bold as to pass criticism on official acts. "Criticism in the opinion of the majority of the Anglo-Indian Press must be all rose-water and kisses."

This cant of the alleged disloyalty of the Native Press was much talked of at a time when there was intense dissatisfaction created in the popular mind by the policy, actions and utterances of the late Governor, Lord Harris. During that unpopular regime it was but natural for these Anglo-Indian organs to support the policy of the Government and to call the Native Press seditious simply because the latter disliked that policy. Mr. Wacha has truly pointed out that the real origin and cause of this opposition to the Native Press, lies in the attitude of the official bureaucracy which resents every honest criticism. The gagging of the Press would keep the bureaucracy at its ease and there will be then none to criticise its arbitrary measures and to challenge its arbitrary conduct. Mr. Wacha quoted Sir Richard Garth to show what a great service is done to Government by the Native Press.

"What Sir George calls seditious I do not know. I can only say I read native papers myself week after week, and never see anything there at all approaching sedition or even disloyalty or disrespect to English rule. What I do find there, and what I rejoice to find, is thoroughly well deserved censure of the arbitrary conduct of many of the Government officials. —I am afraid this is exactly what the Government would wish to repress. I consider it a most wholesome and salutary means of bringing the misconduct of Government officers to the notice not only of the Indian public but of the Courts of Justice. In many remote parts of the Indian mofussil this action of the Press is literally the only means of bringing such offences to light, and of preventing the most outrageous acts of petty tyranny."

Mr. Wacha gave the following advice to the Native Press.

"My advice, therefore, is that the Native Press should go on in its even tenour of conduct, honestly criticising public measures and acts without fear or frown. So long as it is discharging this function with perfect candour and straightforwardness, it need never be afraid. Such conduct must eventually raise its moral tone higher and elicit even greater respect and authority than it does at present. It is already a power and an influence for good in the land. Let its aim be to strive for a higher, loftier and nobler ideal, and render itself even more influential, powerful, and confided than

it is in the near future. It has but one aim and one goal—the highest good of the country. And so long as it steadily pursues that goal with a single-mindedness of purpose it is bound to achieve the most beneficent results.”

Mr. Wacha lastly referred to the music question in the Deccan and hoped that Lord Sandhurst would try to solve the question in a way which would satisfy both the Hindoo and Mahomedan communities.

The concluding remarks of Mr. Wacha's address are very important and practical. He advocates immediate reform in the financial administration of the country.

“What is now wanted is a trained and practical financier who would lay deep the foundation of sound and stable finance, thoroughly revise the system of taxation with a view to reconciling its burdens with the ability of the people to bear them, to construct a new system of land revenue policy which shall solve the burning problem of agricultural indebtedness, bring relief and comparative prosperity to the indigent ryot, and stimulate revenue by means of improved husbandry; institute a sinking fund for the systematic reduction of the public debt, reorganise the foreign agency on a less burdensome scale than at present, devise proper means against the practice of reckless borrowing for public works, lay down fresh principles as to incurring obligations which shall not be such a crushing weight on the shoulder of the tax-payer as they now are, place the currency laws on a rational and healthy basis, and, last, not least, introduce a new system of check and control which shall promote economy with efficiency. Until such a financial reform is undertaken, there can be no salvation for the people from the present oppressive taxation; and no relief to the embarrassed exchequer.”

After the conclusion of his address a Subjects-Committee was appointed. The Conference was then adjourned till next day noon.

The Conference reassembled on the next day at noon and the first question taken up was the Provincial Service Rules. The able speeches of Mr. Chhatre and Prof. Gokhale would show clearly the ridiculous character of the rules drafted by the Bombay Government, rules disastrous to the interests of the Presidency and detrimental to the efficiency of the Administration. When the question was discussed by the various speakers at the Conference the rules were only draft rules made in secret and known to the public from the summary given in the *Times of India*. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the previous Conference and the general public opinion as expressed by the press condemned the rules. The Conference adopted a memorial for the consideration of the Government of India and it was submitted duly by the President. But the reply of the Government of India was most disappointing. It refused to consider the objections to the rules and simply repeated the same Resolution which was passed in answer to a similar memorial from the Sarvajanik Sabha. Mr. Gokhale pointed out that there were two objections to the draft rules, the first being the low test in the examination and the second the considerations of castes and race in making appointments. He said, “the rules as at present framed are an insult to those for whom they are framed and a disgrace to those who have framed them.” The other speakers on the subject also exposed the absurdity of the rules. The rules were never published in a draft form for the public criticism, they were framed in camera and have been since published without any material alterations. It was hoped that Lord Sandhurst might take into consideration the unanimous public opinion which strongly advocated alterations in the draft, but unfortunately the hopes have been frustrated. The rules which are recently promulgated by the Government of Bombay vary but little from their unauthorized version. The action of Government is clearly against the most reasonable demand of the public. So far as the Judicial Branch is concerned the rules cannot be objected to except on the point of the limit of age which is fixed at 30. The test fixed for the Judicial Branch is good and requires no modification but the one fixed for the Executive Branch is very low. In this respect

the Madras rules are far better. Does the Government of India consider that in point of education and in other respects this Presidency is so backward as to require exceptional treatment? The rule which empowers selection among candidates after examination is very vaguely worded and leaves open a loophole for favoritism and backdoor influences. The consideration of race and caste is not a ground for selection but the above rule indirectly brings in that consideration. The grievance of the Mamledars is left unredressed and while the public wanted to give them opportunities for the higher posts in the Executive Branch, they have been made eligible for Judicial posts after qualifying themselves for the Sub-Judgeship. The rules on the whole as now published are retrograde and absurd. They deal a death blow to higher education, threaten to undermine the efficiency of the administration, discourage honest service and introduce favoritism. There is yet a ray of hope that under Rule XVI the Government of Lord Sandhurst, may vary the rules out of regard for the public interests involved, and therefore the agitation should not cease till the rules are modified.

The next Resolution passed by the Conference was simply the re-affirmation of the first Resolution passed at the previous Conference. The question of the enhanced revenue assessment on land is a very important one as it involves the interests of 90 per cent. of our population. The revision settlement of some of the Konkan Talukas has shown that the Government of Lord Harris has overridden the checks placed upon the excessive enhancements by Sir Philip Wodehouse and Lord Reay. Lately the tendency of the Bombay Government has been to assess even improvements made by the cultivators themselves and the excessive assessment in some parts of the Presidency has made the condition of the agricultural classes deplorable. The interests of the Khoti tenure in Deogad have been sacrificed to public revenue and so far as the Khots in that Taluka are considered the action of Government amounts to pure and simple confiscation. The demands of the public in this connection are very moderate and only confined to concessions already made by Government in this Presidency. For the last few years the public is agitating for the removal of the grievances of Khots in Devgad and of the people of Alibag and other Talukas in Kolaba, but the Government has not yet given sufficient consideration to this important agrarian question. The speakers as usual discussed the subject exhaustively and supported their arguments with facts. The speeches of Mr. Samarth and Mr. Gharat are very important. Mr. Samarth in an eloquent speech treated the whole question scientifically while Mr. Gharat brought to notice several unimpeachable facts proving excessive enhancement and taxation of private improvements by the settlement officers.

The next Resolution referred to the condition of Civil Medical Service in India and to the unsatisfactory position and prospects of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants. The importance of the subject is not confined to the Medical Profession. The question has been so thoroughly threshed out from the Congress and Conference platforms that it needs but few additional remarks here. In the able and well-thought speech of Dr. Bahadurji the question is clearly explained. He has pointed out how the interests of the Civil Medical Service in India have been subordinated to the monopoly of the Military Medical Service to the detriment of public interest, medical science and economic administration. In advocating a radical reform in the present anomalous system Dr. Bahadurji said:—

“For though it (reform) directly affects the emancipation of the Indian medical profession from the degradation brought on it by the Indian Medical Service monopoly, it aims, nevertheless, to advance medical science itself, to enable India to have her own scientists, to advance the material development of the country,

to give the tax-payer, as we shall presently see, a genuine article fully worth the value he pays for it, and, last but not least, to give a substantial measure of relief to Government in their financial embarrassment."

A system which condemns the non-Christian hospital assistants to the miserable pittance of Rs. 16 to Rs. 80 and favors the Christian Apothecaries with salaries ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 700 was justly considered by the speaker to be anomalous and grossly unfair. The Civil Medical Departments are unnecessarily filled by men who are not fitted for the same. Dr. Bahadurji was ably supported by Mr. Tilak and Dr. Bhatvdekar in condemning the system. Even men like Dr. Earnest Hart have now come forward to condemn the present system. The medical education in India being in the hands of persons who rise by gradation and try to teach subjects in which they are not specialists, must naturally be defective and explains the reason why the medical science shows no progress in India.

The next Resolution about higher education was proposed by Mr. Rustum K. R. Kama. He and the speakers who followed him insisted on the impolicy of reducing public expenditure on this branch of education which still requires help from Government. The duty of the State is not merely to spread elementary education among the masses but it is also its duty to support the cause of higher education and to keep the High Schools and Colleges in efficiency. Lord Sandhurst has openly expressed his support to higher education and during his administration at least there is no fear about it.

The Conference having done a good work of five hours adjourned to next day noon. By the 5th Resolution, the Conference passed a vote of compliment to the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta. It also authorised the President on its behalf to present an address\* to Mr. Mehta, who attended the Conference on the first day but

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\* The following is the text of the Address presented to the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta by Mr. Wacha, the President, on behalf of the Conference, at Bombay on the 20th December 1895

To

THE HONOURABLE

PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, M. A., C. I. E.

SIR,

We, Delegates of the Eighth Bombay Provincial Conference assembled at Belgaum, beg to offer you a hearty welcome and tender to you our warmest thanks for your kind presence on that occasion. We are deeply sensible of the worry and inconvenience you have had in coming to this distant place at this time of the year. But great as may be your loss, our gain on the other hand is infinitely greater. Your presence has added prestige and honour to the Conference, your counsels have guided and strengthened our deliberations, and your example as well as your word of encouragement have inspired us with faith and confidence in the success of our cause. Your commanding personality, your brilliant intellect, your captivating eloquence your far-reaching sympathies, and your unceasing devotion to the service of your countrymen, have all contributed to give you a unique place among the public men of Western India, and we consider it a high and valued privilege to have the opportunity of welcoming you as a brother-delegate to this gathering of political workers of the entire Presidency.

2. Glad as we are to greet you here as a fellow-worker, our joy is infinitely enhanced when we recollect that you have come fresh from fighting the battles of the country in the Councils of the Government. Permit us on this occasion, to humbly express to you our sincere admiration and esteem, delight and satisfaction, gratitude and thankfulness for your services through a long career of a quarter of a century and notably during the last session of the Viceregal Council. We have met here as representatives of the Native public of this Presidency and we deem it our duty on this occasion to signify to you and to the public at large as well as to the Government, our unabated confidence in you as a representative leader and spokesman of this Presidency and as the chosen advocate of the Indian People in the Councils of the Empire.

had to return to Bombay through indifferent health. In proposing the resolution, Prof. Gokhale, in eloquent and choice expressions recounted the services rendered to the country by Mr. Mehta. He described Mr. Mehta to be "a happy

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3. It is hardly necessary for us to recount the numerous services you have rendered ; how you have raised yourself in the public confidence and esteem step by step by honest, arduous and meritorious work, how by your sterling qualities of head and heart you have made yourself indispensable in all public movements ; and how at the present time, in the prime of manhood and fulness of honours, you stand almost alone as the trusted representative of the people. From the very outset of your public career, when you first appeared in the Framji Karasji Hall, to speak on the subject of Municipal reform, you marked yourself out as a champion of popular rights of uncommon promise, and as a new political force of great power. Your paper at that early age showed a remarkable depth of learning, grasp of political principles and a wide range of political foresight. You fought the prevalent idea of Government by boards and drew up a scheme of Municipal government the wisdom of which was verified by its bodily adoption by the Bombay Legislature. At that early age you sounded the clarion note of the elective principle, a note which has since resounded and reverberated throughout the country. From that time forward you were in the front rank of Bombay political workers. You were always to the post whenever any work calling for bold and fearless action was on hand. You have borne a leading and honourable part in the new political awakening which came into being since the glorious days of the Ripon regime, and which has found its permanent expression in the Indian National Congress. Ever since the dawn of this period you have been a conspicuous and effective worker in the political regeneration of this country and have achieved for yourself a position of unquestioned eminence as a leader of Indian political thought when that first great triumph of the National Congress, the reform of the Legislative Councils, was carried out, you were chosen, with one accord, Bombay's representative in the Local as well as the Viceregal Councils.

4. Your work in the Viceregal Council during the last session calls for special acknowledgement. It adds one more title to our admiration and gratitude for your fearless championship of the popular cause. You were always ready at your post to guard our interest and to represent to our rulers the popular view of the different measures before the Council. Whether it was the Import Duties or Agriculturists' Relief, the Contagious Disease Acts, or the Police Act Amendment, the Restitution of conjugal rights or the Financial Statement that the Council considered, you were perfectly at home, always watchful how they affect the people, always alert to propose modifications, and to resist oppression and encroachment on popular liberty. Your command of political principles, your familiar acquaintance with law and constitutional history, added to your eloquence and ready retort, made you a formidable opponent and roused the fears of the officials as they surely must have won their respect. The bold stand you took in reference to the Police Bill was especially remarkable. You rightly brought into the debates of the Council "a new spirit," the spirit of just and fearless criticism which caused much needless alarm and fluttering in the official dove-cots. But however vehement their protests, the dignified and well-balanced and yet firm attitude you took disarmed their opposition and vindicated your action in the judgment of the public. Your survey of the Financial Statement describes with precision the true causes of our financial embarrassments. You have boldly challenged the Government position that Exchange is the only cause of such difficulties and affirmed that the growth of military expenditure, the frontier wars, the unequal distribution of the Home military charges and the Exchange Compensation Allowances are the chief rocks and shoals on which the vessel of Indian finance is likely to founder. We earnestly hope that the wholesome warnings you have given will be heeded by the Government for the welfare of the people.

5. You have thus by your vigilant, fearless and able advocacy of the popular cause fully discharged the trust, reposed in you and fulfilled the most sanguine expectations formed of you. The time for a fresh election of members to the Viceregal Council is not yet near but have every confidence that you will once more be triumphantly returned as Bombay's elected representative. It is our earnest prayer that Providence may endow you with health

combination of the independence and strength of character of late Mr. Mandlik, the lucidity and culture of Mr. Telang, and the originality and wide grasp of Mr. Ranade."

The next Resolution was a very important one being in respect of the forest grievances. The Conference thanked the Government of India for their Resolution of October 1894 on the subject and prayed that the Local Government would make rules in the spirit of that resolution. The Hon'ble Mr. Natu who proposed the resolution brought a number of facts to light which justify the amendment of the existing forest rules. He quoted several orders of the District officials showing what great hardship is caused to the poor ryots. He was followed by a number of able speakers who came from different districts of the Presidency and who all discussed the question by mentioning unquestionable facts. The last speaker Mr. Dhondi Patel created quite a sensation by his stirring and eloquent Marathi speech. The speech of this real cultivator who actually experiences the hardships of the forest rules, full of facts and expressed in '*rustic fervour*' made a great impression on the audience. The fact that an ordinary ryot should be bold enough to speak on the Conference platform and place before the meeting in his simple and unvarnished way the story of the oppression caused by harsh forest rules is very significant. It will be a great day for India when these poor people will be able to state their wants themselves, and therefore the real work of the Congress and the Conference lies in the direction of awakening the mind of these people to the necessity of speaking for themselves on their important grievances. Speaking about the speeches on this resolution and on the resolution about grievances of Railway Passengers, the President in his concluding remarks said :—

"I would also observe in this place that delegates should not be ambitious to make speeches for speeches sake. Mere spouting will not do. (*Hear, hear.*) No quantity of spouting, however oratorical or rhetorical, will promote the true ends of a Conference. We must be as matter-of-fact, hard-headed and practical as we possibly could be. In this respect I may say it was a pleasure to hear speaker after speaker on those two questions, which so vastly affect the poorest masses—I mean the one on forests, and the other on discomforts and annoyances to which third-class passengers are put to while journeying by rail. These are at the present moment the two most crying popular grievances all over the Presidency. I repeat, it was a pleasure to hear so many representatives of the poor coming forward and relating their experiences. This is exactly what we want. The larger the number of delegates who could speak to their burning wrongs at the hands of the official classes, from their personal observation and experience, the higher will Conferences rise in the estimation of the people at large, and the greater will be the influence on the course of administration."

The next Resolution was a formal one, by which the Conference expressed its thanks to the Government of Bombay for the enfranchisement of the Central Division and hoped that Government would also consider the claims of the native mercantile community of Bombay and the Local and Municipal Boards of Sind.

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and happiness and spare you for many a long year to serve your country with the zeal, ability and singleness of purpose which have characterized your career in the past. May He bestow on you the choicest blessings of honour and reputation and may the country long enjoy the inestimable privilege of your leadership.

For and on behalf of the Delegates,

BELGAUM,  
May 14th 1895.

DINSHA EDULJI WACHA,

President,

The resolution which followed was about the necessity of separation of the Judicial and Executive functions. The question is familiar to all and requires no additional comments. The able speeches of Mr. Gokhale and others fully explain the question, which is shelved by Government on financial grounds. It has been pointed out that no additional expenditure is necessary to carry out this great reform and even if it was, there is no reason why the people at large should not get pure justice—which is the boast of British rule.

The Resolution respecting the administration of Indian Railways which was next adopted excited great interest. This subject was for the first time considered on the Conference platform. It referred to the urgency of economic management of Indian Railways, and of ensuring better comfort and convenience, especially to the third-class passengers. The speech of Mr. M. R. Bodas is worth a perusal and should be read in its entirety. The various speakers who followed him depicted vividly the hardships and miseries of the third-class passengers. One of the speakers called these passengers slaves of the Railway Companies, which for want of proper control from Government have no regard for the complaints of the public.

The hardships caused to passengers have reached the ears of the Government of India which has recently issued a resolution\* in which some of the principal complaints are mentioned. The resolution if enforced by Government would remove a number of grounds of complaints of the third-class passengers. But unfortunately there is no possibility of its enforcement. *The Statesman* of Calcutta has rightly expressed its view about the value of this resolution.

The Resolution itself, on the other hand, recalls the proverb of the mountain and the mouse, and is practically confined to an expression of a desire on the part of the Government that the railway authorities should give their earnest attention to the subject. What is required is that the Government should prescribe a certain standard in the above and other particulars, and insist on its maintenance, by frequent inspection by officers independent of the railway authorities.

No good will come out of resolutions which are mere expressions of opinion and not intended to be strictly enforced.

\* The following is the text of the Government of India Resolution on the subject of accommodation for Native passengers on Indian Railways :—

Read the following circular from the Government of India Public Works Department, No. 14, Railway, dated Simla, the 10th July 1895 ;—Measures for the comfort and convenience of Native passengers. \*\*Observations :—The Circulars and Resolution read above show that with a view to promote the comfort and convenience of Native passengers when travelling by railway, suggestions have been from time to time put forward both by Government and by others interested in the general welfare of the community.

2. Although many of these suggestions have already been adopted by the administrations of the several Indian Railways, complaints—such as those referred to in the letter of the 7th May, 1894, and in the memoranda by the Government of India in the Legislative Department above quoted—continued to be received regarding the discomforts, inconveniences, which are, it is alleged, experienced, by the Native public, when travelling by railways. The Government of India therefore, consider it desirable to again call attention to the matter, and invite the co-operation of the various railway administrations in the removal of all reasonable causes of complaint.

3. The measures to which it is at present desired more particularly to invite the special attention of railway administrations are—

(i) The provision of additional waiting-room accommodation shelter sheds for intending passengers, with female attendants when separate accommodation for women is available and the improvement, where necessary of existing latrines by the addition of screens or other means of securing privacy.



The tenth Resolution was about the question of Local Self Government, a subject sufficiently familiar to require any notice. The resolutions which followed were of a formal character. In concluding the proceedings of the Conference the President, as is usual, made some remarks. This last speech of Mr. Wachu was equally interesting as his address; some of the suggestions made by him are already mentioned. He concluded by asking the people to send petitions after petitions to Parliament regarding the simultaneous examinations and pointed out the need of a daily journal in Bombay which would advocate the cause of the people. He made another very important suggestion about the advisability of holding Provincial Social Conferences, in the following terms:—

“You are now daily taunted for your culpable backwardness in this respect. It devolves on you to remove that reproach. It lies on you to disprove the charge at present hurled against you that you are unwilling to move your little finger even in the matter. I am aware that the charge is not wholly true. But you must show by your acts and deeds that it is wholly undeserving. Social and political reforms are no doubt of slow growth everywhere much more so in India. You have done fair progress in politics. Why stand back in matters which so vitally affect your social amelioration? Depend on it that in the degree that you strive for this object you would rise higher and higher in your social status—a consummation to be devoutly wished in the better interests of the country at large. It is to be earnestly hoped, therefore, that you will not fail to pay serious attention to this matter. (*Cheers.*)”

*Belgaum, 23rd December, 1895.*

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(ii) Improved arrangements (*a*) for the provision of wholesome refreshments at a reasonable cost, and (*b*) for the distribution of pure drinking water especially in the hot weather and during fairs or other large gatherings with proper precautions to protect it from pollution—to this end stand-pipes being erected at engine watering stations and wherever possible connected with the railway supply or with the Municipal mains where such exist;

(iii) the removal of delays and difficulties in obtaining third class tickets, the opening of ticket offices for a more prolonged period before the arrival of train or, where necessary, for the whole day; the establishment, where the demands of traffic call for it, of agencies for the issue of tickets in the bazaars or other convenient places; and the provision at large booking centres of additional staff for the issue, checking, and collection of tickets and the employment of female ticket collectors, when possible, for dealing with female passengers;

(iv) arrangement for the better supervision of pilgrim traffic by the erection at the terminal station and elsewhere of enclosures or other means designed to prevent overcrowding and confusion when large masses have to be dealt with;

(v) the running on such occasions as fairs or other gatherings, and at other times, when necessity unexpectedly arises of special trains, which should when possible by arrangement between the different railway administrations concerned, be run through to destination, and which should be so timed as to meet public convenience with as little disturbance as possible to the regular train service or to the use by the ordinary travelling public of station accommodation especially at junction station;

(vi) Convenient stoppages of trains to enable Native passengers to obtain refreshment and obey the calls of nature, intimation being given of the duration of stoppage for the information of those unaccustomed to railway travelling;

(vii) the reduction during the hot weather of the number of passengers carried in each compartment or carriage, and

(viii) the introduction, as contemplated in the Government of India's letter of the 17th October, 1894, above quoted, of suitable rules to regulate the use of goods waggons for passenger traffic in cases in which such use is unavoidable.

*Resolution:—*Having regard to the extreme importance of the matter, no less from the standpoint of the Government and of the railway administrations than from that of the great mass of the travelling public, the Governor-General in Council desires that the authorities of the several Indian Railways should give their constant attention to the subject by enforcing the rigid observance of the rules already in force, and by the introduction, from time to time, of such further reform as experience may show to be necessary or desirable.”

# **Eighth Provincial Conference,**

*Held at Belgaum on 12th, 13th and 14th May 1895.*

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## **SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS.**

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### **Resolution I.**

That in repeating its Resolution of last year on the subject of the draft rules, regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service, this Conference desires to express its deep regret that the Government of India have decided to give these rules a trial before considering suggestions for their modification, and once more respectfully urges upon the attention of the local and supreme Governments its firm conviction that the adoption of the rules, as drafted at present, will prove detrimental to the general interests of the Presidency and the interests of administrative efficiency in particular.

That the President be authorized to submit the memorial just read to the Government of India through the Local Government.

### **Resolution II.**

That this Conference while re-affirming Resolution I of the Seventh Conference looks with regret upon the effects of the Policy of Government in the matter of the enhancements of the Revenue Assessment on the agriculturists residing in the various parts of the Presidency and earnestly urges upon Government the necessity of removing such of the defects of the system under which the revised rates are fixed as the Government may think practicable under the present circumstances.

### **Resolution III.**

That this Conference is of opinion—(i) that the present condition of the higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working and unnecessarily costly ; that the hour has arrived when in the interests of the Public Medical Science and the Profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be re-constructed on the basis of such Service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of its Military Service.—(ii) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants compared with those of Members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service require thorough investigation and redress—and prays that Government will grant, for the purpose, an open inquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

### **Resolution IV.**

That this Conference, while thankfully recognizing the success of public agitation in preventing the policy which was attempted to be inaugurated with the

promulgation of Lord Dufferin's Resolution of 1888, the abolition of the Ahmednagar School and the projected fusion of the Deccan and Fergusson Colleges, from being pursued any further, still insists on the impolicy of taking away any portion of the expenditure on higher education for the purposes of devoting the sum so saved to primary education or any other objects, while there remains so much to be done in regard to the proper requirements of High Schools and Colleges.

It further notes with satisfaction and thankfulness the utterance recently given by H. E. Lord Sandhurst that he was in favour of equally encouraging all kinds of education and it once more affirms in the most earnest manner the importance of increasing public expenditure in all branches of education.

#### **Resolution V.**

That this Conference desires to place on record its high appreciation of the masterly services, rendered to the country by the Honourable Mr. P. M. Mehta in the last Session of the Supreme Council at great personal inconvenience, and it authorizes the President to draw up and present in its behalf an address to Mr. Mehta, embodying this expression of opinion at such time and place as may be determined hereafter in consultation with the Honourable gentleman.

#### **Resolution VI.**

That this Conference, while placing on record an expression of its deep gratitude to the Government of India for its circular Resolution No. 22 F. dated 20th October 1894, acknowledging unreservedly the justice of the popular demand that in the management of forests, fiscal considerations ought to be entirely subordinated to the needs and agricultural interests of the Ryots, earnestly hopes that the rules which the Local Government have to frame to give effect to the policy enunciated in the resolution will be drawn up after carefully consulting in each place local wants and grievances and that they will be published in draft form before their final adoption, so as to give the public an opportunity to express their views in the matter.

#### **Resolution VII.**

That this Conference begs respectfully to tender its grateful thanks to H. E. the Governor-in-Council for conferring the franchise of sending a representative to the Local Legislative Council on the Central Division of this Presidency, and its earnestly hopes that Government will see their way to do similar justice to the claims of the Native Mercantile and industrial community of Bombay and the Local and Municipal Boards of Sind.

#### **Resolution VIII.**

That the urgent need of the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions becomes increasingly manifest every day and this Conference urges upon Government the desirability of appointing a mixed commission of officials and non-officials to report upon its feasibility.

#### **Resolution IX.**

That in the opinion of this Conference, the administration of Indian Railways should be subject to more effective control on the part of Government, so as to secure better care and economy of management and ensure greater comfort and convenience for the public, especially for third class passengers.

**Resolution X.**

That the time has arrived when Government should undertake a revision of Act VI of 1873 and Act II of 1884 in the light of experience of their working gained during the last ten years ; and that in the opinion of this Conference, no amendment of the Act which does not treat of this subject as a whole or contain elements favourable to the independent growth of Self-Government in urban areas, is calculated to place local Self-Government on that sound and satisfactory basis which was contemplated by the resolution of 1882.

**Resolution XI.**

That the Provincial Conference for 1896 assemble at Karachi ( Sind ) and that Messrs. D. E. Wacha, A. M. Dharamsi, T. Khemchand, Pestonji Padshah, K. Dayaram, and Jaffar Faddoo be the Secretaries of that Conference.

**Resolution XII.**

That the best thanks of the Conference be tendered to the Reception Committee and the Hon. Secretaries.

**Resolution XIII.**

That this Conference tenders its most cordial thanks to its President Mr. D. E. Wacha for his able conduct in the Chair.

DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA,  
*President.*

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Eighth Provincial Conference  
HELD IN BELGAUM

On the 12th, 13th, & 14th May 1895.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first meeting of the Eighth Provincial Conference was held in Belgaum in a large *Mandap* specially erected for the occasion, on the afternoon of Sunday, May 12 ; a large number of delegates\* representing all parts of the Bombay Presidency being present. • Vido Appendix A.

At 4 P.M., the time announced for the meeting, Rao Saheb Anandrao Mane, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, rose and welcomed the assembled delegates in a few well chosen words as under :—

BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee I beg to extend to you all a most hearty welcome to this our city and to thank you most sincerely for the honor you have done us in so kindly and so readily responding to our call.

Gentlemen, I need not remind you that this is the first occasion on which a political demonstration of this kind and on such a scale has taken place on this side of the Presidency. Such a representative assemblage as I see before me, of leading and influential persons from all the different parts of the Presidency, was not possible here some time before. Eight years ago, this part of the country was not even accessible by rail, and you know, gentlemen, the civilizing influence exercised by railways wherever they have been introduced. It might be affirmed, therefore without exaggeration, that the opening up of this part of the country by railway marks a new era in its history ; and I trust the meeting together of this grand assemblage will be an epoch—making event in its annals. (*Cheers.*) The Southern Maratha Country has been backward in education, and consequently in political activity ; but I am glad to observe that the people have of late begun to shake off their former apathy and to take much interest in Local-Self-Government, in the performance of their civic duties, and in the exercise of their rights as citizens. They have now begun to feel the necessity of placing before Government, loyally and respectfully, their wants and wishes ; and this meeting, gentlemen, is the first grand manifestation of that feeling.

All this is due, almost entirely, to the great educational influence which the Congress movement has for the last ten years been exercising over the minds of all intelligent people through the length and breadth of the country. Apart from the education imparted by the discussion of the practical political questions of the day, questions which are so directly connected with the material welfare of the people, there are several other advantages derived from such annual gatherings. When people from different districts meet together to discuss questions of common interest, a strong bond of sympathy is created between them ; and a feeling of unity, so necessary for the advancement of national life, is the result. As a concrete instance, I may mention here that the last visit of the father of the National Congress, Mr. A. O. Hume, (*cheers.*) to this city, gave rise to such popular enthusiasm in behalf of the national cause, and left behind such an abiding mark that the present undertaking by the District is in no small degree due to the impetus given by that important event.

Gentlemen, since then, the movement has become so popular in this District, that you will be interested, and I am sure, be delighted to hear that we count among our contributors several peasants and agriculturists, who in some cases, not only willingly, but according to their means, handsomely subscribed to our fund. This, you will admit, is an eloquent testimony to the tangible fruit which the Congress movement has borne and the depth to which its influence has penetrated. The Provincial Conference has been, of course, the direct and necessary result of that movement, and though the Congress has an importance of its own, we cannot afford to forget that these provincial assemblies have their own advantages which are none the less valuable simply because they are limited to different Presidencies and do not concern the whole of India. In one respect, these Conferences have been even more fortunate than the various meetings of the Congress; for, have we not been repeatedly told by at least a portion of the Anglo-Indian Press, with whatever motives, to concentrate all our energies upon these Provincial Conferences, and give up as useless the Congress agitation? We are, of course, not going to follow this advice wholesale. We firmly believe that both the movements are equally necessary and equally useful; one being but the essential complement of the other. From the number of Delegates gathered together in this Hall and the variety of interests they represent, it might be safely concluded that the people have begun to recognize to a greater and greater extent the importance of such Provincial gatherings. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I do not wish to take up much of your valuable time; but before concluding, I may be permitted to ask you kindly to excuse us for any short-comings that you might notice in our arrangements, and for any inconvenience you might be put to on that account. I take leave to assure you that such short-comings will be solely due to want of experience on our part in such matters.

On behalf of the Reception Committee I again bid you, gentlemen, a most hearty welcome, and thank you most sincerely for the trouble you have taken in so cheerfully accepting our invitation and attending at such personal inconvenience.

Gentlemen, you will now proceed with your business by electing your Chairman.

Mr. S. B. Bhate, (Belgaum) then rose and said:—

Brother Delegates, it falls to my lot to do a very formal duty and that is to propose for your acceptance the name of our President, who is to preside over the deliberations of this Conference. In recommending for your acceptance the name of our President I have nothing more to do than only to mention his name; because any such thing as introductory remarks to ensure your acceptance is quite unnecessary. The gentleman whom I am going to propose has won for himself the love and admiration of the people and has made a reputation not within the limits of this Presidency only but throughout India. (*Applause*). The solid work he has done by this time is a guarantee in itself that he is quite competent to carry out the duties of the Chairman of the Conference. (*Cheers.*) It is not out of place to mention here, gentlemen, that he occupies a high position in the class of financiers of the highest order. Finance is a question most difficult to educate people about, but Mr. Wacha—(*Cheers*)—has studied the question thoroughly and has given us the benefit of his knowledge. There are very few persons who can attain to the position of a political financier in this country like Mr. Wacha. I will now propose the name of Mr. Wacha as the President of the Eighth Provincial Conference. From your frequent *cheers* and *applause* I see that you all know Mr. Dinshah Wacha very well, and for that reason I am sure you will carry the proposition by acclamation. (*Cheers.*)

Rao Bahadur S. B. Jathar said:—

Friends and gentlemen, I have been asked to second the proposal of Mr. Bhate and in asking me to second the proposal the promoters have done me an honour. Well, the name of Mr. Dinshah Wacha is so well known to you all and his services to the public have been so well marked and recognised throughout India that I need not add to single word to what has been said by my friend Mr. Bhate. I will now only say that in asking this distinguished gentleman, who so well deserves public honours, to take the chair and preside at the Conference, we are only honouring ourselves. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Mahomed Saheb Khatib, (Belgaum) supported the proposition saying a few words in praise of Mr. Wacha in Urdu.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Dinshah Edulji Wacha (Bombay), having taken the chair amidst loud applause delivered the following address :—

GENTLEMEN,

I sincerely thank you for the honour you have conferred on me by calling me to the Presidency of the Eighth Provincial Conference. It is only six months since the Seventh convention was held at Bombay under the able chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik than whom, perhaps, fewer persons possess that wide and accurate knowledge of the many intricate details of the administration of your Presidency which is so essential to the discussion of the burning questions of the day. But the exigencies of your organisation have rendered it necessary that the session of the current year should be held sufficiently early. Having regard to the fact that the National Congress annually meets during the Christmas week it was thought advisable that, for all practical purposes it would be more convenient to hold this Conference, as well as future ones, at a period of the year early enough to allow adequate breathing time to the active workers.

The interval which elapsed since you last met, though brief, was not uneventful either in the annals of the Empire or the Presidency. Important administrative and financial measures, vitally affecting the people at large, were introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council which led to no inconsiderable criticism in and out of the chamber of that supreme deliberative assembly. The public spirit and independence of the elected representatives of the people were put to the severest test, while public feeling all over the country was not a little aroused by the undignified impatience of healthy non-official criticism. In our Presidency itself public feeling was equally aroused by the attempted apotheosis of the departed Governor by a coterie of interested friends and admirers. But the welcome advent of a new Governor, every way broad-minded, fair, and sympathetic, has happily allayed the strifes and passions to which that hollow demonstration unfortunately gave rise about three months ago.

Principal Imperial and Principal Events during the six months.

While the echoes of the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council, lately held at Calcutta, are still ringing in our ears, I hope you will not consider that I am taxing overmuch your patience if I dwell at some length on those larger questions which formed the subject of much animated criticism in that assembly. Provincial matters are so closely dependent on Imperial, and Imperial matters are so greatly allied to and influence Provincial, for better or for worse, that in an address of the nature to which I now crave your attention it is essential for a correct and clear understanding of the present situation that imperial topics of pith and moment should not be left out from our purview. The broader the imperial survey the clearer the perception of the parochial and the provincial. But while I essay such survey I am not insensible to its immense scope and extent. I shall, therefore, condense what I have to say as much as I can.

Importance of Imperial matters as influencing Provincial ones.

I believe, gentlemen, it will not be considered the language of exaggeration if I say that the present is a time of grave crisis in the history of the empire. Neither will it be considered the language of alarm if I say that the vessel of State is in great peril. She is being tossed to and fro in the midst of a troublous sea as she never was tossed before. She is being furiously lashed on one side by the surging waves of disordered finance, set into motion by the doubly mischievous elements of external aggression and mistaken currency nostrum; and on the other by the sullen waves of intense domestic unrest and dissatisfaction. It will require all the firmness, skill and sagacity of the steersman at her helm to bring her to a haven of safety and repose. But the steersman will, it is to be feared, be able to do little unless loyally assisted by his crew. If they prove refractory, if they refuse to heed his authority, if they plume on their own superior omniscience and heavenly infallibility, it is impossible to say where she may be drifted to. Such, gentlemen, is the present political situation. It suggests almost the same kind of reflections to which the illustrious author of "Present discontents" gave eloquent expression a century ago, though, it must be admitted, under circumstances of

Present discontents.

a more aggravated character. That distempers are rife in the country none will venture to deny. Their existence is admitted by enlightened opinion generally—official and non-official. To expatiate on them would be a most formidable task and I would fain refrain from doing so. Suffice if I give a brief outline of them and that, not in my own words but in the words of a generous, sympathetic, and, above all, unprejudiced Anglo-Indian, who lived thirty years among us and loved us, and who, still in the retirement of his native country, takes a deep and abiding interest in our welfare. I mean Mr. Da Costa, who, almost from month to month, instructs his ill-informed or ignorant countrymen in the columns of "*India*," our Congress organ. In the terse preamble of an excellent article in the March number of that Journal headed, "the exercise of arbitrary power in the Administration of India" that thoughtful writer gives the key note of the many distempers prevailing in the country at present. Says he:—

The exercise of arbitrary power in the Administration of India.

"The exercise of arbitrary power in the administration of India has increased of late years to a dangerous extent, sowing the seed of corruption and dissolution in every part of the governing body. The finances of the country are disorganised. The administration of justice debased, the tribunals, controlled by the executive being made to condone and sanction the illegal purposes of the Government, has become degraded in the eyes of its own members, as well as those of the people. The police charged with executing the arbitrary behests of the authorities, are by a constant extension of the sphere of their operations, afforded increased facilities for corrupt practices and extortion; and the army which is kept on a war footing in time of peace has, for 18 years been employed in inglorious and unjustifiable wars resulting in failure and humiliation." This view of the condition of the country has now been confirmed by no less an authority than Sir Richard Garth, the late chief justice of Bengal.

To this portentous catalogue I may now add another grievance—namely, the spirit of intolerance shewn by the Members of the Executive Government in the Imperial as well as the Provincial Legislative Councils to the legitimate and healthy criticism of independent and public spirited non-official members elected by the people. Gentlemen, these are the disorders from which the country is suffering. They are the direct outcome of State action, and as such we are bound to complain of them. According to Burke, "such complaints and humours have existed in all times; yet all times have *not* been alike. True political sagacity manifests itself in distinguishing that complaint which characterises the general infirmity of human nature, from those which are symptoms of the particular distemperature of our own air and season" Judged by this principle, we are all agreed, I believe, in affirming that the discontents from which we are suffering at present are of a special character and need to be pointed out to our rulers if they are to be removed betimes.

Want of sympathy and knowledge of the thought and feelings of the people at the governing India.

But let us first trace to their true source those *particular* distempers which have been so graphically described by Mr. Da Costa. More or less they owe their origin to a deplorable want of knowledge at the governing centre of the inmost thoughts, feelings and wishes of our people. Now it is an axiom of practical politics that a knowledge of the temper and true welfare of a people is the fundamental basis of statemanship. Such knowledge it is not impossible for the governing authorities to acquire if they are honestly intent to learn it as their paramount duty. The many serious difficulties, apart from financial and foreign, which have continued to overwhelm the Government of India, since the days of the disastrous Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, have their origin in that profound contempt for or ignorance of the thoughts and feelings of the people. This is the parent of all discontent.

Imperial Legislation without consulting Public Opinion.

Thus, while a true knowledge of the thoughts and sentiments of the people seems to be a negligible quantity at the governing centre, it is a matter of profound regret that important measures vitally affecting their weal or woe should be brought on the legislative anvil regardless of their consequences. There seems to be no principle in legislation at Calcutta or Simla. Bills are introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council and passed because the executive authorities in their infallible wisdom consider that they should pass, no matter whether or not such legislation is demanded by popular opinion. At one time we are told that Government is in advance of that opinion. At another time we are informed that Government is unwilling to legislate because popular opinion is not ripe! Look, gentlemen, at the character of the Police Amendment Act which was passed by a brute majority of official votes though all the honours Cantonments of British India, and which was known to be a discredit to an enlightened and of the arguments lay with the non-official opponents of that retrograde and repressive measure—



a measure universally condemned, a measure which failed to command the approval of no less an enlightened public body than the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, which, as the Honourable Mr. P. M. Mehta pointed out the other day, is known to be most friendly towards the Government of India. In this instance, public opinion, well informed and enlightened, emphatically denounced the principle embodying the objected sections, but the authors and supporters of the measure carried it because they wished it to be carried, urging the absurd plea that Government was in advance of public opinion! (*Cries of shame.*) Was ever such a travesty of fact pronounced by men who are supposed to be responsible for the peace and general contentment of 230 millions of helpless and defenceless British subjects? Is it unnatural if under such circumstances people loudly express their intense dissatisfaction? Is it an exaggeration to say that it is one of the latest instances of political discontent which the Government of India has generated in their hearts by its own deliberate act?

Let me now take the other case. Let me refer to the amendment of the Civil Procedure Code which the Honourable the Law Member introduced and which was so ably supported by your representative of the Bombay Legislative Council. Here, according to Government, the legislation was neither in advance of public opinion nor behind it. If at all, it was supported by weighty judicial authorities, and those authorities Hindus themselves. Yet the majority of officials voted against the Amendment on the very plea on which they justified the passing of the Police Bill! I purposely refrain, gentlemen, from entering into the technical details of both the measures referred to, because I feel that it is superfluous to pass any further criticism thereon. If I have alluded to them at all it is simply to illustrate my argument, namely, that in matters legislative the supreme authorities seem to have no clear perception of the principles on which they make laws and regulations for the empire. They are not based on legitimate popular demand. Neither have they their origin in any statesmanlike policy. Laws are made and un-made at the whim or caprice of the cabal in power for the time being irrespective of the wishes and feelings of the people. (*Cries of shame.*)

Of a different character was the Cantonment Bill. Here was a simple measure drafted in compliance with the instructions of the Secretary of State. It had three clauses, the last of which was considered intolerable because it prescribed penalty for the examining officials who may from time to time be entrusted with the carrying out of the provisions of the two preceding clauses wherever the Government may choose to introduce them. But bureaucracy—specially the military, was in revolt! The section was considered to be most offensive and a slur on its character as a body of officers and gentlemen! But need I tell you that if the Secretary of State prescribed the penalty clause it was owing to the authentic evidence collected by the India Office Departmental Committee—evidence which proved to the hilt that the military bureaucracy had consciously or unconsciously set at nought the repeated orders of that official issued in pursuance of the unanimous mandate of the House of Commons recorded as back as 1888, namely, that the system of legalised vice which prior to that year was so rampant in the Military Cantonments of British India, and which was known to be a discredit to an enlightened and civilised government, should be put an end to without delay. It was proved on the unimpeachable evidence of Miss Andrew and Mrs. Bushnell, the two noble ladies who quietly visited, at the instance of the Purity Society of England, 10 Military Cantonments in Upper India, and made themselves intimately acquainted with the real facts of the State Vice prevailing there, that the resolution of the House of Commons was openly set at defiance. The grave charge was at first denied by even so high an authority as Lord Roberts, but the evidence of the two ladies compelled him at last to offer an unqualified apology. Well, gentlemen, I ask you to say whether it was right that servants of the Crown in India should thus defy the authority of so august and supreme a body as the House of Commons? And if the national mind, which expects purity among soldiers as well as among statesmen, was inflamed at so flagrant a breach of the national will, expressed through the House, was it wrong, was it unwarranted, on the part of the Secretary of State to introduce that penalty clause in the Cantonment Bill as originally drafted? All the angry vituperation and the hypocritical denunciation showered on that Minister might have been avoided had the military officials here refrained from setting at nought the authority of Parliament. The clause was no doubt a drastic one but it has been rendered imperative by their own conduct and attitude. It was not surprising, therefore, that the official members foamed at the mouth against the clause in the Viceregal Council, and their inspired organs equally foamed outside it. But it was all a sham and pure mockery

Parliamentary Inter-  
ference and the Can-  
tonment Act.

Mr. P. M. Mehta took special pains in his speech to correctly interpret the action of the Secretary of State and make it clear to his colleagues that it was a dangerous thing to defy the authority of Parliament, which was the supreme tribunal on all matters affecting India. (*Hear, hear.*) There was the greater reason for him to bring home this constitutional aspect of the question, after the manner in which the interested bureaucracy treated the Resolution of the House on Simultaneous examinations. The debate on the Cantonment Bill accentuates in a marked degree the necessity of Parliamentary interference in all cases where the supreme will of Parliament is frustrated or defied. It has taught a lesson which it is to be hoped will never be forgotten by the Indian authorities. But our own people should at the same time bear in mind what fell from Mr. Mehta during the debate. His warning to his countrymen, not to be led away by the official cant touching "Home rule," must be closely laid to heart. It should be remembered that it is the interested governing classes who are impatient of Parliamentary control and interference, who sedulously aim at the governing of this great country by themselves without any check or hinderance from any superior body. It is quite natural that they should wish that India be governed under the so-called principle of "Home rule." It is no Home rule at all. It is simply a synonym for the arbitrary Government of India by the handful of the servants of the Crown without any control or sense of responsibility whatever. (*Hear, hear.*) In fact Home rule in the sense the Indian bureaucracy means is simply the Government of India by themselves *independent of any authority whatever!* Our people, therefore, should never be led away by this latest official shibboleth. (*Hear, hear.*)

The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act.

The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act once more underwent tinkering during the session. The amendments which passed into law are no doubt good in their way, contemplate as they do a further measure of judicial relief. But tinkering legislation of this character in connection with the indebted Deccan peasantry will hardly extricate it from its chronic condition of embarrassment. What is most wanted is a modification in the policy which now exacts rigid cash payments at certain fixed dates and allows no remissions under exceptional circumstances. The agrarian problem presented by the Deccan agriculturists is indeed a serious one and demands a broad and statesmanlike treatment. The root of the evil is allowed to remain undisturbed, while mere palliatives are prescribed. But palliatives cannot eradicate the disease. This point was ably urged by our Bombay representative. It is to be hoped, as the Hon'ble Sir Antony McDonell observed in his reply to Mr. Mehta's speech, that the larger measure which is under preparation for the Central Provinces may lead the way to the introduction of comprehensive measures elsewhere. The practical suggestion made by that honourable member that special courts should be instituted, to adjudicate questions arising between the rayat and the State landlord, deserves the careful attention of the Local Government, and I trust this Conference will pass a resolution in reference to it. (*Cheers.*)

The Cotton Duties Act and constitutional aspect. Burke on authoritative instructions and mandates.

I now pass on to some of the points discussed during the debate on the current year's Financial Statement. But before I do so I would say a word touching the Cotton Duties' Act. It is most satisfactory to note that, owing to the powerful advocacy of the Secretary of State, the House of Commons was able to render to India that financial justice for which she had so long clamoured and clamoured in vain. The fact is another proof, if proof were wanted, of the sincere desire of the House to do justice to India. (*Cheers.*) It also demonstrates that when the House is well informed on any Indian topic coming before it for deliberation, it rarely fails to take the correct view of the matter. This fact is an encouraging sign of its solicitude to discharge its solemn trust to the best of its ability and power. It leads us to hope that in other large questions affecting the interests of our country we shall not fail to secure the sympathy and support of the House, provided our agitation was strong, legitimate, and unimpeachable. It, therefore, depends on ourselves to make every effort to keep the House correctly informed as to the facts of a given question on which we may endeavour to rivet its attention.

As to the constitutional controversy to which the debate gave rise in the Viceregal Council, I cannot help recalling to your mind a similar one which occurred over a hundred years ago. Burke, after a contest, was elected second in his election as a member for Bristol on 3rd November 1774. When the time came to thank his constituents for the honour done him he gave them a very important practical lesson which, I believe, has a great bearing on the recent controversy. Mr. Morley relates that Burke's colleagues had opened the subject of the relations which should subsist between a member of Parliament and his constituents, and had declared that, for his own part, he should regard the instructions of the people of Bristol

as decisive and binding. Burke in a weighty passage upheld a manlier doctrine. After observing that the wishes of the constituency ought to have great weight with him, their opinion, high respect, and their business unremitting attention, he remarked that his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to any man, or to any set of men living. "Your representative," said Burke, "owes you not his industry only, but his judgment: and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subserved to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If Government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But Government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that in which the determination precedes the discussion in which one set of men deliberate and another decide, and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant (in our case 6,000) from those who hear the arguments? *Authoritative instructions mandates, issues, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest convictions of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.*" Let us hope these noble and vigorous British sentiments of a British freeman and renowned orator and politician will be remembered by those officials of the Council who urge that they must vote as they are ordered and not as their free judgment and conscience may dictate. (*Hear, hear.*) As pointed out by Mr. Justice Field in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, there is not to be found in any of the Parliamentary and Indian Acts constituting the Legislative Councils a single sentence which supports the contention put forward by the official additional members regarding their bounden duty always to vote with the Government. There is rather enough evidence on the debates of 1861 which proves the contrary.

As to the Budget, I am, gentlemen, one of those who are convinced that no practical good will ever come of a mere academic debate, unless the debate is followed by a division. It is an anomaly that members of the enlarged Councils everywhere may discuss a budget but cannot vote on it, though in all other matters of legislation they can do so! (*Hear, hear*) There would be some reason in the refusal were it the case that the Government majority was in danger of being swept away. But when, as a matter of fact, the Councils are so constituted as to give the Government its majority, it is simply unreasonable to withhold the right of voting. And so long as this right is withheld I for one am entirely sceptical as to the practical results of the debate. This is a point on which Conferences and Congress alike should continually harp until the Government concedes to their demand. Then alone may we witness a modification in the policy of the Government and a change in the attitude of its executive members which at present is one of *non-possumus*. With this preamble I would touch on the salient points of the budget. You will have observed, gentlemen, that it is a hand to mouth budget and the puny surplus of 4 lakhs is simply delusive. It would be incorrect to call it even a hand to mouth budget, for the simple reason that it has signally omitted to provide for two or three *ordinary* items of current expenditure. A budget which omits from computation ordinary liabilities and balances income with an underrated expenditure is misleading. It fails to satisfy the sound canon of public finance and it fails also to inspire any confidence in its accuracy. Now, gentlemen, I say, and say it deliberately, that the budget is in reality a deficit budget. For it omits to provide on the expenditure side, firstly the usual famine grant of 1½ crore; and secondly, it omits to provide for the repayment of the temporary sterling loan of 2 millions which it borrowed last year. Again, the expenses in connection with the Chitral Expedition have been considerably underrated. (*Hear, hear.*) Had the Expedition been taken during the middle of the year or later on, there might have been an excuse for so improbable an estimate as 15 lakhs being put down in the budget. But when as a matter of fact it was decided by the Government of India, prior to the publication of the budget, that the Expedition should be equipped and a force of as many as 14,000 men should be sent in a country of considerable difficulty, it was simply nonsensical to put down 15 lakhs as the probable cost. It was purely an arithmetical legerdemain to underrate the expenses to suit the exigencies of the Finance Department which wanted by hook or by crook to bring about an equilibrium. (*Hear, hear.*) So far the Government cannot be said to have dealt frankly with the tax-payer. The procedure is of a piece with the one which scandalised India during the Second Afghan War when the Finance Minister of the day suppressed the military outgoings and presented a bogus surplus which eventually turned out to be a deficit of 4 crores. It is simply a financial device to defer this heavy liability to another year.

The Budget—A Budget of deficit of 6 crores!

I ask you, gentlemen, what a court of law would think of a debtor who omitted to enter on the liability side some of his just debts on the plea that some day in future he would be able to pay them off! Yet this is exactly what the Government has done in connection with the cost of the Chitral Expedition and the loan of 2 millions sterling. In reference to the last the matter is even more serious from the point of view of financial ethics. The Government provided 17 millions sterling in the budget for 1893-94 for the annual remittances to the Secretary of State, but it diverted 2 millions out of that sum and spent it on another purpose—the demand of the State Secretary having been met by a loan of an equivalent amount. Virtually then, the aspect of this transaction stood thus at the end of March 1894. That the deficit for that year was *larger* by two millions than represented but was absolutely concealed from public knowledge by converting it into a temporary loan for that amount! (*Shame.*) This loan ought to have been repaid from the current revenue of this year. But the Finance Minister was at his wit's end to provide for it; and it has been consequently proposed to renew it. As to the omission for the provision of the famine grant I expressed my views the other day in the columns of the Bombay English dailies. But it may not be uninteresting to refer to them here. It is an indubitable fact which no amount of ingenious interpretation can falsify that the famine fund grant was to be annually set apart by means of the special taxation raised for the purpose. Extracts upon extracts may be quoted to prove this to the hilt. The late Mr. Bradlaugh demonstrated it to perfection in the House of Commons in 1889. That taxation was the License Tax, afterwards merged by the Government of Lord Dufferin into the Income Tax, in 1886-87, under the financial pinch created by the famous Penjdeh scare and seizure of Upper Burmah. The tax then still exists and so long as it is levied the Government is solemnly pledged to provide the 1½ crore. It is pure hypocrisy to explain this fact away; and it is nonsense to assert, as has been asserted by the Finance Minister, that provision can only be made when there is a surplus. The surplus theory will not, gentlemen, stand examination for a moment. For, the grant has been made in years of surplus as well as those of deficits. Here are the figures :

|              | In Crores. |          |                   |
|--------------|------------|----------|-------------------|
|              | Surplus.   | Deficit. | Amount set apart. |
| 1881-82..... | 2.58       | *        | 1.56              |
| 82-83.....   | 0.67       | *        | 1.49              |
| 83-84.....   | 1.87       | *        | 1.52              |
| 84-85.....   | *          | 0.38     | 1.54              |
| 85-86.....   | *          | 2.80     | 1.50              |
| 86-87.....   | 0.17       | *        | 1.30              |
| 87-88.....   | *          | 2.02     | 0.09              |
| 88-89.....   | 0.03       | *        | 0.08              |
| 89-90.....   | 2.61       | *        | 0.60              |
| 90-91.....   | 3.68       | *        | 0.60              |
| 91-92.....   | 0.46       | *        | 1.26              |
| 92-93.....   | *          | 0.83     | 1.11              |
| 93-94.....   | *          | 1.54     | 1.11              |

The most curious thing about this table, gentlemen, is this. That in years of surplus as well as in years of deficit the Government has with curious impartiality, set apart 70 per cent. of the amount of either surplus or deficit to the Famine fund. But, gentlemen, I hope I have conclusively shown to you that this year's budget is most misleading and unreliable as it has omitted to take into account the larger cost of the Chitral Expedition, and failed to make provision for the repayment of the temporary loan of 2 millions and the famine grant of 1½ crore. (*Hear, hear.*) At the lowest computation the Chitral Expedition will not cost less than a crore. The equivalent of 2 millions of loan in Rupees may be taken at about 3.60 lakhs. The total expenditure, therefore, omitted from the budget is fully 6.10 crores. We should have had a deficit of that amount had the budget been correctly prepared as it ought to have been. But you may realise the financial straits to which the Indian Government has been reduced when I say that in spite of the additional revenue of over 1½ crore from the cotton duties, it has not only been unable to balance revenue with expenditure but obliged to resort to the questionable procedure of omitting 6 crores of legitimate ordinary expenditure from the debit side. If this be not a condition of insolvency, I should like to know what it is?

It is indeed a remarkable circumstance in connection with the finances of India that from the days of Burke and Pitt to those of Peel and Bright, Fawcett and Bradlaugh, there has been one prolonged wail over the deficits and embarrassments of the Indian treasury. I will not tire your patience by quoting the testimony of every one of these English statesmen. But I crave your indulgence to let me quote a passage from one of the most memorable speeches which Bright delivered on India in the House of Commons. Criticising the finances of the country on 24th June 1858, that righteous Puritan and statesman observed :—“ If there were another charge to be made against the past Government of India it would be with regard to the state of the finances. Where was there a bad Government whose finances were in good order ? Where was there really a good Government whose finances were in bad order ? Is there a better test in the long run of the condition of a people and the merits of a Government than the state of the finances ? And yet not in our own time, but going back through all the pages of Mill or any other history of India we find the normal condition of the finances of India has been that of deficit and bankruptcy. I maintain that if that be so, the Government is a bad Government. It has cost more to govern India than the Government has been able to extract from the population of India. The Government has not been scrupulous as to the amount of the taxes or the mode in which they have been levied.” A truer charge against Indian finances could not have been brought home. (*Hear, hear.*) But is it not the case, gentlemen, that though since the words I have just quoted were uttered the Government of this country has been directly administered by the Crown, we have witnessed no improvement in the condition of Indian finances ? Is it not the case that it is as unsound at its foundation to-day it was a hundred years ago ? Is it not the case that its ordinary condition even at this moment is one of deficit and bankruptcy, despite all the optimism of Mr. Fowler ? Is not the Government growing costlier year by year ? Is it not imposing new burdens from time to time on a poverty stricken people which are altogether beyond their means and capacity ? Is it not the case that its ethics are as bad as ever in the application of taxes ? Has a single individual in this vast peninsula been satisfied with the morality of the application of the special tax originally imposed in 1876-77 for the purposes of insurance against famine ? Has it not been diverted more than once from its purpose proper ? And what is the tale as to deficits ? You have only to refer, gentlemen, to the published official accounts, dating from 1834-35 to be convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt of their chronic condition. During the sixty years since that date you have had 34 years of deficits amounting to 83·50 crores of Rupees and 26 years of surpluses amounting to 42·85 crores, with the result that there was up to the end of 1893-94 a net deficit of 40·65 crores, giving an annual average of 67 lakhs ! During the same period the public debt has risen from 26 crores to 210 crores of which 42 were increased during the last ten years only ! (*Hear, hear.*)

Indian financial history, a history of chronic deficits.

But it should be remembered, gentlemen, that the deficits of 40½ crores in sixty years do not tell the true tale. There have been years in which deficits have been converted into surpluses by a process which all sound canons of public finance absolutely condemn—by a process which no private merchant or banker having a reputation to lose would ever venture to adopt. (*Cries of shame.*) Some of the surpluses, it was proved to demonstration before the East India Finance Committee, (1871-74) were arrived at by crediting to current revenue items of receipts which should have been properly credited to capital or debt account. The fact of fictitious surpluses having been manufactured in the past was vividly brought to the notice of the House of Commons in that remarkably able and incisive speech, bristling with figures, which the late lamented Mr. Fawcett delivered on 6th August 1872. (*Cheers.*) Referring to the accounts of the eleven years preceding, that impartial economist and expert observed : “ When there has been a surplus, this surplus has been obtained by devoting capital to income, and is therefore purely fictitious. \* \* Let me entreat the House to remember that a simple statement of income and expenditure during the last few years will utterly fail to give any true idea of our financial position. Our difficulties have been so pressing, such desperate efforts have been made to lessen the deficit and create a surplus, that, like embarrassed traders, the Government of India have been using up their capital, they have been appropriating to income what ought to have been devoted to reduce debt, they have been using funds which ought to have been kept to meet interior charges ; in fact, in a single sentence, they have been performing that financial operation which is known as discounting the future.” Mr. Fawcett then gave six striking instances in support of his charge against the Government of exhibiting fictitious surpluses or minimising the deadweight of appalling deficits. We would, gentlemen,

Fictitious surpluses.

be forgetting the past financial history of India if we were so charitable as to assume that the days of such fictitious accounts are gone. I, for one, am unwilling to believe that the Government of to-day is a whit better in the management of its finances than that of the past fifty or even hundred years. On the contrary, my study of Indian finances tells me that in this matter History only repeats itself. I have just pointed out to you how far illusory is the budget of the present year, conceals as it does from the public view the true deficit of 6 crores. And I make bold to say that were a Committee of independent experts sitting to-day to scrutinise the accounts for the past ten years, which have proved so disastrous to Indian finance, they would be obliged to reveal a tale similar to what Mr. Fawcett related to the House 23 years ago. (*Hear, hear.*)

The fundamental cause of deficits.

To what then may we attribute the cause of the chronic deficit? I shall tell it in a word. To *policy*. It is superfluous for me to inform you what political economists, and practical politicians and statesmen have over and over remarked, that the expenditure of a country depends on the policy pursued by its Government in the conduct of its administration. This is a trite State maxim. Speaking about India Bright observed in the same speech to which I have already referred: "It is the policy that has been pursued there which renders the revenue liable to this constantly recurring deficit." Economists tell us that a sound policy is the first condition of productive labour and of the saving that creates capital. It is therefore highly essential for a State which is not an absolute despotism to carefully examine what influence its policy has on the economic progress of the people. It has to be ruefully acknowledged that it is the mischievous policy of the Indian Government which is at the root of the present financial distress. It is a policy directly opposed to that which stimulates productive labour, accumulates wealth, and enables the people to better endure the burdens of growing taxation.

Military aggression and extravagant foreign agency.

If you were to ask me what are the potent factors of that policy which are at present dominating our finances and plunging them into a condition of chronic embarrassment, and even distress, I would unhesitatingly assert that they are firstly, that extravagant foreign agency which costs the country  $17\frac{1}{2}$  crores of Rupees\* per annum in salaries and pensions and drains away its life blood; (*hear, hear*), and, secondly, that insatiable thirst for annexing territory after territory and principality under the mischievous influence of a clique of puissant propagandists who have raised what is appropriately described as "bastard Imperialism" into a cult or fetish at the seat of the central authority since the evil days of the Penjdeh scare. (*Laughter*). It is this part of the Imperial policy which has added 7 crores per annum to your military expenditure. (*Hear, hear.*) It is this which has cost during the decade well nigh 15 crores in those strategic railways, &c., and fruitless punitive expeditions hither and thither beyond the natural lines of the country's defence—expeditions ostensibly taken for the purpose of chastising refractory wild tribes on the borders but in reality for pushing the boundaries of the empire in the mad pursuit of meeting the Cossack half way in the inhospitable and impenetrable regions of the Hindu Kush. (*Laughter.*) Think, gentlemen, of all this waste of public expenditure. Think of the immense good these very crores which have been squandered on needless additional troops and expeditions, on secret and public subsidies, on strategic railways and so forth, might have done to the country by their employment in those productive channels which would have contributed to the increase of national wealth.

Mr. Maclean's condemnation of the "forward policy."

Is it a wonder that even such a redoubtable personage as Mr. Maclean, late editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, ex-member for Oldham, and a fire-eating Tory to boot, is obliged to condemn this adventurous policy? While vigorously contradicting the officialised and pompous Mr. Curzon on his latest disquisition on Chitral, in support of the Government, Mr. Maclean says in the columns of the *Western Mail* that it may sound "magnificent" to speak of the occupation of the entire ring of stupendous mountain barriers on the north of India, but it is not business. The policy Mr. Curzon practically advocates is that of a stupendous system of blackmail, under which all the available revenues of fertile and prosperous India would be swallowed up in vain attempts to tame and tutor hordes of intractable barbarians whose only industry is fighting. (*Hear, hear.*) The present Chitral Expedition will cost at least a couple of millions sterling, an expenditure which will throw the finances of India once more into confusion and give Mr. Fowler, if he is Secretary of State next year, the chance of making

\* *Vide Parliamentary Return—East India Salaries—17th May 1892.*

another exhibition of austere virtue by raising the import duties on Lancashire goods from 5 to 10 per cent. Long before Mr. Curzon's dream was realised the finances of India would have been hopelessly swamped ; and then the border tribes, if Russia held out to them the prospect of plundering the people of the plains, would be just as ready to turn their arms and military experience against us as if we had never paid them a half penny." And further on Mr. Maclean says that "considerations of finance which lie at the root of all sound Government are now treated with utter contempt by the men who administer the affairs of India." So much for these worthless frontier expeditions and so much for the mad and suicidal policy of so-called "preparedness." (*Cheers.*)

But, gentlemen, it has of late been observed by some of the organs of official jingoism that the conditions which prompted Lords Lawrence, Mayo, Northbrook, and Ripon, which met such unanimous support from the late Lord Derby and the present Duke of Devonshire, to strictly follow the policy of non-interference with the border tribes, and keep to the safe and sound lines of internal defence within the Indus, have changed since the days of the Second Afghan War. That new conditions have arisen which demand the policy of preparedness which has been so disastrously in evidence since the Penjdeh incident. If this be so, how is it that the principal author of the present policy, no other than Lord Roberts, was of a different opinion only a few short years ago? Has the memory of the gallant general and the followers of his school turned traitor? For, gentlemen, if you refer to the Simla Army Commission Report of 1884, you would find it recorded there in black and white that that Commission distinctly bore in consideration the changed conditions of border politics, and the probabilities of its new development in the near future, but nevertheless deemed it right to adhere to the safe policy of Lord Lawrence and advised that the then existing force of Native and European troops was sufficient not only for internal defence but for outside operations of the character we have been witnessing since the publication of that instructive report. Lord Roberts was one of the members who signed it. It does not therefore lie in the mouth of his apologists now to say that the conditions are changed and the Laurentian policy could not be upheld. (*Hear, hear.*) Moreover, other military experts are of different opinion, such as Lord Chelmsford, Sir John Aclay, Colonels Home and Maurice, Sir Neville Chamberlain and General Sir Henry Green.

Unwisdom of abandoning the Laurentian policy.

Think, gentlemen, of the double evil of that enormous waste, a waste which may almost be called criminal. The absolute unproductivity of the expenditure on the one hand and the immense additional burdens which have been laid by the tax-eaters on the tax-payers. They admit the country is poor; they admit that its resources are inelastic; that every new deficit puts a severer strain on those who have to pay the taxes; they admit that they find themselves at their wits' end what more to tax after having already imposed new taxation of upwards of 7 crores; and yet they persevere in their blind and fatal policy which is daily bringing them fresh troubles and bringing them nearer to the brink of insolvency. (*Cries of Shame.*)

The dual evil of frontier wars and expeditions.

But it is indeed most astonishing that our rulers are still unable to realise the fact that no government can financially succeed which has a poverty stricken people to govern on the one hand and which employs on the other a foreign agency the cost of which is absolutely beyond their ability to defray. It has been truly observed by a political thinker that if anything differentiates Asia from Europe and the West it is its immoderateness. Asia is a continent of mountains, rivers and countries of colossal dimensions. On the other hand its population is colossal also—India and China alone contributing one-third to the entire population of the world and withal extremely poor. Thus with Asiatic immensity you have Asiatic poverty which makes it a difficult task to discover new sources of taxation.

A poor country and a costly government.

It is an axiom of public finance, as pointed out by Bastable that "there can be no doubt that a small nation with little accumulated wealth cannot adopt the same scale of outlay as a larger and wealthier one, and one of the rules of good finance is to observe moderation in the demands of the State on its citizens." It is a matter of profound regret that this aspect of public finance is systematically ignored by the Government. In framing its annual estimates of expenditure it scarcely takes into consideration the factor of the amount of the national income. As Bastable observes: "Expenditure requiring 10 per cent of the annual income of India would be much more burdensome than if 30 per cent were to be required in England or the United States." And yet there are a class of superficial writers in the Anglo-Indian Press

Incidence of taxation

and official apologists who seem to fancy that India is lightly taxed. In support of their statement they flourish in our face the incidence of taxation as exhibited in the annual Parliamentary return. Bearing in mind the fundamental economic proposition that income is the fund out of which the ordinary expenditure of a State has to be met, it is simply absurd to compute the burden of taxation in the manner the India Office does, namely, by dividing the amount of taxation by the number of the population. As Bastable rightly points out "an attempt to measure the comparative pressure caused by expenditure in India and in the Australian Colonies based on taking the charge per head would give to the astonishing result that it was about nineteen-fold heavier in the latter." For instance, in the Victorian Year Book of 1887-88 a table of comparative taxation is given. In India and Australia the proportion of tax to non-tax revenue is almost the same (40 per cent) and the rate per head in India for 1885-86 was 3 Shillings, while averaged over the Australian Colonies it was £2 17s. ! Thus, the absurdity of computing the incidence of taxation in the manner calculated by the Indian authorities becomes palpably plain.

Want of control and  
irresponsibility.

There yet remains another administrative evil in connection with Indian finances which requires to be noticed. It is that irresponsibility and utter want of control to which Sir David Barbour referred in his address before the Bimetallists some months ago. There is absolutely no incentive to economise expenditure. As Mr. Fowcett observed "in the days of the East India Company India was to a certain extent protected by the self-interest of proprietors. At any rate they would see with zealous watchfulness that India was not unfairly charged for many things which England ought to pay. Under the present system there are four or five distinct persons who can spend. There are the Secretary of State, the Governor General, the Governors of Presidencies and Provinces. There is no immediate responsibility and no distinct control." It is impossible under such a condition of affairs that the finances of the country can be efficiently controlled—much less that there should be the slightest incentive on the part of the great spending departments to economise expenditure. On the contrary, it seems that at present, they are like the harpies of old,—the more they get the more they want. (*Laughter.*) As if the extravagant salaries allowed to the foreign agency were inadequate, though the best of Englishmen, including Bright and Fawcett, have inveighed against them, they have been allowed Exchange Compensation Allowance, amounting to 1½ crore, which threatens to grow and grow with every fall in the exchangeable value of the Rupee. How under such anomalous circumstances can Indian finance be extricated from its chronic condition of embarrassment?

Royal Commission  
needed but progress of  
public opinion much  
more.

A ray of hope therefore lies in the contemplated Committee or Commission of inquiry. I am, however, by no means sanguine of its labours. I do not believe in Royal Commissions, especially if Commissions are to be officially gerrymandered after the fashion of the one which sat on the Opium question. A Parliamentary Committee is a safer, more reliable, and more impartial body to investigate into the whole domain of Indian expenditure, specially military. But whether the inquiry be by means of a Commission or a Committee, all will depend on ourselves how far we are able to submit facts before that inquiring body to enable them to recommend retrenchment and place our finances on a sound footing. Much also will depend on the volume of independent public opinion which may be brought to bear upon a review of the present critical situation. I have greater faith in the progress of that opinion than in all the combined attempts of Committee and Commissions. It is said that when Louis the Sixteenth invited Marechal de Richelieu to describe the three different reigns in which he had lived that octogenarian replied as follows: "In the time of Louis XIV, one dared not say a word. In that of Louis XV, one spoke under one's breath; now under your majesty, one says that one chooses." Now it is true that we are free to speak and not tied down as the French were during the reigns of the three Louises. Nevertheless, we have yet to speak more freely and boldly, and with a knowledge of facts, to bring that pressure on the State to introduce the needed financial reforms which shall at any rate remove the chronic condition of deficit. Public opinion must progress in the face of all obstacles to bring about the desired consummation. Hence, I repeat, it all depends on our own efforts how far we are able to make that progress.

Difficulties in the way  
of submitting evidence.

At this stage, gentlemen, it would not be uninteresting to say a few words about the difficulties which lie in the path of those who study Indian finance and are anxious to suggest ways and means of retrenchment and economy. The charge is often laid at our door, though altogether ungrounded, that we are more or less destructive in our criticism but we are seldom



constructive. The other day the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta was assailed in a similar way by Sir Charles Elliott. Now that official seemed to forget that the public in general, and non-official members of the Viceregal Council, are at great disadvantage compared with the official experts. Whereas the latter are masters of every munitiae on which are based the major and minor heads in the Annual Finance and Revenue Accounts, the former are entirely unable to get at them. The financial returns which are doled out to the public, comprehensive as they are, are not exhaustive enough for the purpose of entering into those close details which are absolutely essential to non-official members in the Council and the inquiring public to point out extravagances and suggest where economies and retrenchment may be safely practised without in any manner impairing the efficiency of departments. It may be, as Sir James Westland remarked in his budget speech, that in certain departments, such as those of the army, experts alone can dive into details. But anyhow what I contend for is this. That though we may not be experts we may be able to exercise our common sense. We may be able to compare these details with similar details of the army services elsewhere, say for instance in the United Kingdom and France. We may then exercise our comparative faculty and lay our fingers on this, that and the other item to show that compared with similar items in other countries, they are excessive or abnormal, unless their exceptional character is justified or explained. It is only by acquiring a mastery of the details referred to above and by a comparison of them with similar details elsewhere that practical suggestions could be made. I will, gentlemen, give you only one instance to prove my contention. A reference to page 184 of the *Finance and Revenue Accounts* of the Government of India for 1892-93, will inform you that under Grant 14 for Miscellaneous Services there is a total expenditure of Rs. 4,21,575. You will admit that an item of nearly half a crore under the head of Miscellaneous is not light. You will be curious to learn the particulars of this amount. But where are the particulars? You may search and search in vain for them. Save four items aggregating in all Rs. 20,000, there are no details given. The one item which should have been shown at great length is simply headed thus: "Miscellaneous Government of India Rs. 289,912, Madras, 91,147, Bombay 22,696.—Total Rs. 403,755. Now, I ask any fair minded person what head or tail could a non-official member of the Council, inquisitive enough to learn the details make of this item? And yet it may be that there are a number of items comprised in it which, if revealed, may lead to a suggestion for economy and retrenchment. This instance is one of numberless others which even any casual student of finance may find out for himself. Now, the great advantage which the system of discussing the English Budget in the House of Commons possesses is this. That every detail under the minor head of a grant is submitted to the members who have the opportunity of freely criticising it. No such full details are supplied to honourable members of the Supreme Legislative Council. How under those circumstances you can expect them to criticise the details and offer suggestions? Yet there is not the least doubt that those who, like the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, (*Cheers*) take care to dive into the accounts with such imperfect details as are given, are able to offer some well directed criticism. But, when such is made those who ought to reply to it plead want of time or ignorance, as Sir James did, and simply brush it aside. This is the way, gentlemen, our finances are dealt with by our so-called experts and yet they have the hardihood to accuse their non-official critics of destructive instead of constructive criticism! I need not say the plea is utterly hollow and unworthy of those who make it!

I will now give, gentlemen, an instance of the way in which Sir James Westland has attempted to use financial statistics. If you will refer to the several table of accounts appended to the last Financial Statement you will find a very remarkable specimen of what may be fittingly called arithmetical jugglery. It consists of a table called F where the revenue and expenditure for each year, commencing from 1885, is converted into sterling at the average annual rate of exchange appertaining to each year. By such a conversion the Finance Minister fancies he has performed a wonderful miracle. The country is now obliged to pay Rs. 18 for every pound sterling when it had to pay only Rs. 14 some 10 years ago. That we are thus obliged to pay to day something like 23 crores of Rupees for our military expenditure, including exchange, goes without saying. In 1885, with less expenditure, we paid 16 crores. But according to this miraculous table the Finance Minister, like the artful magician of fairy tales, wishes us to infer that because the larger Rupee expenditure has been converted into sterling at the dearer rate of gold, therefore, that expenditure has virtually decreased, as it represents

The misleading table F  
of the Budget.

in pounds sterling a smaller amount. So, too, with all items of revenue. On this principle, gentlemen, when the rupee is equivalent to a shilling and we have to pay Rs. 20 for every £, it will be said by the Finance Minister that we are actually paying one half of what we paid when the Rupee was at par. *Ergo*, our Indian expenditure, is really reduced by one-half computed in sterling!! (*Laughter.*) Was such financial quackery ever exhibited in the finances of any other civilised country of the world? And yet these are the class of officials who sit above us and profess to teach us the rudiments of public finance! (*Hear, hear.*)

Practical suggestions  
for a prosperous condi-  
tion of the finances.

But, gentlemen, it will again be said, as has been said over and over again, that we are if anything, most destructive in our criticism while statemanship demands that we should assist the Government in its arduous task of managing the finances of the country by constructive means, that is to say, by practical suggestions. It goes without saying that retrenchment of the present overgrown civil and military expenditure is the first plank in our economical reform. We have cried and cried in vain for it hitherto, though there is ample scope for curtailment. But we are simply powerless before the *non-possumus* of the interested bureaucracy which stops our way. So much however, has been already said on the subject that I refrain from dilating on it. Next, I would have the Government institute by means of legislation a sinking fund for the reduction of the public debt. No matter what the condition of the usual revenue may be, it should be obligatory on the part of the Government to set aside a sum of a crore at the very least per year. At the same time more stringent restrictions should be placed on the present system of reckless borrowing. Again, borrowing in sterling, which has entailed so many cruel burdens on the people in the past, must be rigidly proscribed, at any rate till such time that reasonable parity between gold and silver is established. On this subject the latest pronouncement of Sir David Barbour in the *National Review* may well be laid to heart by our Government.

Increased Land Re-  
venue by means of im-  
proved husbandry.

Lastly, every effort should be made to improve the land revenue, without in any manner oppressing the peasantry already steeped in poverty and indebtedness. The more I think on the subject the more the conviction grows on me that the ultimate salvation of Indian finance will depend on the steady growth of land revenue which is even to-day its sheet-anchor. At present the average annual growth from this source is about 20 lakhs. On a reference to the decennial volume of the Moral and Material Condition of India it appears that while all other sources of revenue, opium excepted, have shown a rapid and satisfactory growth, land revenue alone has progressed most slowly. The slow growth is a certain indication of the circumstance that much revenue could not be derived in the future from this source. Even the present progress might have been a great deal less but for the acquisition of Upper Burmah. By no means would I have you infer, gentlemen, that because the growth is slow another turn of the screw might be given to the survey settlement and revision departments. Far from it. But what I do earnestly beg to convey to you is the potentiality of land to yield more to the ryots than it does now. After all, when you come to first principles in State finance you find that revenue depends on the ability of a people to pay taxes. Where the ability is poor it is difficult to raise a large revenue. If the annual national income shows fair progress in agriculture, arts, industries, and commerce, you may depend on the greater capacity of the people to bear their national burdens, for after all that capacity is limited by the amount of national wealth. But where there is absence of such advance or where the advance is next to the stagnation stage it is not possible to have elastic sources of revenue. It is superfluous to state that India is a country which falls under the last category. The majority of the population is engaged in agriculture from which they eke out a bare existence. Diversity of occupation is wanting. There are a few engaged in commerce and some industries. There is no doubt hope in the slow but steady development of the latter. But when we consider that the industrial situation is not likely to undergo any revolutionary change during the next twenty five years to come, the idea irresistibly forces on the mind that nothing could tend to further stimulate wealth in the country than agriculture by means of improved husbandry. I ask you, gentlemen, whether the time has not come, as Mr. Hume observed in his remarkable minute on "Agricultural Reform in India," for a careful reconsideration of the management of the land in this country. And here I would earnestly ask you to bear in mind the serious question he puts to us all. "The land revenue in all historical periods has been the main financial resource of every successive Government, Hindu or Mahomedan. We have done much for the country, have

enormously increased the value of its produce, yet province for province we are not receiving much more than many of our predecessors, Akbar for instance, did. Are we really making most out of the land?" This is the question each of us should try to answer. If we do, we must agree with him in his reply in the negative. But, as he says, if we are not making the most of it "it is not through any imperfection in the existing revenue administration, but because the land itself yields nothing like what it should." It would be foreign to the purpose of this address to enter further into the details here. But when you bear in mind all that has been recommended by Doctor Voelcker in his voluminous report on the condition of Indian agriculture to the Government of India you will no doubt be able to discover for yourselves that the recommendations made by Mr. Hume so strenuously fifteen years ago were neither fanciful nor impractical. For, on almost all the salient points his views coincide in a remarkable manner with those of the practical agriculturist. I cannot resist quoting his burning language at this juncture only to show you how deeply, how earnestly, how disinterestedly he all along had felt for us Indians, and endeavoured to draw the attention of the authorities to this grave agricultural problem of the future. Said Mr. Hume: "Time has rolled on; a roadless wilderness has been traversed in all directions by railways and roads; under our protecting rule a vast internal and foreign commerce has been developed, prices of agricultural produce have risen, new and extremely remunerative staples have been introduced and vast tracts of waste have come under the plough, but our demand remains the same as it was seventy years ago, and is probably between four and five millions less than it would have been at the present moment had our predecessors contented themselves in Bengal, as elsewhere, with fixing the demand for periods of twenty or thirty years.".....But these are accomplished facts, how then are we to improve our land in the future so as to make it yield more is the question. On it depends both the prosperity of the State and the peasant alike. Both are vastly interested in it. "If our revenue from land is to undergo any very marked development, and to bear hereafter that proportion to the rest of our revenue that in times gone by it has always borne, it is to an increase in the produce of the land, to an improved system of agriculture in fact, that we must look." There is not the least doubt that the State has culpably neglected its duty during the past 50 years and upwards as a landlord. It has done nothing to promote the agricultural industry. It has hardly helped the peasantry by capital until within very recent years. Look at the systems of agriculture in China and Japan, specially in the latter country. Here in India all those elements which have made those two countries agriculturally prosperous are sadly wanting—abundant supply of water, manure, agricultural cattle, wood, grass and so forth. In all these respects the State seems to have almost entirely neglected its duty. It left the impecunious husbandman to Providence and we know what has been the result. In its blind zeal to raise revenue from forests it has actually adopted a series of harsh Forest laws all over the country which are simply suicidal. (*Hear, hear.*) No private landlord with extensive domains would have committed the folly which the State has in reference to Indian forests. It is these laws which have in a measure deprived the peasantry of those very means which are so necessary for improved husbandry. Thus much depends on the Government to discharge that duty which it owes to itself and to the vast masses of the population in regard to agriculture, which is the chief basis of national wealth in this country. If it sincerely endeavours to realise its duty even so late in the day and if the people themselves put their shoulders to the wheel and assist the State in its endeavours at improved husbandry, I, for one, without being in any way sanguine, am of hope that the progress of the country would be every way quicker and more satisfactory than it has been. (*Hear, hear.*) The Government has introduced a highly refined organisation at a cost unprecedented in the annals of the world while the masses remain hungry. (*Hear, hear.*) It is absurd to expect the production of wealth when the food which humanity wants to eke out existence is hardly supplied. The policy of drift which has characterised the entire land policy of the State must sooner or later undergo a thorough revolution if the Indian peasantry is to prosper and adequate means are to be found for the daily increasing wants of the administration.

To summarise. The practical measures required for placing Indian finance on a sound and prosperous footing are:—(1) A slow reduction of the costly civil and military expenditure of the empire—an expenditure more adapted to the poor condition of this country than a costly organisation suited to States of the West; more extensive employment of native agency; a stable sinking fund for the reduction of the public debt; a rigid policy of incurring all State liabilities

Summary.

in silver; and last though not least an improved method of husbandry with liberal State aid. With these remarks I bring to a conclusion that part of my address which has reference to Imperial problems of administration.

## II. PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS.

Change in the Ad-  
ministration.

Coming now to provincial affairs, the first matter we have to record is the change in the head of the Administration. It is indeed a beneficent provision for a country situated like ours and governed on the principle of what is popularly called "benevolent despotism," that the term of Viceroy, a Governor, and a Lieutenant Governor is limited to five years. (*Laughter.*) Like many other provisions of a kindred character it has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. When there is a popular and sympathetic person at the head of an administration it is felt as a pity that he should have to lay down his office when his influence and authority seem to be most desirable for the better welfare of his people. On the other hand, with a ruler of an opposite character, one who may have created intense popular dissatisfaction as much by his want of sympathy, tact and judgment, as by his incapacity, it is considered a good riddance when his term of office expires. A sigh of relief is expressed and people seem to breathe more freely, albeit it may sometimes happen that they may have to put up with his successor who may turn out even more unpopular and unsympathetic. A King Log may be succeeded by a King Stork and his subjects may groan deeper at such a precious person ruling over their head. But our people must be prepared for such a contingency under the present circumstances of India and the conditions under which selections are made for the office of an Indian or Provincial Satrap. India is a country of many anomalies. The Government itself is an anomaly of anomalies. Speaking on their character Lord Salisbury, in his capacity as a former Secretary of State for India, observed that they are "a warning and a fashion after which our Indian Government is made \* \* The Government is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years." Such being the provision made for the term of our benevolent despots, whether from climatic cause only or any others we need not at present inquire, it is a matter of satisfaction to the people of Bombay that Lord Sandhurst now rules over them. (*Cheers.*) Let us all hope that with his distinguished lineage, his inherited Liberalism, broad mindedness, and warm sympathy, he may endear himself to those over whom he has been called upon to rule and leave an imperishable name behind him. It is not necessary, gentlemen, to remind you that one principal and all compelling reason of importing Viceroys and Governors from the free atmosphere of England is, that they would rise superior to the selfishness and prejudice of the bureaucracy by which they are inevitably surrounded. That, in fact, they would stand as a sort of terrestrial Providence between the people on the one side and the governing caste on the other, hold the scales of justice evenly, and unswervingly maintain those great and broad principles of Imperial Polity which the farsighted statesmen of the past half century and upwards deliberately laid down for the government of our people. At the banquet held in his honour in London on the eve of his departure to Bombay, Lord Sandhurst, replying to the toast of his health, observed that he would strive to follow in the footsteps of that great and illustrious Elphinstone (*cheers*) whose statemanship has shed such imperishable lustre on British rule in this country. May it be his good fortune to imitate the deeds of that most distinguished Englishman, whose name is a household word not only in our Presidency but in all parts of the country. The name of Elphinstone is indeed a name to conjure with. It is a name to inspire hope and confidence in every part of the wide dominions of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen. (*Cheers.*)

Legislative Council.

As far as legislation was concerned the period embraced by this review was a perfect blank save that solitary enactment on the Tramways which was rushed through in half an hour at one sitting without one if or but from the non-official members. I am informed that the Act should not have been passed in the form it is most like to lead to some grave constitutional question hereafter. If such be the case, it is to be hoped that the matter would be re-opened and the knotty points cleared.

Central Division En-  
franchised.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that his sense of justice and impartiality has led Lord Sandhurst to remove one grievous cause of complaint which agitated the entire Presidency, and specially the Deccan. (*Cheers.*) One of the eight non-official seats which was assigned two years ago to the Kurrachee Chamber of commerce has now been given to the Central Division. The Local Boards of that district have been accorded the privilege of returning a member to the

Legislative Council. Thus one great cause of dissatisfaction which rankled in the breasts of the Deccan people has been removed, and it is to be hoped that that constituency will justify the confidence the Government has reposed in it by making a wise selection of its representative to the Council. We congratulate Lord Sandhurst on this matter and we congratulate the public whose united opinion has thus ultimately triumphed over an obstinate Executive. (*Hear, hear.*)

It is a sign of the times, however, that in all the different electorates formed under the Council rules, there is going on a keen contest for the seats. The number of candidates who have stood forward is in itself a fair indication of honourable ambition to serve one's Presidency. Such ambition, so long as it is free from all unhealthy rivalry and factional spirit, needs to be much stimulated. A keen election contest is undoubtedly an object lesson to the populace. And the sooner they try to learn and appreciate its advantages the greater the good they will be able to confer on themselves in the near future. Election contest is an education by itself, and I for one am rejoiced to notice that in each of the three territorial divisions more candidates than there are seats have come forward in the field. When, however, I read the names of the several candidates I am even more pleased. They are almost all men of qualifications and well educated. Some are university men. So far, I repeat, it is a cause of satisfaction that no incompetent persons have put themselves forward. This augurs well for the composition of our Legislative Council for the next two years. For, gentlemen, the welfare of the people in the various districts much depends on the knowledge, ability, and experience which our mofussil members may bear to bring on the questions of administration there. The higher the qualifications of the territorial members the greater the chances of administrative reforms and better government. (*Hear, hear.*)

The coming elections

It is a matter of regret to have to say that there was hardly noticeable any improvement at the proceedings of the cold weather session of the Legislative Council in the answers which Government made to the questions put by non-official members. The responses of our provincial oracles were as vague and equivocal as before and about which the President of the Seventh Conference so loudly complained six months ago. In some instances they seemed to be irreconcilable with facts. The answers made to the questions of the Honourable Messrs. Javerilal and Sitalwad in the matter of the compensation allowed to a well known liquor farmer were entirely at variance with some facts appearing in the Abkari reports. So, too, in connection with the reply of the Honourable the Revenue Member to the questions regarding Alibag revenue settlements. While the official report just published tells us that there was a revision of the settlements, Mr. Trevor informed his querist that there was a reclassification of the soils over again as the original classification was rough and defective. But, perhaps, the most unsatisfactory answer was that given by the Judicial member of the Council in response to the question of Mr. Sitalwad with regard to some items of the police charges, amounting to Rs. 58,000, to which Mr. Mehta took exception at the August sittings. The President at the time promised to look into those items and assured him that the Government had no intention to lay on the shoulders of the Municipality any charges which did not justly belong to it. This question was put by Mr. Sitalwad, in the absence of Mr. Mehta, and you must have all noticed the utterly evasive reply vouchsafed to it. To speak very mildly there was neither frankness nor candour about it which is certainly a matter of regret. It is not possible, gentlemen, to criticise in details each and every one of the answers made at the last two Sessions of the Legislative Council. To do so would mean the publication of a small administration report by itself—so many are the controversial points embraced in them which need extract after extract and chapter after chapter for an exhaustive elucidation. But I would refer here to one matter which strikes me in connection with answers to interpellations. It is the inability of the interpellators to follow them up immediately by a second and third series of questions to disprove the inaccuracy of the original replies. A Provincial Legislative Council sits perhaps once or twice a year, for say 2 to 4 hours. Thus, the opportunities afforded for persistent interpellation, as in the House of Commons, are nowhere. It may happen that a non-official member who has put a question to-day may vacate his seat. Unless the new member has knowledge and information to persevere in the same subject, there is an end of the matter. The inquiring public remain as much in the dark as before. Or it may happen that another member of the Executive Government may succeed in the place of one who may have retired or been translated to the Supreme Council. He may not be fully conversant with the details of a given question. Of course, the permanent officials in the Secretariat may help him. But you need hardly require to be told that to expect anything like a

Interpellations.

satisfactory reply from them is as much as to expect an official miracle. (*Hear, hear.*) This is the principal drawback of the privilege of interpellation. It is not possible to come to the bottom of a given question. How much more advantageous it would be were the Provincial Legislative Council to hold two Sessions in a year, each of two or three months' duration, there being a sitting once a week as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council. It is to be hoped popular opinion will strongly express itself on the matter to bring about the desired change. Of course, the suggestion is certain to meet with resistance from the governing authorities who are already complaining, though without foundation, of the inconvenience of interpellations which, they allege, are tantamount to a heckling. But it is unreasonable to expect that interpellations can be all rosewater and kisses. In their very nature they must be heckling. But all will depend on the answering authorities how far they would themselves endeavour to minimise the so-called evil of heckling. There never can be any heckling to speak of so long as the administration frankly answers all reasonable questions put. But there is every probability of heckling being reduced to an art by interpellators if the official replies become systematically vague and equivocal, if not altogether evasive. If, as the late Sir George Chesney observed, "the Government has nothing to conceal, that it has every desire to explain the reasons for its action, and that it has everything to gain by making those reasons known as fully as possible"—if that be the case, may we fairly inquire why do the answering authorities resent interpellations? Why should they think that questions are put to them in a hostile spirit? The fact is, gentlemen, that say what General Chesney and other apologists of Government may, answers are neither full nor frank. As the *Calcutta Statesman* observed in its issue of the 12th ultimo, while commenting on the recent native suggestion of Sir Charles Elliot on the subject, "it is all very well in theory but experience shows that it is not invariably true in practice, and there is much in the condition of a bureaucratic form of Government which may very well lead the public to think that it is less generally true than it really is. It is too much to expect that interpellations in the Indian Councils should always be animated by a spirit of friendliness." But, gentlemen, despite all the drawbacks and disadvantages, I think interpellations are doing a great good. (*Hear, hear.*) This fact seems to have been fully recognised by the accomplished writer on "Indian affairs" in the *Times* in his recent letter on the Legislative Councils. They are telling on Government in every part of the country. I think I am right in saying that the interpellation of the Honourable Mr. Mehta in the Imperial Council, touching the subsidy to the *Punjab Patriot*, has had the desired effect on the authorities at Calcutta. Notwithstanding the reply made in the Legislative Council, official instructions have been sent to the Government of the North-Western Provinces to put an end to what is a regular official job. Similarly, in our own Presidency, the Government seems to have taken heart of grace in the matter of survey and revenue settlements which was subjected to such severe criticism by the Honourable Mr. Javerilal. So far as my information goes, there have gone forth from the Revenue Secretariat instructions to look up and explain the several points to which he drew attention. Even resolutions and circular orders have been issued correcting previous defects and superseding older instructions. All these are healthy signs of the good which interpellations, based on facts, are likely to educe. Their chastening influence on the administration need not be gainsaid. And if in the long run the Executive realise that primary axiom of practical politics, that the interests of the State cannot but be identical with those of the people, there can be no doubt as to the immense influence of popular opinion, as expressed in the Legislative Councils by the representative of the people, on the Government. Then alone Government will be strong—strong in the sense that its conduct and action will have the full and generous support of the ruled. A strong Government is the greatest of all advantages for a nation, but, I am of opinion, that a strong Government is impossible unless the Government and the people thoroughly understand each other, that is to say, the Government giving adequate expression to the will of the people, and the people showing sufficient deference to the judgment of Government. This mutual understanding can never be attained without frequent and full mutual explanations between the rulers and the representatives of the ruled in the Council. (*Hear, hear.*)

Non-official members  
to give an account to  
their constituencies.

These reflections bring me to another practical subject, namely, the desirability under present circumstances, of members of the Legislative Council, elected by the different statutory constituencies or electorates, giving an account of their respective work at the end of a legislative session. So long as we have no representative institutions in the proper sense of the term, and so long as we have only a germ or rudiment of them, no doubt justified by the

present political condition of the country. there can be no such thing as speaking on public platforms as Members of the House of Commons do. But we may imitate the wholesome practice which brings the electors and the elected face to face once or twice a year. In England, gentlemen, as you are aware, the Government cannot know what the relative strength of popular conviction is without testing the feeling of hundreds of meetings in all parts of the country. On the other hand, the people cannot know what their objections to their wishes are, what modifications might render their wishes reasonable, and what exaggerations would render them altogether unreasonable without having the opinion of those experienced members of the Legislature of whom they themselves have the most knowledge and in whom they feel the greatest confidence. This is the prevailing condition in England, more or less the outcome of the system of party Government which is, of course, entirely foreign to our Government here. But, I am sure, none will deny the immense educative influence of the practice which I here venture to suggest our people should adopt. In our own case it is by such a mode alone that our representatives can make themselves heard and respected more effectually in the Legislative Councils than it is possible at present. Electoral meetings are therefore highly essential, not only at election times but whenever a legislative session closes and opens. The public proceedings at such meetings are certain to be studied by the governing authorities. And when the elected attend the Council they will know that they do not submit their views without the book but on the solid foundation of the wishes expressed by the electorate themselves. It should be our primary duty to assist Government. But to achieve so fundamental an object we must make Government learn. In its turn Government must show that it has learned accurately what the most emphatic of the wishes of the people are. The people must know that they have learned how necessary it is to moderate their expectations, how complex indeed are the problems vexing Indian statesmen of great experience and broad views, and how beneficial it would be to them, if they were intent on being publicly prosperous, to abide by the judgment of such a Government as I have described—a Government which would honestly strive to learn, without irritation, impatience, and intolerance, the wishes of the people, uniformly bearing in mind that Government is after all human and can lay no claim to infallibility or any superior judgment as against the judgment of ordinary citizens in a civilised and well ordered State. (*Hear, hear.*)

Having expatiated at great length on imperial finance, which after all is of greater interest than provincial, I do not feel myself called upon to say much of the finances of the Presidency. Moreover, nothing new has transpired since the budget was discussed at the Council Meeting at Poona in August last. But I cannot refrain from remarking in this place that finance is a subject which most of our non-official members seem to have studied the least. If the annual budget is to be discussed with anything like care, intelligence, and knowledge, a vaster amount of labour must be bestowed on mastering the details than appears to be the case at present. In this connection it is to be hoped members will follow the admirable example which Mr. Mehta has set. (*Hear, hear.*) It was only a careful study of the various financial statements and returns which enabled him to offer that intelligent and effective criticism he did on the Imperial budget in the Supreme Legislative Council two months ago. In the case of the budget of our own Presidency members have one advantage of which members of the higher Council are innocent. The Bombay Government furnishes each honourable member with what is in reality a detailed budget containing full and fair particulars not only under major but minor heads of revenue and expenditure. This should enable them to have a complete grasp of provincial finance and suggest economies where waste or extravagance may be noticeable. Moreover, they can safely take for their guide that able "Note" prepared last year by the Honourable Mr. Ranade on the decentralisation of Provincial finance. It is a perfect *vade mecum* in its way and should be extensively utilised by every one of you, gentlemen. If so hard worked and industrious a judge as Mr. Ranade (*cheers,*) can devote some of his short leisure to the task of unravelling the maze of provincial finance and place the broad details of it in a clear light before the public, surely, it would not be too much for you to devote some hours to a study of that most useful book. It seems to me a pity that there should be displayed so little an interest in affairs of practical finance, specially finance appertaining to our own Presidency. At present, it is a satisfaction to the notice the abatement of that legislative fever which consumed our administrators some time ago. Virtually, the legislative sessions are barren of any public interest. All that our legislators do is to answer interpellations. Under such a circumstance I think it would be a great public advantage if non-official members

Provincial finance.

studied provincial finance and engaged public attention. A critical examination of the finances is the most important part of their function and I do not see why their combined ability should not make future sessions not only lively and interesting but fraught with great good. The wasteful departments could be checked in their extravagance, while the miserable starving departments, like that of education, could be wonderfully well fed. Retrenchment and economy in some of the overgrown departments would greatly contribute to the relation of that imperative judicial reform about which we have been agitating for some years past, I mean the separation of the executive from judicial functions. Again, the question of excise is one, which if carefully looked into from the financial point of view, is likely to yield good results. Look how much might have been done even with that sum of 1½ lakh awarded as compensation to a liquor farmer for nothing in particular. It might have been more profitably spent on giving the University its full grant and primary and secondary education a more generous support. Again, the police charges are a study by themselves. But the greater utility of financial statistics lies in correctly appreciating their significance and applying them to the problems of administration. For this purpose comparison of financial statistics of other provinces is most important. It is by a comparative study alone that we shall be able to see our way to economies and reforms in our own Presidency. For instance, take the figures of land revenue and the charges of collection. These should be compared with the revenue and collection of other provinces and after making due allowances for local idiosyncrasies the charges should be brought to a common denomination and examined whether in proportion to the revenue collected they are excessive or fair. It is by such a comparative study of finance that our representatives in the Council will be able to discuss the annual budget intelligently and with effect. Not only will they be enabled to criticise it but offer practical suggestions to Government.

Revenue and Survey  
Settlement.

Since the last meeting of the Conference there has been a considerable controversy on the subject of revenue enhancements in certain places in the Presidency and on survey settlements. The policy of the administration was subjected to severe criticism by the leading organs of native public opinion. To this Lord Sandhurst's predecessor endeavoured at the Byculla Club dinner to give a reply. But it must be confessed with regret that the defence made was a most lame one. Lord Harris laid the flattering unction to his soul by observing that he had solved those very knotty and intricate problems of land which agitate the English public. The three F's for which they are clamouring in the United Kingdom have been here almost accomplished facts. At any rate Bombay Presidency was congratulated on having free sales in land and fixity of tenure; and it was well nigh on the way to securing *fair* rents also! He observed, that a Bombay ryot could not be turned out of his holding so long as he paid the assessment, but he was at full liberty to sell if he pleased. Having obtained the two panaceas prescribed for the removal of agricultural depression, the Bombay ryot must be said to be two-thirds contented! (*Laughter.*) In the first place Lord Harris assumed that what was good for England was good for India, though even while so doing he knew he was on slippery ground for he had to confess that the three F's were still a sort of agricultural shibboleth than a practical solution of the agricultural difficulties. Secondly, free sales are not such unmixed blessings as his Lordship seems to have supposed. And as to fixity of tenure, it is useless to say that the thirty years for which lands are settled in the Bombay Presidency are the subject of chronic complaint. For the first ten years, the ryot is laying out of his own or borrowed capital in improving his plot. And by the time that the settlement is expiring he is barely able to recoup the cost of his improvements and make something out of them. But at that very moment the settlement officer comes down like the wolf and pounces on the value of his improvements by enhancing his assessment, whether he likes it or not, and whether it is or it is not in accordance with the principles laid down for revised assessment by the Secretary of State. His business is to obtain by hook or by crook more revenue for his Government. It was admitted by so excellent an authority as the late Sir Bartle Frere before the East India Finance Committee that, say what you will, there was no doubt of the revenue officer being partial to his own Government and perfectly oblivious to the interests of the peasant. I shall quote his words: "The danger in India always is that the Government officer will strain a little in favour of Government." The little gain however leads to great. As mickle makes the muckle, so the revised assessments are enhanced little by little as every individual peasant knows to his better cost and experience. But here is the more significant part of Sir Bartle's opinion. Being asked whether a revenue officer is considered of greater value according to the amount



he brings from the land, Sir Bartle Frere replied : “ Well, there is always a tendency to look upon a man who gives you a good balance sheet as an extremely good administrator.” This is virtually the same thing as “no conviction, no promotion,” in the case of the police. Promotions of revenue officers are in proportion to their ability to strain and squeeze as much as they can from the hapless ryot. And in these days of impecunious finance, the temptation to do so is greater. While this is the actual state of affairs, Lord Harris eulogised our so-called fixity of tenure. He seemed not to have been aware of the fact that for years past we have been agitating for a *real* fixity of tenure—a tenure which shall not be disturbed for a reasonable length of time—at any rate till such a length as the peasant has been fully able to lay by something on account of the early years of his improvements and recoup the outlay thereon. Fifty to sixty years has been considered as a reasonable period. But it is neither here nor there. At present it is something like the stone of Sysiphus. The peasant toils to make land productive ; but as soon as he is on the point of reaping the fruit, the revenue officer pounces on it. And so poor man he has to work harder and harder and lay out more and more in capital. Thus the stone is rolled up in order to be rolled down again. And yet we are asked to believe that with free sales and fixity of tenure the Bombay peasant is happy and contented. As to fair rents his Lordship himself delivered a lamentation. He said it was a most difficult thing to fix it for a long term of years and that it was very likely there were hard cases to be found. But it was not possible for him to generalise that land in the Presidency was fairly rented. Regarding the Alibag Settlements on which so much was said at the last Conference, I will not say aught. I dare say Mr. Javerilal, Mr. Gharat and other delegates will be able to speak with greater freedom and authority than I can. All I beg to observe is this that while everywhere the peasantry cries aloud for bread the Government presents it with its new fang-ed land laws as if legislative codes could appease the craving of the hungry. (*Hear, hear.*)

So much has recently been said about the impolicy of the Government gradually withdrawing from higher education that I will not inflict on you my own views on the subject. Far abler men than myself, who have devoted almost their whole lives to this most important national question, have from time to time given full, frank and free expression to the opinions entertained by them on the inestimable benefits resulting to the people from a liberal education in the best sense of the term. All that I would venture to say in this place is this that, perhaps, no more colossal error in the domestic policy of this empire was committed than that of proscribing higher education on the extensive progress of which depends in a measure the future stability of British dominion. It may have been diplomacy on the part of Lord Dufferin to have set his seal of disapproval on the advancement of colleges and universities. But that indeed is poor diplomacy which prompted by a craven spirit publicly dissembles its views on that education and secretly takes questionable measures to undermine its broad foundations which the genius of Macaulay, supported by the enlightened liberalism of high minded British statesmen of the past, deliberately laid down for the greater advancement of our people. Gentlemen, those foundations, I repeat, were advisedly laid down, after a mature consideration of the political tendencies of such education. It was observed by so experienced an administrator as the late Sir Charles Trevelyan as back as 1838, when the policy of education was receiving the greatest attention from the Directors of the East India Company, that there can be no dispute as to what the duty of the English as the rulers of India was in respect to it. Said Sir Charles, in his stately minute, which may still be perused with profit and instruction by the reactionaries of the day who are so inimical to the progress of higher educations, “but it has been said, and may be said again, that whatever our duty may be it is not our policy to enlighten the natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man’s estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us ; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power of which they will make the first use against ourselves. If our interest and our duty were really opposed to each other, every good man, every honest Englishman, would know which to prefer. Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of Government to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India. A nation which made so great a sacrifice to redeem a few hundred thousand negroes from slavery, would shudder at the idea of keeping a hundred millions (now 230 millions) of Indians in the bondage of ignorance, with all its frightful consequences, by means of a political system supported by the revenue taken from the Indians themselves. Whether we govern India ten or a thousand years, we will do our duty by it, we will look, not to the probable duration of our trust, but to the satisfactory

Higher Education.

discharge of it, so long as it shall please God to continue it to us. \* \* \* It is only by the infusion of European ideas that a new direction can be given to the national views. The young men, brought up at our seminaries, turn with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under which their ancestors groaned, to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. Instead of regarding us with dislike, they court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors; the summit of the ambition is to resemble us; and under our auspices, they hope to elevate the character of their countrymen, and to prepare them by gradual steps for the enjoyment of a well regulated and therefore a secure and a happy independence. So far from having the idea of driving the English into sea upper most in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement by such as rivets their connection with the English and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction." How prophetic, gentlemen, all this reads by the light of the half century that has passed since this minute was indited and that by an individual who said that these views "were not worked out by reflection, but were forced" on him, "by actual observation and experience." But mark what he says further. In recommending the enlightened policy of imparting higher education to Indians, Sir Charles Trevelyan observed that the Government would be trying "no new experiment." No. "The Romans at once civilised the nations of Europe, and attached them to their rule by Romanising them; or in other words by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them. Acquisitions made by superiority in war, were consolidated by superiority in the arts of peace, and the remembrance of the original violence was lost in that of the benefits which resulted from it. The provincials of Italy, Spain, Africa, and Gaul, having no ambition except to imitate the Romans and to share their privileges with them, remained to the last the faithful subjects of the empire; and the union was at last dissolved, not by an internal revolt, but by the shock of external violence which involved conquerors and conquered in one common overthrow. Tacitus informs us that it was the policy of Julius Agricola to instruct the sons of the leading men among the Britons in the literature and science of Rome and to give them a taste for the refinement of Roman civilisation. We all know how well this plan answered \* \*. It will be shame to us, if with our greatly superior advantages, we also do not make our premature departure be dreaded as a calamity. It must not be said in after ages that the "groans of the Britons" were elicited by the breaking of the Roman empire, and the groans of the Indians by the continued existence of the British."

University and Government.

Speaking on higher education, it is a pleasure to note the healthy utterances of His Excellency the Governor at the opening of Fergusson College buildings and elsewhere. It is a matter of satisfaction to learn from his lips twice within the last 12 weeks that he is a staunch friend of higher education. (*Hear, hear.*) With a Viceroy entertaining the same liberal views and with a Governor, nurtured in the best Liberal traditions, there is every hope that the march of higher education will no longer be obstructed but advanced another stage—a stage which may mark an epoch. I think the time has arrived for demanding self-government for all the Indian Universities. If in all parts of the country the educated are capable and qualified enough to fairly manage their own local affairs, why should they be debarred from managing their own University affairs? Our Universities are more like Continental than English. The chief difference between the two is that the latter govern themselves, while the former are governed. As Maxmüller has observed: "What gives their own peculiar character to the English Universities is a sense of power and responsibility. Their only master is public opinion; their only incentive their own sense of duty." I repeat, therefore, that it is time for the Government to free Indian Universities from official shackles and allow them to work out unaided their destinies for the better intellectual and political welfare of the people. The agitation should now be directed towards this larger and broader end.

Provincial Service Rules

There seems yet no sign of the publication of the rules. It is to be hoped that Lord Sandhurst will reconsider the draft and remove it from the present reproach of being extremely ridiculous. As they are framed at present the rules are an insult to the intelligence of those who have the ambition to enter the Provincial Service. Unless they are entirely reframed on the lines suggested by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha it is impossible that they will meet with anything like popular satisfaction. Let us trust His Excellency will give full consideration to the views we have already expressed at previous Conferences and endeavour to consult leading

native opinion on the subject. These are sure to guiding in framing a new set of rules which shall be consistent with the character of the new service and reflect credit on his Government as the ardent supporter of Higher Education.

Of late a great deal of cant has been talked about the Native Press by Anglo-Indian organs of opinion. The sweeping generalisation is made that they are more or less intemperate in language, that they display implacable hostility to Government and Government measures, and that some of them are seditious and disloyal to the core. It is undoubtedly very easy to hurl these allegations but most difficult to prove them. Any expression of opinion, which is diametrically opposed to that of organs which advocate the interests of the selfish governing classes, is set down as inimical to Government and therefore disloyal. In the eyes of the Anglo-Indian publicists it is a crime that any native journal, Vernacular or Anglo-Vernacular, having a sense of self-respect and independence, should be so bold as to offer any criticism on official acts and official conduct except that which would please the officials. It is considered an "abuse" of the privilege of freedom of the Press so to criticise. Criticism, in the opinion of the majority of the Anglo-Indian Press, must be all rose water and kisses. (*Laughter.*) Of course, it does not, therefore, necessarily follow that the censors of the Native Press should themselves exercise the virtue of self-ordinance and refrain from attacking official measures and official turpitude whenever it suits their purpose. They are at liberty to indulge to their heart's content whenever occasion demands or opportunity offers in intemperate language, abuse the head of the State, and pour forth all the vials of their virtuous indignation on those from whom they may happen to differ. (*Hear, hear.*) Criticism then is no abuse of freedom of the Press. Neither can the utterance be condemned as disloyal. Disloyalty and abuse are absolutely unknown in the dictionary of Anglo-Indian journalists. Paragons of perfect journalism as they love to call themselves, it would be rank blasphemy to reproach them with disloyalty or abuse.

Native Press.

The fact, however, is that the Native Press, is daily growing into power and influence. It is no exaggeration to say that it is more ably, vigorously, and independently conducted than what it was fifteen years ago. It may be that its views often differ from those of Anglo-Indian journalists. In many problems of administration there must be in the very nature of things a fundamental difference. They echo the biassed opinion of the governing caste. The interests of that caste, it is notorious, are more or less, opposed to those of the people of this country. Take the question of Simultaneous examinations. All educated India, barring a few exceptions not worth mentioning, entertain one set of views which they consider to be not only sound but just and conducive to their better welfare, when practically carried out; while Anglo-Indians, officials and non-officials, hold another. But surely the Native Press deserves no reproach for holding such views. And yet there are a certain class of Anglo-Indian journalists who have not hesitated to denounce Indians generally for the agitation raised in connection with this burning question of the day. The denunciation is no credit either to the genius of their race to their sense of national justice. All the same, in their feverish anxiety to take sides with the governing caste, they wholly forget themselves. They speak not knowing what they speak. They dip their pens in gall and indite statements which will not bear the light of truth. They indulge in vituperations which no other Press in any country would tolerate and which no Native Press, however intemperate, has ever imitated—vituperations of which a flagrant instance was afforded in our own Presidency three short months ago and which is, I dare say, too fresh in your memory to need my recalling it in this place. (*Hear, hear.*)

If under conditions just referred to, the Native Press on rare occasions, is provoked into a language of recrimination, the mildness of which may be as manna is to gall, surely, it cannot be accused of having overleapt the limit of legitimate criticism or sober journalism. Surely its captious critics do not mean to say that under such circumstances, the Native Press should abandon its sense of self-respect, and make no defence, but sit silent and prove itself the very personification of cowardice. It cannot be that the Anglo-Indian journalists alone have the monopoly of offensive criticism and that there Indian brethren of the craft are to expose their bareback, without if or but, to their lashes. By all means admonish the Native Press as much as you like for its imperfections. None denies that it is devoid of them. It has yet to arrive at the age of maturity. But it is expected at least that those who set up as its monitors should themselves display an exemplary conduct. Barren precepts can have no effect. It is

by practical examples alone that the preacher can expect his precepts to be respected and observed. Unfortunately such is rarely the case. There is such a transparent hypocrisy in their admonition that we feel ourselves scandalised that English journalism should have come to so demoralised a pass in India as it has during the last ten years. (*Hear, hear.*) Our Anglo-Indian publicists seem to be unconscious of the fact that they are living in a glass house. I would go a step further and say that they are the worst offenders. Of the two the Native Press deserves the highest praise, for it is the Press which as a rule is able to control itself the most amidst the most provoking circumstances. Errors of manner there may be; and so, too, of judgment based on insufficiency of information or inaccuracy of facts. But the charge of a habitual tone of intemperance and insobriety must be emphatically repudiated as unfounded. We must look to the general average of the tone and temper of the matter appearing in the Native Press under normal conditions and not be carried away by what may be said here or there on occasions when the public mind is excited or public feeling irritated. It would be absurd for our critics to lay the flattering unction to their souls that they enjoy absolute immunity from those eternal verities of human life of which the seer of Chelsea speaks in his own burning language. (*Hear, hear.*) I am sure, gentlemen, you will agree with me that if the Native Press sometimes shows temper it is almost wholly owing to the extreme provocation afforded by the writings of a certain class of rabid Anglo-Indian journalists. There is a greater spirit of forbearance and toleration in the Native Press than in the Anglo-Indian Press. Owing to its deep rooted prejudice and spite the latter has never cared to give credit for these virtues to the former. The fact may be proved to demonstration by taking down the files of the last ten years and placing in parallel columns the leaders on important Indian questions discussed by the Anglo-Indian and the Native Press. Or if the matter is to be settled authoritatively let the Native Press, in its own self defence, demand an impartial Committee of enquiry. I for one have not the least doubt that the Native Press will come out of the ordeal with all the honours of war. (*Hear, hear.*)

It is indeed a matter of regret to have to say so much. But, I believe, all this cant about the Vernacular Press has its origin in the various Secretariats of the empire. (*Hear, hear.*) The new spirit which is abroad and which has made itself so articulate since the days of the Ilbert Bill controversy, has been sullenly resented by the bureaucracy. Every honest criticism of the conduct and attitude of the Government has been resented. It is the bureaucracy which has cried aloud through its interested organs that the Native Press is abusing its privilege of freedom and needs to be gagged. The gagging, in its opinion, will keep it at its ease. There will be none to criticise its arbitrary measures and none to challenge its arbitrary conduct. It will be, therefore, saved from the pillory of those inquisitorial questions which are now daily being put in Parliament and which threaten to grow more and more as instances of official delinquency come more to light day by day. The origin of the aversion to the Native Press and the dead set made against it by the official organs is there and nowhere else. (*Hear, hear.*) There are half a dozen other points on which I could expatiate at length, such as the practice of giving garbled and mutilated extracts from the Native Press, the misconstructions put upon clear opinions, the bowdlerising of important Native public proceedings, and so forth, all having a tendency to suppress or misrepresent the truth and even to suggest false. But I do say that if any Press is more guilty of the charge of abuse it is the Anglo-Indian and its counter part in England. Quotations after quotations may be made to prove this statement. The Native Press is anxious and willing to learn. It is prepared to take as its model any Anglo-Indian paper which is worthy of imitation. But I make bold to say that in my opinion there is not a single one at present save the *Indian Statesman* which has, at least till now, nobly kept up those righteous traditions of truth, honesty and impartiality which characterised in a marked degree the entire journalistic career, pure and irreproachable, of that Bayard of Anglo-Indian journalism, no other than the ever to be lamented Robert Knight. (*Cheers.*)

I think, the Native Press cannot be better than take the *Indian Statesman*, as its model; and if the writers will at the same time take the trouble to study Chapter 9th on the propagation of sound opinion in that thoughtful work of the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis--called "The influence of authority on matters of opinion" I am sure they will not only derive profit but instruction from it. To all of us the reputation of our own indigenous Press is as dear as our own native land. We should be committing a political suicide indeed if all the charges that have lately been hurled against that Press were found to be proven. But I am convinced,

and so, too, I dare say, you are, that there is no solid foundation for them in fact. Test them in the crucible of Truth and, I repeat, you will find them to be a pure mirage. This fact is slowly coming to the surface. The attacks of men like Sir Lepel Griffin and the late Sir George Chesney and all of that ilk are being vigorously met, not by our own countrymen but by well known Englishmen of long experience, great impartiality, and broad-mindedness. Of these the latest is Sir Richard Garth, sometime ago Chief Justice of Bengal. (*Cheers.*) I do not know whether I should quote his words in defence of the Native Press, for you must have all perused them in that refreshing article which appeared over his signature in the Law Magazine for March. Impartial testimony of a few such unbiassed Englishmen is worth more than the cant of all the ranting publicists who echo to the top of their voice the cry of the bureaucracy which bitterly resents its criticism. Here are the words of Sir Richard Garth. "What Sir George calls seditious I do not know. I can only say I read native papers myself week after week, and never see anything there at all approaching sedition or even disloyalty or disrespect to English rule. What I do find there, and what I rejoice to find, is thoroughly well deserved censure of the arbitrary conduct of many of Government officials—I am afraid this is exactly what the Government would wish to repress. I consider it a most wholesome and salutary means of bringing the misconduct of Government officers to the notice not only of the Indian public but of the Courts of Justice. In many remote parts of the Indian mofussils this action of the Press is literally the only means of bringing such offences to light, and of preventing the most outrageous acts of petty tyranny." (*Cheers.*) This is a correct account of what the Native Press is doing. It is in a way discharging the responsible function of what may be called a loyal Opposition in this country. It is by such a Press alone that the grave distempers to which I have referred in the preamble of my address could be removed. My advice, therefore, is that the Native Press should go on in its even tenour of conduct, honestly criticising public measures and acts without fear or frown. So long as it is discharging this function with perfect candour and straightforwardness, it need never be afraid. Such conduct must eventually raise its moral tone higher and elicit even greater respect and authority than it does at present. It is already a power and an influence for good in the land. Let its aim be to strive for a higher, loftier and nobler ideal, and render itself even more influential, powerful, and confided than it is in the near future. It has but one aim and one goal—the highest good of the country. And so long as it steadily pursues that goal with a singlemindedness of purpose it is bound to achieve the most beneficent results. Lord Harris asked whether we were satisfied with the Native Press as it is and whether it was not susceptible of improvement? May we not, in turn, ask, whether the Anglo-Indian Press is perfect and whether it is not susceptible of great improvement? Let the Anglo-Indian journalists answer the question satisfactorily before they absurdly presume to reform the Native Press. Our own opinion is that had the Anglo-Indian Press been all that it should be Lord Harris's administration would not have been such a dismal failure as it has been universally pronounced to be. (*Hear, hear.*) How is it that the Native Press praised Lords Reay and Ripon? We again say let the Anglo-Indian Press answer the question. The Native Press is not so blind as to refrain from accepting the Anglo-Indian Press as its model. The question is *where* is the model which it can safely and honourably adopt? Let our Anglo-Indian journalists strive to make themselves perfect models of what journalism should be in its highest and holiest sense and they may depend on it the Native Press will not lag behind to imitate them. At present they have sown the wind and need not complain if they are obliged to reap the whirl-wind.

It is satisfactory to note that midst much that is disagreeable and deplorable, and midst much that is mischievous and malignant, there is a gradual subsidence of that bitterness of feeling which prevailed some months ago in the Deccan. Let us drop a thick veil over the incidents connected with the riots there. History has already intimately associated them with the unsympathetic administrator who left these shores unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Let us forget the past and build our hopes of amity and brotherly feeling on Lord Sandhurst. (*Cheers.*) His Excellency has begun well. He is already winning golden opinions on all sides. Let us look to him to remove the friction which still subsists on the music question. There is now no doubt left in the minds of those who have given an unbiassed consideration to the true causes of the riots at Yeola, Wai, and Poona, that the Executive Government was primarily responsible for them. It was the rules issued under its authority for the regulation of music in the street which has been the fountain of all subsequent evils from which the Deccan has unjustly suffered. His Excellency Lord Sandhurst has in a recent instance in Poona partially modified

The music question  
and race-feeling.

the rules in response to the appeal made to him by telegram. This act of grace is an earnest of what may be hereafter expected in the matter from his judicious sympathy. It is a considerate and statesmanlike act for which his Lordship cannot be sufficiently thanked. Let us trust that on his return to the capital of the Deccan he may be enabled to completely cement the bond of friendship between Hindus and Mahomedans by the promulgation of new rules satisfactory alike to both the great communities. (*Hear, hear.*)

Practical suggestions.

Before I bring this address to a close let me entreat you, Delegates from the different parts of the Presidency, to weigh well the imperative necessity of a complete provincial organisation. It is true that at each leading centre there exists at present a kind of organisation. But you will admit that it is susceptible of great improvement. Without a perfect system of organisation it will hereafter become an arduous task to carry on the work of either Congress or Conference. We may not at once arrive at perfection. But it is our combined duty to bring it as near to perfection as we possibly can compatible with the resources available at present in each district and each taluka of a district. Conferences and Congresses will have to deal more in the future with such important questions as land revenue and rural indebtedness, revised assessments and survey settlements, police and justice, education and sanitation, abkari and forests. For effective representation on such matters it is highly desirable to collect unimpeachable facts in the first instance—such facts as we may be able to stand by in case their accuracy is impugned. For instance, the condition of India is one of those large questions on which the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji are challenged. It should be our effort to collect facts under this head which may be indisputable. It virtually means that we must have in each district at least half a dozen men, of the enthusiasm, patience and perseverance of Arthur Young, who, with a fair knowledge of economics, could go about collecting accurate information as to food-grains and food-exports, prices and wages, rentals of peasant and other holdings, agricultural indebtedness, the cost of living, the average wealth of each class of persons occupied in arts and industries, trades and manufactures, and so forth. When such facts are collected and compiled they should be submitted to the centre organisations for further examination and test so as to make them wholly reliable and ready for use or reference or both. Such labour can only be undergone when there is a complete organisation. Many details would no doubt suggest themselves to all of us. But it is of no use entering on them at present. What I have to ask you here is this that the Conference will not dissolve before passing a resolution which may most effectually carry out the object in view. (*Hear, hear.*) If we are to do real, earnest, practical work, and not indulge in mere academic discussions, it is high time that the Provincial Conference should take a new departure. As you are aware the annual administration reports issued by the various departments of Government contain a mass of facts and statistics. It has been known that they cannot be implicitly relied upon. Their verification is necessary. It is obvious that if such official statements and statistics are not to be allowed to pass unchallenged that we should take steps to test their accuracy. It may be that as our organisations grow perfect we may be in a position to issue our own non-official blue books to which the same publicity may be given as the Government gives to its own. The educating effect of such a system of organisation need not be gainsaid. It will have a great influence on the administration on the one hand and will have a greater influence on ourselves on the other. The education which rising students of economics and politics may receive will be of the highest value to the people of the Presidency. It is the only means by which the agricultural and industrial interests which are now so woefully neglected can be promoted. These organisations will also be a powerful weapon in the matter of interpellations in the Legislative Council. I, therefore earnestly, appeal to you to give your careful consideration to this suggestion which is of the utmost practical utility. Agitations of the character which we raise by means of Conference can never be successful unless in the first instance we have strong organisations which supply the needed pabulum. Money, of course, is one sinew but the information which may be collected will be another and more potent one. Let us hope that a practical beginning will be made at once so that we may be able to congratulate ourselves at the next Conference on the result we may achieve during the coming twelve months.

Conclusion.

Gentlemen,—I commenced this address by remarking that the country was passing through the severest crisis it has witnessed for many a long year. It is entirely problematical when and how it may end. All depends on the combined wisdom and judgment of those who are responsible for its good government. The crisis is acute. A complete reform in the

administration is highly imperative. But that reform, it is to be feared, will be impossible to achieve so long as our finances remain in the inextricable morass that they are for some years past, and so long as there is no reversal or modification of the mischievous policy which has been so much in the ascendant for the last twenty years, with the exception of the four years of the sagacious, sympathetic, and statesmanlike administration of the ever to be remembered Lord Ripon. (*Loud Cheers.*) With a reversal of the policy, the finances of the empire must show a considerable relief. When such a relief is obtained the task of reform would not be so insurmountable as it seems at present. In the first place a mastermind in public finance is required to steer the helm of the financial vessel. We have had a number of fair weather sailors—mere superior book keepers,—who have done fairly well in the calm but who have stood aghast at the first heavy squall, let alone a storm. What is now wanted is a trained and practical financier who would lay deep the foundation of sound and stable finance, thoroughly revise the system of taxation with a view to reconciling its burdens with the ability of the people to bear them, to construct a new system of land revenue policy which shall solve the burning problem of agricultural indebtedness, bring relief and comparative prosperity to the indigent ryot, and stimulate revenue by means of improved husbandry; institute a sinking fund for the systematic reduction of the public debt, reorganise the foreign agency on a less burdensome scale than at present, devise proper means against the practice of reckless borrowing for public works, lay down fresh principles as to incurring obligations which shall not be such a crushing weight on the shoulder of the tax-payer as they now are, place the currency laws on a rational and healthy basis, and, last, not least, introduce a new system of check and control which shall promote economy with efficiency. Until such a financial reform is undertaken, there can be no salvation for the people from the present oppressive taxation; and no relief to the embarrassed exchequer. Improvements in Imperial finance will have their reflex influence on Provincial finance which have for years past been ruthlessly encroached upon owing to the dire exigencies of the Imperial Government. In the degree that the quinquennial provincial allotments are allowed to remain undisturbed will the provincial treasury be benefited. When such a happy condition of provincial finance prevails we may look for more liberal grants to those departments which are now starved, specially that of education. All other administrative reforms will then naturally follow—I mean those which Congress and Provincial Conferences have been agitating for many a year past. They are inevitable and cannot be delayed for any length of time. (*Hear, hear.*)

This, then, is the permanent duty of our rulers. To neglect it can only be construed as culpable and dangerous blindness. That the bureaucracy, which is really the master of the situation, will offer uncompromising opposition, is, of course, a forgone conclusion. But a firm and sagacious government which considers its solemn duty to conserve the interests of those whose destinies Providence has placed in its hands must neither look to the right nor to the left. Its course is straight. It has one goal to reach. It has but one duty to perform and that duty, the contentment and welfare of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) But in order to stimulate the Government to action the motive power of public opinion is necessary. It is the public opinion of England with which we should strenuously endeavour to bestir the Government to rise to the height of the occasion and discharge its duty. Indians will never succeed in the reform they so ardently wish for, till the public opinion of England is educated on their side. But, if the Government has to be called to discharge its duty, it is equally our paramount duty to do everything in our power which shall fulfil our aim and object. As the gifted author of "New India" has observed, the "problem is the systematic encouragement of the aspirations and spontaneous tendencies of the Indian people. A constructive policy is needed which shall not only guide and control events during the period of transition but shall also when necessary abstain from interference. The difficulty is to pass from the old to the new order without disturbance." We have never been slow to recognise the boon which British rule has conferred on us in the past. But we cannot be eternally singing hallelujas in praise of it. We must consider the present and the future. Let it be our duty to assist the Government in realising a higher and loftier ideal. We have a good government. But the good is not unmixed with much that is positively evil. We are now clamouring that that evil may be removed, so that we may be led from a good to better government and thence to the best in the fulness of time. (*Hear, hear.*) The Liberal statesmanship of the century has infused new life into us. It has made the national pulse to throb quicker. It has raised aspirations which can never be allayed till they are reasonably satisfied. The Government is therefore bound not to shrink from the responsibilities which properly belong to it. Then alone will be discontent and unrest now so

rise in the country will cease. (*Hear, hear.*) Then alone will contentment prevail. Then alone the stability of the empire will be assured. Then alone will it be enabled to hurl back foreign invasion with all India as its back from whatever quarter it may come. (*Hear, hear.*) There is a Providence watching the destinies of India. May that Providence inspire our rulers with wisdom and judgment to add another but brighter and purer page to the History of this great country. In the eloquent words of Macaulay, let that history record in the maturity of time that the British found a nation sunk in the lowest depths of degradation, ignorance and superstition and raised it to the highest pinnacle of freedom and civilisation which it was in their power to confer. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

The President then said :—

After having concluded the address the President said that he had received a telegram from the Hon. Mr. Chimanlal Sitalvad, who owing to some other urgent private affair was unable to attend the Conference, with which movement he fully sympathised. There was a letter addressed to the Chairman by The Hon. Mr. Javerilal who regretted he could not be present owing to indifferent health. Two similar letters were also received respectively from Mr. Abdulla M. Dharamsi and the Hon. Mr. Rahimtulla Sayani.

As usual the next business of the Conference is to select subjects and decide what questions should be brought before the Conference for discussion, we will therefore appoint a Subjects-Committee for that purpose.

The following Subjects-Committee having been appointed the President adjourned the Conference to 12 noon, on 13th May, 1895 :—

SUBJECTS-COMMITTEE.

|                                     |                             |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| BOMBAY.                             | KARWAR.                     |
| The Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta.           | Mr. Pundalik Rao Pandit.    |
| Dr. K. N. Bahadurjee.               |                             |
| „ B. K. Bhatwadekar.                | DEHARWAR.                   |
| Mr. R. K. R. Karna.                 |                             |
| „ V. G. Bbandarkar.                 | Rao Saheb V. R. Katti.      |
| „ M. R. Bodas.                      | Mr. J. H. Betigiri.         |
| „ N. M. Samartha.                   | „ V. M. Herlekar.           |
| „ N. V. Gokhale.                    | „ P. S. Athavale.           |
| „ D. A. Khare.                      | „ R. S. Sule.               |
|                                     | „ Bhimrao Hublikar.         |
| POONA.                              |                             |
| Professor G. K. Gokhale.            |                             |
| Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide.            | KOLABA.                     |
| Rao Bahadur S. B. Jathar.           |                             |
| Mr. B. G. Tilak.                    | Mr. R. S. Gharat.           |
| „ B. R. Natu.                       |                             |
| „ M. Namjoshi.                      | NASIK.                      |
| SATARA.                             | Mr. V. B. Akut.             |
| Mr. L. B. Mutalik.                  | „ B. R. Parakha.            |
| „ L. M. Kanhere.                    | „ G. N. Ketkar.             |
| „ R. P. Karandikar.                 |                             |
| „ B. S. Sahasrabudhe.               | SHOLAPUR.                   |
| KHANDESH.                           | Dr. V. K. Kirloskar.        |
| Mr. A. R. Mhalas.                   | BELGAUM.                    |
| „ Bhimajee Krishna (Inchal Karaji.) |                             |
| AHMEDABAD.                          | The Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu. |
| Mr. G. G. Pandit.                   | Mr. S. A. Chhatre.          |
|                                     | „ S. B. Bhate.              |
| THANNA                              | „ D. V. Belvi.              |
|                                     | „ A. M. Bidikar.            |
| Mr. L. B. Jogalekar.                | „ Bhimrao Mahajan.          |
|                                     | „ Anandarao Madgiri.        |
|                                     | „ V. R. Guttikar.           |
| BIJAPUR.                            | „ D. P. Kirloskar.          |
|                                     | Dr. C. P. Boyce.            |
| Mr. K. R. Natu.                     | „ M. N. Jogalekar.          |



## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Conference re-assembled at 12 noon on the 13th May.

The President on taking his seat opened the proceedings by calling upon Mr. Chhatre to move the first resolution.

### RESOLUTION I.—The Provincial Service Rules.

Mr. S. A. Chhatre, (Belgaum,) moved the first resolution which ran as follows :—

*“ That in repeating its resolution of last year on subject of the draft rules, regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service, the Conference desires to express its deep regret that the Government of India, have decided to give these rules a trial before considering suggestions for their modification, and once more respectfully urges upon the attention of the Local and Supreme Governments its firm conviction that the adoption of the rules, as drafted at present, will prove detrimental to the general interests of this Presidency and the interests of administrative efficiency in particular. That the President be authorized to submit the memorial read before the Conference to the Government of India through the Local Government.”*

He said :—The Provincial Service has become an important matter with us. The present rules regulating admission to that Service have not been framed in a spirit of liberality. They, as they stand at present, are calculated to seriously impair the efficiency and the moral tone of the administration of the Presidency. They have the inevitable effect in the end of handing over the administration of the Presidency to school-boys and favourities of Government officials. They have not been framed with the object of securing the purity of administration. They are in direct opposition to the Act of Parliament of 1833, the Magna Charta 1858, solemnly granted to the people of India by her Majesty, and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. I, therefore, submit that it should be the first care of the people of the Presidency to solicit and importune Government to place the scheme of admission to the service on a sounder and more sensible basis. The present rules were criticised at the last Conference held at Bombay by Professor Gokhale and others. The Sarvajanic Sabha also in their memorial to the Government of India on the subject of Provincial Service deal with them exhaustively. I shall, therefore, say for your information a few things regarding the Service and the rules respecting the admission to it. When we raised a cry for giving us an adequate share in the administration of the country, a Commission called the Public Service Commission was appointed to devise a scheme for meeting fully the claims of the people of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. When the Commission sat, our Public Service—the Revenue and the Judicial branches—was divided into two parts, the upper part comprising all the posts reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, and the lower part, known as the Subordinate Service, comprising all the lower posts up to Deputy Collectors in the revenue line and places of Subordinate Judge and Small Causes Court Judge in the Judicial line. The public Service Commission divided the Public Service into three parts—The Imperial Service reserved for the Covenanted Civilians ; the Provincial Service, consisting of a few posts detached from the old reserved Covenanted Service, and some from the Subordinate Service ; and the lowest Service consisting of what was left of the Subordinate Service. The situation of the natives with respect to their employment was more favourable before the Commission announced their scheme. The scheme suggested by the Commission was rendered less favourable by the Secretary of State, inasmuch as he reduced the number of higher posts reserved for us by the Commission. However unsatisfactory the scheme proposed by the Commission may have been, their recommendations as to qualifications required for admission to the Provincial Service were very sound. The Commission observe in their report : “ As the Conditions of admission to the Imperial Service aim at high English qualifications, so the conditions of admission to the Provincial Service should be framed with a view to secure the best qualifications obtainable in India. The qualifications required for admission to the Provincial Service must be such as

to give fair promise that the candidates admitted to it, will in time be fit to discharge the duties of high appointments, formerly belonging to the Covenanted Service, but now to be amalgamated with the Provincial Service, to which the members of the Provincial Service will ordinarily in due course be promoted." Lord Macaulay's Committee, which brought the open competitive examination into being, required an extremely high standard of general education in the candidates for that examination. The Committee wrote: "It is undoubtedly desirable that the Civil Servant of the Company should have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his native country affords." The Bombay Government of Lord Harris acted in direct opposition to and ignored the recommendation made by the Public Service Commission, and fixed a test simpler than the Matriculation or the University School Final Examination. I give the test below:—(a) One of the Vernaculars of the Presidency. (b) English sufficient to understand official reports; (c) Arithmetic up to simple Interest; (d) Algebra up to simple Equations; (e) Euclid, Books I. and II.; (f) General History of India and England; (g) A Voluntary Subject. Now I put a question to you whether this is not a ridiculously low standard for admission to such posts as those of Collectors, Assistant Collectors, District and Sessions Judges, Subordinate and Small Causes Court Judges and Deputy Collectors. How should we expect by this standard to get men of high intellectual and moral attainments to fill the New Provincial Service? The extremely low test will inevitably lower the standard of administrative efficiency and official morality. It is, therefore, necessary that the present test should be abolished and a new standard as high as that prescribed for the Civil Service should be substituted. The second objection to the rules is the right of Government to recruit the service by nomination. This method of recruitment is opposed to the recommendation made by the Public Service Commission. The method is utterly faulty. It is not at all possible for Government to exercise this power rightly. There is the inherent danger of the power being abused. It is not possible for Government to know always the true qualifications of the candidates for nomination. It is likely that influence and pressure may have their foul play. The utter failure of the Statutory Civil Service is a vivid illustration of the defects inseparable from a system of nomination. It has been found that the system of open competition has proved to be a success. The Madras Government has adopted a satisfactory method in respect of admission to the Provincial Service. They propose that two out of every three vacancies should be filled by open competition, and the third as far as possible by promotion from Subordinate Service. The Bombay Government too should similarly do away with the mischievous system of nomination and adopt the method proposed by the Madras Government. The third objection is the provision in the rules for a distribution among the various races and castes of the posts to be thrown open to competition. This is certainly very objectionable. It has the effect of depriving the people of the Presidency of the benefit of the solemn pledges given to the Natives of India by the Parliamentary Act of 1833 and the proclamation of her Majesty the Queen-Empress of 1858. A breach—and the present is a deliberate breach—of those solemn and sacred pledges emanating from our gracious sovereign must necessarily sow profusely the seeds of distrust and discontent. As far as appointments to the Public Service are concerned, the British Government is irrevocably pledged to bestow them upon the fittest, and the fittest only, irrespective of race, colour, or creed. The introduction of the principle of caste in the provisions of the rules is not the work of a responsible Government. How is it possible for Government to satisfy all castes and creeds it is difficult to understand. The words of the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji on this point are very important. The English rulers ought to remember them. He said "the only firm rock upon which a Foreign Rule, like that of the English, can be planted in a country like India is that of equal justice to all British subjects, without any regard to any class or creed." I leave these gravest points for a righteous consideration of the officers of her Majesty entrusted with the Government of India. The fourth objection is in respect of the inclusion of Europeans in the list of classes from which the Provincial Service is to be recruited. It is in direct opposition to the decision of the Secretary of State for India. He maintained that Europeans should not be allowed to compete for the Provincial Service, because the primary object with which the Commission was appointed was to extend the employment of Natives, and the Provincial Service was essentially a Native Service. It is, therefore, necessary in the interests of the people of India that Europeans should be excluded from the Service. The last objection to the rules is the exclusion of Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service. Whether the exclusion is the work of the Government of India or the Bombay Government is immaterial. This exclusion has wrought the greatest injustice to the class of Mamlatdars. Under the wise policy inaugurated by Sir Richard Temple,

the Governor of Bombay, in 1878, the Mamlatdars in Bombay are mostly graduates of the University. The fact seems to have been completely overlooked by the Government of India in excluding the Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service. Sir Richard Temple's rules of 1878 give the following assurance to the graduates joining the revenue line:—"Promotion from one grade to another of a Mamlatdar's appointment will be regulated by seniority. After serving in all the grades of that office, a graduate will be entitled to the lowest grade of Deputy Collector's appointment, when any such falls vacant." If graduates have joined the revenue line on the strength of this assurance, the Government is bound to fulfil that pledge. The exclusion of Mamlatdars in the Bombay Presidency from the Provincial Service is highly objectionable. Thus I have briefly shown to you how the principles followed in the said rules are unsound, impolitic, and subversive of good government in the Presidency. I wish you, therefore, to adopt the resolution and memorial which reads thus:—

TO,

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
CALCUTTA.

SIR,

On behalf of the 8th Provincial Conference of the Bombay Presidency, which is at present holding its sittings in Belgaum, I have the honour to respectfully submit, for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, the following representation in regard to the rules which have been drafted by the Bombay Government to regulate first admissions to the Provincial Service of this Presidency.

2. These rules were never authoritatively communicated to the public by the Bombay Government; but an outline of them, subsequently admitted to be accurate by the Hon'ble Mr. Birdwood on behalf of Government appeared in the *Times of India* early last year. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha thereupon submitted an exhaustive memorial on the subject to the Government of India praying that His Excellency the Governor-General in Council might be pleased to withhold his sanction to the rules and direct a modification of them on the lines suggested in the memorial. With the views set forth in that memorial, the Provincial Conference is in entire accord. And as President of this Conference, I have the honour to request that in consideration of the large interests involved in the matter, Government will be pleased to

- (1) raise the competitive test for entrance into the service at least as high as the B. A. Examination of the University,
- (2) include all Mamlatdarships in the Service,
- (3) prescribe open competition and promotion from the lower grades as the only two modes of recruitment,
- (4) and set aside all considerations of race or caste, now sought to be introduced for the first time in making appointments to the Public Service, in the distribution of posts to be thrown open to competition.

3. The Conference is aware that in their reply to the Sarvajanik Sabha, the Government of India have expressed a desire to give a trial to the rules as drafted at present before considering suggestions for their modification. The Conference, however, is firmly of opinion that the injury to Public interests which will result from the enforcement of the rules must be so great that it will be difficult to remedy the evil by the adoption of subsequent measures. The exclusion of Mamlatdarships from the service will inevitably demoralize the subordinate branch. The low test prescribed for competition will bring into the Provincial Service men not qualified by their educational attainments to discharge properly the duties of their office. The introduction of race or caste considerations will prove most harmful to the cause of administrative efficiency and will, besides, not help in any way the real progress of the backward classes, which can be secured only by giving them special facilities to come up educationally in a line with the more advanced sections of the Community. Lastly, any large power reserved by Government in their hands to make direct nominations to the Service is sure to expose the service to the same risk of failures which interfered so effectually with the success and usefulness of the Statutory Service. For these reasons, the Conference respectfully prays that

His Excellency the Governor-General in Council will be pleased to direct a reconsideration of the rules in the direction suggested above. The delay that has taken place in the promulgation of the rules leads the Conference to entertain the hope that its prayer will not have been made in vain.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

D. E. WACHA.

President of the 8th Provincial Conference.

BELGAUM,  
13th May 1895.

Professor G. H. Gokhale (Poona,) seconded the resolution as follows :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. I have spoken so often on the subject as proposer of the resolution before previous Conferences that it is a positive relief to me to come to you in the slightly altered capacity as seconder of this resolution. Mr. Chhatre has treated the subject pretty fully and I will just offer one or two observations, and commend the resolution to your acceptance. It was expected that the test that the Government would propose for the Provincial Service Examination would be identical with that of the London Examination for Civil Service. Because in the first place we were anxious that the persons appointed to the posts of Collectors, Deputy Collectors, and Sessions Judges, should be men who could stand a high test and who are of high qualifications. We are also anxious that men appointed to high posts should not in any way be dependent upon their subordinates by reason of the inferiority of their knowledge and qualifications. We are also anxious that the posts filled by the members of the Civil Services if given to members of other class those persons must be equally qualified. Such men can be secured by having the same test applied here that we have for London Examination. We had another object in view; that was that if an examination of equally severe test as the Civil Service Examination of London was to be held in India, it will pave the way for simultaneous examination and there would be a solution of that question (*Cheers.*) We think that if the test was identical with the London Examination test and if we find that same quality of men can be secured, then one of the most formidable objections of the Anglo-Indian could be answered. (*Cheers.*) Instead of fixing such a test as we were anxious to have, what has Government given us? It has decided a ridiculously low test; so low that I don't find words to describe it. The test which the Government have decided to apply is, gentlemen, even inferior to University School Final Examination. The Provincial Service was established on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. My friend Mr. Chhatre has read to you an extract from the Public Service Commission's report, from which you must have noticed that the Public Service Commission recommended an equally high test as the London Examination. If the London Examination test was introduced here we can secure, for the Provincial Service, men of the highest possible qualifications in this Presidency. In a Presidency where the University annually sends forth many eminent graduates, you must have been surprised to read in an issue of the *Times of India* that the test for the Provincial Service was what has just been read out to you by Mr. Chhatre.

Mr. Lee-Warner, the late Chief Secretary, stated that it is not desirable to have more competition, for, he says, "if you prescribe competition as the only door for admission into the service, the Government will have to abdicate its function of nominations." I deal with this subject because Government look upon it from a point of view which is beneficial to them. In majority of cases where Government have made appointments by exercising their right of nomination, they have not been beneficial to the public. We have two principal objections to the present system. First is the low test in the examination and second is the consideration for race and caste that has been introduced so widely and which is not justifiable. The making of appointments is so much patronising, (for by this system several favourites of the Government can be given high posts), that the Government would not abdicate its function of nominating officers in favour of any particular examination or open competition, though it is the solemn and sacred duty of the Government to see that the deserving get the best of it. You have always one object to bear in mind and that you have always to consider whether he is the best and absolutely the most deserving person for the place to which you are appointing him. (*Applause.*) The educational test is made so low that the Government themselves admit it too. They say that if the educational test was kept high then the forward class would have

had an advantage over the backward class. Now as I remarked in Bombay last year I repeat here that Government instead of drawing backward classes forward draw the forward classes backward. (*Hear, hear.*) If the Government have the interest of backward classes at heart they would see that this policy is a wrong one and the proper one would be to give every facility to the backward classes. I quite agree with Mr. Chhatre, who said that one of the greatest objections in the rules is the exclusion of Mamlatdars. The Mamlatdars, most of them are graduates and have gone through a higher test; and yet, men, who would be very much inferior to them in education, administrative capacity and abilities, are to come as Deputy Collectors. On this point the Sarvajanic Sabha last year presented a memorial to the Government of India, so that some alterations might be made in the rules framed by the Local Government.

I earnestly and sincerely trust that Government will reconsider the rules, for it is absolutely necessary in the interest of the Presidency to alter the rules in the direction we want. At present we have got a Governor who has taken exceedingly sympathetic line of policy and His Excellency will be entitled to our hearty thanks (*Cheers*) if he gives us this and adds to our obligations. We ask him to try this experiment because the rules as at present framed are an insult to those for whom they are framed and a disgrace to those who have framed them. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Venkat Rango Katti, (Dharwar,) who spoke in Kanarese, in support of the Resolution, in the course of his speech said :—

“But now contrast the difference between the conditions of the two services. The Civil Service selects its members solely under a rigid competitive test while in the case of the Provincial Service, the choice of Government is given the first place and the competitive test is relegated to the third. The Civil Service aims at “the highest English qualification” while the Provincial Service aims at the lowest Indian qualification, a qualification which is not even as high as the fifth Anglo-Vernacular Standard. An unsuccessful student of a Matriculation or School Final Class may undertake to prepare candidates for the Provincial Service Examination by picking up worthless young men whose education never advanced beyond the third or fourth standard. Why, even butlers and cooks of European officers who generally possess a knowledge of English sufficient for official purposes may successfully pass the same examination after a preparation for a few months under a school boy. Thus there may come a time when a butler Deputy Collector or Assistant Collector will dictate orders to his *M. A.*, *B. A.*, or *L. L. B.* Sherastidar from his sacred official throne (*loud laughter*). One great question, gentlemen, which had been troubling me since I read these rules in the Bombay papers is how is it that their framers did not foresee such inevitable untoward consequences. Can they be supposed to be so ignorant or thoughtless as not to be able to judge of the result of what they were doing? I, on my part, gentlemen, would consider it a sin to suppose so. The Government of Bombay is believed to consist of the best educated and experienced Englishmen. It is such Englishmen who reduced to order the chaos which they found in India at their advent and opened the eyes of our forefathers who were groping in the dark for centuries under the influence of superstition and bigotry. It is through the benevolent action of such Englishmen that we have been enabled to see around us with an open eye and think for ourselves. Can such men be ever believed to be so shortsighted as not to be able to see things which we the creatures of their making can see. (*Hear, hear.*) Some people think that the rules have a design or policy behind them and that this policy is to push back the forward classes and bring to the front the backward, ones, especially the Musalmans. This supposition is further supported by the lowness of the competitive test and the fact that two-thirds of the posts to be awarded through competition are to be set aside exclusively for Mahomedans and other backward classes. Many of you may be inclined to accept this to be the real intention of Government or of the person or persons who framed the rules. But I am not prepared to do so as it brings the same charge of thoughtlessness against Government in a roundabout way. What would you say, gentlemen, if the British Parliament passes an act asserting that Irish day-labourers who can hardly read a newspaper are the best qualified men for the higher grades of Government Service in England? (*Cheers and laughter.*) In a word, a great mystery attaches to the rules under reference which appear to me, at any rate, altogether inexplicable, if I am to believe that Government means to follow the same partiality for education, the same broad

principles and the same foresight which characterised its administration of India in by-gone days. The exclusion of the Mamlutdars from the Provincial Service is another important question which has been exercising the minds of our educated men. The Sarvajanic Sabha of Poona is of opinion that this exclusion, or rather the inclusion of the Subordinate Judges in the Service, will lead to the degradation of the Mamlutdars in the eyes of the people, both the officers being now equally respected by them.

Mr. V. R. Gutikar, (Belgaum,) said in Marathi :—

Very often it so happens that the disease or pain is on one part of the body and the medicine is applied on some other part of the body, *i. e.*, we demand one thing and we are granted some thing quite different, and that too not as much as we want but as much as they, the Government, choose to give.

We always demand that we must have a greater share in the administration of the country. We say give us at least some higher appointments.

In the Military Department we are excluded because we cannot be trusted, in the Forest Department because we cannot perform the duties of that Department; we are unfit to serve in the Police Department because we have not the courage; in the Telegraph Department we are not able to work in the night; we are not fit for the Survey Department because we have no knowledge of that Department; such excuses are brought forward to exclude us from these Departments. There remain the Revenue and Judicial Departments. We demand that some Judges' and Assistant Judges' and Collectors' and Assistant Collectors' posts should be given to us. But, gentlemen, men will die but they will not part with power; and the Government wanted to please us also and therefore they created what is called Statutory Service or which may more properly be called "favouritism Native Service," and some natives who had secured the favour of Governors, Members of Council or Secretaries got these appointments. Such an officer necessarily has not his independent opinions; his opinions are always shaped according to the opinions of his superiors; he follows "Jo Hukam Policy."

This state of things went on for some years. Then there was Education Commission. If the Natives are examined by English Examiners and if they serve under English Officers, we must presume that they know their educational abilities as well as their capacity for work. Then where was the necessity for this Commission? This Commission made a report in favour of the Natives and said that so many posts should be reserved for Natives. But as it is sometimes said "save me from my friends," this Commission did one mischief in principle to us. What we have been aiming at is no distinction in service, but what the Commission did was that they made the distinction stronger. Before the Commission, the service was divided into two parts (1) Covenanted and (2) Uncovenanted; but the Commission divided it into three parts (1) I. C. S. (2) Pro. Service (3) Subordinate Service. Their report was submitted for final disposal to Government. After some years the Government excluded some posts from the report and detached some eighteen posts from the I. C. S. and added them to the uncovenanted service excluding the Mamlatdars from it and called it Pro. Service. Though this Service was intended for the Natives the Government have by their rules included Europeans in this Service. The educational test is so low that a student of a High School in the 5th Standard can pass the test without much difficulty. The officer who drafted the rules forgot to say what legal knowledge was necessary. I suggest to him that he should now add a clause "(h) Legal Knowledge—Names of the law Books." (*Cheers!*) Then there is the nomination system! Mark, that even after the above most easy examination they want this nomination system. Then they want to distribute places according to castes and races! They preach us to break castes and they themselves want to introduce caste in the Public Service. They have shown however very sound discretion and judgment in not forgetting their caste-men in this Service! The Mamlatdars are excluded from this Service. Then the result would be this: A 5th Standard School-boy Collector hearing appeals against the decision of a *B. A.* Mamlatdar; or a *B. A.*—Barnisi Karkun going to take signatures of the 5th Standard Collector! And it would be better to beg than to plead before such officers by saying "Your Honor and Your Worship." One very great evil will result from this. We are all clammering for higher education. But would the people be fools to make their sons *U. S. F.s* or Matriculates or *P. E.s* or *B. A.s* when they know that 5th Standard is sufficient to secure the posts of District Judge and Collector! Then the Wilson, Ferguson and Elphinston Colleges shall have to be

abolished! Will there be security of life and property under the administration of such a Collector or Judge? Is it not then necessary that the Government should reconsider these rules and frame rules so as to secure the best talent in the country for this Service? With these few words I recommend the Resolution for your adoption.

The President then put the Resolution to vote, which was carried unanimously.

## RESOLUTION II.—Enhancements of Revenue Assessment.

Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, (Bombay,) proposed :—

*“ That this Conference, while re-affirming Resolution I. of the 7th Conference, looks with regret upon the effects of the policy of Government in the matter of the enhancements of the revenue assessment on the agriculturists residing in the various parts of the Presidency, and earnestly urges upon Government the necessity of removing such of the defects of the system under which the revised rates are fixed as the Government may think practicable under the present circumstances.”*

He said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.

I rise to propose this proposition and I do so with great pleasure and earnestness. Gentlemen this proposition has very intimate connection with the great problem of poverty in India and I am sure all of you will approve of it in the interests of those who are the backbone of the Indian population. It has been often asserted that by far a very large majority of the inhabitants of this country are agriculturists and their welfare and content are therefore things which must be attended to more anxiously than the interest of any other class in the country. Further, gentlemen, the mass of the agriculturist population is ignorant and uneducated. They are voiceless and their grievances, however great they may be, and, however grave, do not often find a proportionately loud utterance. I would, therefore, request you to give voice to their grievances and hold them up before the eyes of our rulers in order that they may be properly attended to.

Gentlemen, it cannot be denied that the condition of the Agricultural population is very wretched. There are several causes for that condition. But it can also not be denied that these revised assessments are some of the chief of them. At every revision the burden of taxation is increased so much so that in some places it amounts almost to confiscation. Again the ways followed out by those who have the charge of these matters are so full of want of regard to any other considerations except those of increasing the revenue that more often than not greatest injustice is the result. I have taken some pains for some years past over this question and I can tell you that I have come across instances which no body could believe to have ever occurred under such a system of Government as ours. The case of Devgad Taluka is greatly in point. There are, you know, landholders called Khots there. These Khots hold their villages under Government and pay whatever assessment is fixed by Government for these villages and they in their turn receive rents from their tenants. These rents are also fixed by Government. Now in almost every village of this Taluka the assessment has been increased so much as to be far in excess of the rents which the Khots are entitled to receive. The profits of these Khots are ordinarily represented by the difference between the rents they receive from the tenants and the assessment they pay to Government. But now instead of showing any profit, this difference exhibits a large annual loss. When the Khot receives say 500 from the tenant he pays to Government 1,000 Rs. What can you call such a process. I call it entire and unambiguous confiscation. Well, gentlemen, these Khots represented this matter to Government in 1893 and as yet they have not obtained any redress. No doubt in 1895 Government were kind enough to admit that the grievances complained of did exist. But they do not as yet apply any remedy, and the annual loss is pressing these Khots. What can you say of a Government who after tardily having admitted the existence of a grievance do not hasten to repair the mistake and allows itself to be enriched at the expense of the people. Time after time they have been asked about this but no satisfactory reply has been forthcoming.

The settlement of the Alibag Taluka is another instance in point. It shows that the officers in charge of this branch of Administration will devise ways some how or other to increase the revenue. The Government has solemnly declared that the improvements made by the landholders at their own expense will not be taxed. But this declaration has only remained a paper declaration. In practice it is avoided by some sort of sophistry. The green book for that Taluka furnishes an eloquent testimony to this. What with the invention of expedients like the position class, with discovery of imaginary mistakes of the previous classification and presumptions made without any foundations of facts, the poor cultivator is done out of his improvements. I will cite to you one example. It is said by every body connected with the present revision of that taluka that the classification of *rabi-lands* made by Col. Frances at the previous survey is wrong, those lands alone being classed as *rabi* which were then actually covered with *rabi* crops. But what do you find to be the fact. Col. Frances has expressly stated in his report that he has classed some waste lands as *rabi*. How can do these statements hang together. Then again it is said that the old measurement was only an eye-measurement and therefore wrong. But is the present classification and measurement made in any other manner? No. This is admitted to be also an eye classification and measurement. Then again it is said that some lands were classed as *warkas* erroneously by Col. Frances, and why? The reason given is that they could not have been *warkas* because now they are rice lands. And the objection that this conversion of *warkas* into rice might have been effected by the holder at great expense and labour is answered by an assumption that there was no such expense made; reason for the assumption being that it is actually so converted with no great difficulty. But mark, gentlemen, there is no evidence adduced that this conversion was effected with no great difficulty. I would advise you, gentlemen, to peruse the Government Resolution and the report of Mr. Ozanne and Col. Frances embodied in this green book and I have no doubt you will find the melancholy satisfaction of having found out some of the ways of the Survey Department. Gentlemen, I would not take up your time longer nor go into any detail, but I would only say that unless an early solution of this question was secured the country shall have to pay penalty for it. A discontented and bankrupt peasantry is a serious evil and no Government, however strong, can afford to treat it with indifference. I say this in the interest of peace and good Government and I appeal to every one of you to do as much as lies in your power to call forth effective attention to it.

Mr. N. M. Samarth, ( Bombay, ) seconded the resolution. He said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES & GENTLEMEN.

After what you have just heard from Mr. Khare, you will, I think, readily agree with me when I say that the recent revised assessments have entailed a grievous burden on a considerable portion of the cultivating classes by exacting from them a larger amount of land revenue than they could afford to pay without trenching upon the means of a reasonably comfortable life, nay, in some cases of extreme hardship, even the means of bare existence, let alone the resources of improving the agricultural condition, or increasing the total out-turn of their small holdings. I, for one, am rather inclined to think that this regrettable result is attributable partly to the inherent defects of the system under which the assessments are fixed, and partly to the idiosyncracies, as I shall mildly call them, of the officials entrusted with the work of revision. I will explain myself at some length. You are aware that under the system which obtains at present, the Government demand is not determined, as it used to be before, by the actual out-put of the fields, but by the supposed value of the soil; that is to say, by its intrinsic fertility as affected by certain extrinsic circumstances, such as climate, average prices, facilities of market, communications, &c. In other words, the assessment is based not on what *is* the actual yield, but on what the Government thinks *should be* the actual yield. Well, I own that such a system of assessment has its advantages from a fiscal point of view in an advanced country, where it would probably result in stimulating agricultural improvements and increasing agricultural profits. But in a country where the cultivators are ignorant and lack enterprise and initiative power, the system is sure to work mischief, unless scrupulous care is taken to see that the rates fixed are moderate beyond question. But Government have added to the dangers of this risky process by introducing the no less precarious item of sub-soil advantages. In these they claim ownership, and for these, therefore, they impose an additional rate on lands which are known or *believed* to possess the advantage of sub-soil water, whether the cultivator makes use of that advantage or no. Here again the basis of settlement is not what the cultiva-



tor *does* as a matter of fact enjoy, but what the Government thinks he *should* enjoy. As though this were not enough to crush the poor landholder, the Bombay Government have very recently departed from the lines laid down by Colonel Francis at the original settlement and proceeded upon the plan of assessing garden lands according to their respective capabilities and inherent moisture irrespective of the kind of produce found in them; their basis of classification is no longer soil, water, and number of trees, but soil, water and position. Now, this is sure to press heavily against many an individual holding. And Government themselves own it. For in the recently issued Resolution on the Alibag revisions, we find them saying:—"The new classification may affect unfavourably individual holders of garden land when such holders have failed to turn their lands to good account, but even in their case, the gradual levy of the enhanced assessment will prevent hardship and will give them time to make the best use of their land before the full effect of the enhancement is felt." That is to say, as the *Times of India* felicitously put it a few days ago, "the agriculture of a conservative people is to adapt itself to the arrangements of Government, instead of the arrangements of Government being adapted to agriculture." (*Cheers.*) I fear Government ignore the fact that in thus insisting on intensive cultivation, they not only risk the chances of extensive cultivation but paralyse even the present agricultural industry. I think, gentlemen, it is not difficult to understand that these matters are almost sure to so affect the revised rates as to make them painfully pinching especially to illiterate, ignorant and improvident cultivators. But besides these, there is one other circumstance which, in my judgment, is responsible to no small extent for the hardship which the recent enhancements have inflicted on numberless individual holdings. In our Bombay system, villages, the conditions of which are homogeneous or analogous, are arranged in groups and a uniform maximum rate is laid on a group as a whole. Now, the paying powers of individual villages in a group, however carefully or skilfully formed, differ on quantitative and qualitative considerations; that is to say, they vary a great deal according to the size of each village, the capital accumulated in it, the class of cultivators it possesses and so on. In an group, for instance, there are always some petty villages or hamlets surrounding a market-town. The paying powers of these hamlets are necessarily inferior to those of the market-town. Why? Not because the position or the quality of their soil is inferior, but because chiefly of the absence of capital and the smallness of the cultivating community therein. Now, what I urge is this. If they frame their maximum rate so that only the stronger villages in the group are able to bear it, then evidently they crush these poor people of petty villages. And if you scan the revision settlement reports, you can scarcely resist the conviction that the maximum rates placed on the several groups are in a large number of cases tainted with this defect. But if it is asserted that the maximum rate is in point of fact so contrived that the weakest village in the group can bear it, then I would advance that evidently there has been gross inequality of taxation, the stronger villages having been allowed an undue margin of profit against which the general body of tax-payers have a cause to complain. But it will be asked, how could this be helped? Should each village be separately treated? And if this were done, would not the continuance of the Department and its heavy cost and other attendant evils be prolonged and accentuated? I see the force of the contention, but I think there is a way out of difficulty. I would suggest that in future revision operations, the number of groups should be considerably increased by largely decreasing the number of villages in each group, so that the chances of chances of unconsciously imposing a grossly unequal or rigorous assessment would be appreciably reduced. Yet another cause of the assessments taking a harsh form is that in fixing the rates, too much reliance appears to have been placed by settlement officers on the indicia of progress which have been roughly laid down for their guidance. For instance, there can scarcely be a better index of prosperity in a western country than increase of population, but in a country like India, where married life is universal and early marriage the rule, the same circumstance, in gauging the prosperity of the people, has to be accepted with a considerable reservation. Similarly with the returns about the increase of cultivated land. They are *prima facie* indicative of agricultural progress. But in deciding whether they conclusively prove a healthy and a vigorous agricultural life in this Presidency, we have to reckon with the fact that the dislocation of rural manufacturing industry during the past thirty years as also the exclusion of a large number of people from a military career which was open to them for some time even after Maratha rule, have made not a small portion of the population resort to land for subsistence. Again, in regard to reclamation of waste-land. It is idle to take the figures as they are, without at the same time placing side by side with them the figures of land deserted by the people during the same period either through prevalence of disease or inability

to pay the government assessment. So also, in regard to improved communications. They are at first sight signs of rural prosperity. But a further analysis has to be made before they can be accepted as correct data for the purpose of enhancing the assessments. Do they in any way facilitate the carriage of agricultural produce to profitable markets? Or, do they merely serve for passenger traffic or serve purposes other than those which directly or indirectly benefit agriculture or the profits of agriculture? Further, who have paid for the making of the roads? If they have been made from local funds, they cannot be taken into consideration in increasing the revised rates, because they are improvements made by payers of land revenue out of their own capital and resources, and are, therefore, within the scope of Act IV of 1886. So also, in regard to increase of carts, ponies, tiled roofs, &c. One has to see whether the increase denotes agricultural prosperity, or whether in reality a large portion of it only represents the gains which the people have been making either in their own taluka or in big cities like Bombay in other walks of life, such as Government service, trade, &c. These are considerations which have to be carefully taken into account, but which, I am constrained to say, the late Governor conveniently ignored in the speech which he made at the Byculla Club on the eve of his departure. (*Cheers.*) They have also not been given the thought and the weight they deserve by officers engaged in the work of revising the settlement. These are errors which cost the land-holder a great deal. But some are disposed to extenuate them on the ground that in these days of rules, regulations, reports, red-tape and routine, Government officers have neither breathing time nor scope left them for such minute investigation. That may be. At any rate, I take it, they are in most cases unconscious errors on the part of the officers concerned. But when one sees them departing of set purpose from the hard and fast provisions of the legislature, one is little disposed to criticise them leniently. That there have been such departures from the lines marked out for them by the famous Joint Report of 1847, Act I of 1865, Act V of 1879 and the Amending Act of 1886, and the several Resolutions issued from time to time to give effect to them, need not be doubted. But before detailing these, I will point out an instance in which the spirit of the legislature has been curiously distorted. You know that prior to the passing of Act I, of 1865, no fine was leviable for appropriating agricultural land to other than agricultural purposes. Neither in Regulation 2 of 1827 nor in the Joint rules of 1847 was any provision made to that effect. Under the Joint Rules, on the contrary, land appropriated to other than agricultural uses was not only not liable to fine for such appropriation, but was exempted from payment of assessment in future on intimation being given to the Collector of an intention so to appropriate. Well, it was Act I of 1865 that for the first time introduced this provision, obviously with the intention of compensating Government for the loss of revenue which would result from land ceasing to be used for agricultural purposes. With this obvious object in view, therefore, the Act is silent as to the amount of fine that may be levied for diversion of land from its agricultural uses. But advantage has been taken of this indefinite provision to make it a fertile source of revenue to Government in their present embarrassed state of finances. Will you believe me, gentlemen, when I tell you that in all the districts of the Presidency, and notably in the districts of Poona and Thana, the fine has been, off and on, increased from Rs. 50 to Rs. 1,000, as in Poona, and to Rs. 5,000 as in Thana? You can easily imagine how oppressive this is, when I tell you that lands which are merely waste hilly lands incapable of cultivation except in theory and assessed at about 3 or 4 annas per acre, are charged at Rs. 1,000 per acre, if any other use is made of them than that of agriculture; so that Government get annually and permanently in the shape of interest a sum one hundred and thirty times the assessment, or, a sum so many times the loss to recoup which the provision has evidently been inserted in the Act. But the fun of it is that Government, contrary to all ordinary canons of construction and interpretation, have ruled that the provision in question extends also to land round which a mere fence has been put up, although for all practical purposes it is left in the same state as before. Surely, gentlemen, you will agree with me when I remark that this is an instance in which the spirit of the legislature has been violently extended and mutilated. (*Laughter and cheers.*) To go back, however, to the departures which I said the settlement officers had made of set purpose from the hard and fast provisions of the legislature, here are some of them: The limit of increase laid down for an individual holding, namely, 100 per cent. over the original assessment has been *monstrously* over-stepped in numerous instances. The salt *batty* villages in the Alibag taluka were originally settled in 1851-52, and were re-settled twenty years after; and yet you see them again surveyed and classified in direct infringement of the provision that no survey and classification work should be undertaken a third time. Government Resolution, No. 1028 of 1874, forbids

a levy on water-supply in the Konkan, but from the recently issued reports of the Kolaba Collectorate, it appears that Resolution in question has been set aside with a light heart. Resolutions, again, which direct the authorities to issue notifications to land-owners before the rates are given out, so that the ultimate decision of the rates may be, so far as possible, deprived of the objectionable nature of schemes hatched *in camera*, have been, let me say, wantonly disregarded. Further, in accordance with a Resolution of Lord Reay's Government, facilities have to be given to the cultivators by means of a notification to point out the private improvements they may have made on their holdings. But there are cases in which the authorities have, during the past five years, practically pooh-poohed that wholesome Resolution. This subject of improvements, gentlemen, has been the chief bone of contention between the Department and the holder, or, rather let me say, between the Department and Government on one side, and the holder and the revenue authorities on the other. The land holder asserts that he has laid layers after layers of earth and converted the *warkas* land into one of superior kind, that as a matter of fact, these *warkas* conversions and other improvements have cost him a great deal of trouble and expense. Government seem to say: as to your trouble, no matter how great it is, we are not concerned with it. (*Laughter and cheers.*) But as to your expense, of course, that we shall take into consideration, but show us how much it is; produce your account-books. The poor illiterate holder says, he has kept no accounts, his *bápjádá* never kept any. (*Laughter.*) And so the judgment goes that the improvements are either *nil* or not worth minding. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Naturally, gentlemen, this has given rise to much legitimate discontent. I submit Government would do well in such cases to refer the matter to *panchayats* composed of the nominees of Government as well as of the holder and to depend upon the result of such arbitration for framing this portion of their assessment. Such a procedure would, I think, give satisfaction to the holder of the land, and, besides removing the anomaly of Government pronouncing a verdict in a case in which they are substantially interested, would no longer leave them open to the charge that they are trying to withhold the benefit which Act IV of 1886 extends to him. And it might also serve to tone down in many individual cases the severity of the enhanced rates. But it is said at times that the rate are not severe at all, as witness, in proof thereof, the small number of distraints that have to be levied. Well, as a matter of fact, the distraints are by no means few and far between. But even taking that they are, I would ask the critic to look yonder to the plight of the legislator racking his brains for devising means to relieve the indebted ryot, who, if he regularly pays the Government revenue at all, pays it after supplicating the village money-lender. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) I am aware that when I argue like this, the authority of no less a man than Professor Bastable is likely to be flung in my face. Professor Bastable, in his excellent treatise on "Public Finance," holds that the indebtedness of the cultivating classes should not be taken into consideration in fixing the cadastre, since it is an element, which besides being adventitious, is frivolous in form. But it must be remembered that the learned Professor, when he says that, is not referring to the indebtedness which is due to the Government demand being pitched too high. His observations, therefore, have no direct bearing on the problem that we have to face here, namely, the equitable imposition of a land-tax on the cultivating classes whose indebtedness is attributable, largely, as we say, but partly, at any rate, to the over-assessment to which they have been subjected by Government. When thus met, the critic makes a right about turn, and urges that granting that the present assessment is heavy, it is certainly much lighter than the one which was exacted from the people under Maratha rule and that, therefore, the people are now happier in this respect and have no cause to complain. Well, to this I say that the proposition cannot be asserted on the strength of a mere comparison of the money-valuation of land revenue taken by the two governments. The cost of living then and now has to be compared; the incidence and repercussion of the taxes then and now have to be taken into account; the fertility of the soil then and now has to be put into the scale; the facility of the agricultural produce to exchange necessaries and utilities then and now has to be measured; and so on many obscure factors have to be noted, before an approximately correct inference could be drawn. Further, it must be remembered that the rigour, whatever it was of the assessment under Maratha rule was considerably relaxed by the State sharing in the misfortune which drought or famine entailed on the cultivating classes. (*Cheers.*) Again, it must not be forgotten that the peasants of the Deccan were also the soldiers of the Maratha army, so that they supplemented the income they derived from their land by the gains of their military excursions far and wide. (*Cheers.*) However high the assessment, therefore, it did not press heavily against them. But it is sometimes

advanced, what if the assessment is high? It ought to be high in the interests both of the cultivator and the general tax-payer, when, as here, the cultivator is hopelessly thriftless. The argument, to put it in a simple form, is this: You say, the assessment should be low; that is to say, the cultivator should be allowed to retain a large portion of the profits he makes. But where is the good in doing that? You know well that he does not save, that he *will* not save against bad times out of the gains he reaps in good seasons. That means, that he deprives, both himself as well as the general body of tax-payers as represented by Government, of the fund which should be available for adding to his comfort and competency and for improving generally the condition of the rural population. Well, in this state of things, Government, both for his good and in justice to the tax-paying body as a whole, have to screw out that fund into the exchequer and do for the cultivator what he will not do for himself. I own, gentlemen, the plea is specious, but I maintain that so long as the activity of the "forward party" at Simla is in full swing, and Government are busy kicking up rows on the frontier on the smallest excuse, and spending away money like funds on their dreamy scientific defences and what is more noteworthy, merrily distributing sweets to their officers when the financial outlook of the country is grim, so long, that is to say, as Government are serenely pursuing what I will not hesitate to call an *après nous ledéluge* policy in regard to their finances, the plea is clearly inadmissible even for purpose of examining its validity. (*Cheers.*) I dare say few will assert that I am dogmatic when I pronounce that the Indian Government beats the Indian peasant hollow in improvidence and reckless expenditure. So it follows that the higher the assessment, the greater the risk and possibility of Government frittering away the hard-earned profits of the tiller of the soil and making some fancied exigencies of the State over-ride considerations of great importance to the well being of the ryot. (*Cheers.*) One more plea, gentlemen, that has been urged in justification of the recent largely increased rates is that at the original settlement, the land-holders were treated with undue liberality. The earlier reports, however, furnish no evidence to that effect, but show on the contrary that the interests of Government were carefully guarded. And *prima facie*, gentlemen, one need not be afraid that settlement officers would, at any time, be guilty of so much generosity as to unduly favour the ryot as against the Government. Sir Bartle Frere had the courage and wisdom not to blink the truth when he said before the East India Finance Committee that "one cannot be too favourable to the royts, the great danger in India being that the Government officer always strained more or less in favor of Government." Gentleman, I think, I have said enough to show that the arguments advanced in justification of the enhanced rates are untenable. I hope the present Government will give a sympathetic consideration to this question and deprive the enhanced rates of the odious character of rent as opposed to a land-tax that they have doubtless assumed at present. So far back, gentlemen, as 1856, the Court of Directors issued a Despatch, in which they said:—"The officers engaged in the work of fixing the assessment should always bear in mind that the right of the Government is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation and the profits of the agricultural stock, but is a land revenue only, which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he in fact lets the land to others, or retains it in his own hands" Wise words these, unquestionably. And let us confidently hope that the present Governor, who has already given indications of his sympathetic and conscientious mind, will satisfy a legitimate public demand by seeing that the spirit of those noble words is adhered to during his *regime*. Let not Government narrow their vision. Let not Government look only to immediate gain and grind down the poor holder of the land nearly after the manner of the most rack-renting steward of an absentee landlord. (*Cheers.*) Let them give him the means to provide himself with more food, more raiment, more comfort. (*Cheers.*) Let them save him from the in-roads which over-zealous officers are constantly making upon the benefits which the legislature extends to him. In a word, let them pursue a sagacious and statesman-like policy, which aims at making the State and the ryot move in melodious time, and depends upon such harmony alone to hold the rulers and the ruled in happier union. (*Loud and long-continued applause.*)

Mr. R. L. Gharat, (Alibag,) said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

After the able and learned speeches of the mover and the seconder of the proposition, I suppose you do not except to hear much from me. As, however, the mover of the proposi-

tion and even the President in his address expected to hear details from some of the speakers, I will touch upon some of these.

The last Conference held at Bombay did well in giving prominence to the subject of Survey Settlements and revenue enhancements by passing a very important resolution in connection with it. It is to be hoped that during the present administration of this Presidency the suggestions made in that resolution will receive the earnest attention of Government. Some good signs, it may be noted, have already begun to show themselves. In the case of a certain Petha in the Ratnagiri District it has been decided to have no revision survey, but to continue the present lease for another 30 years on the ground that the Petha has made no material progress in prosperity to admit of any enhancement of revenue. The Collector of Ratnagiri has notified that improvements will not be taxed though I cannot say whether the survey authorities will not hit upon some ingenious theory whereby even the Collector's assurance can be set at naught. It is not always the case that we see the well intentioned resolutions of Government strictly and loyally given effect to. If that were the case, we would not hear so many complaints from different parts of the Presidency. You are perhaps aware, gentlemen, that to make the burden of taxation a little less heavy, Government have issued certain orders whereby partial remissions are granted during certain years following the announcement of the revised rates in cases where the increase is over 25 percent. To work out the details of these remissions the Collector of Kolaba published certain rules framed by the Survey Commissioner for the guidance of Subordinate revenue officers in the Alibag and other talukas. One of the rules was to the following effect. "Where the difference between the old and new assessment is under 8 annas, no remission should be given." Now as these remissions were to be given not only in the case of whole holdings or khatas, but even on individual survey and *pot* numbers, the result was that several small holdings which were entitled to remissions in accordance with the standing orders of Government were deprived of that privilege by this arbitrary ruling. I may illustrate this by an instance. Suppose a farmer paid 2 annas on a piece of *varkas* land before, and now he has to pay 8 annas on the same. According to the orders of Government, he would have to pay only 25 percent, over the old assessment, that is only 2½ annas during the first two years, 3 annas during the next two and so on but by the rule above quoted he would be required to pay the whole of 8 annas from the very beginning. It is reported that the Government of Lord Sandhurst has thought fit to order that particular rule should be altogether eliminated, and that in consequence the large sum of nearly Rs. 15,000 already collected will have to be refunded in the case of the Alibag Taluka. I hope Government will be equally pleased to refund the whole of the excess over last year's assessment which they have apparently levied in contravention of section 104 of Act V of 1879 under the Bombay Land Revenue Code.

Since we last met in Bombay, several Government Selections relating to revision survey settlements have appeared, and I have carefully gone through the one relating to the settlement of the Alibag taluka. The survey superintendent's report is full of statements, statistical tables and reasons in justification of the enhancement of assessment. But I can assure you that most of the statements are exaggerated, while the statistical tables are merely misleading. The Collector of Kolaba in his report has pointed out a number of discrepancies in the figures given by the survey superintendent, and has clearly shown how certain of his reasons such as improved communications &c., for increasing the assessment will not hold water. I cannot do better than read a portion of his report to you: says Mr. Lamb, "Figures of areas are not in all places so clear. The tabular statement in paragraph 11 purports to give the net result, with the variations between the original and the revision survey. In that table increase in rice land is shown as 1400 acres. In paragraph 48 the area converted from inferior class to sweet rice land is given as 1066 acres; in paragraph 50, salt rice land has 623 acres' increase; and in paragraph 53 a further net increase in rice land of 97 acres is shown, giving a total of 1,786. I cannot trace where the old 386 acres have gone to....."

The various reasons advanced by the survey authorities for enhancing the rates can be proved to be fallacious, but as the time at my disposal is limited, and as I have been criticising the report at greater length in the public press, I shall not just now turn to the consideration of them all. I shall only show you how the increased trade and increased prices, which are among the chief reasons given in the report for enhancing the assessment, are unreliable. But before I do so I would say a word or two on improved road communication to which re-

ference was made by Mr. Samarth in his speech. Colonel Godfrey has laid some stress on the improved road communication in the taluka. Mr. Lamb the Collector takes exception to this. He says, "I think rather too much has been made of improved communications. The only road that appears to me relevant is the Provincial Alibag Dharamtar road. All other roads are made from Local funds, and being thus constructed by payers of land revenue at their own cost, cannot be taken into consideration when revising land revenue rates, because they are improvements made by the occupants out of their own capital and resources. (*Hear, hear.*) And after all, the effect of these roads on the movement of produce is very small." The Survey Commissioner admits the force of Mr. Lamb's argument but supports the Survey Superintendent on the ground of some villages being advantaged over others. His very words are as follows: "Mr. Lamb in his third paragraph discusses the question of the bearing on the assessment of improved communications made from Local Funds, *i. e.*, indirectly at the expense of the payers of the cess. I admit his contention, but, in the question of grouping, these roads must be taken into count. If by the expenditure of the cess some villages are advantaged over others those villages should certainly pay a proportionately larger share of the Government demand." Now what do you think of this sort of contention? If it is true that the roads have been made at the expenses of the villagers, does it not follow that they should not at all be taken into consideration while revising the assessment? On the contrary, would it not be more just and equitable that the fact of some villages being forced to incur expenses for roads of which they could not take proper advantage, ought to go a far way in lessening their former assessment?

Turning to the question of trade in the taluka, we find Col. Godfrey putting down its average annual export trade at Rs. 4,45,103 (*vide* para, 26 of his report). Dividing this by the average price, *viz* : Rs. 30 per khandi given by the same officer, we shall see that 14,836 khandis of unhusked rice must be annually exported from the taluka. Now from the appendix B we learn that the whole area on which rice grows in the taluka is 36,088 acres. The sweet rice lands yield from 1 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  khandis and the salt rice lands from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  khandis per acre, so that taking the average output at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  khandis per acre, (it cannot certainly be more than this) we shall find that the whole quantity of rice grown in the taluka in a year would be 54,132 khandis. Appendix E gives the total population of the taluka at 75,098. The quantity of rice required per head averages from 18 to 12 maunds. 15 maunds or  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a khandi may therefore be safely taken as the average quantity of rice required per head. Multiplying 75,098 by  $\frac{3}{4}$  we get the total quantity of rice required for the maintenance of the entire population @ 56,323 khandis. This clearly shows that the Taluka produces about 2,000 khandis of rice less than what is necessary for its population, while Col. Godfrey says that it exports more than 14,000 khandis. If the export trade given by Col. Godfrey be taken as true it will follow that several thousand people in the Taluka are obliged to live on an insufficient quantity of food. In para. 33 of his report Col. Godfrey takes the average out-turn of the lands in rice approximately at 35 maunds or  $1\frac{3}{4}$  khandis per acre. Calculating even at this high rate of the average out-turn we shall find that quantity exported would come to about 7000 khandis and not nearly 35,000 as the Colonel says. In the above calculations the quantity required to be set aside for sowing is not taken into consideration, and when that is deducted the quantity exported will be found to be very small. I can explain how this export trade is shown to be so large. Entries of large quantities of rice shipped are made at the ports of Rewadanda and Dharamtar, but the greater portion of this rice is from the adjoining Talukas, notably from Roha and Pen. The Customs Department makes no separate entries for these Talukas. The figures given in the report are taken from the Customs Offices.

Turning to the subject of increased prices, I may say that the figure Rs. 22 per khandi, which Captain Francis quoted as far back as the year 1857 in his report on the original settlement of the Taluka, being taken into consideration, Rs. 30, the present average price which the Survey Superintendent mentions in his report, will not give us a very high percentage of increase in the price of rice. Even supposing the increase to be about 40 per cent. are you prepared, gentlemen, to say that the whole of this increase should go to Government? (*Hear hear.*) Alibag being essentially a rice-producing district, the other articles such as salt, sugar, oil, spices, &c., have to be purchased from other markets by it, and as the prices of these articles have considerably risen the cultivator's cost of living has proportionately increased. Increased wages and insufficient supply of *rab* materials owing to stringent forest regulations have added to the cost of cultivation. Insufficiency of manure has decreased the annual output of the

a serious extent. The cultivator has also to pay for fuel and wood for agricultural implements which he formerly got from the forest free of cost. To this we have also to add the burden imposed upon the tax-payer by the Stamps and Registration Acts. On making actual calculation of the advantages from increased prices &c., and of the dis-advantages to which the ryot has been subjected during the currency of the original settlement, it will be found that the cultivator has been a distinct loser. The rice in the price of lands is not advantageous to the cultivator in any way except perhaps in giving him more opportunities for borrowing. It may be stated here that although the average increase on the whole Taluka has not much exceeded the legal limit, that on individual holdings has in many cases been far in excess of 100 per cent. The reason given for such abnormal increases is that the lands were assessed very low at the former survey, but this has been repeatedly pointed out to be a mistaken view. *Varkas rabi* and *bagayat*, which have been subjected to enormous increases have been pointed out to be quite incapable of bearing the burden, but it seems Government are determined to enhance the assessment even beyond the extent the law allows,—it matters not under what circumstances that is done. Innumerable cases will be found in which the revised assessment has been a source of great hardship to the cultivators. (*Shame!*) The following are only a few out of numerous other instances in which the assessment in the Alibag Taluka exceeds the income from the land:—

| Village.    | Old class of land. | Revised class of land. | New survey number. | Former contents. |     | Revised contents. |     | Former assessment. |    | Revised assessment. |     | Percentage of increase. | Average annual net income. |     |    |   |   |
|-------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|--------------------|----|---------------------|-----|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----|----|---|---|
|             |                    |                        |                    | ACS.             | Gs. | ACS.              | Gs. | RS.                | A. | P.                  | RS. |                         |                            | A.  | P. |   |   |
| Gunjis ...  | Varkas ...         | Rabi ...               | 26                 | 0                | 26  | 0                 | 27  | 0                  | 2  | 9                   | 1   | 8                       | 0                          | 772 | 0  | 3 | 0 |
| Do. ...     | Do. ...            | Do. and Varkas.        | 9 & 10             | 0                | 38½ | 0                 | 33  | 0                  | 3  | 10                  | 1   | 3                       | 5                          | 406 | 0  | 5 | 0 |
| Do. ...     | Do. ...            | Do.                    | 12, 24, 52 & 53.   | 6                | 36  | 6                 | 16½ | 1                  | 11 | 8                   | 8   | 7                       | 4                          | 389 | 2  | 4 | 0 |
| Do. ...     | Do. ...            | Rice & rabi.           | 10                 | 0                | 38  | 0                 | 33¾ | 0                  | 3  | 9                   | 1   | 10                      | 3                          | 600 | 1  | 6 | 0 |
| Thal ...    | Bagayat ...        | Bagayat ...            | 187                | 3                | 11½ | 3                 | 11½ | 12                 | 13 | 0                   | 31  | 0                       | 0                          | 141 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Vayaset ... | Varkas ...         | Varkas ...             | 10                 | 15               | 17  | 12                | 28  | 3                  | 6  | 1                   | 8   | 1                       | 7                          | 139 | 3  | 0 | 0 |
| Do. ...     | Do. ...            | Do. ..                 | 19                 | 3                | 19  | 4                 | 16  | 0                  | 14 | 0                   | 2   | 8                       | 3                          | 187 | 1  | 0 | 0 |
| Thal ...    | Bagayat ...        | Bagayat ...            | 184                | 0                | 22¼ | 0                 | 22¼ | 3                  | 5  | 0                   | 8   | 0                       | 0                          | 141 | 5  | 0 | 0 |
| Avas ...    | Do. ...            | Do. ...                | 384                | 2                | 4½  | 1                 | 36¾ | 4                  | 15 | 0                   | 14  | 0                       | 0                          | 183 | 6  | 8 | 0 |

In measuring and classing lands the Subordinate Officers of the Survey Department have instructions to show converted lands as separate *pot* numbers to prevent them from being amalgamated with and assessed at the high rates of adjoining rice lands. There are however, instances in which this rule has been set aside, and the errors made by the survey authorities under this head cannot be easily detected. It indeed requires a clever head that knows a good deal of the subject to detect them. It is only fair to say that where the errors have been satisfactorily pointed out, the survey authorities having admitted them have made the necessary corrections.

In the village of Kihim a landlord whose land was classed as *bagayat* through mistake had his assessment reduced by Rs. 68. At Dhonkavade, another village a landlord had 3 acres and 4½ gunthas of *varkas* land in old survey No. 130. The occupant converted the major portion of the *varkas* into rice land and amalgamated it with the adjoining old rice land. The

Survey classers instead of marking out the converted land into a separate *pot* number classed the whole piece as old rice-land and assessed it accordingly. The result was that the assessment of this whole was raised from Rs. 12-12-4 to Rs. 37. The holder of the piece, however, being an intelligent man brought the matter to the notice of the authorities and had the assessment reduced by Rs. 13. Another landlord in the same village complains of a similar error. I have seen the piece myself. Here is a plan of it. The portion marked with dotted line on the southern side was originally *varkas*, but was converted by the occupant into rice land at a considerable cost. The portion marked with dotted line on the northern side is still *varkas*, while the portion between the two was old rice land. The classers in revision have called the whole piece made up of the three portions as one *pot* number and assessed it at the high old rice land rate of Rs. 8½ per acre. As the land is nearly an acre in area, the holder is a great loser. I have advised him to petition Government against this error on the part of the survey authorities. How many such errors there must be in the whole taluka it is not easy to determine; but it is certain that their number can by no means be insignificant. I am strongly of opinion that unless Government appoint an independent commission of inquiry there is little chance of such errors being rectified. The people are prepared even to bear the cost of a commission, and it is to be hoped Government will listen to their prayer. Another advantage of having such a commission would be that Government being able to collect information on the various conflicting points, in the Survey Superintendent's report, would know whether it is necessary to modify their orders in regard to the sanction of the revised assessment of the taluka.

In my speech at the last Conference I had said that the survey authorities had made a third measurement classification and revision of rates of 56 villages known as the *Kharapat* lands of the Alibag taluka contrary to the express provision of section 106 of the Land Revenue Code. Government say that the first classification of these lands in 1852-53 was rough, and hence the 1872-73 classification should be considered as the first classification. They further contend that the lands were not regularly measured off into small survey and *pot* numbers in 1852-53. I need only quote paragraphs from the reports of the Officers of Government themselves to show that my contention was right.

Mr. Gibson, Deputy Superintendent, Ratnagiri Survey, in his report to the Collector of Kolaba in 1872 says "I have the honour to submit the following report on the revision of the rates of assessment in 56 villages of the Alibag Taluka. These villages were surveyed and assessed by Mr. Jones in 1852, and the rates then introduced were guaranteed for 20 years, consequently the leases expire at the end of the current year." The same officer in a tabular statement further on shows the increase in the number of inhabitants, houses, live-stock, *i. e.*, by comparing the numeral returns taken in 1852 and 1872. This is another clear evidence of the fact that the 1852-53 settlement was not a rough one. The following two extracts from Mr. Gibson's report will suffice to show the hollowness of the plea that the lands were not divided into regular Survey and *pot* numbers :

1. "The settlement which is now (1872) expiring was based on a survey made under the direction of the Collector of the district Mr. Jones. It was in some respects conducted on the same system as the Deccan Survey, and, as far as the measurement goes was very accurate; but the plan of dividing the land into survey numbers of a convenient and uniform size was not adopted."

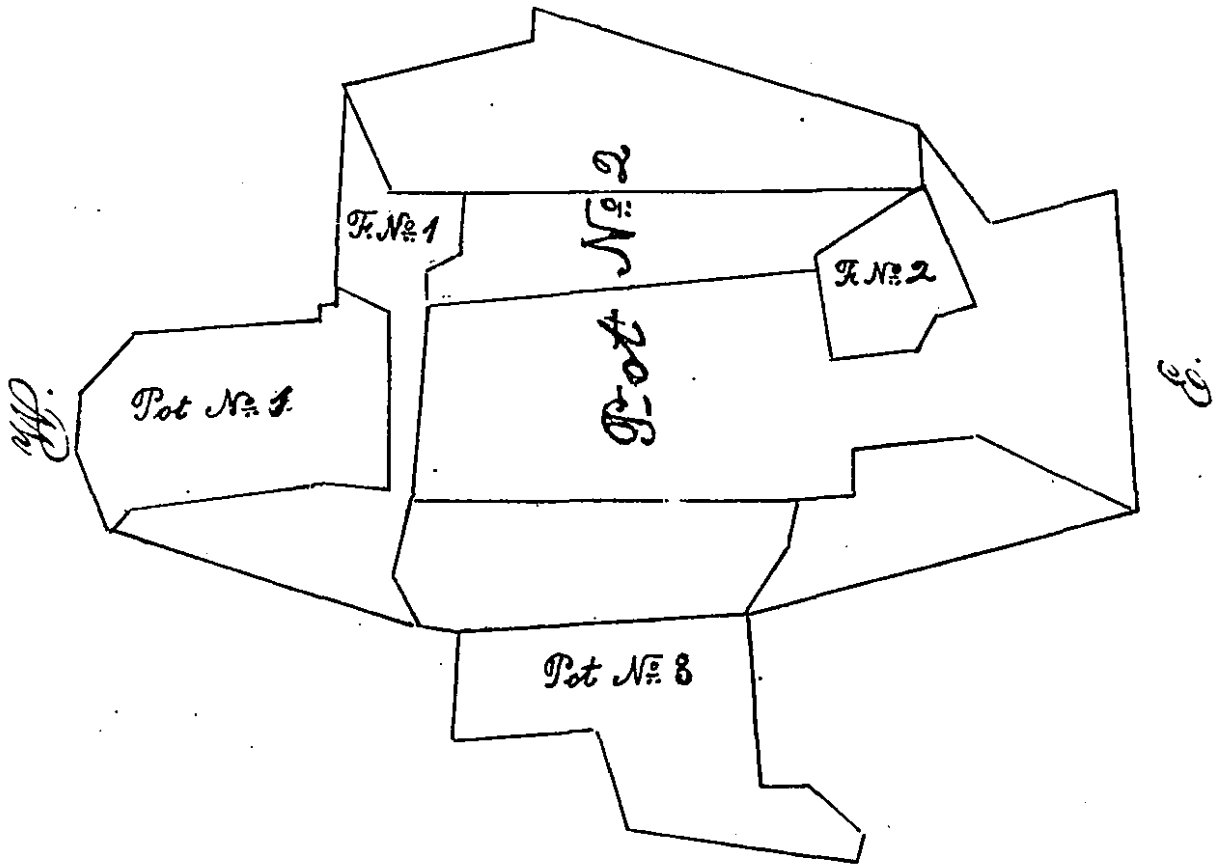
2. "When the Survey of the rest of the Alibag Taluka was made (1856-57) by the Poona and Ratnagiri Survey, the measurements of the *Kharapat* villages were revised and the land divided into Survey numbers, the limits of which were marked in the usual manner with stones. The omission pointed out in the first extract was supplied only about four years later as is clearly seen from the second extract, and thus the 1872-73 settlement of the villages was undoubtedly the revised one. It is to be earnestly hoped that Government will still reconsider their decision in the matter of the these villages and give the two hundred petitioners the justice they ask for. (Cheers.)

With these observations I beg heartily to support the resolution.



The following is the plan referred to at page 44.  
New Survey No 115 in the Village of Dhonkaradi.  
Ahlag Taluka.

North.



South

Mr. Vishnu Babaji Godbole, (Hubli,) in supporting the proposition said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The Resolution concerning the permanent assessment on land is one of the most important of all those that are passed in the Congress and the Conference because of all the avocations that are the means of subsistence to the population of India, agriculture stands out foremost. Notwithstanding this, Government attention is engaged in increasing the land revenue by fresh surveys; 80 per cent. of the Indian population are agricultural 12 servants 8 traders and merchants according to a fair calculation. This discloses an overwhelming majority, of those that have to depend upon agriculture for their support. Unless the assessment is permanently settled, the rayats cannot feel comfortable. For however well off a Rayat may be, he will have no heart to spend money on cultivation, sinking wells or conveying water to the field from a neighbouring rivulet as he cannot form any estimate of the probable land-tax he would have to pay. at the next 30 years survey, when he would have his field going as dry land, turned into and taxed as wet crop-land. Most of the Dharwar agriculturists have begun even now to entertain fears about the enhancement that await their holdings 8 or 10 years after. The subjects of the Native State follow the British subjects in their misgivings. I will quote some instances from the village that has deputed me. The Revenue of the village of Savalgi which was Rs. 1,241 in 1820 was increased before the new survey to Rs. 3,488. The next survey bounded enormously. The assessment was raised to 6,141. It must however he said that as compared with the British subjects the State subjects are better off but the rulers of the States would do well to mark the occasion and the circumstances. My friends Messrs. Khare, Samarth, and Gharat have satisfied you about their complaints from Ratnagiri and Kolaba by placing before you figures of present enhancement and they are calculated to blow up the heart of the poor Rayats. To keep the people happy and contented therefore Government must settle assessment permanently.

Mr. N. K. Gharat, (Kolaba,) in supporting the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The Land Revenue Resolution this year takes a slight departure from last year's resolution in that it deals with the system under which the revised rates are fixed. I will confine myself to this aspect of the question, as it does in my opinion require a fuller consideration than has been afforded to it.

Gentlemen, you have already been told that Government can lay claim to a higher assessment in revision settlement when the agriculturist derives greater profits from land owing to improved facilities of market or communication; that is, when the produce of his fields fetches higher prices without the land holder having to incur any amount of labour or money. The various statistics submitted to you by former speakers will enable you to ascertain how far these facilities have increased in the Alibag taluka and how far it would be right or equitable to raise the assessment of the taluka on their account to the amount to which it has been increased. But the Survey Officers do not rest on these reasons alone for enhancing the revenue cess. They base their claims also upon the qualities of the soil, thus effecting a revision of the anna valuation of the land. Now it was to remove this anomaly that the late Mr. Telang fought so very hard in the Legislative Council and exacted a promise and a clear enactment to the effect that the improvements of the agriculturists at their own cost and labour would not be taxed in any way whatever. The scope of the Survey Department for enhancing revenue was thus much narrowed, but they did not rest quiet under the defeat. While these debates were going on in the Legislative Council, the officers of the Survey Department were having a council of their own to devise methods which would effectually destroy the cause gained by the people's representatives in the Council. The survey authorities framed rules, for the guidance of the officers of the Department, which in themselves involve the taxing of improvements. The Alibag taluka was re-classified and of course its anna valuation was also revised. The Hon'ble Mr. Nugent, the then Commissioner S. D., bears testimony to the illegality of such a procedure in these words. "There is in the Commissioner's opinion a legal objection to a revision of the anna valuation." (*Vide* para 14 of his report at page 152 of the Selections) Government try to refute (*Vide* para 9 page 156 *ibid*) this argument by stating that any alteration of the anna valuation involved by the re-classification of the land is justified "so long as it rests on natural capabilities and not on changes in the character of the soil obviously and directly resulting from improvements effected by the holder." It is difficult to gauge the

meaning of these words when the anna valuation does in itself rest on "changes in the character of the soil directly and obviously resulting from improvements effected by the holder." Let me illustrate: suppose an acre of land was at the original settlement found to be, say 18 inches deep. It then came under the third class. The depth at the time of the Revision Settlement is found to be 27 inches and so the field falls and is assessed under the first class. The increase of 9 inches in the depth of the soil is not voluntary but is the result of the owner's toiling at it incessantly for a number of years. Two annas are reckoned for any land producing a second crop as that of *val*. This particular piece of land might have been quite unsuited for the growth of any such winter crops at the time of the original survey and then be fitted for them now it must be owing to the owner's having deepened the surface of the fields, surrounded them with good embankments and enriched their soil by the addition of manure. Why, the rules clearly lay down that fields with good embankments &c. (*Bandh Bandist*) are to be classed above those with defective ones. Similarly with wells. A well with good masonry work is to be classed higher than an unbuilt one or one built with raw materials. The latter sorts of wells of course have the danger of being filled up by the edges falling in during the rainy season. If a gardner wants to have a puca built well, he must be prepared to pay what may be called an increased well-tax. Why wells of any sort whatever that have been sunk at the expense or labour of the proprietor should at all be taken into consideration as also embankments, soil, &c., at the time of re-classification is not at all clear. No scruples seem to have been observed in taxing improvements. This well-factor has been curiously strained for the 4th class. Where water is supplied to trees from wells or rivulets by pitchers, the supply falls under this class. But suppose there are small trees in a garden and the classers do not see any water below them in winter. They are then told that although the trees might not be watered then, they cannot but require water during the hot season, so that although there might be no well in the garden or rather garden land nor any apparatus such as a wheel to draw water, the classers are enjoined to class the land under the fourth class of water-supply on the supposition that the trees must have been watered by pitcher from a rivulet or other source at some distance. (*Hear, hear.*) You would perhaps think that trees 40 years old would be allowed to go scot-free because they are watered neither in the winter nor during the hot season. But here the framers of the rules invoke the aid of logic. They tell their officers that although big trees might not be receiving water, they could not have grown to their size without having once been saplings; saplings must require water during summer so pitcherfuls of water must some time or other have been poured at the roots of these trees. This is a sufficient reason to class them under the fourth class. This argument it will be remembered savours somewhat of the wolf's contention in *Æstop's* fable of the "Lamb and the Wolf." (*Hear, hear.*)

Where the Survey Officers *show* they have not taxed improvements is in the case of converted *Varkas* they say they have kept the same maximum rate for newly converted land (*Navkird*) as for *Varkas* and *rabi*. If this is to be taken to mean that they have assessed *Navkird* at the same rate as *Varkas* and not higher than it, why, they would have done better to have fixed one maximum rate for all sorts of assessable lands from *Bagayat* of garden lands down to *Varkas*. Of course in this case if they counted 16 annas for *Bagayat* they would have to value *Varkas* at some pies, that's all. This process would have given the Survey Officers the immense advantage of saying that as they had fixed the same maximum rate for *Varkas* as well as *Kharip* (rice-producing) and garden lands the assessment on the latter sorts of land was actually lowered to that on *Varkas*. For, is not this the sort of logic that is virtually being preached to us? The fixing of the same maximum rate does not mean that converted *Varkas* has not be assessed higher than *Varkas* as such, a thing which they were legally not entitled to do and which they profess not to have done. For, see, gentlemen what has actually taken place. While even according to the high estimation of Survey Officers *Varkas* as such cannot be valued at more than four annas (taking the maximum rate of 3 rupees) and assessed at 0-12-0, *Navkird* is valued at full sixteen annas and assessed at 3. This means to say keep *Varkas* as it is we will take only 12 annas per acre; expend a large amount of money, dig it out, enrich it with manures and turn it into rice-producing fields and we will take three rupees per acre, only we will say we have assessed it as if it had not been converted.

Gentlemen a system of Revision Survey that bears all these glaring faults cannot but on the very face of it illegal, I must therefore recommend the resolution to your cordial acceptance. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. B. R. Nattu, (Poona,) supported the resolution in Marathi as follows :—

अध्यक्ष व सभासद हो :—जमिनीचे धान्याचे संबधाने जो ठराव करणे करितां विषय रा- रा० दाजी आवाजी खरे यांनीं सभे पुढें मांडला आहे व ज्यास रा० रा० समर्थ यांनीं अनुमोदन दिलें व दुसऱ्या गृहस्थांनीं पुष्टीकरण दिलें त्या प्रमाणेंच मी ही सदर ठरावास अनुमती देणार आहे, व ती देण्या बद्दल माझीं जीं कारणे आहेत तीं ही थोडक्यांत सांगणार आहे, तीं सांगण्या पूर्वीं बेळगांव जिल्ह्यांतील इनामदार गृहस्थांस एक विनंती करितों व ती एथेंच केली असतां अप्रासंगिक होणार नाहीं असें मजला वाटत आहे सत्र थोडे विषयांतर आहे तरी त्याबद्दल अध्यक्ष परवानगी देतील अशी आमची खात्री आहे. ती अडचण ही कीं, येथील कांहीं इनामदार व जहागिरदार लोकांस असें वाटत आहे कीं, या सभेस जाणें झटलें ह्मणजे आपण एक प्रकारें सरकारचे अप्रितीस कारण होऊं, अशा समजूतीनें कांहीं गृहस्थ आले नाहीत, त्या गृहस्थांस येवढी विनंती आहे कीं, त्यांची समजूत चुकीची आहे, त्यांनीं अशा ठिकाणीं येऊन आपले जे विचार या बाबतींत असतील ते उघडपणें सांगून सरकारास कळविणें हें आपल्या वर्गातील लोकांचें पाहिळें कर्तव्य आहे, जर असें न करितां घरीं बसून राहू तर मात्र दोषी होऊं, या सार्थीं ज्यांचे विचार असे असतील त्यांस इनामदार वर्गातील जे गृहस्थ हजर आहेत त्यांनीं आपआपले इष्टमित्रांस ही माझी विनंती कळवावी.

आतां विषयाकडे वळूं. या विषयाचे संबधानें माझे पूर्वींचे वक्त्यांनीं जें कांहीं कळविणें तें साधार आपल्या पुढें मांडलें आहेच, या बाबतींत मजला जें कांहीं कळविणें तें सरकार ठराव नंबर ३६१८ ता० १४ जुलई सन १८७४ व सरकार ठराव नंबर ७४४७ तारीख २१ आक्टोबर सन १८८६ व सरकार ठराव नंबर २६१९ ता० २६ मार्च सन १८८४ आणि सरकार ठराव नंबर ३,८८० ता० ४ जून १८९१ व सरकार ठराव नंबर ३,२०२ ता० ९ एप्रिल सन १८९२ या ठरावांचें आतिक्रमण कित्येक ठिकाणीं सरवे अमलदारांकडून व सरकाराकडून झालें आहे, असें सिलेक्शन रिकार्ड नंबर २९० अलिबागचें, नंबर २११ मावळचें, नंबर २९० जामनेरचें व नंबर २६४ पनवेल तालुक्याचें, या रिपोर्टां वरून सहजी कळून येईल.

इतकेंच नव्हे, तर जामनेर व मावळ तालुक्याचे दर ठरोती बद्दल सरवे कमिशनर मे० ओझ्यानि साहेब यांचे अभिप्राय सरवे सुप्रिंटेंडेंट यांचे विरुद्ध असतां व त्यांनीं सदर बुकांत जो आपला रिपोर्ट सरकारास पाठविला (साधार कारणांसहीत) असतां व मावळ तालुक्या बद्दल तर कमिशनर मध्यभाग यांनीं अनुमोदन दिलें असतांही सरकारांनीं फक्त ल्यांड रिव्हिन्यु कमी होते असें समजून तें त्यांचें ह्मणणें नाकारलें आहे, हीं उदाहरणें आपल्या पुढें ठेविलीं ह्मणजे सरकारचे बरील ठराव विरुद्ध कसे कसे झाले आहेत हें आपल्यास कळून येईल.

अशी स्थिती सरकारच्या खालसा गांवा बद्दल असतां जेथें इनामदाराचा गांव मामुल करारापेक्षां रिविजन मध्ये कमी होत आहे, असें सप्रमाण सरकारास व सर्वे कमिशनर यांस कळविलें, तेथें सरवे कमिशनर त्या इनामदारांस जुलमी ह्मणत आहे, याकडे आपण पाहिलें ह्मणजे आपली खात्री होईल कीं, या गोष्टीं सरकाराकडून नजर चुकीनें होत नसून सारा वाढेल तितका वाढवावा हा मुद्दा लक्षांत ठेऊन सरवे अमलदारांकडून सरवेचा सारा वाढविण्यांत येत आहे.

मुंबई हायकोर्ट रिपोर्ट नारायणाचार्य विरुद्ध बापाजी, या कज्यांत हायकोर्टानें स्पष्ट झटलें आहे कीं सरकारापेक्षां इनामदाराची गोष्ट अगदीं भिन्न आहे. इनामदारांस इनामी उत्पन्नांत त्यांचें कुटुंबाचें पोषण करणें असल्यामुळे सारा वाढविण्याचा अधिकार त्यांस ज्यावरून आहे असें साधार सरकारास कळविलें असतां त्या ठिकाणीं इनामदारांकडून जुलूम होतो असें सरकार ह्मणतें व खुद्द सरकाराचा आकार तालुक्याचे मामुल आकारापेक्षां दीडपठ दुप्पट जाहला तत्रापि तो योग्य बसविला आहे असें ह्मणतें ! या उदाहरणा वरूनच सरकारची न्यायबुद्धि कशी नष्ट होत आहे तें सर्वास कळून येईल.

शिवाय लोकवस्ती, घरे दारे, शेतकीर्ची जनावरे वगैरे वाढली आहेत हीं कारणे लावून सारा वाढविणे योग्य आहे, अशा सरवे अमलदार सरकारास शिफारशी करतात, परंतु हींच कारणे जेथे उलट आहेत ह्मणजे वाढण्याच्या ऐवजी कमी जाहली तेथेही सारा तालुका रिविजनमध्ये वाढत असतो त्याचे प्रमाण पाहिजे असल्यास सिलेक्शन रिकार्ड नंबर २५९, गोध्रा तालुक्यांतील सरवे सुप्रिटेण्डेंटचा रिपोर्ट, पैकीं कलम १७ व ५१ पाहिलीं ह्मणजे आपली खात्री होईल.

या कारणांवरून मी आपली संमती व पुष्टी रिविजन सरवे बद्दल जो ठराव मि० खरे यांणीं आणला आहे त्यास देत आहे.

Messrs. S. B. Bhate, (Belgaum), and P. N. Athvale, (Dharwar,) also having supported the motion in Canarese, the President put it to the vote and it was carried unanimously.

### RESOLUTION III.—The Military Medical Service.

Dr. K. N. Bahadurji, (Bombay,) who was very warmly received, proposed :—

*That this Conference is of opinion—(i) that the present condition of the higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the hour has arrived when, in the interests of the public, medical science, and the profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of its Military Service; (ii) that the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Civil Assistant Surgeon and Hospital Assistants compared with those of members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service require thorough investigation and redress, and prays that Government will grant, for the purpose, an open inquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.*

He said :—Not so long ago when I urged the necessity of this important reform being voiced from the Congress platform and being made a question more of the people than of the profession, the wisdom of this suggestion was doubted in some quarters, mainly, it would seem from fear of the monopolists securing stronger support from their official friends and patrons by reason of its connection with the Congress movement, which would seem not to command much favor in some official quarters. I say some official quarters, because it would be wrong to say that the whole official world is wholly insensible to the wholesome and helpful influence of Congress deliberations for the better understanding of the wants of the people and the government of the country. (*Cheers.*) It is true that complaints regarding the evils of the Indian Medical Service monopoly were raised from time to time, but they were invariably silenced by the Government pleading their usual *non possumus* on account of service rules and scheduled appointments. These complaints were moreover, concerned with educational matters only, and thus touched only a small part of the entire question. And the remedy often suggested of establishing independent colleges could but satisfy in a small degree the requirements of the large and radical reform are as you now know, of equal importance to the people of this country and its government, no less than to its profession of medicine. For though it directly affects the emancipation of the Indian medical profession from the degradation brought on it by the Indian Medical Service monopoly, it aims, nevertheless, to advance medical science itself, to enable India to have her own scientists, to advance the material development of the country, to give the tax-payer, as we shall presently see, a genuine article fully worth the value he pays for it, and, last but not least, to give a substantial measure of relief to Government in their financial embarrassment. These are matters, you will agree, more of public than professional interest to the country at large, and not only to the three Indian cities with medical colleges, and they naturally form fit subjects for consideration by our national assemblies. And we cannot but rejoice at the results which only a few meetings our of national assemblies

have already worked in the matter of this important question. The educational influence of these deliberations has familiarised the people with the details of the subject, has given form to, and focussed the various defects which the reform aims at removing, and by enlisting the intelligent sympathy and co-operation of the public, helped materially to bring nearer the day for the inauguration of the reform. The various details of the evils of the present constitution of our medical services have so often been placed before the public that it would suffice on this occasion to indicate briefly only the main lines of the reform which we have been urging. A fair field and no favor, and a move with the times would express the sum and substance of our demands. It is possible, as you are aware, for our graduates in all other faculties to rise to the highest positions in the service of the State, be they those of a Law or Arts Professor, or Executive Engineer, or Collector, or Sessions, and even High Court Judge, and that without any training in Europe—a matter reflecting no small credit on the colleges and the system of education that have produced such material for State service. Why, then, should it not be equally so with our medical institutions? If the sister institutions have so creditably done their work, and it is only the medical schools that have failed to show similar results, it must be that the system of medical education, and the interest of medical science have not been entrusted to proper hands. Our present system enjoins that holders of British medical qualifications, most of which are in no way superior to our medical degrees, only if they happen to hold a commission in the army, should monopolise all the important appointments, and, as a natural consequence, our graduates in medicine, however high their qualifications or undoubted their claims to preferment, are compelled to be content with the most subordinate and inadequately paid positions in the service, and live and die Assistant-Surgeons on Rs. 200 a month, while the members of the Indian Medical Service are favoured with expanding military titles, and composition, military and civil allowances rising from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500! It is time such an anomalous and unjust system were abolished. In the name of Christian charity and British fairness, let the system, which is so grossly unfair as to condemn the non-Christian hospital assistant to the miserable pittance of Rs. 16 to Rs. 30 and favours his Christian brother of the apothecary class, who undergoes similar training and less severetests for his examinations, with salaries ranging from Rs. 50 odd to Rs. 750 be done away with. (*Hear, hear,*) Let it be realised that the Civil Medical Department has grown sufficiently to lead an independent life, and to have the right to take its stock from the open market of the profession, and, that, other things being equal, it would be to the greater advantage of the country, both as regards economy and material progress, to have scientists of her own. Let not the choice in the equipment of its civil medical service be limited to a class of men trained and recruited for a military service. Let not expensive military loans be any more forced on the civil department. Let it be realised that these are times for specialisation of functions, and that if science is to be cultivated for its own sake, and for the sake of the people as often avowed by Government, it requires no other qualifications from its votaries than those of merit and special training, and that, therefore, a monopoly system which requires posts to be found for men irrespective of the question of their fitness or merit, and according to which a military medical man is supposed to be fit to take up the most diverse duties at a moment's notice, be they of a professorship in a College, or of special work in a department of science, or of sanitation, or of a political agency, is not only quite out of joint with the progress of the times, but positively mischievous in its working. (*Hear, hear.*) It was not long before public discussion of the evils of the present system took effect and official apologists not thoroughly saturated with the instincts of monopolists were forced to come out with the confession that the cry for reform had a substantial basis, only it was atrociously loud, and Government were unfortunately bound down by claims of vested rights and service schedules. But not so with some of the monopolists, themselves too far saturated with selfish thoughts to take a charitable view of the progress of science and the claims of professional brethren. These, of course, could not endorse the confession that was put forth on their behalf in the public press. They wanted a perpetuity for their monopoly, and therefore they were anxious to present a different picture altogether. And as they could not, as officials, do so in the public press, they looked round for another outlet for their version, and they hit upon a very clever plan. They held a Congress at Calcutta. They wanted non-official members, of course, for that meant money and something more, for, as the Calcutta Medical Reporter, first an enthusiastic supporter of that Congress, lamented, "the non-official members were deluded into attending it, and tacitly countenancing the expression of political utterances tending to their utter detriment." For, what did the President of that Congress, Dr. Harvey, maintain as regards his men and his

monopoly, and also as regards the non-official profession. "As long as the hospitals and medical schools are maintained by Government, it is reasonable that they should be officered by Government servants, and so long as Government continue to get the best men possible by open competition of the severest kind, I fail to see that there is any reason for complaint." The local graduates must, forsooth, remain content with the remnants of private practice and subordinate positions in the service, unless, indeed, they should help Dr. Harvey to raise millions of rupees, by an increment in the salt-tax or a capitation tax, to provide for them good berths in the new municipal hospitals, or expanded health departments, which Dr. Harvey conjured up before his mind's eye, as the only possible openings, and the only possible methods of providing them for our graduates? This is superfine logic and uncommon sense. Does Dr. Harvey mean that our hospitals and medical schools are not public institutions raised and maintained by public funds, simply because they are managed by Government, and that the people who pay for their management have no voice in the matter of the officering and equipment of these institutions, or that the British Government is but a family of traders, with a number of cousins and nephews to be provided for with berths in the medical establishment, (*hear, hear*) or that such as don't hold commissions in the army could not be called Government servants? The myth of the "severest competition" of the Indian Medical Service Examination, which many of our plucked students have got through with ease, has been too often exposed to need any further examination. Dr. Harvey's millenium of expanded health departments with millions of revenue from increased salt tax, or a capitation tax, presents such an excruciatingly grotesque picture that I would not spoil its effect by any attempt at analysis. Of course, the monopolists were too shrewd not to admit the absence of scientific work in India, in spite of their unique opportunities. They admitted it, but not without deploring what, they put forward as its cause, *viz.*, over-work. One medical officer, according to them, had to do the work of half-a-dozen or more, and they got Mr. Ernest Hart, the editor of the "British Medical Journal," to join in this chorus. Only Mr. Hart did not know the real secret of the matter. The medical officers of the Indian Medical Service have, as their subordinates, men as qualified as themselves to do the work of the departments they are supposed to preside over. The usual routine is that papers are prepared for their signatures by these qualified subordinates, and the chiefs merely, by signing these papers, often take the credit for work, which not only have they not done, but of which they may be, and often are, altogether ignorant. But all the same they get paid for taking such meretricious credit, for they get so much extra for each department in which they sign papers. It would be superhuman, indeed, to be Health Officer, Superintendent of Jail and several other departments, professor of one or more medical science subjects, and be engaged, practically all hours of the day, in extensive private practice, and yet this is what happens in the case of the one and the same individual in not a few instances. The official work, perhaps, is done during night hours, for during the day they must compete with the local practitioners and, as often happens in the districts, leave the latter very little to do, so easy are their terms and so vast their opportunities from their official position. It was seriously suggested, moreover, that to enable these officials to attempt scientific work they must be provided with microscopes—why not also with pocket cases, and other requisities—and coaching and refreshing courses in London every few months. But any thing will pass for sense when coming from officials or their patrons and apologists. As soon, however, as Mr. Hart began to breathe atmosphere untainted by official cant and prejudice, when he got to a safe distance from the mesmerising official radius, and was able to see things for himself, he saw quite different things, and naturally came to different conclusions. And the later views of this high authority fully and in the most unequivocal manner establish, in all important points, the position which we have taken up, and maintained, and afford the most complete vindication of the justice of our complaints and the propriety of our demands, and these opinions coming from the quarter, they do, are entitled to most serious consideration. For what does he say? He condemns the present system as "radically wrong," because it gives the Indian Medical Service men duties for most of which they have no special qualification," and because a system in which "men work their way up by seniority to a position in which they fill the dual capacity of P. M. O. of the Army and Sanitary Commissioner with Government affords no guarantee that they are capable of filling the place of the chief sanitary authority. And again men who had learnt their work as army surgeons at Netley, and had no preparation for the diverse duties of the Government Medical service in India, could give no better productions than "mere clerk's work." It is no wonder then that India should show utter destitution of scientific work and observation in spite of vast fields and opportunities.

These are the charges against the present system regarding its serious effects on the science and profession of medicines. But Mr. Hart goes further and warns the Government and the people of India that the most serious wrong that the present system "of putting men trained to work of one kind to work of quite another kind" is responsible for, is that "measures of vital importance to the health of the community are either neglected or imperfectly carried out." This one single evil of the existing system is enough to make the reform question, which we are now considering, the people's question, and to justify the public to rise up against the system, and call for immediate change. Let us hope that the public meetings which are proposed to be held all over India to voice the demand for a thorough reform of the medical administration of the country, will achieve the desired success, and that the profession and the public alike will heartily co-operate to carry out the proposed scheme of securing the sympathy and support of the British public and profession, by personal pleading of our cause before them, by an accredited delegate from India. The reform, in its practical working, offers little or no difficulty, and if dispassionably viewed, it would seem to break the neck of the present system without any sudden and violent effort. Let it be clearly understood, that our civil medical officers are mere loans from the military department, and that, by force of certain schedules, the civil medical department is forced to borrow hands from this particular depot of the I. M. S. This schedule has no legal or moral basis, for it forms no part of the I. M. S. covenant, which is for military work, and, surely, the medical institutions, and the various sanitary and scientific departments were not created and developed for the I. M. S. men to sponge on them. Stop, then, these loans, and let the civil medical service be a distinct service recruited from the open profession of medicine by selection passed on merit and special training suited to its diverse requirements. Let each head and specialist of a department be the responsible and trusted adviser of Government in matters germane to his work, as is the case in every civilized country. Let hospital boards of officials and non-officials look after the hospitals and dispensaries. The civil medical service properly constituted by selection from the open profession will not only greatly advance the cause of medical education and science, but will make each district with a hospital a centre of scientific work, and, given permanence and preference to local men, good men will, surely, be attracted to the hospitals, and the knowledge and experience they will acquire will be of great local use. Why should not each hospital centre earn as much renown and show as much good work under our graduates in the British territories as in Native States, Junagadh, for instance, were one of our local graduates has attained the high position of an authority in a special branch of surgery. For years past the military members of the I. M. S. have been placed under the authority of the A. M. S. Surgeon-General. So far as the military medical service of India is concerned, there is practically one service under one head, with two branches, one attached to Indian troops, and the other to British troops. Why, then, have two separate enlistments the A. M. S. and the I. M. S.? Why not have one Royal Medical Service with two branches, with the pay and pension scale higher for the Indian troops branch than for that attached to the British troops, in consideration of its longer period of service in India. As to the reserve question, there is no reason why the Civil Assistant-Surgeons should not be utilised in times of war, as pointed out by the Crawford and Cunningham Committee, for field service, especially after their distinguished work in some former campaigns. Thus it is clear, that the reform not only secures increased efficiency of the civil medical department, rearing of medical science for its own sake and the emancipation of the medical profession, but enables Government to redeem their pledges in regard to the introduction of Western Medical Science in India. They have declared that colleges and hospitals have been built at public expense and by private donations for "the cultivation of medical science in the interest of humanity, and for the promotion of the happiness of the people of the country," and "not for any governmental or executive wants," much less, therefore, as mere depots or halting places for unemployed military medical officers. But the reform secures another great object, as welcome to the people as to the Government of the country, *viz.*, a substantial saving of some twenty lakhs a year. (*Hear, hear.*) I will not trouble you with details, but briefly explain it thus. There are some 370 military loans serving in the civil department. Their rank allowances come to nearly 34 lakhs a year. The replacing of these military loans by men from a reformed civil medical service consisting of the present uncovenanted grade and an improved Assistant-Surgeons class, would secure a reduction of, at least, a third of these 34 lakhs, *i. e.*, some 12 lakhs, the scale of military allowances being a third higher than the average of the civil grade pay. But these 34 lakhs are not the actuals of the expenditure on the civil medical department, for, the civil



allowances or extras to these military loans cost a fourth more, *i. e.*, some 8 lakhs. The total saving, therefore, would amount to some 20 lakhs, a saving not to be despised in these hard times. That the military article is very costly, and that it would not be difficult to replace him by an equally, if not more genuine, and less expensive article, may be seen from this one fact. Side by side with his military colleagues in one of our medical colleges, is working a civil professor of the same qualifications and even of the same race at a salary rising from Rs. 350 to Rs. 750 only, the scale of military allowances being 750 to over 2,000! This disparity was more than once appealed against, but the Government regretted that, as the civil Professor was not a military man, they could not give him the allowances fixed for military loans. The resolution I have submitted to you pleads for reform with retrenchment, and increased efficiency. Whenever reforms are urged on Government they usually meet our appeal with a grievance, that they have no funds. But here is a reform which carries with it substantial redress of the standing grievance of Government. It moreover, enables them to redeem their pledges in the matter of medical education and the introduction of Western Medical science and, thereby, add to the sum of their beneficent work in India. (*Applause.*)

Professor B. G. Tilak, (Poona,) seconded the resolution very eloquently in Marathi.

Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna, (Bombay,) supported the resolution. He said :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition which has been moved in such eloquent terms by my friend Dr. Bahadoorji. The present constitution of the Medical Service is very peculiar. Men who receive very ordinary medical education are considered fit to hold all appointments, both military and civil. If they were confined to military work there would be no ground for complaint. But they are considered fit to hold all sorts of civil appointments to which their previous training does not entitle them. This is simply anomalous. It was excusable in the early part of the century, when there were no properly trained men available. But now the circumstances and conditions are changed. Men trained in the best schools of medicine are available, and there is no justification whatever for the continuance of the same policy. It is wrong in principle to suppose that all men from the military medical service are equal to any work. And practically this principle has been productive of the greatest mischief. It has created a sort of monopoly for such appointments and produced an injurious effect on medical education in this Presidency. There is only one Medical College for the whole Presidency—the Grant Medical College—and the professional appointments in it are almost exclusively confined to the Military Medical Service. Naturally the field of selection being limited, the men selected are not able to do full justice to their work, and the constant change of professors from one chair to another has had a most detrimental effect on the efficiency of teaching. Gentlemen, I may be permitted to mention for your information that the complaints about these constant changes have not been of recent growth and the result of recent political agitation, but they were loudest both from the college authorities and the medical faculty in the university a quarter of a century ago. Men like Sir W. D. Hunter and Sir George Birdwood, and the late principal of the College—I mean Dr. Gray—joined in this complaint both from the College and the university in denouncing this system as at once pernicious and harmful to the cause of medical education in the Presidency. Lord Reay, at the instance of Dr. Carter, changed this policy but it was reversed by his successor. Very recently a professor of pathology was at once transformed into one of chemistry and was made the responsible adviser of Government in the important matter of chemical analysis. D. Voelcker, in his book on Indian agriculture, passed some very severe strictures on this system of appointments. He says that the chemical analysers are men who possess no more than the school and test-tube knowledge of chemistry and analysis. The result is that the man bungles at first, and if he is above the average, he stokes himself into the routine work. What he cannot understand he tries to find out from books, and if he does not succeed the work is of course not done or done wrong. His work has reference to criminal justice and deals with the life of criminals. The actual experience is that the trained assistant does all the work and the chief only signs papers and draws salary. In spite of all this Lord Harris declared in one of his council speeches that the teaching was excellent and he

had heard no complaint from the students. Of course not. If he kept his own eyes and ears shut how could he see and hear, except through those of the officials. And what wonder then that he was thoroughly misled. The Assistant Surgeons who are generally men of equal culture and training, and who have done excellent work in their own spheres, deserve our sympathy and support. They are very unjustly treated and their grievances are never attended to in spite of repeated memorials and expression of public opinion they form. Theirs is a very hard lot, whereas their compeers in the Judicial, Revenue, and Engineering Departments can rise by gradations to Rs. 800 and even Rs. 1,200, beginning with Rs. 100 or even less, they must be content all their life with Rs. 100 to commence, rising to Rs. 200, with a pittance pension of Rs. 100. Their case requires serious consideration as well as that of the hospital assistants. What we must do is to bestir ourselves with a view to break the neck of this mischievous monopoly. The Congress, the Conference and the Anglo-Indian and Native Press have all hammered away at the question. The Government seems to turn a deaf ear to all this. Now the only way is to commence public meetings in the principal towns, and send delegates to London to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the British public and the profession with a view to secure the necessary reform of the separation of the civil from the military medical services. This will in the long run secure economy and efficiency, and place medical education on a firmer basis, and produce men with a taste for scientific and original work. Dr. Harvey, the President of the Medical Congress at Calcutta, in his address declared that the graduates were men who would hold their own with men educated in any land. If that be so why not give them their proper share? Dr. Hunt deprecated strongly the present system of medical education and the want of original research amongst the medical men of India. He was obliged to admit the defects of the system in spite of official pressure, and his views are in entire accord with those expressed by the two Congresses held at Lahore and Madras, and the Conferences held in Ahmedabad, Bombay, and Belgaum. With these observations I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposition, and trust it will be carried un-animously and with acclamation. (*Loud cheers.*)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### RESOLUTION IV.—Higher Education.

Mr. Rustam K. R. Kama, (Bombay,) in moving the Education Resolution said :—

The resolution I have now to submit to you is one affecting education—specially higher education. It runs as follows:—

*“ That this Conference, while thankfully recognising the success of public agitation in preventing the policy, which was attempted to be inaugurated with the promulgation of Lord Dufferin’s Resolution of 1888, the abolition of the Ahmednagar School and projected fusion of the Deccan and Ferguson Colleges, from being pursued any further, still insists on the impolicy of taking away any portion of the expenditure on higher education for the purposes of devoting the sum so saved to primary education, or any other objects, while there remains so much to be done in regard to the proper requirements of high schools and colleges. It further notes with satisfaction and thankfulness the utterance recently given by H. E. Lord Sandhurst that he was in favour of equally encouraging all kinds of education, and it once more affirms in the most earnest manner the importance of increasing public expenditure in all branches of education.”*

The resolution that I propose is so comprehensive and far-reaching as to require a very able and a lengthy exposition. But I shall only confine myself to making a few observations. The first point I shall call your attention to is the appreciation by the Conference of Government having stayed its hands from pursuing its retrograde policy, publicly announced by Lord Dufferin in 1888, and carried into execution by the Bombay Government by withdrawing its management of the public schools. At once the country was roused, and I believe, first expression of disapproval was given vent to at the Congress of 1888 at Allahabad,

where the Hon. Mr. K. T. Telang went to the length of saying that the country ought to go to the imperial Parliament if the Government of India paid no heed to the country's prayers for promotion of higher education. The Hon. Mr. Telang then pointed out forcibly how higher education was essential to India for its progress, whether moral or material, and for its national development. He forcibly repudiated the doctrine that it did not devolve upon Government to foster higher education. Mr. Telang pointed out that it was not only the duty of all Governments, but for special reasons which he then pointed out to his audience, it was the special duty of the British Government, whom Providence had made responsible to do its best to foster education. The Government had then declared that it would withdraw from direct management of educational institutions and hand them over to private management. He said how disadvantageous it was to the country if the Government did so, and he declared that it would simply bring disaster to the country. Gentlemen, since that strong protest was made Government brought forward the project of the fusion of Ferguson and the Deccan Colleges. When our public bodies sent protests against that policy, Government, owing to this agitation, did not go to that length, they stayed their hands. Now this resolution acknowledges the public success, in as much as the Government did not go further than where they had gone before the agitation. The Conference wants through this resolution, that the Government should not stop where they now are, but should spend more money on higher education. The Government say that what we are taking from higher education we give to primary and technical education. The primary and technical education required money no doubt, but Government have not made out a case that primary and technical education should be promoted at the sacrifice of higher education. We want Government to keep up higher education in efficiency. In a country like India people have not reached that standard as to come forward themselves and maintain institutions for higher education. It is therefore a bounden duty of Government to keep higher education in a state of efficiency. Gentlemen, the second part of the resolution refers to the marked appreciation of Lord Sandhurst's actions—(*loud cheers*)—so far as he was personally concerned. He has no desire to make any retrenchment on education of any kind. We have another instance of his sympathetic remarks. His Excellency observed that it was stated people had too much education, but he did not see that people of this presidency had too much of real education. The Government reply to our prayers is that they could not spare money out of their revenue to spend after higher education. I think they can, if they gave up their "military fire-works," after which they spend so much money on the frontiers. (*Applause.*)

Mr. N. V. Gokhale, (Bombay,) in seconding the third resolution, observed:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.

The present subject has been discussed on various occasions in one form or another, and I think I had better at this late stage of the proceedings act up to the maxim that speech is silver and silence gold, especially in these days of falling exchange, when we would like to store as much gold as possible. Gentlemen, at one time, especially after Lord Dufferin's resolution of 1888, which expressly encouraged a *tendency* on the part of Local Governments not to increase expenditure on education it was thought that there was a distinct danger to the cause of higher education. In our own presidency schemes were contemplated by Lord Reay's Government, which called forth a good deal of opposition in the public press. The Congress also strongly protested against the reactionary policy which was about to gain ascendancy in many parts of the country. I do not think that the danger to the cause of higher education has altogether yet ceased to exist, and it is our duty to exercise extreme vigilance in watching the educational policy of Government in these days of distrust and suspicion towards educated Indians. At the same time there is little doubt that the protests that were raised in this presidency and elsewhere, did not fail to exercise some restraining influence upon the retrograde policy which, it was universally believed on very substantial grounds, Government were about to pursue. We have been told that Government have done nothing to discourage higher or secondary education. It is all very well for our critics to say this now. But they forget to tell us what would have happened if the public had remained silent and Government had not seen signs of grave dissatisfaction at the policy in contemplation. But for the persistent agitation on the subject, I am afraid even the Bombay University would have been deprived of the small subvention now given to it by Government. Gentlemen, while we are thankful that the voice of the public has not wholly been disregarded, it is our duty to point out once more

that Government should do nothing to cripple secondary and higher education. At the Fifth Poona Conference I showed, by placing before the delegates facts and figures extending over a period of ten years, that the net expenditure on education in this Presidency did not come up to even 2 per cent. of the net revenue, when years ago Sir Alexander Grant had urged upon the attention of Government the importance of increasing the State expenditure at least to this limit. My figures, as you remember, were called in question by His Excellency Lord Harris at an educational gathering in Bombay, and it was contended that Government spent 8 or 9 per cent. on education. But the method pursued in arriving at this percentage was utterly fallacious and misleading. I pointed out at the time that from the tax-payers' point of view it did not make any difference that the Indian Government took away a portion of the taxes paid by the people. The simple question is what amount is spent by Government out of Rs. 100 contributed by the tax-payer? Some of you at least will recollect the discussion I opened in the columns of the *Times of India* on this subject, and although the Accountant General came forward with his figures, I do not think he succeeded in convincing the public that the principle followed by him in arriving at his percentage was a sound one. Gentlemen, as I have already shown, the total sum expended by Government on all classes of education has never been at all excessive. Consequently it follows that the claims of higher education could not have received an unduly liberal treatment. It behoves Government, therefore, not to curtail their expenditure on this branch of education. Secondly, our colleges and high schools cannot yet be regarded as model institutions. As admitted by Lord Harris, they do not provide students with a home life as in England. The Grant Medical College in Bombay, as well as the Poona Science College are without any residential quarters, and I personally know to what serious hardships students are put owing to the absence of such a provision. Even Government institutions have not always had the best staff of professors and teachers, nor are they well equipped in other respects. I am not, Gentleman, opposed to primary education, but having regard to the imperfections of our high schools and colleges, I do contend that it would be mischievous for Government to withdraw their helping hand in the present state of our educational development. We have heard much about the desirability of encouraging private enterprise. That principle sounds well in theory, but we know the lurking dangers hidden beneath its plausible exterior. Even in more enlightened and wealthier countries than India like France and Germany there is now growing a tendency to believe, as was pointed out by Sir Raymond West at a meeting of the Oriental Congress held in London, that it is for the State to support higher education, and if we in India ask the State, which is the principal landlord, to accord its patronage to higher education, as was done in England by kings, barons and great landlords, we are simply asking Government to follow the example of more advanced nations in the West. Gentlemen, when we speak from our Congress and Conference platforms we are denounced as a microscopic minority. But this is scarcely to our discredit. If Government are sincerely anxious to see this microscopic minority converted into an overwhelming majority, let them follow a more liberal and trustful policy towards university education. Gentlemen, it is a satisfaction to us to know that Lord Elgin, as declared by him at Lahore, is in favour of higher education. It is also equally gratifying that Lord Sandhurst declared on an occasion, which is a red letter day in the educational history of this Presidency, that he was in favour of all kinds of education, and we sincerely trust His Excellency will be able to carry out his promise to follow in the footsteps of Elphinstone whose name is for ever associated with the educational progress of Western India. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Herlekar, (Dharwar,) in supporting the resolution said :—

PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

The importance of the proposition I now rise to support is clearly evident from the circumstance that when the eloquent words of my predecessor are still ringing in your ears I should venture to join my weak voice in support of the same. The value of education as far as India was concerned was rightly foreseen by Macaulay and others and the only thing that we expect at the hands of the Government is a steady and honest pursuance of that liberal policy sketched out by those farsighted statesmen. It is true that higher education has created aspirations in the breasts of the educated and that may be one of the reasons why higher education has incurred the displeasure of the bureaucratic Anglo-Indians. But it is a fact established that the only solution, I mean satisfactory solution of the difficulty is

that those aspirations must be reasonably satisfied. Another reason which has perhaps led a portion of the Anglo-Indians to look askance at the spread of higher education is the criticism to which some actions of Government and Government officials are occasionally subjected by educated people, but I can assure you gentlemen that it is a very easy business to convince the enemies of higher education if there be enemies in any quarter, that criticism from different standpoints is always a very valuable guidance to those who have a mind to govern for the benefit of the governed. These two things apart I take this opportunity to refer to one or two aspects of the question which have not attracted the observation of honest observers. Wherever university men have entered, be it in the revenue line, be it in the judicial line, be it in the profession of a pleader or doctor, they have always made a mark for honesty, efficiency and public spirit; many of you may have heard the remarks which uneducated ryots make on these educated officers. They always give them full credit for honesty, straight-forwardness and sympathy. University people have relieved Government, though partially, from the duty of importing education. We have in our presidency a College teaching up to the B. A. Standards conducted by university men; private schools and high schools are everywhere. The unmixed good that we have derived from our subordination to the English nation is the English literature, and university men have done no small good in popularizing the literature by translations of great authors in the English language. The wide discontent which some of the Government measures have created in the hearts of the masses can only be given a proper guidance by the educated people and we, I take pride in saying, have been teaching them the methods of constitutional agitation. It is always the case with ignorant masses that they are slow to move but when once they begin to move they are inclined to move in a spirit of rebellion and revolt. It is in this state of things that the educated people allay their fears and teach them the ways of approaching Government with their grievances in a constitutional manner. If I may be allowed to allude to a lesson taught by past history you all know that the French revolution assumed a dire aspect only when the mind of the masses was perturbed beyond the hope of any guidance by the literary men of the time. It was then that lantern posts were turned into scaffolds. It was then that the soldiers at the gate of the Bastille refused to fire on the assemblage. It was then that churches were demolished and palaces pulled down. If Louis XVI or his advisers had correctly read the signs of the times, the catastrophe would have been partially avoided. Now when Royal Commissions are set down as expensive farces, when the statements in Government reports are shown not worthy of implicit belief, when working of the so called magistracy appears to be guided by considerations which are not strictly judicial, when the procedure of imposing revising rates is so grossly abused, the educated people are doing immense good to order and government, by petitions and appeals and by holding meetings and submitting memorials. We may be occasionally guilty of harsh language towards individuals but we are and shall ever be friends of order and law. I am encouraged to speak these things now that we have a Governor who has openly declared himself a friend to higher education and I firmly hope that in no distant future higher education shall not be starved, as funds which are now spent otherwise will be devoted towards its promotion. I beg to conclude with a hope that you will accord your unanimous support to the resolution so ably proposed and seconded by my predecessors.

Mr. G. G. Pandit, (Ahmedabad,) having also supported the resolution, the Conference carried it unanimously.

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### THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Conference re-assembled under the Presidency of Mr. D. E. Wacha, at 12 noon on Tuesday, the 14th. May.

#### RESOLUTION V.—Compliment to the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta.

Professor G. K. Gokhale, ( Poona, ) moved the following resolution andist loud cheers :—

*“ That this Conference desires to place on record its high appreciation of the masterly services, rendered to the country by the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta in the last session of the Supreme Council at great personal inconvenience, and it authorises the President to draw up and present on its behalf an address to Mr. Mehta, embodying this expression of opinion, at such time and place as may be determined hereafter in consultation with the Hon. gentleman.”*

He said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution which I have to propose to-day for your adoption is one, which it is not only a pleasure but a privilege to move, and I feel sure when it is put to you from the chair you will carry it with unanimity and enthusiasm. Gentlemen, the brilliant abilities of Mr. Mehta and the great services which he has rendered, not only to our Presidency but to the country at large, during a period of nearly a quarter of a century are now so well-known that his name has really and truly become a household word with us. The grasp and vigor of Mr. Mehta's intellect, his wide culture, and his fearless independence coupled with dignity and judgment, have won for him to-day a most commanding position in the public life of the Presidency, and a position of singular eminence in the public life of Bombay. Gentlemen, when a person has attained so prominent a position, it is inevitable that the fierce light of comparisons, to vary the beautiful expression of the late Laureate, should beat on him. And I think no person has suffered less than Mr. Mehta by these comparisons. A friend of mine in Bombay, a shrewd observer of men and things once said in speaking of Mr. Telang and Mr. Mehta and Mr. Ranade, that Mr. Telang was always lucid and cultured, Mr. Mehta vigorous and brilliant, and Mr. Ranade profound and original. I think, gentlemen, you will agree that there is much in that observation. At the same time it must be said that, though some men think that Mr. Mehta's particular qualities are vigour of intellect and brilliancy, it does not follow that he is in any way deficient in the other qualities. To my mind it has always appeared that Mr. Mehta to a great extent is a happy combination of the independence and strength of character of the late Mr. Mandlik, the lucidity and culture of Mr. Telang, and the originality and wide grasp of Mr. Ranade. And these qualities which have always shone well, never shone more brilliantly or to greater advantage than in the work done for us by Mr. Mehta in the last session of the Supreme Legislative Council. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, I do not mean to recount in any detail the services rendered by Mr. Mehta during that session. In the first place, they are so fresh in our memory, and, secondly, they were only the other day recapitulated so well by speaker after speaker at a public meeting in Bombay. I will however, say this, that in those discussions in the Council Mr. Mehta showed himself to be a match for the ablest of his Anglo-Indian opponents and a match for them in their several elements. Those who have read those discussions will agree with me that Mr. Mehta's contributions uniformly displayed the highest ability and skill as a debater. And that his speech on the Budget was calculated to raise even his reputation for grasp of principles and mastery of details. Member after member on the Government side rose on that occasion to demolish Mr. Mehta. Sir Charles Elliot, the Military Member, Sir Anthony Macdonell, and Sir James Westland, each in his turn attacked Mr. Mehta, thereby only showing how strong was the case made out by Mr. Mehta in the opinion of Government themselves. The attempt of Sir James Westland to browbeat Mr. Mehta only recoiled on himself. He lost his temper when Mr. Mehta spoke in his vigorous manner of the defects of the Civil Service, and complained bitterly that

Mr. Mehta was introducing a new spirit in the discussion in the Legislative Council, and ended by accusing him of uttering a calumny. When, however, the speeches of the two were published the public was in a position to judge who it was that had uttered a calumny. The remarkable coolness with which Mr. Mehta behaved on the occasion elicited the admiration of the Calcutta *Statesman*. Throughout Mr. Mehta showed himself, as I have already said, to be a match for his opponents on their own ground, and, as the correspondent of a Madras paper well expressed it, he returned argument for argument, invective for invective, banter for banter and ridicule for ridicule. Gentlemen we are proud that our representative should have achieved so much glory. We are proud that even our friends in Calcutta thought his services to be so signal that under the leadership of Mr. W. C. Bonnerji they presented a public address to Mr. Mehta to express their sense of gratitude although they had their own member in the Council. Those of us who know Mr. Mehta know that he cannot much care for these compliments. We are aware that services such as he has rendered are their own reward. But we owe to ourselves a duty in the matter, and we shall best perform that duty by authorizing our President to convey an expression of our gratitude to Mr. Mehta in the manner suggested in this resolution. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. R. P. Karandikar, (Satara,) seconded the Resolution in Marathi, he said :—

It is but in fitness of things that this Provincial Conference, voicing as it does the views of the Bombay Presidency, should proceed to pass the Resolution like the one which has been placed before you. The Provincial Conference forming an important factor of the great national assembly, the National Congress has every reason to rejoice at the confidence reposed by the entire nation in our Bombay representative. Ever since the institution of the Congress, Mr. Mehta's name has been connected with all that was great and good in it. Those who have observed the powerful growth of popular opinion as represented by the Congress must have observed how steadily Mr. Mehta deserved the trust confided to him from time to time by this august assembly. If it is true that the present expansion and reconstitution of our Legislative Council is largely due to the strenuous efforts of popular movement of the Congress, and the Conferences, this Conference has every reason to be proud of this present occasion when it has the opportunity of honouring Mr. Mehta, and therefore honouring itself, their first elected Member of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It was in 1886 that the Congress advocated a scheme which was calculated to enable the elected members of the local Legislative Council to elect a member for the Viceregal Legislative Council. This hope has been realised. As soon as the Provincial Legislative Council was constituted the choice fell on Mr. Mehta. It is a matter of supreme satisfaction to see how completely at one were the Provincial Legislative Council and the Congress in this respect. For, gentlemen, the 5th Congress by Resolution No. 13, unanimously appointed Mr. Mehta as Standing Counsel for the Bombay Presidency, as it did Mr. Ananda Charlu for Madras; this in a measure is an index of how faithfully the Congress represents Indian public opinion. By various Resolutions the Congress in 1889, 1890 and 1892 appointed Mr. Mehta, among others, at some time to awaken public opinion in England in favour of India and at others to draw up important documents, such as India's petition to the House of Commons about the Public Service Commission. I have thus been able to place before you how steadily the confidence of the entire nation of India in Mr. Mehta is increasing both in volume and quality and it is equally satisfactory to note how scrupulously Mr. Mehta in his turn has been endeavouring to faithfully discharge the trust reposed in him. His public utterances including those as chairman of the Bombay Reception Committee, the President of the Provincial Conference Poona 1892, and the President of the National Congress at Calcutta, had already given the pledges which were but a reciprocation of the confidence in him. His career at Bombay is as glorious as substantial a march of whatever is noble and public spirited in almost every public institution. One and all were all prepared to see what we have now so gladly to note. Ever since the appointment of the Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik of whom we have every reason to be proud (*hear, hear.*) the public attention is closely directed to the doings and sayings of our representative in the Legislative Council of India and it is manifest we are not wanting either in outspokenness when there is an occasion to justify censure or in readiness when the occasion is for rejoicing. We are equally jealous of the treatment that is accorded to our representatives, especially to one of Mr. Mehta standing and credentials. For any treatment afforded to him is one actually to the whole Nation.

When the members of the Executive Council therefore grow impatient of the attitude of our representative, it is as much impatience of the entire Indian Nation. And we are justly indignant at the treatment which in weak moment the member of the Executive Government descends to offer to our trusted representative. But a treatment of this kind may in one sense only heighten the value as fire that of gold. He who stands out bold and unbaffled is really entitled to fame lasting and sure. This brings us to the scene in the Viceregal Legislative Council on the occasion of the Police Bill discussion. We have very great pleasure in testifying to the many unspeakable excellent qualities, which so highly fit Mr. Mehta for the honorable post. Mr. Mehta may very well be likened to a big gun placed on the ramparts of the fort of unswerving loyalty which the Indian Nation has built up. His was responsible post but the responsibility on the constituents was more than double. The President has already stated the yeoman's services rendered to the country and it is but proper that the Conference should pass the resolution with acclamations. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### RESOLUTION VI.—The Forest Management.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu, (Belgaum,) who was received with loud cheers said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

The resolution that is entrusted to me, and which is to be placed before you for your approval and acceptance, runs thus:—

*“That this Conference, while placing on record an expression of its deep gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No. 22F, dated 20th October, 1894, acknowledging unreservedly the justice of the popular demand that in the management of forests fiscal considerations ought to be entirely subordinated to the needs and agricultural interests of the ryots, earnestly hopes that the rules which the Local Government have to frame to give effect to the policy enunciated in the resolution will be drawn up after carefully consulting in each place local wants and grievances, and that they will be published in draft form before their final adoption, so as to give the public an opportunity to express their views in the matter.”*

Gentlemen, this is no doubt one of the most important and necessary resolutions placed before you at this Conference, because it involves a question which concerns the whole of the rural population. This is also one of the most important questions now under the consideration of Government. The important resolution mentioned in this proposition is issued by the Government of India; and the Local Governments are asked to frame rules to give effect to the policy laid down in it. Now gentlemen, here is an opportunity given us and we must take advantage of it. It is useless to cry from the Conference and Congress platforms, if we do not work when a fine opportunity is offered to us by Government to place before them, the facts about the forest grievances affecting different localities. As just now Government is considering the question, we must ask the people of each District, Taluka and Village to place before Government the facts relating to the question; Government will then be in a position to come to the right and proper conclusion. Here is a question where we must assist Government to arrive at a correct notion about the nature of our grievances. The people of each district should try to collect facts, as general statements unsupported by facts and figures carry no weight. As the Government of India has issued the above Resolution, it is now high time for us to request the Local Government to enforce the policy of that Resolution, by framing rules, after hearing and considering local wants and grievances. When the question of framing rules under the above Resolution was under consideration before the Supreme Government, I had asked a question in the Bombay Legislative Council on the same subject, to which the Hon'ble Mr. Trevor replied as follows:—



“The question of the modifications to be effected in the administration of the state forests consequent on the orders contained in the resolution of the Government of India, No. 22 (F), dated 19th October, 1894, is under consideration of this Government, and reports which have been called for from the Commissioners, Collectors, and Conservators are awaited. Due attention will be given to any representation of local grievances which may be received.”

We have already received an assurance from the Government of India about its future forest policy and further as the Hon'ble Mr. Trevor has assured us that local representations will receive consideration there is little fear of the promise being broken. After the promise thus given, our to-day's resolution would be in every way acceptable to Government. When we are assured that local grievances would be considered, it is for every one of us to collect facts and place them before Government in time. It is useless to speak only on this platform in general terms; we must submit a list of all the hardships which we experience in our districts from the existing forest rules.

Before stating some specific instances of the hardships which people suffer on account of the hard and fast rules of the Forest administration and still more from the way in which those rules are interpreted by the subordinates in the Revenue and Forest Departments, I will just consider some of the important features of the Resolution of the Government of India, and shall also point out where our views on the subject do not differ from those of Government.

In the first portion of the Resolution, Government vindicates so to say the existence of the Forest Department; we also agree with Government in saying that the preservation of forests is necessary in a country for climatic, agricultural and such other purposes. About this point there is no dispute. It is the hard and fast rules which trouble the people and not the principle. These rules must be modified. The Government of India admits the existence of hardships caused to the rural population by these rules. They further admit that the lower subordinates in the service are corrupt and add a good deal to these hardships. I believe you have all of you a copy of the resolution in your hand and that you have read it. I will draw your particular attention to some statements in the resolution which practically touch the most ordinary forest grievances.

Among other things it says:—“Every reasonable facility should be afforded to the people concerned for the full and easy satisfaction of the needs (such as small timber for building, wood for fuel, leaves for manure and fodder, thorns for fencing grass and grazing for their cattle and edible forest produce for their consumption) if not free (as may be possible where a system of regular cuttings has been established), then at low and not at competitive rates. It should be distinctly understood that the considerations of forest income are to be subordinated to that satisfaction \* \* \* Considerations of income should be observed and considerations of income should be made secondary to the full satisfaction of local needs. Such restrictions as may be necessary for the preservation of the forest, or for the better enjoyment of its benefits, should be imposed; but no restriction should be placed upon reasonable local demands merely in order to increase the State revenues \* \* \* It is to be distinctly understood that the Government of India do not desire that grazing should be looked upon primarily as a source of income.”

Thus you will find that the resolution has many noble objects in view and it is only the ignorance or want of judgment on the part of the executive officers which frustrates those objects. The Government of India unhesitatingly admits that the people do suffer from the present hard rules of the forest law and that the present forest administration needs some change. When the authorities introduced scientific forestry in this country from England and America, the climatic and other influences and also the habits of the people being entirely different here, the imported scientific theories not only worked unsatisfactorily but caused an amount of trouble to the village population. Government of India also admits that it is necessary that no hard and fast general rules should be introduced. The habits and the circumstances of the people are entirely different in India and one cannot expect the Indian agriculturist to understand intricate rules which are often repealed and new ones substituted for them. Under these circumstances it is necessary that new rules should be framed after the local wants, grievances and other circumstances are considered and properly looked into. When these grievances are brought to the notice of Government, it must be pointed out what the wants of each village and hamlet are. There should not be one set of rules for a whole District.

or a circle, as for the Northern circle or Southern circle, but local wants even of a every small village should be pointed out to enable Government to frame or modify rules to suit the circumstances of every such village. This is the only course open for us by which we can induce Government to remove the existing hardship. I will explain why such detailed local inquiry is necessary. In many points one village differs from another; for instance one village supplies a *gáýran* to the reserved forest area and therefore gets some concessions in respect of grazing fees, while another village has no *gáýran* at all and does not get the concession. In some localities the reserved forest area is so close to the village that the people cannot even take their cattle to their own fields for fear of trespass on the reserved forest area. In another case there is no grazing ground at all and the cattle is to be taken to other villages. In some parts the land requires *rab*, while in others cheap fuel supply is necessary to save cow-dung manure for the exhausted fields of the ryots. These and other local considerations create the necessity of modifications in the general rules.

The Government of India has the best of motives in issuing this resolution and introducing in it the liberal spirit which was inaugurated by the Government of Lord Reay. (*Hear, hear.*) However it depends upon the way in which the noble and broad principles of the Resolution are carried out. It should be brought to the notice of Government that the interests of the agriculturists, on whom rests the stability of the State, should be carefully guarded and that the noble object of Government is often entirely frustrated by the absurd and ridiculous interpretations put upon the rules by the executive officers.

The wants to which the attention of Government must be drawn are too many to be enumerated here, but I will tell you what the principal ones are,—difficulty about grazing being the most important. I will also give you some instances in which the broad meaning of the rules is wrongly twisted by the District Officials. For instance there is a rule promulgated by the Government of Bombay in respect of grazing fees, that in the case of village cattle belonging to cultivators, '*sucking animals*' should be allowed free grazing; for all other animals there is a scale of fees fixed. From this rule one can easily understand, that what Government meant was that '*sucking animals*' going into forest for grazing should not be charged at all. This is a very small concession in itself, when one knows that such young calves cannot graze like grownup cattle. However the Collector interpretes the rule very curiously. He directs the Mamledar that if '*the sucking animals follow their mothers, in the grazing place for the actual purpose of sucking, then only you must not charge fees.*' The condition of '*actual purpose of sucking*' could not have been meant by Government. (Belgaum Collector's Order, No. 135 of 11 th July 1894.)

The Mamledar of course must have found it impossible to carry out this order of the Collector, because it would be difficult always to keep watch over these sucking animals, to ascertain when they were actually sucking and when not. The Mamledar therefore in his own supreme wisdom issued the following order by way simplifying the Collector's. He says "for all calves if they go into the forest *for grazing* you must charge fees irrespective of the age. They are to be exempted if they go *for the purpose of sucking only.*" (Khanapur Mamledar's Order No. <sup>1527</sup><sub>21.7.94.</sub>) But this order also was found unworkable. The village officers could not follow the cattle into the forest every day to note what animals go for actual sucking. Besides, the census of the cattle is taken in the village, even sometimes at odd hours of the night. (*hear, hear.*) And therefore to save trouble and to secure revenue to Government, the Mamledar issued another order cancelling the above. He says:—"It must be presumed that all calves going into the grazing ground do so far grazing, because such animals cannot be sucking animals" (Khanapur Mamledar's Order No. 172 dated 2nd October 1894.) The order is nothing but an argument in circle. Its logic as well as its sense are faulty. When this order of the Mamledar was issued, setting aside in fact the rule made by Government, the cultivators began to tie the sucking animals in their houses, thinking then at least no grazing fees would be levied. But the Forest Officers were too shrewd for the ryot. Instead of ascertaining what animals actually go into the grazing ground, to avoid trouble, they take census of the animals in the village, including sucking animals also and charge fees accordingly. The protests of the ryot that the calves never go out for grazing are not listened to and the result is that sucking animals allowed to graze free, under Rule XII\* of the grazing rules issued by for Government, are charged even though they never go out to graze. (*Hear, hear.*) Rule XII

\* *Vide* Appendix C. Bombay Legislative Council's Proceedings (20th March 1895.)

is in the first place intended to apply to animals going in Government grazing blocks and it exempts young calves who follow their mothers. This being so clear an exception, the logic of the Collector and the Mamledar have upset the whole meaning. Can you point out a better instance of the absurd and ridiculous twisting of plain orders of Government? Here is a concession turned topsy-turvy and an illegal and unauthorized tax is levied from the poor ryot. (*Hear, hear.*) Thus a concession becomes a curse.

Coming to our resolution, I will impress upon the villagers the necessity of bringing to the notice of Government, the hardships caused in respect of the grazing rules and rules about the free and sufficient supply of *ráb*, or *sóppu* from the *betta* lands in the Canara District,—about the free grants of wood to poor cultivators for making ploughs and building houses and about the removal or cutting of trees in *malhi numbers* or occupancy holdings. The existing rules about these subjects are not clear and are often misinterpreted. The interpretations are always favourable to secure more revenue no doubt, but the discontent caused amongst the ryot is immense.

I have another instance to mention of a grave hardship caused to the cultivators in most parts of the Presidency by the creation of reserved forests very close to villages. In such villages the cultivators cannot take their cattle to their own field—as they have to pass through Government reserves and as the corrupt lower subordinates of the department charge them with trespass. The Cattle-Trespass Act has become a very potent factor to add to the revenues of Government. The evil is so great that even the Government of India has recognised it in its Resolution. In one of the Forest Administration Reports, Mr. James, the Commissioner of Sind, says:—“There are many places in which considerable areas of cultivated land are almost entirely ringed in by forest reserves and the cattle cannot stray a yard off the occupied land without trespassing in reserved forests.” I submit these remarks are applicable more or less even to the other parts of the Presidency. The Hon'ble Mr. Shuttleworth, Conservator of Forest, Central Division, has quoted in his annual report (for 1893-94) the following remarks of the Poona Collector:—Cattle-trespass is an evil of much magnitude and I do not think there is much hope of the number of animals impounded by the Forest Department decreasing to any very marked extent for some years to come. I have little doubt that cattle are occasionally allowed to trespass in forest limits because these limits are not accurately known.

In forwarding his report the Collector of Satara says:—“From the Collector's point of view the noticeable features in the year's Forest Administration have been the decrease in the revenue from grazing and the increase in the number of animals impounded for trespassing forest. As a report on the whole question of grazing in forests is shortly to be submitted in accordance with the orders of Government, no full remarks upon it are necessary here. The undersigned may however, safely express an opinion that *there is something wrong either with the grazing rule, themselves or with the manner in which they are worked.*” Thus you will see that here is an evil of great magnitude which must be removed by the modification of rules and by reduction in the area of forest reserves round about the villages. It is also the duty of Government that forest limits should be clearly marked out and sufficiently wide paths be allowed for the cattle to pass through them. I know that the Forest Department not only fails in this duty, but that they have not as yet got accurate maps of reserve forests area in each village. Moreover I know that in the Karwar District, the people of some villages asked for the copies of such maps and the authorities declined to supply them and yet these people are charged for trespass. (*Cries of shame.*)

In some cases milch cattle belonging to cultivators is allowed free grazing—but the number of such cattle is based on the number of persons in each house. But even this simple rule is differently interpreted in different Talukas of the same districts; in some taluka one she-buffalo is considered sufficient for three persons while in another Taluka, it is considered sufficient for five persons. It is difficult to understand this equation. To understand these varying scales I think one ought to be a revenue officer, (*hear, hear.*) In such small matters the Local Government ought to frame new rules fully in accordance with the views of the Government of India, bearing always in mind, that the cattle is not only necessary for supplying milk to the cultivators, but chiefly for field labour and for the supply of cheap manure.

For the sake of revenue, the District officers have no scruples to break their promise: The Collector of Belgaum induced some professional graziers to settle down in villages on the

promise that their cattle would not be charged more than at the ordinary rates, but no sooner these people built huts and settled into villages, the promise was broken and the fees on their cattle were again doubled. There is another grievance in respect of cutting trees in occupancy numbers. Hitherto the permits were issued by the village officers free of any charge. For such a permit the ryot is now obliged to go all the way from his village to the District head-quarters and then apply on a stamped paper. Thus he is forced to spend his time and money for a trifling matter, about which the Local Government never intended to give him that trouble. Government has allowed headloads of dry wood free, when collected by the villagers in Government forests. But the District officials have set aside the orders of Government by ruling that the exemption is not applicable in places where there is a forest *naka* or post. It is further stated by the District authorities that *nakas* would be soon established in more and more villages and then the result would be that no head-loads will be allowed free! (Here the speaker read an order of the Belgaum Collector No. 99 of 23rd April 1894.) Regarding the supply of *rab*, Mr. Joglekar who hails from Thana will give you much information but I will make a few observations. In the District of Karwar there are many old garden lands. These gardens require supply of green foliage as manure. For this supply there are specially reserved lands which are called *betta* lands. Since the last revision survey the Revenue Department has materially reduced the area of these *betta* lands and the cultivators cannot get sufficient supply of green manure. In some cases the area has been reduced down from 16 to 2 or 3 acres. People have petitioned the Government, but as yet no relief is granted. It is a pleasure however to learn that Government has promised to give its consideration to this grievance.

The rules regarding the free use of minor forest products are also very harsh and the people have to suffer a good deal on this account. The increased forest area has also increased the number of wild animals in this part of the Presidency, but no body can now kill these tigers and other wild animals as they are considered a forest product, by the officials. If the villagers snoot these animals, the District officials of sportive inclinations are all wroth against poor people, and irrespective of the importance of the safety of village cattle, the District official will try to introduce game laws and protect the tigers. To prevent these people from hunting big game, the Collector of Belgaum has cancelled as many as 1,500 licenses for arms during the past few months.

The interpretation of the rules which allow free supply of wood for houses is equally ridiculous and its benefits are practically nil to the poor cultivators. The rule says that free grants should be made to *poor* people. The Officers could not understand the meaning of the word *poor*. They say that a cultivator holding a survey number cannot be *poor* and therefore free grants should be made only to *beggars* and not to persons who hold even a small piece of land. I wonder if a beggar would ever require timber to build a house. I have mentioned these cases from my District and I have no doubt the same deplorable state of things regarding the forest administration prevails in other Districts. Before concluding, gentlemen, I bring to your notice some astounding facts regarding the amount of fines levied for cattle trespass. In some villages, and it must be remembered that all these villages are hemmed in on all sides by Government reserved forest, the amount of fine recovered is more than even the land revenue. In the case of the village of Nandi in this District, the amount of fine collected in one year was Rs. 90, while the amount of land revenue for the village is only Rs. 29. I would enumerate a number of such cases, but I have already taken much of your valuable time. From what you have heard from me to-day you will be satisfied that the existing forest rules require a good deal of modification based on the principles of the Resolution of the Government of India. We must thank the Supreme Government for this Resolution, which admits that the fiscal considerations should be subordinated to the needs of the agriculturists, but at the same time we must urge that the mere passing of a Resolution cannot relieve the ryot. It is necessary to carry out the principles of the Resolution by issuing new rules framed after consulting local needs, and you too must also place before Government solid facts to enable them to frame rules as would suit the requirements of different villages. With these remarks I recommend this proposition for your unanimous acceptance. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. B. R. Sahasrabudhe, (Satara,) seconded the Resolution in Marathi ; he said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have much pleasure in seconding this proposition. You know that our National Congress and our Provincial Conference have been year after year passing resolutions about the Forest grievance and we may say that the Government of India's Circular Resolution referred to in our proposed resolution has been the result of our agitation and therefore it is but proper and just that we should express our gratitude to the Government for the same. Those that have read the Government Resolution will find that it embodies some of the very important principles which should always be kept in view by those who have to administer the Forest Department. It lays down in such distinct terms some of its observations, that I may say, they are such expressions as would be used by those who speak from the Congress and Conference platforms with the best information and best of motives. I will read some of them *viz* :—1. Fiscal considerations are to be subordinated to the needs and agricultural interests of the ryots. 2. Considerations of forest income are to be subordinated to the satisfaction of the villagers living on the margins of the forests. 3. Claims of cultivator are stronger than the claims of forest preservation. 4. It should be distinctly understood that Government do not desire that grazing should be looked upon as a source of revenue. Those that have watched and observed the operation of the act and the actual working will find that Government have declared their policy on those points where there have been very great hardships caused to the agricultural population. But to give effect to this resolution now depends upon our Local Government, which has to frame rules. What we pray for is that these rules should be framed in the full spirit of that resolution and the public should be given an opportunity to express their opinions. Intentions of Government will, we hope, be faithfully carried out in framing those rules. Before these rules are framed Government will have to ascertain what the local wants and grievances of each village are ; particularly about minor forests and pastures, where the interests of many agriculturists are involved. I, therefore, heartily second the resolution and ask you to approve the same. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. L. B. Jogalekar, (Thana,) in supporting the Resolution said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

The duty of supporting the Forest Resolution that has been so ably proposed and seconded by my friends Mr. Natu and Mr. Sahasrabudhe has been forcibly thrust upon me. Although I was unwilling to say anything on this important subject still being in duty bound to respond to the call from the chair I will try to discharge that duty as cheerfully as I can. Gentlemen, I am one of those who have no tears to shed, no voice to raise and no fingers to lift either to express our sorrow or our joy at the inauguration of a cruel or merciful policy of the Forest Department. It is not because we have no grievances to complain of or we are incapable of appreciating or gratefully acknowledging the wisdom of the policy that has been laid down by the Supreme Government, in the Resolution that has been read over to you by the mover of the proposition, but because, we have wept, cried, bawled and fought too often with the Forest Department and Government, with the same result which you all know. It is on account of such disappointments that the fountains of our tears are dry, our throats are parched and our hands are paralysed. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, you will not I hope blame me for showing my unwillingness to say anything on this important subject. Gentlemen, you have to thank the people of the District from which I come for this Government resolution. The first voice against the omnivorous forest policy was raised by the people of Thana.

Government did not interfere at all with the rights of the people over forests upto 1847. Only the thin end of the wedge was then tried to be introduced. The wedge was being pressed little by little without hurting the people at all. Although there were restrictions placed upon the rights of the people in the Departmental order, still the non-observance of those orders was the rule and observance an exception. People commenced to feel the pressure a little in about

1861-62. The first strong protest was then made which induced the Government to appoint a Committee in 1863. Mr. Ellis, the President of the Committee, in forwarding its report said "I am sure it is not wise to reserve any rights over trees even if they be teak and black-wood growing in land occupied by ryots and that whenever the trees are sufficiently numerous to make it worth while to preserve them as royalties, the land in which they stand should be set apart as Forest reserve." Government while apparently concurring in these views found a loophole in the latter part of the recommendations of the Committee and directed that the demarcation of Forest reserves as recommended by the Committee should be proceeded with at once. This was the first important battle the people of Thana fought and what was the result? The Forest Department carried their hatchets in forest in great triumph. You will find the consequence of that triumph in the report of Dr. Bradi in 1870. He has stated that this demarcation had been nearly completed in the Thana Collectorate and that considerable portion of the Forest Revenue was derived from the sale of teak growing on ryots' lands. He also admitted that the forest administration in this Presidency comprises the maintenance and exercise of the Government Forest rights in occupied lands and private estates.

Gentlemen, I ask you to imagine the then feelings of the ryots towards the Forest Department. The words at my Command are too poor to give you even an outline of them. There was another agitation which led to the appointment of another Committee of 1875 consisting of Messrs. Ashburner (the Revenue Commissioner) Pedder (Revenue Secretary) Robertson, Collector of Thana and Shuttleworth, Conservator of Forests. That Committee drove the wedge still deeper. I will read a portion of its recommendations.

( 1 ) " We consider that the principles of Forest Demarcation and Conservancy were " correctly laid down by the Committee of 1863 and that the present unsatisfactory state of " affairs is due to want of care in the original demarcation. The first step is to revise the demarca- " tion that has already been carried. The Forest officer to whom this duty was entrusted " selected the lower slopes of the hills containing the richest soil and the finest tree grown for " village reserves, (for village use), leaving nothing but bare hill tops for Imperial forests.

" It will be the duty of the Demarcation officer in concert with the Collector to make " a fresh selection and division of the Forest into 1st and 2nd Class Forests.

( 2 ) " Forests of the first class are to be entirely under the control of the Forest Depart- " ment. Forest rights of grazing and rab and fire-wood are not to be admitted and even if " enforced in the courts are to be bought up."

This was the second great defeat; then came out the Indian Forest Act of 1878 and the Forest Settlement Officers appointed there under seem to have fully carried out the recommendation of this Committee. Gentlemen, I will not tire your patience by referring to the report of the Committee of 1883, which followed the downfall of Depôt system. I may however tell you that when the poor Ryots were asked to beg materials for tools of husbandry &c., from the Forest Depôt they in their turn neither bought, begged, nor borrowed but stole the materials they wanted, not from the Forest Depôts, but from the forests and a number of convictions followed.

The agitation against the Forest Department then assumed a constitutional form. The Thana Forest Association was then found and it memorialized the Local and Supreme Government on the subject. The Government of Lord Reay then appointed the Forest Commission of 1885. The Commission made an elaborate report and submitted certain recommendations to Government not forgetting however to reduce the cherished rights of the people to privileges and again privileges to concession, to be enjoyed during the pleasure of Government. I will illustrate this remark by referring you to the tables of grazing cattle, from the Forest Administration Report for 1893-94.

## GRAZING.

| Circles.     | By right under settlement. |                    |                  | During pleasure of Government or otherwise than under settlement. |                    |                  |
|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
|              | Buffaloes.                 | Cows and Bullocks. | Goats and Sheep. | Buffaloes.                                                        | Cows and Bullocks. | Goats and Sheep. |
| Northern.... | 4,355                      | 26,685             | ...              | 44,520                                                            | 2,11,855           | 14,664           |
| Central..... | ...                        | ...                | ...              | 48,263                                                            | 3,04,166           | 10,193           |
| Southern ... | ...                        | ...                | ...              | 17,023                                                            | 54,200             | 2,450            |
| Total.....   | 4,355                      | 26,685             | ...              | 1,09,806                                                          | 5,70,221           | 27,287           |

Lord Reay, shortly before his departure, after considering the recommendations of the Forest Commission passed his final Resolutions on the subject, but I am grieved to say that the most important parts of one of those resolutions never saw the light of day. Those portions were mysteriously cut out from the body of the Resolution and the mutilated resolution was then published after his departure. The Secretariat fenced with the Thana Forest Association and persisted in saying that the resolution that was published was the complete. It was admitted only after a question was asked in the House of Commons by Mr. Bradlough, that the Bombay Government had suppressed certain portions of that resolution for reasons of its own. (*Shame.*) You will see how cruelly we have been treated in this affair from the beginning of the establishment of the Forest Department, when the cry of the people again reached the ears of Supreme Government. They have been pleased to give an expression of their views on the subject of Forests in the resolution just read out to you. The resolution seems to be drafted with good intentions and I hope the Forest Department will see their way to give effect to the same with still better intentions. Gentlemen, the mover of the proposition has called upon me to give you a general idea of the Rab cultivation and I will try to do it in a few words. Roasting of soil is a very valuable process and that without it rice cultivation cannot be carried on with profit in Konkan. Small patches of land are first levelled and then covered with a layer of cow-dung, after the cow-dung is dry, another layer of small branches of trees with thick foliage is placed thereon; after the branches are dry another layer of grass is placed thereon and all those layers are then covered with earth and burnt. The layers collectively are called Rab. The description I have given you is of the richest Rab. Those who cannot afford to spread cow-dung; spread a very thick layer of branches of trees and then cover it with grass and earth. In places where it is impracticable to procure branches of trees, people spread cow-dung, grass and earth only. The whole thing is then set on fire which roasts the soil. At the commencement of the rains, the patches are ploughed and grain is sown there. After the seedlings are about 3 weeks old they are planted in fields. The report of the Forest Commission of 1885 says with respect to Rab :—

1. That Rab as practised in the Thana and Kolaba District is good farming and is under the peculiar conditions of the tract the best known method of cultivating rice, nagli and vari and that the profitable use of other modes of cultivation known and practised in these districts is extremely limited, risky and incapable of any considerable extension.
2. That there appears no reasonable prospect of replacing rab by a cheaper artificial manure or by any method of cultivation customary in other parts of India or elsewhere.

Gentlemen I believe I have given you some idea of Rab cultivation. The subject of Forest is of as much importance to the Ryot as of Land assessment. One is apt to conclude from what he hears about these vexed but important questions that the policy of Government in respect thereto is suicidal. Government in one Department is increasing the amount of Land assessment on the ground that the land is capable of yielding better crops than the cultivator now gets and in the other is trying its utmost not to allow the cultivator a free and sufficient use of the materials required for better cultivation. This is the real source of discontent in the agricultural classes. By following this policy Government makes itself liable to a charge of indifference to the welfare of the agricultural classes, one is apt to say that it is a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy.

If Government tries to remove every source of discontent of the cultivators by giving them a permanency of tenure at a fair amount of rent and a sufficient but free use of the forest produce, I am sure Government will not have the necessity of spending such enormous amounts on the scientific frontier.

The amount of revenue derived from Forest is quite insignificant as compared to the amounts spent on the frontiers and to preserve the friendship of the Ameer of Cabul. The whole Indian nation will fight shoulder to shoulder to the British nation against any foreign enemy. The Russian bear will think twice before approaching the boundaries of our frontier, if it ever knows that the whole of Indian nation will fight, not only to defend themselves but even to conquer it if the British Government so desires. We all know that it is the cultivating class that always fights and if the sympathies of that class are fully enlisted, the British Government need be afraid of no foreign enemy and need not spend any amount to please the Shāhās and Shāhāzādās. Let the golden words of Goldsmith be not forgotten.

“ Princes and Lords may flourish or may fade ;  
 “ A breath can work them as a breath has made.  
 “ But the bold peasantry their countries pride ;  
 “ When once destroyed can never be supplied.

Remember the picture that was given a few years ago as a new-year's present by the proprietors of a newspaper in Calcutta, The National Guardian.

There is a portrait at the top of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress of India saying that she governs us all; the second portrait is of one who pleads for all; the third of one who prays for all; the fourth of a soldier who fights for all and the last one who is at the foot of all these four, is that of a cultivator with his plough in hand and he says that he ploughs for them all. Gentlemen, let us thank the Government in the name of these cultivators for the good expressions contained in the Resolution just read out to you. Let us at the same time exhort the Officers of the Forest Department to liberally carry out the intentions of that Government and also exhort the people to inform the Local Government with their real grievances and wants. (*Applause.*)

Mr. R. A. Sule, (Hubli,) said :—

GENTLEMEN,

The resolution, now before the Conference, has been repeated from year to year. But still we must repeat it until we attain our end. The question of forest grievances has already gone through a variety of stages. The agitation that has been created in the matter has elicited a pretty encouraging result, and the issue of Government of India Resolution is its immediate outcome. Gentlemen it is nowhere denied that the peasant is the strength of the country. To improve his condition, is to materially promote the interest of all the people engaged in agricultural pursuits. No section of community has been more directly and more vitally concerned in the improvement of forest administration than the one just mentioned. The stringency of these laws must continue to be felt unless the tone of subordinate forest service is improved. Bad laws are the means of oppression. Their contagion spreads far and wide among low paid officials. Before things go wrong, this spread must be entirely checked.



The only one point to which I wish call your attention is this, that the immemorial rights of grazing cattle and cutting fuel have been completely ignored. This is our old complaint. But with regard to rab, which is essentially necessary for the cultivation of land in Konkan Districts, and requires to be burnt before crops can be sown. For this purpose a few acres of hilly track of grass and shrubs is allowed, but the limits of reserved forests have been so indiscriminately extended in some Talukas and Districts that cultivation of land has become a matter of great anxiety with the ryots. In plain truth, these grievances are not sentimental or imaginary. They are true to the word.

I must confess that the Government of India's orders on the subject are plain and distinct and have been couched in a most sympathetic language.

With these few remarks I commend the resolution to your unanimous approval. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Anant Mangesh Bidikar, (Belgaum,) said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

The Proposer and Seconder and other Gentlemen who have preceded me have placed before you certain facts and have lightened my labour and I will therefore shorten my speech.

In addition to the facts and orders cited by the proposer I give you one more order of District and Forest Officers which even goes far ahead in harshness than the hard Government Rules. An order has been issued by the District officer on the recommendation of the Divisional Forest Officer of this District, which lays down that if a person has more than 20 sheep or goats he should be charged double the ordinary rate. Gentlemen, I searched the whole rules and I did not find on what authority the District Collector issued such orders. Gentlemen, you will perhaps not believe what I am going to tell you now but I am speaking on positive information. Would you believe that the Divisional Forest Officers and Rangers have issued orders asking their subordinates why there were fewer prosecutions in their charge and that they would not be considered competent and fit for promotion unless they instituted more prosecutions and obtained more convictions. Gentlemen, I will now tell you one more fact which will beat hollow the Police oppression in forcibly seizing carts and labourers for bigar. The Forest Officers force people to work at less wages than they get outside. I had the good fortune or misfortune you may say, of examining a witness in a Criminal Case and he plainly told the Magistrate that he was forced to take money for collecting *harda nuts*, and it took him 20 or 23 days to collect a quantity of *hardas* for which he would get a rupee and when asked why he accepted such low wages he told us that if he were not to accept it, his cattle would not be allowed to graze even if he paid grazing fees. I had occasion to hear another man's complaint about the Forest Officer's oppression. One man was forced to actually cut down trees, at what rate of wages do you think? At the splendid wages of 1 anna per day and the man was obliged to work on the same threat. Gentlemen, the state of forests is such that even on the payment of the high fees that are prescribed by Government, a ryot is not able to graze his cattle in the jungles. Gentlemen, I have personally seen several jungles where cattle are allowed to graze. They are overgrown with trees and scarcely any blade of grass grows or can grow thereon. Gentlemen, I asked the reason why no grass grows there and I was told that Government officers prevent fire being set to the grass and consequently on account of shade and leaves grass does not grow there. People are not allowed to graze their cattle in the cut down jungle where grass grows. In fact, gentlemen, Government asks the ryot to pay merely for the privilege of wandering his cattle in the jungle.

Now, gentlemen, the remedy I would propose is that the jungle may be divided into two portions, grazing and fuel. The two sorts of jungles require different treatment. The one, gentlemen, requires to be set on fire every year to stimulate the growth and better the quality of the grass and the other requires to be carefully protected from fire to secure the grown and growing trees. The Forest Department pays no attention to the grazing needs of the people but cares solely to the growth of forests. Gentlemen, under such circumstances I would propose that the grazing forests should be handed over to the villagers at a settled moderate annual fee to free them from the low paid and often corrupt forest officials. With respect to the wood for

agricultural purposes, I would propose that at a particular time of the year a list should be made of persons requiring wood for agricultural implements and they should be given at a particular time. This would save the ryots' trouble. With these remarks I recommend the resolution for year acceptance. (Cheers.)

• Mr. Dhondi Bhutappa Patil, (Belgaum,) supported the resolution. He spoke feelingly on the Forest Policy of Government, in Marathi; he said:—

महाराज, ही सभा सुरू होऊन ९।१० वर्षे झालीं असें ऐकितों. या सभेच्या पूर्वी आह्मांस होत असलेल्या त्रासाबद्दल व जुलूमाबद्दल उबडपणे बोलणेस मार्ग नव्हता. या सभेनें आह्मांस होत असलेल्या जुलूमाबद्दल बोलणेस मोकळीक करून दिली, याबद्दल तिचे आह्मी फार आभारी आहोंत. आतां ही सभा आह्मांस होत असलेला जुलूम श्रीमंत महाराणी साहेबांस कळवून आमची दाद लावून आमचे रक्षण करील या भरंवशानें मीं येथे आलों आहे; आतां मोठमोठे जाणते बोलून गेले तसा मीं काय शहाणां नव्हे, (टाळ्या.) तर आपला वेळ न घेतां सुरू करितों.

आमच्या खात्याचे नंबर फार प्राचीन काळापासून आहेत, व हल्लीं अजमासें १९ वर्षांमार्गे सरकारनीं आपले रिझर्व्ड जंगल केले आहे. आमच्या बाजूचे बहुत खेड्यांतील गांवठणास लागून सभोंवतीं हें जंगल आहे, पलीकडे आमचे मालकी नंबर आहेत. आतां आमचीं गुरें आमच्या नंबरांत चारविणे करितां सदर जंगलांतून घेऊन गेलों असतां फारेस्ट खात्याचे लोक आमचीं गुरें जबरीनें कोंडवाड्यांत घालतात व आमचे पासून हुलवनी (जरी आमचीं गुरें सरकारी जंगलांत चरत नाहींत तरी,) घेतात. पहा, आमचे नंबर पूर्वीचे कीं सरकार जंगल पूर्वीचे? सरकारी जंगल, (हल्लीं केलेले,) ह्या जमिनींतून जाण्याचा पूर्वापार आमचा खरोखर हक्क आहे कीं नाहीं हें पहा, अगर सरकारचा हक्क आमचीं गुरें कोंडवाड्यांत घालणेचा? या प्रमाणें जुलूम करितात. रिझर्व्ड जंगल एकीकडे असावे, लागण जमिनीच्या जवळ नसावे.

पूर्वी हुलवनी माफ होती, नंतर हुलवनीची बाब मकत्यानें देत असत, ह्मणजे सदर बाब गांवांतील कोणीतरी मनुष्य ३।४ रुपयेस लिळांवांत घेऊन गांवांतील मोठमोठ्या रयतांवर ४।२ आण्यांची पट्टी घालून सदर मकत्याचे रुपये भरणा करीत. त्या नंतर दर गुरास ४= प्रमाणें हुलवनी झाली. या वेळीं रयत लोकांनीं ४= प्रमाणें हुलवनी देणेस ताकद नाहीं ह्मणून अर्ज केले तर दाद लागली नाहीं; पुढें हल्लीं चालू असलेल्या नवीन रुली प्रमाणें हुलवनी घेऊं लागले. या प्रमाणें हुलवनी देण्यास आह्मांस त्राण नाहीं ह्मणून मे० कलेक्टर साहेबाकडे अर्ज केले, तेव्हां कलेक्टर साहेब जिल्हा वेळगांव, याणीं आमचे पैकीं एका रयतास विचारिलें कीं, 'तूं सरकारास सारा किती देतोस? त्यानें सांगितलें कीं मीं ६० रुपये देतो; व हुलवनी किती देतोस? २० रुपये देतो असें त्यानें सांगितलें; तेव्हां मे० कलेक्टर साहेब ह्मणाले कीं, सरकारास ६० रुपये फाळा देणारास २० रुपये कांहीं जास्त नाहींत असें ह्मणून त्याला एकीकडे केलें. (टाळ्या.) नंतर दुसऱ्या रयतास विचारिलें कीं तूं सरकारास किती सारा देतोस? तेव्हां त्यानें सांगितलें कीं मीं ८।१० रुपये सारा देतो, व हुलवनी किती देतोस? तेव्हां तो ह्मणाला कीं, २९ रुपये देतो तेव्हां साहेब बहादूर ह्मणाले कीं वेड्या इतकीं गुरें कशाळा पाळलीस? विकून टाक! (टाळ्या) रोज या प्रमाणें आमची दाद न घेतां हुलवनी जबरीनें वसूल करून घेऊं लागले, नंतर नामदार गव्हरनर साहेबांकडे तरी दाद लागेल या भरंवशानें आह्मी इकडे गव्हरनर साहेब आलेवेळीं तारीख १७ आक्टोबर १८९४ इसवीस अर्ज केला, कीं हुलवनी ४= प्रमाणें व्हावी, शेतकीचे साधनास मुफत लांकूड मिळावे व शेतांतील पीक संरक्षणार्थ बंदूका मिळाव्यात, या प्रमाणें अर्ज केला तेव्हां गव्हरनर साहेब गोड शब्दांनीं आह्मांस बोलले, कीं तुझी मजकडे ह्या उनाच्या वेळीं घेऊन, तसदी घेऊन, आपणावर होत असलेला जुलूम कळविलात या बद्दल मीं तुमचा फार आभारी आहे, तर तुमच्या अर्जांत लिहिल्या प्रमाणें सर्व तुमच्या मागण्या लवकरच पुरावितों. असें जें आमचें तोंड पुसून गेले त्यांचा अद्यापि पत्ता नाहीं. (टाळ्या व हंशा.) आतां हुलवनीचा कायदा कसा वरोवर नाहीं हें सांगतों.

ज्या गांवच्या जंगलांत गायरान सामील असेल त्या गांवच्या रयत लोकांची शेतकीची सर्व गुरे माफ असा कायदा आहे. एकाच गांवच्या सीमेंत सरकारांनी सगळे जंगल मोजले ह्यापून मैला दोन मैलांतील खेड्यांतल्या रयतांनी काय पाप केले आहे? सरकारच्या सोयी बद्दल रयतांचे पाप! आतां शेतकीची सर्व गुरे तरी कोठे माफ आहेत? <1१० एकर तरी जमिनीस एक जोत! इतक्या जमिनीस निदान तीन जोते तरी पाहिजेत. पहा, पेरणीचा व हुटाचा हंगाम फार महत्वाचा आहे. तो केव्हां येईल व किती रोज राहील याचा नेम नाही, करितां हंगाम असे पावेतो पेरणीचे काम व हुटाचे काम उरकून घेतले पाहिजे व एकदां हे हंगाम गेले तर आह्याला उपाशी मरावे लागते पेरणीचा हंगाम चुकला तर शेतांतली तुमची कितीही मेहनत असो ती सर्व निरुपयोगी होते, तर शेताचे कामास गुरे मोजून पाळतां येत नाहीत, कांहीं जास्त ठेविली पाहिजेत. जर ऐन वेळेस जनावर नसले तर मातीचे बैलाचे बावले ऐन हंगामाचे शेतांतले काम करतील काय? (हंशा.) या प्रमाणे शेताची गुरे ही माफ नाहीत. आतां दुभत्याचीं गुरे ३४ माणसांस एक गाय किंवा एक ह्यैस माफ. माफ सोडतांना सरकारी कामगार ह्यैस व गाय सारखीच दूध देते असे ठरवितात (हंशा) व हुलबनी घेतांना गार्डस ४४ व ह्यैस ४८ आणे या प्रमाणे हुलबनी घेतात, या प्रमाणे यांच्या हुकूमांत धर नाही. (टाळ्या.) आतां एक गाय अगर एक ह्यैस निरंतर सतत दूध देत नाही हें आपल्यास माहित आहेच. एक ह्यैस एक वर्ष सव्वा वर्ष दूध देऊन गाभीण होते व दूध बंद करिते त्या वेळीं दुसरी दूध देणारी ह्यैस घरी पाहिजे तर ही दुसरी ह्यैस आह्याला माफ नाही. आह्या ही ह्यैस काय कापून खायाला पाळिली? (टाळ्या.) आतां पावसाळ्यांत कुलकर्णी माफी जनावरा बद्दल पत्रक तयार करितो त्या वेळीं जी ह्यैस अगर गाय व्याली असेल तीच माफ सोडितो, नहून पुढे एक दोन महिन्यांत विणारी ह्यैस अगर गाय दुभत्याचे जनावर न समजतां त्या बद्दल फी जवरीने घेतात, व ते पुढे व्याले तरी हुलबनी परत देत नाहीत, या प्रमाणे दुभत्याचीं जनावरेही माफ नाहीत. (विःकारवाचक उद्गार.) आतां दूध पिणारी वासरे माफ असा कायदा, पण जी वासरे दूध पिण्या करितां मात्र जंगलांत जातील तीच माफ, असे मे. कलेक्टर, कमिशनर साहेब हुकूम देतात, पुनः ते असा हुकूम करितात कीं दूध पिणाऱ्या वासरांचे वय कितीही असो ते जर जंगलांत आपल्या आई बरोबर गेले तर त्यांच्या वया बद्दल वगैरे कांहीं मनांत न आणितां त्याबद्दल हुलबनी वसूल घ्यावी, त्याला माफ सोडू नये असा हुकूम करतात. आतां घरांत बांधलेले <1१९ दिवसांच्या वयाचे दूध पिणारे वासरू व भितीवर काढलेले वांसरांचे चित्र माफ आहे, ह्यापून सांगायला आह्याला कांहीं कायदा नको! (टाळ्यांचा गजर.) तासर्थे दूध पिणारे वासरू जंगलांत चरण्या करितां गेले तरी ते माफ, या कायद्याचा अर्थ नाही. या प्रमाणे दूध पिणारी वासरे ही माफ नाहीत.

आतां ७८ वर्षा पासून १९१६ वर्षांचे वया पावेतो आह्या गुरे राखण्याला पोर गुराखी ठेवतो; कारण मुलगा २९ वर्षांचा झाला ह्यापून त्याला जोत्या करितात, कारण जोताचे काम लहान मुलास येत नाही आतां या गुराख्यावर मामलेदाराने जबाबदारी ठेविली आहे ती कशी पहा. त्याने पांढरी, पिवळी, हिरवी परमिटे सर्वकाळ जवळ ठेविली पाहिजेत, पट्टा बाळगला पाहिजे, जंगलास जर कोणी आग लावील अगर लांकूड तोडील तर त्याला पकडून त्याजवर खटले केले पाहिजेत; व जिकडे यांचीं गुरे चरतात तिकडे दुसरे कोणाचे जनावर आले तर ते कोंडवाड्यांत घातले पाहिजे. व आपल्या गुरांकडून अगर इतर रीतीने जंगलाचे नुकसान करू देतां कामा नये. वारंवार जंगलचे कामगार हीं परमिटे पहावयाला मागतात, हीं परमिटे बहुत करून मुले रुमालांत ठेवतात. आमचेकडे पाऊस फार असल्यामुळे त्यांचे रुमाल भिजून जाऊन हीं परमिटे भिजून कुजतात व नाहीशी होतात, हें नाहीसे झालेले परमिट जर तो जंगल कामगाराला दाखविणेंस चुकला तर ते त्याच्या थोबाडीत मारून त्याचीं गुरे कोंडवाड्यास (परमिट फी दिली तरी, ) घालतात, या प्रमाणे दुप्पट पैसा घेऊन जुळूमही करितात. (टाळ्या.)

आतां इंग्रज सरकार रयतलोक सुखी आहेत असे समजतात; तर तसें नाही, आतां मला एक गोष्ट आठवली आहे ती सांगतो व भाषण पुरे करितो. एका महाराज, एक ह्यातारीबाई दोन लक्षांची

मालकीण होती; तिचे खातारपणामुळे आंधळी झाली होती तेव्हां तिने एक धन्वंतरी चांगला डाक्टर आपले डोळे बरे करण्या करितां ठेविला, व डोळे बरे होतांच त्याला १०,००० रुपये देणेचा करार केला. त्या डाक्टराने दररोज त्या बाईच्या डोळ्यांत कांहीं तरी पाणी घालून दररोज तिच्या मोहरांच्या व रुपयांच्या थैल्या व दागिन्यांच्या पेट्या वगैरे सामान थोडथोडे आपल्या गाडींतून नेण्याचा क्रम चालविला. या प्रमाणे ७१८ महिन्यांत तिचे सर्व द्रव्य नेले, नंतर चांगले डोळे बरे करण्याचे औषध तिला देऊन तिचे डोळे बरे केले. नंतर ती बाई पहाते तों सर्व तिची इस्टेट गेली! आतां करारा प्रमाणे डाक्टर १०,००० रुपये मागू लागला, ती बाई ह्मणाली कीं, मला अजून कांहीं दिसत नाही ह्मणून मी रुपये देत नाहीं. अशी त्यांची तक्रार होऊन कोर्टांत डाक्टराने त्या बाईवर दावा केला, तेव्हां ती बाई (प्रतिवादी), मुनसफसोहवांसभार गेली, तेव्हां मुनसफाने विचारिले कीं, बाई, करारा प्रमाणे रुपये कां देत नाहीस? तेव्हां ती ह्मणाली ऐका महाराज, जेव्हां मला कांहीं दिसत नव्हते, तेव्हां मी चाचपून पाहिले तर माझे सर्व जिनस माझ्या हाताला लागत. आतां डाक्टर साहेब (वादी) ह्मणतात कीं, माझे डोळे बरे झाले, मला दिसते, व आतां डोळे उघडून (डोळे वटारून) पाहिले तरी मला कांहीं एक इस्टेट दिसत नाहीं, ह्मणून करारा प्रमाणे पैसा देत नाहीं, या प्रमाणे वैद्यरूपी इंग्रज सरकाराने आमचे सर्व नेले व आतां आम्हांस डोळे दिले याचा उपयोग काय? (टाळ्या व हंशा.) मागे रायण्णा संगोळी, कित्तरकर, जांबोटकर वगैरे लोक बंडे करीत असत व आमच्या प्रांती शांतता नव्हती; तेव्हां आमच्या घरी ९०१६० गुरे व अमंचळ दाणा, तट्याचे तट्टे भरलेले असत व चुलीखाले होनांनी भरलेली गाड्या पुरलेली असत, व आतां ज्ञान मिळाले तरी, आम्ही वर्षभर खपले तरी पोट भरण्याची मारामार पडते! (हंशा.) या प्रमाणे सर्व तत्व घेऊन गेले. आतां गायराने हीं फार थोडीं सोडलेलीं असून खडकाळ आहेत. तर गांवच्या गुरांच्या माना प्रमाणे विस्तीर्ण, उघड्या व चांगले गवत येण्या योग्या जंगलांतील जमिनी गायराने सोडलीं पाहिजेत. (टाळ्यांचा सारखा गजर.)

The resolution being put to vote was carried unanimously.

#### RESOLUTION VII.—The Extention of the Franchise to Central Division.

Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide, (Poona,) said,

The Resolution which I have to propose for your adoption is as follows :—

*“ That this Conference begs respectfully to tender its grateful thanks to H. E. the Governor-in-Council for conferring the franchise of sending a representative to the local Legislative Council, on the Central Division of this Presidency, and it earnestly hopes that Government will see their way to do similar justice to the claims of the native mercantile and industrial community of Bombay and the Local and Municipal Boards of Sind.*

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in moving this resolution. Two years ago the right of electing members to the Legislative Council was for the first time given to the people. But Lord Harris excluded the Central Division from the franchise. A strong agitation arose and the Sarvajanic Sabha and other bodies and the public urged upon the attention of Government the injustice of the exclusion of so important a division as the Central Division, but then Government remained deaf to our prayer. It is however a matter for rejoicing that they have now removed the grievance and assigned a seat to our Division and for this we must tender our grateful thanks to His Excellency, Lord Sandhurst. Another point in the resolution is that Government should do similar justice to the claims of the native industrial and mercantile community of Bombay and of the Local and Municipal Boards of Sind. The Bombay Chamber has got a member, but the Chamber is composed of European Merchants. The Native mercantile community of Bombay represent the large interest of about 50 crores a year and it is but just that that community should send a member to the council. Also gentlemen, the claims of the rural and urban Boards of Sind must be taken into consideration. It is true that the

Zamindars of Sind have got a seat, but the general public of that Province can be represented only by a representative of rural and urban Boards; and we therefore hope Government will take their claims into favorable consideration; with these remarks I beg to propose the resolution which I have already read out to you.

Rao Bahadur, N. B. Mule, (Ahmednagar) in seconding the resolution said:—

PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

The duty I am called upon to perform is indeed a very pleasant one. That duty is to give thanks to the Government of Lord Sandhurst for at once complying with our request which was made and repeated to his predecessor's Government, but in vain. When we ask for a thing and are refused we feel disappointed. When such requests and disappointments are repeated we feel disgusted; such was the state of our mind during Lord Harris' Government. But things looked brighter soon after our present popular governor—(cheers)—took the reins of Government of this Presidency into his hands. He has by his calm judgment and impartiality seen the injustice done to the Central Division,—(hear, hear)—and at once modified the rules so as to recognize the claims of the Central Division for its representation in the Bombay Legislative Council. The thanks that we propose to give to Lord Sandhurst are not formal. They proceed from the hearts of the aggrieved millions who really feel obliged for giving them justice which was refused to them for a long period of three years. These thanks are therefore very sincere and their value consequently is very great.

Now with regard to second paragraph of the resolution, I may say that the total number of elected candidates has not as yet reached the maximum number. The maximum number is ten but we have got only eight. It appears to me that some interests are not yet represented on the Council. I will for the present mention only two. Namely (1) the claims of the Native Mercantile and Industrial Community of Bombay (2) and the Local and Municipal Boards of Sind.

The Conference hopes that Lord Sandhurst's Government will grant this request also as it is considered demanding an early attention of the Government. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### RESOLUTION VIII—The Need of the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

Mr. N. V. Gokhale, (Bombay,) then moved,

*“That the urgent need of the separation of the judicial and executive functions becomes increasingly manifest every day, and this Conference urges upon Government the desirability of appointing a mixed commission of officials and non-officials to report upon its feasibility.”*

He said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

The question of the combination and separation of judicial and executive functions has a history of its own. That is a long history extending from the year 1742 down to modern times. I do not propose to go into it now, as I mean to lay it before the public on another occasion and in another place in a more comprehensive form. Suffice it is to say that in 1772 Warren Hastings drew up a scheme of judicial and revenue administration, the leading feature of which was the union of fiscal and judicial authority on the same officers. Later on Lord Cornwallis purified and reconstituted the judicial administration of the whole country. The distinguishing feature of the Cornwallis Code was the absolute separation of judicial and executive functions, and the complete subordination of revenue officers to the jurisdiction of Civil Courts. The measure led to conflicts between the latter, and the two functions were as often reunited in Bengal as they were separated, in consequence of the serious evils, which

their conjunction invariably resulted. You are all well acquainted with the anomalous system, which prevails in the Bombay, Madras and Bengal Presidencies. You must also be familiar with the still more anomalous system in vogue in Berar, the Central Provinces, the Punjab, and Oudh, where executive officials adjudicate even civil disputes. In the Frontier Districts, the system prevails in its most anomalous and aggravated form. The evils flowing from the union of judicial and executive functions have always been of a glaring character, and long before the birth of the Congress and the Conference, and the Brahmin agitators of the Deccan, and the voluble Baboo orators of Bengal, they were clearly perceived by Lord Cornwallis, who, as I said, adopted remedial measures. In 1881 Raja Ram Mohan Roy in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons expressed his strong conviction that it was impossible for officers hampered by the weight of judicial and executive business to serve Government as well as the public with efficiency. In 1856 Sir John Peter Grant, an experienced administrator, denounced the system in scathing terms and called it unworthy of a country administered by rational beings. The Calcutta High Court has also spoken upon the subject with no uncertain sound. Sir Richard Garth has in one place pronounced it to be a terrible scourge. Lord Kimberley has admitted that it is contrary to right and good principle. The Congress in one of its resolutions has characterised it as a stigma upon the enlightened British administration of India. The Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta has remarked in his memorandum upon the subject that it entails intolerable hardship upon poor and helpless people. Gentlemen, those who know the facts of the Mymensing and Belladhun cases, which some time ago produced so much sensation in this country will admit that the unholy alliance of the two powers richly deserves the condemnations that have been pronounced upon it by so many eminent authorities. In our own Presidency instances have occurred illustrative of the grave evils of the system. Within the time at my disposal I cannot describe them *in extenso*. One of the most strongly marked tendencies of magistrates who as executive officers are responsible for the administration of districts, is to pass non-appealable sentences, and thus deprive the poor prisoner of that much needed safeguard which the right of appeal provides against unjust and erroneous convictions. In such cases even the High Court finds itself powerless to interfere in the exercise of its revisional jurisdiction. I do not blame executive officers for what they do, because they are themselves the creatures of a mischievous system. As observed by Mr. Gladstone, the other day, to a deputation of Armenians, the possession of power in itself constitutes a great temptation to mankind. The Wai case is fresh in your memory. You cannot have forgotten the case, to which attention was drawn by the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta, of the unfortunate sweepers at Matheran, for whose obstinacy even the wife of one of them was sent to jail for squatting on a forbidden plot of ground with her husband! Last year in a well-known English magazine strictures were passed by a high executive official upon the Bombay High Court, and I also find that he had once before indulged in a sneer at the judges in one of his reports on the administration of the police. The Hon. Mr. Mehta drew the attention of Government to this matter at a meeting of the Legislative Council, and Government promised to inquire into it. At least some of you must be acquainted with the now famous Bellary circular. It asked subordinate magistrates not to decide cases upon evidence, like Sessions Judges and Judges of the High Court, and reminded them that they were appointed to repress crimes, as if the latter encouraged crimes. The decision in the Shambazar riot case led to a conflict between the Calcutta High Court and the autocratic Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The learned Judges forwarded a protest to the Secretary of State. He tried to conciliate both by laying down the dangerous doctrine that executive officers should not comment upon the work of judicial tribunals in an open and public manner. This unconstitutional and monstrous doctrine was strongly condemned by the Lahore Congress. Gentlemen, I can go on multiplying instances of the evils of the present system. But I must here stop. The next point to which I wish to address myself is what steps we have taken to impress upon Government the imperative necessity of separating the two functions. It was at a meeting of the second Congress in 1886 that the subject was first taken up. It recorded an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions had become an urgent necessity, and that it behoved Government to effect it at the earliest opportunity even though it involved some additional expenditure. For seven long years the Congress re-affirmed that resolution in one form or another. For seven long years the Congress patiently waited. In 1893 it could no longer put up with the exasperating inertia of the Indian Government, and in a strongly-worded resolution appealed to the Secretary of State to appoint a Committee of well qualified official and non-official persons

to consider the question. The Secretary of State remained immovable as a rock, and in 1894 the Congress forgetting its last resolution, once more appealed to the Government of India to appoint such committees. The present resolution is conceived on the same lines and it remains to be seen what success attends our appeal to Lord Sandhurst's Government. Outside the Congress and Conference, Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter, a distinguished native civilian, has done valuable service by formulating a scheme for Bengal, which has met with general approval. On our side the Hon. Mr. Mehta ventilated the questions at a meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council, and submitted a memorandum to the Ahmedabad Conference. Gentlemen, I have briefly told you how this question stood a hundred years ago, and how the existing system has been condemned by some of the most distinguished men who have had nothing to do with the Congress. I have also mentioned to you a few of the most glaring instances exemplifying the evils flowing from the combination of the two functions, and related through what phases our agitation has passed. Gentlemen, it is really disappointing that Government has so far shown a deaf ear to all our prayers on the ground that the reform would involve considerable increase in expenditure. The Hon. Mr. Mehta and others who have given careful attention to the subject do not accept this view. But why Government should decide this matter on *a priori* grounds and not appoint a strong committee of experienced official and non-official gentlemen to investigate the whole question is more than I can understand. A slight increase in expenditure is no ground for withholding a most urgent and vital reform. When a crore can be voted away with a single stroke of the pen for awarding exchange compensation, when crores are being poured into the military sink, when the Famine Insurance Fund can be readily diverted in contravention of most solemn promises for meeting the exigences of an aggressive foreign policy, and when a lakh and a half can easily be remitted to a liquor-farmer—a remission which Government have not dared to justify in a frank and straightforward manner—surely the tax-payer has a moral right to demand that a system which is prejudicial to the impartial and efficient administration of justice should be done away at the earliest opportunity. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, the financial objection is, perhaps, only a pretext for the continuance of the present anomaly, because in some quarters it is believed that for the maintenance of British rule and of the position and prestige of British officers, continuance of the existing system is essential. I fail to see how a system which makes Government unpopular, and which brings an administration of justice into discredit by placing the dispensers of justice in a false position can decently be regarded as essential to the maintenance of British power. Even Mahomedan rulers were alive to the evils arising from a union of judicial and revenue duties. No judicial officer empowered to try capital offences (*as Kazis and Muftis*) was even allowed to become a collector of revenue. (*Hear, hear.*) It is not enough for our enlightened rulers to be content with merely doing what their predecessors did. They must rise superior to their methods, and act up to the spirit of the ideal they have deliberately laid down for their guidance in the Government of this vast empire. Our rulers not unfairly boast of a higher conception of duty towards the ruled than their predecessors. Let that boast be exemplified in a practical manner in the treatment and solution of large questions upon which depend the contentment and happiness of millions of human beings. One of the greatest triumphs of British rule in India is the systematized jurisprudence they have introduced throughout the country. But that triumph cannot be complete until Government revert to the enlightened principles to which Lord Cornwallis gave practical recognition in his model code a hundred years ago. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the most far-seeing statesman of his time, expressly legislated in Reg. XVII of 1827, for the prevention of the evils that he had seen arise out of the union of judicial and executive authority in one and the same officer. That statesman, according to Lord Sandhurst's public declaration, is to be his Lordship's model. We, therefore, earnestly hope, and pray that His Excellency will be pleased to appoint a committee of such official and non-official persons that their deliberations will command confidence everywhere, to formulate a scheme in consonance with the principles which nearly seventy years ago commended themselves to the great Elphinstone. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. B. G. Tilak, (Poona,) seconded and Mr. R. P. Karandikar, (Satara,) supported the Resolution.

Mr. D. E. Kirloskar, (Sholapur,) who also supported the resolution said :—  
MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been asked to support the proposition that has been put before you for your approval. Gentlemen, there is very little difference between us and the Government on this

question. They admit the soundness of our reasons, and then have admitted the existence of the evil. The only plea of Government in not putting into execution this reform is want of funds. Gentlemen, it is a curious thing that our Government which is so very lavish in spending crores of rupees in exchange compensation and military expenses, should advance the plea of want of funds for this reform, the importance of which has been admitted by two of the State Secretaries for India and also by Lord Duffrin in his famous speech of St. Andrews. Gentlemen if a creditor goes to a Civil Court and demands a sum of thousand rupees and the debtor admits the claim but advances the only plea that the sum of ten thousand rupees which is with him, he wants for the marriage ceremony of his daughter, will the Civil Court listen for a moment to such a plea and give a decree against the creditor? Certainly not. It is not that the Government cannot afford to put into effect this reform, but that they will not have it for reasons only known to themselves.

Gentlemen, what we want from Government is simply this, that there should be two different lines of services for the judicial and executive branches. In other words, a person who has to do judicial work should have nothing to do with the executive work. It is a psychological impossibility for a man to divest himself of all his impressions and prejudices which he entertains against certain persons in connection with his executive work.

Before I conclude, gentlemen allow me to cite to you an instance which came before me some time ago and which will exemplify to you the highhandedness of the magistrasy. In one of the Taluka towns of this every district, the magistrate first class, issued a certain order under the Bombay District Police Act 4 of 1890 against certain Lingayats, in his executive capacity. The people against whom the order was passed wanted to appeal against that order to the Higher authority, in order to get it quashed. But the magistrate won't give them the certified copies. They had to go to the High Court for that and the High Court passed an order that the certified copies ought to be given. Still the magistrate won't here and again the High Court had to ask him to send a report why the copies could not be given. And for this sin of the Lingayat gentlemen, what the magistrate did was, that he began to convict men of Lingayat class of that town under the Bombay District Municipal Act for having obstructed the streets by placing bales of cotton there. Gentlemen, the Lingayat class being the trading class in that town, they could not but take cart-loads of cotton through the streets and as soon as a cart was taken, the police pounced upon the owner of the cart-load and carried him before the Magistrate who afterwards convicted him. In this manner the machine of convictions proceeded until within the course of a month and a half, the number of convictions amounted to 80. And had not the Magistrate been transferred by that time, he would have continued the same course, we don't know how long. It is a very anomalous thing that within a month and a half there should be more convictions under the Municipal Act than what had taken place during the previous ten years. And the fines levied also show in what vindictive spirit the Magistrate tried the cases. Against all these convictions, gentlemen there is no appeal and the High Court if moved under its extraordinary jurisdiction, does not interfere as there are no questions of law involved in them. Such is the great injustice that is worked by the combination of executive and judicial functions in one and the same persons.

Gentlemen, we have been agitating this question ever since the birth of the Indian National Congress. And although our efforts are not yet crowned with success, still we have brought the question nearer its solution. The only plea of Government at present is that of want of funds and that also we trust will vanish in course of time. Gentlemen, although ours is one of those Governments which is least open to reason, still if our reasons are backed with a strong public opinion even our Government will find it very difficult to stand proof to them. (*Applause.*)

Mr. D. V. Belvi, (Belgaum,) supported the resolution in Kanarase, which was passed unanimously.



## RESOLUTION IX.—The Administration of Indian Railways.

Mr. M. R. Bodas, (Bombay,) said :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

The resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows :—

*“ That in the opinion of this Conference the administration of Indian Railways should be subject to more effective control on the part of Government so as to secure better care and economy of management and ensure greater comfort and convenience for the public, especially for third-class passengers.”*

Gentlemen, this is a new resolution brought for the first time before the Provincial Conference, and ought therefore to have been moved by a tried hand who could have done more justice to it than can ever be expected from one who is a thorough novice in the art of public speaking and whose scant acquaintance with the intricacies of the subject unfits him in a great measure to present it in its real gravity. There is one circumstance, however, which considerably lightens my task, namely, that this resolution deals with grievances which everyone of us from his own experience has had to complain of some time or other, and which therefore require very little effort on my part to be brought to your notice. All of us who come to this Conference from outside Belgaum, have been complaining for the last two days of the ills and woes, which the S. M. R. Company has inflicted upon us, in return of the money we paid to it. We have come upon a political pilgrimage, and the managers of the railway did everything in their power to make our pilgrimage as hard as possible. Perhaps they did it to test our public spirit, and enhance our merits in the eyes of the world; perhaps they did it in pure indifference to the comforts of their fellow beings. (*Laughter.*) But when I witnessed the rush of passengers at every station, the detention of a crowd of men, women, and children at Poona alone for want of room, and overbearing conduct of railway officers, towards those who had the calamity to travel by their train, and when, in addition, I myself had to pass a sleepless night amidst the smothering atmosphere of an overcrowded tiny railway box, and with hardly a moving space about me, I could not but think that the screw must be loose somewhere in the arrangement which allowed such things, not only for once, but almost every day throughout the year, and which continues unreformed in spite of repeated complaints. For 21 hours we had to suffer the horrors of dungeon and the pangs of a pillory, although we do not remember to have ever fallen within the clutches of the Penal Code or broken any of the commandments. (*Cheers.*) We were no condemned criminals, but the patrons of the railway company, and yet we had to submit to all this treatment, because those who managed things at the head-quarters were indifferent to people's comfort, or valued private gain more than public convenience. With these experiences fresh in your mind, it will not be difficult, I think, for me to impress upon you the gravity of the present condition and the necessity of having it reformed immediately. There is another reason why this subject ought to receive careful attention from a body like this Conference. It has been said that our Congresses and Conferences are composed of a handful educated men, who are not in touch with the mass of the population, and who have no sympathy or solicitude for them. Our political activities are condemned by our critics, as efforts intended to promote our own selfish advancement and not at all relished or supported by the generality of the Indian people. This you know, is a baseless calumny, and it has been answered and expressed over and over again by men like the late George Yule, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and the President of the last Congress, Mr. Alfred Webb. If any further refutation was needed it was furnished in Madras, last year, when Congress fund was collected by means of pice contributions, and from the poorest people. Whoever reads the proceedings of the several Congresses and Conferences carefully will be convinced that our efforts are directed for the benefit, not of a system, particular class, but of the masses, and that no grievance which injuriously affects the happiness and well being of people in general, will want sympathy and support from these bodies. What can then be more appropriate for a body like ours, than to devote our serious attention to a grievance which presses most heavily upon the poorest and from which no individual in these times escape completely. We have dealt with questions regarding Provincial Service, Education, and Forest, but these affect limited classes after all. Even the question of land assessment concerns a fraction of the community, however large that fraction

may be. But there is no individual in our midst who has not had to travel by railway for business or for pleasure, and who has not had to suffer terribly at the hands of the railway authorities, and that, if we want our sufferings mitigated, we must properly approach the Government of India who have full power to do so. It may not be known to all that it is one of the functions of the Director General of Indian railways to receive complaints from people and to communicate them to the railway authorities concerned for redress. I do not know how many people avail themselves of this facility; but the more largely they do so, the greater is the chance of their grievances being redressed soon. It was to be wished that the explanations of railway authorities in such cases were published or communicated to the parties complaining, so that their correctness can be tested by public criticism. So long as this course is not followed there is little probability of the railway authorities giving straightforward and careful replies and the grievances being properly attended to. It is our duty therefore to press this matter upon the attention of the Government and to call for an open and exhaustive inquiry into the present condition of the railway administration and the many complaints that are being made against it. When we can demand a Railway Commission to sift the whole subject to the bottom instead of the hole and corner inquiry, or rather the farce of an inquiry, that annually takes place at Simla in the cold weather, and which is pompously styled the Railway Conference. We can never expect real reform from such makeshifts, and the sooner they are discontinued and replaced by open inquiries the better for both the Government and the people. To submit the complaints of the public for the adjudication of a conference which is chiefly composed of interested railway officials is to make the accused party a judge in his own case. The Director General is no doubt an independent officer who is supposed to exercise a full control over the administration of different railways; but what can he do, so long as he mainly relies upon the information supplied by the railway officials themselves. Theoretically the six-monthly budget of each railway is submitted for the approval of the Consulting Engineer, under the Local Government, and not a pie can be expended without his sanction. But does he exercise his power properly? How far he does, the public have no means of knowing, as the whole affair is managed *in Camera*. May not various motives influence his opinion, and may not his judgment happen to be as warped and prejudiced as that of the railway officials? It may be that he has friends who are share-holders of the company or who are actual participators in the spoil. I do not at all say that the Consulting Engineer consciously aids jobbery, or blinks at obvious irregularities; but human nature must assert itself after all, and wherever the salutary check of public criticism is wanting no Government officer can be expected to do his work as carefully as he ought to do.

What I have said hitherto, gentlemen, will make you at once understand why the resolution now laid before you, demands from Government a more effective control over the different railway administrations than is exercised at present. You will observe from the latter part of the resolution that this control is required to achieve two objects, namely better economy in management and greater comfort of the travelling public. These two things though appearing separate at first sight, are really dependent, one upon the other, because no greater public convenience can be secured unless there are funds in the hands of the Company, while sufficient funds for the purpose are impossible in the wasteful and irresponsible management such as exists at present over many railways. As a matter of fact many of the urgently needed reforms, such as provision of latrine accommodation to third class passengers, separate waiting rooms for native females, and others, are professedly delayed for want of funds. If I am correctly informed, Government has ordered all railway companies including the S. M. R., to provide latrines and moveable window-shutters to each third class carriage but the change can be effected, only when a car is to be repaired, because the company has no funds to build new cars, and Government does not sanction the necessary outlay out of capital for fear of increasing the guarantee charge. In this way, gentlemen, the question of providing additional public conveniences is intimately connected with the soundness of railway finances. Similarly slowness of speed and overcrowding of passengers are also serious grievances, especially on the S. M. line; but the company is unable to provide more trains or accelerate the speed, owing, it is said, to want of funds. The present system of a furlong long mixed trains, with a snail's pace, was I am told recommended by a late Director General as costing less, and yet the company can hardly make the two ends meet at the end of the year. The same is the case with lighting arrangements and other conveniences for the passengers. I remember a time, when we had to furnish ourselves with our own candles and matches while travelling at night on the S. M. line. Fortunately that time has

now passed, but there are many things still wanting on the S. M. and other lines, which the companies cannot or will not provide in spite of repeated complaints. Even the Government, when appealed to in this connection, either turns a deaf ear or gives evasive replies. As an instance I may point out to the reply given by Hon. Sir Charles Pritchard to an interpellation put by Hon. Prince Jahan Kadr, in the Supreme Legislative Council on 7th February last. The Hon. Member's question related to six principal grievances namely, overcrowding, want of latrines, facility of sale of third class tickets, greater privacy at public latrines, liberal supply of water, and protection and comfort of native female passengers by providing female ticket collectors and special waiting rooms. I shall not waste your time by repeating the reply here, but I might say that I for one have not received the slightest light from it. It is as evasive, reserved and bureaucratic as official replies in Council usually are; and might lead any one to believe that all the sympathy and solicitude for general comfort and convenience professed by Government is anything but sincere. It is desirable that in such matters at least, Government abandon their inveterate evasiveness and meet the public frankly.

The best way for Government to show their sympathy is to attack the evil at its root, namely by exercising stringent control over railway authorities. The necessity of such control is greater in the case of guaranteed and subsidized railways than the State railways, and the reason is obvious. The latter being the property of the Government are more under their control, while the managers of the guaranteed and aided railways have their private interests to gain and are therefore naturally tempted to elude the supervision of Government as much as possible. This difference was singularly demonstrated last year, when all the State railways yielded a fair profit, while the guaranteed railways worked at a loss. Taking the three railways in our Presidency, the B. B. & C. I. Railway although guaranteed yielded a profit, probably because it is joined to the R. M. State Railway. The S. M. Railway could with great difficulty show its credit and debit sides balancing each other. On the G. I. P. Railway which is the richest and the most extensive on our side, there was a distinct loss of about 30 lakhs for the six months from June to December 1894, and Government had to make up the deficit in order to fulfil their guarantee. In paragraph 102 of budget, presented to the Imperial Council by Sir James Westland in March, he gives the falling off of Net Receipts on the G. I. P. Railway at Rx. 4,80,000, and yet he says that the progress of the railway revenue is satisfactory because the falling off on one line can be set off against an increase on another. This argument of course supposes that the business of Government is only to make the receipts and expenditure on railways balance each other and that the tax-payer is to gain nothing in return of the revenue of the country being burdened with the guarantee. What is more surprising however is the sanguine estimate of the Finance Minister for the next year, for in para 141 of the same budget statement, he quietly tells us that the whole falling off of the last year will be recouped next year. He has not given us his reasons for thinking so, while as a matter of fact, the G. I. P. Railway is still working at a loss and will probably do so throughout the year. The loss to Government in that case will I think come up to something like 70 or 75 lakhs which together with the loss of the last half year, would amount to nearly a crore, during the space of a year and a half. Where is the money to recoup this heavy charge in the present straightened condition of Indian finances? The Chitral affair and other frontier rows may cost us a crore or two, but what are we to do if we are to suffer as heavily even at home? Thus you will see that the present way of managing or rather mismanaging Indian railways not only retards necessary reforms, but inflicts a heavy loss on the Government themselves.

I shall show you now briefly that this loss is mainly due to the wasteful policy pursued by the managers of the railway companies and can therefore be easily avoided by enforcing strict economy. I told you that the G. I. P. alone is going to cost us nearly a crore this year. Government seem to have been suddenly awakened to this fact last December and at once ordered extensive reduction of expenditure. The present waste of money is chiefly due to two causes, employment of costly European service and bringing stores from England. Government therefore ordered a reduction of staff and also enforced Lord Ripon's resolution about buying stores in India as much as possible. The order is however wholly ignored or carried out in a very characteristic manner. The G. I. P. Company at once set about reducing its native staff which is acknowledgedly necessary for the efficiency of the working, while the costly and useless European staff is quite untouched. I shall only give a few illustrations. Orders are

issued to District Traffic Superintendents to reduce the number of signallers drawing 15 or 20 Rs. and many have been peremptorily dismissed without pension and with little or no gratuity. The magnificent sum of Rs. 1,600 was thus saved on the Nagpore District. On the Masjid Bunder Station again four porters out of 7 were summarily dismissed; what a large reduction indeed! Look at the European service. The large number of European Ticket Collectors who are often seen loitering on the platform or making merry in the refreshment room for want of proper work to do, as well as many other officers with high salaries whose duties no one can tell, are a heavy charge on the company, and yet they are retained. On B.B. & C.I.R. a sepoy getting 10 Rs. performs the joint duties of a gate-keeper and a ticket collector, but the G. I. P. has separate Ticket Collector with a minimum salary of 60 Rs. A native guard on B. B. & C. I. gets a minimum of 35 Rs. while on the G. I. P. his European counterpart gets 425 Rs. There are many officers such as platform inspectors and lamp inspectors and many sundry inspectors, with nothing to inspect, but still drawing 300 or 400 per mensem. (*Hear, hear.*) Native employes for 15 or 20 years standing are dismissed as being unfit, but the Passenger Superintendent, Victoria Terminus, drawing 500 Rs. remains though he is serving the Company for 41 years! All this reduction again is in the Traffic Department alone. The Loco and other departments, whose work now considerably diminished, as no new works are on hand, are still retained in their full strength.

Gentlemen, I mention these few instances only to show how the orders of Government are flagrantly disregarded in broad day light, and yet strange to say Government takes no notice of the fact. The same is the case with regard to stores. The chief articles are iron and coal. There are many coal mines in India producing coal which though a little inferior to English coal is quite sufficient for railway purposes. Many experts have testified to its excellent quality. Similarly there is plenty of best iron, and a native firm in Mysore I am told had actually offered the S. M. R. to supply rails and other articles according to specifications and at cheap rates. But Gentlemen, blood is thicker than water, and the company would persist in ordering their stores from England. The Hon. Mr. Playfair, in his last budget speech raised the question of buying stores in India, and it is to be hoped that Government would strictly enforce upon all the railway companies the necessity of obeying the famous resolution of that best of Indian Viceroys, Lord Ripon. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I have already taken sufficient time of yours and I shall not detain you longer by inflicting any more details upon you. The subject is so vast and full of intricacies that it is hopeless for a man like me to do justice, even to one phase of it. I only wanted to draw your attention to it and I hope that financial experts in our country like our worthy President will tackle themselves to it. It is an unworked mine as yet, but if properly searched I think Government will in their own interest listen to our representations. If therefore I succeed in impressing upon you the gravity of the question, I shall deem myself performed my duty. The bad condition of the railway finances is alleged as an excuse for want of conveniences by the railway companies and it was therefore necessary to examine the validity of the excuse. My purpose was to show that the excuse was a sham and that the want of funds can easily be remedied by proper economy.

The question as I said in the beginning relates to the happiness and well-being of thousands of poor people, and no time therefore should be lost in bringing it to a head. I hope therefore that you will pass this resolution unanimously and thus testify your sincere desire to remove practical grievances. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. V. R. Guttikar, (Belgaum,) in seconding the resolution in Marathi,

Pointed out the inconveniences to which a third class passenger is put by giving the story of imaginary 3rd class passengers, a male and a female with a child. The following are the inconveniences which he said should be removed or provided for, all for the third class passengers.

(1) Latrines with sufficient privacy at all stations. (2) Supply of drinking water in the waiting room. (3) Tickets should be issued very long before the trains arrive. (4) Lights should invariably be provided. (5) Latrines in carriages. (6) No crowding should be allowed. (7) Passengers who have got tickets should be allowed to go to the Platform. (8) Weighing luggage should be completed very long before the train arrives. (9) Platform tickets should

be issued. (10) Doors should not be locked. (11) Passengers should not be disturbed in their sleep. (12) Where there are junctions passengers should have water supply and a secure place for them to lie down till it is time for the train to arrive.

Mr. W. H. Chitale, (Hubli,) in supporting the resolution in Marathi, said :—

प्रांतिक सभेच्या आठव्या नियमास अनुसरून तो मंजूर करण्या करितां रा० बोडस यांनीं सभेपुढें जी सूचना आणली आणि त्यास रा० गुत्तीकर यांनीं अनुमोदन दिलें त्याच ठरावा बद्दल मला पुष्टीकरण करावयाचें आहे. “रेलवेच्या व्यवस्थेवर सरकारचा अशा प्रकारें दाव असावा कीं जेणेकरून रेलवेचें काम फार दक्षपूर्वक आणि काटकसरीनें होईल आणि त्याच प्रमाणें लोकांच्या सोई आणि सुख, मुख्यत्वे करून तिसऱ्या वर्गाच्या उतारूंचें, जास्त होईल अशा प्रकारची व्यवस्था करणें” हें त्या ठरावाचें रहस्य आहे.

काटकसरीनें खर्च कसा करावा याजबद्दल आणि इतर दुसऱ्या बाबी बद्दल रा० बोडस यांनीं आपल्या भाषणांत बरेच विवेचन केलें आहे. रेलवे अधिकाऱ्यांनां उतारूस विशेष सुख कशांनें होईल याजबद्दल ज्या कांहीं सोयी कर्तव्य आहेत त्या सोयी करून घेण्याचा कांहीं भाग आपल्या उतारूं वर्गावरही आहे. रेलवेचा आणि उतारूंचा संबंध व्यापारी आणि त्याचें गिऱ्हाईक या नात्याचा कांहींसा आहे. व्यापाऱ्याला गिऱ्हाईकांची जरूर असते आणि ह्याणून त्यानें आपलें गिऱ्हाईक जेणें करून संतुष्ट आणि कमी न होईल अशा विषयीं दक्ष असलें पाहिजे. परंतु गिऱ्हाईक फार वाढल्यास आणि आपल्या वांचून गिऱ्हाईकास गत्यंतर नाहीं असा व्यापाऱ्याचा समज झाल्यास तो गिऱ्हाईकाबद्दल बाळगावी तितकी आस्था बाळगत नाहीं. अशा प्रकारची व्यवस्था आमच्या इलाख्यांतील त्यांत मुख्यत्वे जी० आय० पी० आणि स० म० रेलवेची झाली आहे, आणि ह्याणूनच कित्येक प्रसंगां या रेलवेतील बेफाम व उद्धटपणाचीं उदाहरणें दृष्टोत्पत्तीस येतात. रेलवेचें उत्पन्न दोन प्रकारचें आहे. १ मालाचें व दुसरें उतारूंचें. तूर्त मालाच्या संबंधानें मला येथें कांहीं बोलवयाचें नाहीं. उतारूंनां रेलवेचा प्रवास सुखप्रद कसा होईल याच संबंधानें दोन गोष्टी सांगावयाच्या आहेत. रेलवेचा व माझा संबंध अव्याहत २६ वर्षे होता आणि या संबंधानें प्रत्यक्ष व प्रमाणभूत जी कांहीं अव्यवस्था माझ्या नजरेस आली होती, त्याचेंच मला जो वेळ मिळाला आहे त्या वेळांत तात्पर्यानें विवेचन करावयाचें आहे. धारवाड मुक्कामां स. म. रेलवेच्या एका बड्या अधिकाऱ्याला मानपत्र देते समयी त्या अधिकाऱ्यानें असें सांगितलें कीं तिसऱ्या वर्गाच्या उतारूंचें प्रमाण शेंकडा ८० या प्रमाणानें आहे. आतां या वरून रेलवेचें उत्पन्न तिसऱ्या वर्गाच्याच उतारूंनीं भरून दिलें आहे असें निष्पन्न होतें. आणि त्या वर्गास जितकी सवलत आणि जितकें सुख होईल तितकें देणें हें रेलवेच्या अधिकाऱ्याचें कर्तव्य आहे. परंतु तें त्यांच्या कडून होत नाहीं याजबद्दल फार वाईट वाटतें. तिसऱ्या वर्गाच्या उतारूंनां मुख्य मुख्य काय सोई पाहिजेत त्या ह्या होतः—(१) प्रत्येक गाडीत मळमुत्रोत्सर्गाची सोय. ही सोय जी. आय. पी. वर मेल गाडीमध्ये मात्र बहुतेक सर्वेडव्यांत आढळण्यांत येते. परंतु मेल गाडी शिवाय इतर गाड्यांत आढळून येत नाहीं. दक्षिण महाराष्ट्र रेलवेच्या कोणत्याही डव्यांत (बायकांच्या डव्या खेरीज करून) आढळून येत नाहीं. (२) डव्यामध्ये दिव्याची सोय असणें अत्यंत जरूरीचें आहे. दक्षिण महाराष्ट्र रेलवेच्या मेल गाडीमध्ये मात्र ही सोय असण्या बद्दल बरेच लक्ष दिलें जातें. परंतु मेल गाडी व्यतिरिक्त इतर उतारूंच्या गाडीत ही सोय नसते ह्यातली तरी चालेल. उतारूंच्या गाडीत दिव्याची सोय नसल्या कारणानें उतारूंच्या मालमत्तेचेंच हरण होतें असें नाहीं तर स्त्रिया व पुरुष एके ठिकाणीं प्रसंग विशेषीं बसतात याजमुळे नीतिमत्तेलाही बाध येतो व घेण्याचाही संभव आहे. (३) मोठमोठ्या स्टेशनावर तिकीट कलेक्टर्स असतात ते प्रसंग विशेषीं देशभाषा अनभिज्ञ असल्यामुळे उतारूंना फार त्रास देतात. जी. आय. पी. वर विशेषतः आणि दक्षिण महाराष्ट्र रेलवेच्या कांहीं स्टेशनावर युरोपियन्स किंवा निम्कचे युरोपियन्स हे तिकीट कलेक्टर्स असतात. यांचें

वय पंधरा सोळा पासून वीस पंचवीसच्या आंत असते. यांचे शिक्षण फारच परिमित असते. तत्रापि यानां मिळत असलेला मुषारा यांच्या योग्यते पेशां बऱ्याच अंशाने जास्त असतो या मुळे त्यांचे वर्तन तिसऱ्या प्रतिच्या उतारूंशां उद्दामपणाचे व नीचपणाचे असते. पैसा ज्या प्रमाणे मनुष्य जपून ठेवितो त्याच प्रमाणे तिकिटें ठेवितात. मुख्यत्वे वायकां तिकिटें आपल्या पदरांत गुंडाळून गांठ मारून पोटकुळीं ठेवितात, आणि अशा प्रकारचीं ठेविलेलीं तिकिटें काढून देताना थोडासा विलंब लागतो. हा विलंब या तिकिट कलेक्टर्सना सहन न होऊन तिकिट लवकर देण्याबद्दल तोंडमुखच घेऊन राहतात असे नाही तर कित्येक प्रसंगीं वायकांच्या अंगाला स्पर्श देखील करितात हे फार गर्व आहे. जंकशन स्टेशनावर उतारूंची फार गर्दी असते आणि थोडथोड्याच अवकाशाने निरनिराळ्या दिशेकडे गाड्या जाणाऱ्या असल्यामुळे उतारूंची फार त्रेधा उडते आणि कित्येक प्रसंगीं कोणची गाडी कोणीकडे जावयाची आहे हे न समजल्यामुळे उतारू भळत्याच गाडीत बसतात. असे प्रसंग वारंवार येतात आणि त्याबद्दल त्यांना दंड भोगावा लागतो. या अडचणी कारितां जंकशन स्टेशनावर उतारूंना मार्ग दाखविणारे लोक (Passenger Guides) असणे जरूर आहे. असे लोक जी. आय. पी. वर आहेत. परंतु दक्षिण महाराष्ट्र रेलवेवर नाहीत. दक्षिण महाराष्ट्र रेलवेचे हुबळी स्टेशन हे जंकशन स्टेशन आहे. येथून तीन दिशेकडे फाटे जातात. येथे उतारूंची पुष्कळ गर्दी असते. आणि उतारूंची अडलाबद्दल हमेशा होते. ह्यागून अशा स्टेशनावर उतारूंना मार्ग दाखविणारे लोक जरूर पाहिजेत. (४) ठिकठिकाणी गाडी किती वेळ उभी रहाते वगैरे माहितीची हस्त पुस्तके (Passenger's Guides) आहेत. परंतु तीं सर्व इंग्रजीत असल्यामुळे तिसऱ्या प्रतिच्या उतारूस फायदा होत नाही. कारण त्या वर्गात इंग्रजी जाणणारांची संख्या बरीच कमी आहे. (५) एतद्देशीय लोकांना पहिल्या व दुसऱ्या वर्गाची सोय निराळी असवी हे इष्ट आहे. युरोपियन्स अगर निमकचे युरोपियन्स उतारू पहिल्या व दुसऱ्या वर्गातून जात असले आणि त्याच वर्गातून आमच्या लोकांस जाण्याचा प्रसंग आला ह्यागने त्यांस खपत नाही. आणि त्यांचे सामान बाहेर फेंकून देणे, त्यांच्याशी लड्यालड्या करणे येथपर्यंत मनल घेऊन पोचते. अमल्या प्रकारची उदाहरणे रा. रानड्या सारख्या मोठमोठ्या गृहस्थांची बडर्शी आहेत. हे सर्व श्रुत झालेच आहे. ह्यागून निराळ्या गाड्या पहिल्या व दुसऱ्या वर्गाच्या किंवा गाडीतील कांहीं भाग आमच्या लोकांकरितां राखून ठेवणे इष्ट आहे. (६) मोठ्या स्टेशनावर जेथे गाडी बद्दल किंवा जेथे बराच वेळ उभी रहाते, त्या स्टेशनावर हिंदुच्या खाणावळी असणे अवश्यक आहे. आणि अशा प्रकारच्या खाणावळी घालण्याबद्दल जशा इंग्रजी खाणावळवाल्यास सवलती व सोई दिल्या जातात त्याच प्रमाणे यांना दिल्यास एतद्देशीय उतारूस फार सुख होईल. उदाहरणार्थ हुबळी व लोंढा स्टेशनावर गाड्या बऱ्याच वेळ उभ्या राहतात आणि येथे हिंदु खाणावळी स्थापन झाल्यास फार उपयोग होईल.

मवाशीं मी सांगितलेल्या गैर सोई सर्वत्र ह्यागने रेलवे अधिकाऱ्यांना अनश्रुत आहेत असे नाही. आणि कित्येक प्रसंगीं याजबद्दलची वास्तपुस्त केल्यास पैशाच्या सवडीप्रमाणे त्या केल्या जातील अशा प्रकारचे उद्दार अधिकाऱ्यांच्या तोंडातून निघालेले आपण ऐकतो. हिंदुस्थान सरकारचा हुकूम उतारूंच्या गाड्यांत दिवे लावण्या बद्दल सक्त आहे. परंतु त्याची अमल बजावणी रेलवेच्या अधिकाऱ्यां कडून मात्र होत नाही; याचे कारण काय तर 'काटकसर करून काम करावयाच' हा दपटशा काम करणाऱ्या स्टेशन मास्तरादि लोकांवर आहे. व खरोखर काटकसर यांची पाहू गेले असतां एका अंगाने दाखवावयाची काटकसर व दुसऱ्या अंगाने खोऱ्याने पैसा ओढण्याची हाव, अशा प्रकारची आहे. कांठे आफीस पोर्टर काढ, कांठे तारमास्तर किंवा त्याच्या सारख्या हलक्या पगाराच्या लोकांना जवरीची रजा दे, आणि हुं कां चु वांकडे झाले कीं लागलीच कमी कर अशा प्रकारचा सपाटा चालू आहे, अशा योगाने रेलवेला येणारा तोटा कसा भरून येणार आहे? रेलवेच्या अधिकाऱ्यांचे वर्तन, मला जी कांहीं माहिती आहे त्यावरून—मी स्पष्ट सांगतो कीं, सवतीच्या पोरा प्रमाणे आमच्याशी आहे. जी. आय. पी. व स. म. रेलवेवर एकच काम करणारे हिंदु आणि ख्रिश्चन आहेत, परंतु त्यांच्या

पगाराकडे पाहूंगे असातांना सारखेपणा विलकूल नाही. उदाहरणार्थः—तिकीट कलेक्टरां काम करणारे, गार्डसंचे काम करणारे, स्टेशन मास्तरांचे काम करणारे आणि दुसऱ्या प्रत्येक दर्जाचे काम करणारे आमचे लोक निष्णात आहेत, परंतु जेथे आमचे लोक २०।२५ सांत चांगल्या प्रकारे काम करू शकतील, तेथे युरोपियन्स आणि निमकचे युरोपियन्स दुप्पट तिप्पट पगारावर नेमले जातात. ही स्थिती जर चालू ठेविली आणि तेणेकरून जर रेलवेला तोटा आला तर त्याचा अपराध आमचेवर कां? ज्या देशांतून रेलवेचा प्रवाह आहे त्या देशांतून वाकवगार लोक त्या त्या प्रदेशांत नोकरीवर नेमिले तर थोडक्या खर्चात आणि लोकांना सुखावह असे काम होईल यांत संशय नाही. हें माझे मत आहे असें मी म्हणत नाही; तर पुढ्यासह मी बोलतो. जी. आय. पीच्या हल्लीच्या ट्रॅफिक मॅनेजर पूर्वी मि. वार्टन नाक्स या नांवाचे ट्रॅफिक मॅनेजर व एजंट जी. आय पीवर होते, आणि त्यांचे दृढतर मत मी ह्यटल्या प्रमाणेच होतें. त्यांनी ट्रॅफिक सुपरिंटेंडेंट पासून खालच्या नोकऱ्या हिंदुस्थानच्या लोकांना देण्याविषयी बाणाच बाळगला होता. इतकेच नव्हे पण दिल्याही होत्या. परंतु हा क्रम ते गेल्यावर त्यांचे बरोबरच लयास गेला. आणि सध्या त्याच्या अगदीं विरुद्ध प्रकार चालू आहे. आतां मला दिलेला वेळ अतिक्रम झाला म्हणून मी आपलें भाषण पुरें करण्या पूर्वी इतकेच सुचवितों कीं, या सभे पुढें आणलेला आठवा ठराव तुझीं मंजूर करावा. (टाळ्या.)

Mr. Chipalkatti, (Mudhol,) spoke in support of the Resolution.

Mr. Mahmud Saheb Khatib, (Belgaum,) spoke in Urdu. He said :—

Gentlemen, I wish to speak a few words in support of the Resolution placed before you. I submit that the grievances which make the Railway passengers miserable are well-known to you. I think that whatever may be the comforts of Railway travelling, the British Government, so boastful of having suppressed slavery all over the world, has introduced and supported a new form of slavery. No steps have been yet taken to remove this condemned system and unless we find another Wilberforce, this slavery would continue to exist. The old system of slavery was in one sense justifiable, but this modified slavery introduced by the big Railway Companies cannot be supported by any advocate. Gentlemen and friends, under the old system the master had to pay for the slaves and here the slaves have to pay the masters for being enslaved! (*Laughter.*) When Railways are introduced in a country, naturally travelling by Railways is no longer a matter of free choice but it is a necessity. No sooner a Railway line is opened the company owning the line practically secures the monopoly of goods and passengers traffic. It is an admitted principle that a good government has to relieve its subjects from the hardships caused by the monopolists. But in this country there is little control of Government over the managements of Railways. In England and other countries, we find several companies owning railway lines between a given distance and therefore the spirit of competition works strongly and the companies are obliged to work to the comfort of passengers. Besides there companies are not guaranteed as in India. Here there are no competing Railway and the guarantee given by Government in this country and the powerful influence which the board of the Companies exercise in England upon the Home Authorities make the Railway Companies all the more powerful, and arrogant. They pay very little attention to public opinion and even if the Government suggested any reforms they are never carried out. Like other commercial enterprises Railway Companies are also started for profits from their customers. But while in other cases the customers are free to choose the article they pay for, in the case of Railway the customers have no free choice at all.

Competition between rival companies secures the best possible comforts to passengers but in India there is no competition. Our Railway Companies are spoilt pets of Government. The capital of most of their companies no doubt comes from England but the interest is to be made up from taxes on the poor people, who in their turn are treated most badly by the companies. The management is so bad, that a native gentleman of howsoever great position and rank can be insulted by a low paid porter. Want of sufficient breathing room, lavatories, lights, supply of pure water, regulation of time table to suit public convenience, spacious waiting rooms, better arrangement of issuing tickets at great stations, these and other

wants are always felt, but nothing as yet is done to remove the cause of complaints. I hope gentlemen, that a day will come when the strong public opinion would force on the attention of the *Mábáp* Government, the necessity of removing these grievances. With these few remarks I recommend the resolution to your approval. (*Cheers.*)

The President put the Resolution to vote and which was carried unanimously.

**RESOLUTION X.—The question of Local Self-Government.**

Mr. M. B. Namjoshi, (Poona,) proposed the following resolution :—

*“ That the time has arrived when Government should undertake a revision of Act IV, of 1873 and Act II, of 1884 in the light of the experience of their working gained during the last ten years, and that in the opinion of this Conference no amendment of the Acts which does not treat of this subject as a whole or contain elements favourable to the independent growth of self-government in urban areas, is calculated to place local self-government on that sound and satisfactory basis which was contemplated by the Resolution of 1882.”*

In support of his motion, Mr. Namjoshi made a long speech in Marathi.

Mr. Bhate, (Belgaum,) and Mr. Ketkar, (Nasik,) spoke in support of the Resolution in Marathi.

Mr. Bhimrao Hublikar, (Hubli,) also supported it as follows ; he said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

As the sun has commenced to go down the horizon after a long sojourn in the firmament we must also after our intellectual sojourn in this Hall for three days try to go down the horizon of all our remaining resolutions as soon as possible. Therefore, gentlemen I must run with the speed of lightning as I have to finish my remarks within the prescribed time.

I rise gentlemen to address you not with the ambition of winning laurels by making a speech but I rise gentlemen in response to a call of public duty of ransacking, ferreting out and ventilating the grievances in connection with the Local Self-Government and the Municipalities.

The resolution as moved so very vehemently and enthusiastically by Mr. Namjoshi and supported with no less fervour by the subsequent speakers contemplates reforms or amendments of the Bombay District Municipal Acts VI of 1873 and II of 1884 with reference to the following points which I stand before you to support.

(1) Firstly with reference to Municipal Election. In this direction there are now-a-days many evils and corrupt practices. These evils gentlemen, must be nipped in the bud. So destroy these evils root and branch ; we must impose a rigid and stringent system of fines and penalties in all cases of corruption and bribery if those cases are strongly made out and proved by circumstantial evidence. (2) Secondly.—The payers of Bhangi taxes should be excluded from the inventory of voters so also the prostitutes should be excluded even though they are house-tax payers. (3) As regards the number of the elected and the nominated the number of the former should be two-thirds and that of the latter one-third. (4) As regards the Municipal Secretaries who for the present have no powers should be invested with certain powers of local assessment and matters of a kindred nature. (5) Now to the qualification of the Municipal Commissioners. These qualifications must be necessarily higher than those contemplated by the Act *i. e.* being a man tax-payer ; the only test gentlemen entitling men to be Municipal Commissioners is the test of education. (6) Then we come to the different treatment as regards the elected and nominated commissioners. The qualifications prescribed for the elected do not apply to the nominated. This is injustice ; the same test must obtain and hold good in both cases. (7) As for direct and indirect taxation the



proposer has dealt with it very admirably so I need not say any thing more about it. (8) Then we come down to the tyrannical, oppressive and the coercive policy of officialism creating distrust and diffidence instead of inspiring confidence and thus shaking the foundations of loyalty. Here I may draw your attention to the unhappy scenes that occurred in Gujarat. In the case of Prantej Municipality the official presidents upon the reports of the interested officials—exceeded the bounds given to them by the Dist. Municipal Acts. In the case of Balsar, they threatened the Municipality with Government displeasure in case of difference and disagreement with Government. In case of Jumbana on account of this coercive policy people got enraged and refused to perform civic duties. In the case of Dhanduka the same policy led to bankruptcy, and the consequent suspension of the municipality. Here, gentlemen, the stern law, cause and effect, had no favour with the officialism. By this undesirable direct interference these irresponsible officials frustrate the objects of the local-self-government; the boon conferred upon by Lord Ripon. (*Cheers.*) The objects are two fold (1) to elevate the people to higher levels of civilization (2) to shift the burden of administration to the shoulders of the people. By this coercive policy, gentlemen, these responsible officials, tarnish and sully the name of that great and illustrious and the most philanthropic Viceroy of India, In this connection *viz*: the control by the Government Officials Presidents of Municipal administration there must needs be an amendment of the Acts. (9) then we come to the classification of Municipalities; according to revenue population or efficiency. Some such test must be fixed by the Act itself and the classification must be based upon it. This classification will serve a philip, incentive, and stimulus to the backward village and urban municipalities to compete with and attain to a higher class. By this healthy competition the intellectual, the administrative and the moral tone of the municipalities will be raised and elevated. These are the lines of amendment of the Acts, 6th of 1873 and II of 1884 which the present resolution contemplates and to which I call your serious and solemn attention, hoping that they will receive your unanimous approbation and your sympathetic and conscientious effects and exertion to work them out to a tangible form. The present resolution, gentlemen, so far as its far reaching influences and its ulterior effects are concerned is the basis upon which the superstructure of all your social and political improvements and regenerations may be safely built; it is also the basis upon which the citadel, the fortress and unassailable and the impregnable castle of pure and unaffected and serene loyalty to the British Crown; loyalty contributing to the concord, harmony and stable equilibrium and the material peace and prosperity of the British Empire—may be safely reared and fortified. In this grand work of reform or amendment of the Municipal Acts we must follow the example of nature. Just as the summits of the mountains receive first the rays of the rising sun and then by reflection illuminate the parts below afterwards, so you knighthood of intellect, the representatives of learning and the apostles and the pioneers of civilization of every kind and lastly you the inhabitants of big cities and towns who first enjoy the goods of providence and the gifts of nature upon a more refined and exquisite scale, should reflect and confer some of these boons and benefits of Municipal independence, of thought, expression and action and of Municipal administrative efficiency upon the village and urban municipalities to elevate, to improve and to ameliorate the condition and state of cultivating and agricultural classes who for ages have consigned to the tased cellars and vaults of a gloomy atmosphere. (*Cheers.*)

#### RESOLUTION XI.—The next Conference.

It was resolved, on the motion of the President.

*“ That the Provincial Conference for 1896 assemble at Karachi (Sind,) and that Messrs. D. E. Wacha, A. M. Dharamsy, T. Khemchand, Pestonjee Padshah, K. Dayaram, and Jaffer Faddoo be the secretaries of that Conference.”*

The Resolution was carried by acclamations.

#### RESOLUTION XII.—Thanks to the Reception Committee.

*In moving the XII, resolution viz., that the best thanks of the Conference be tendered to the reception committee and the hon. secretaries,*

The President observed :—

It is no exaggeration to say that the Reception Committee has done its work right royally. I am echoing the sentiments of all the delegates assembled here when I say that the Reception Committee could not have done better. Belgaum people having held no such previous gathering before had no experience at all, but it is gratifying to notice that they have done all that could be desired. They have worked admirably in matters of details. I see this big *pandal* and all arches in front of it, erected with precise ideas as to outward appearance and inner comfort. I congratulate the Reception Committee on their successful attempts to give all convenience to the delegates, who have come from all parts of the Presidency and to accord every facility to the Conference in its work. I cannot refrain from naming my friends the Hon. Mr. Natu, who has really become our host during the time that we, delegates, are here (*cheers*),—and Mr. Chattré, the other Honorary Secretary. We are sure, gentlemen, that each Member of the committee has done his best, but the more active and working members have to bear the real brunt of the whole affair. I shall not forget, while moving this resolution, the names of Messrs. Bhatkhande, Appasaheb, and Hydersaheb. I offer them the warmest thanks on behalf of the Reception Committee. I shall not forget the name of Mr. Marathe, the architect of the *pandal*, who took great pains and trouble over the work, and our thanks are due to him. There is also a class of young men whom we should not overlook, I mean the volunteers. We are not yet volunteers, in the military sense of the term; however we hope that Government will grant us the privilege by and by. Meanwhile our young men are having a rehearsal of what's coming. They take part in our work partly as students and partly as citizens. I decline to accept that precious precept that students should not take part in politics. What are they taught history for? Not to commit to memory the dates and names of battles. Mr. Freeman says "History is nothing but past politics," and I think the students cannot do better than take part in politics, because present politics is nothing but future history. (*Hear, hear.*) The young volunteers have done their best, and I, on behalf of the Conference, give them a hearty vote of thanks.

The resolution was passed amidst cheers.

### Resolution XIII.—Compliment to Mr. Wacha.

Dr. Madhavrao Joglekar, (Belgaum,) then proposed :—

*"That this Conference tenders its most cordial thanks to President, Mr. D. E. Wacha, for his able conduct in the chair."* He said :—

On behalf of this Eighth Conference as well as on that of the people of this town I propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Wacha, the President of this Conference. I need hardly say that he is one of those who have been working for years together with singleness of purpose and without any selfish motive whatever for the welfare of the people of this Country. (*Hear, hear.*) He has been the Secretary of the Presidency Association, the object of which is, as many of you are aware, discussion of Political questions which concern India. Unlike many Parsees who think they are as much foreigners here as Europeans are and therefore have nothing to do with what concerns this Country, Mr. Wacha is one of those—and there are not a few, Mr. Dadabhai being the most prominent, whose name has become deservedly a household word throughout the length and breadth of this country,—who have in every way identified themselves with the natives of the soil. Originally the Parsees came from Persia but for generations together having settled in this country they naturally look upon it as the land of their adoption and therefore I am sure their interests are the same as those of the people of India. We have therefore every reason and hope to look upon the Parsees as our fellow subjects and be proud of them. And Mr. Wacha is in the foremost ranks of those Parsee gentlemen who take this view of the matter. Well, gentlemen, this is not an occasion for me to dwell on the services which our friend has rendered to the public all these years. We have now to thank him for his able conduct in the chair, and am sure I am only voicing the feelings of you all when I say that Mr. Wacha has guided the proceedings of this assembly with great tact, courtesy and judgment. (*Cheers.*) I think I need add no more and I am sure you will carry the resolution with acclamations. (*Loud applause.*)

In seconding the Resolution Mr. Samarth, observed :—

Gentlemen, you must have noticed the honesty of purpose, enviable energy, and acute sense of duty in Mr. Wacha. We have in him one of the very few men who in all earnestness absolutely devote their energy and valuable time to the cause of the people. (*Cheers.*) There are few who could do it, and there are fewer still who could do it so boldly and with quite honest motives. He is an ornament to the class he belongs. Mr. Wacha is so studious and his study is so sound that he has made himself competent to express an opinion on all the burning questions of the day with some authority. He has been devoting his leisure to financial matters, and his views on military expenditure are so sound as to be worthy of an expert. His popularity is consequent upon his perseverance, and we shall all do well to follow the example he has laid before us. Mr. Wacha is eminently worthy of our cordial and hearty thanks, such as few men deserve. He has not got the bubble honours, that are really not worth much, but he claims memory in the heart of the people as a man who has fought for them and devoted his time and energy to people's cause. (*Loud cheers.*)

The President then rose amidst loud and continued cheers to reply to the compliment. He said :—

Gentlemen—I am exceedingly obliged to you all for the very kind and cordial terms in which you have just voted me thanks for presiding on this occasion. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to respond to the call of duty, especially public duty of the character to which you called me two days ago. To me it has been more a labour of love than a task. (*Cheers.*) I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that to me public life has neither been irksome nor troublesome. Not that I have considered it a bed of roses. (*Laughter.*) Not that I have made light of its many risks and responsibilities. But because I have invariably felt that the time and toil bestowed on its discharge are well and most usefully bestowed. For to what better purpose could a man's leisure hour and spare energy be employed than in rendering some good to his fellowmen, however humbly. The consciousness of having so occupied himself ought to be enough to make him forget all the toil and trouble inseparable from such a life. At any rate, I can conscientiously say that I have so found it in my own case. (*Cheers.*) But I will not further dilate on my personal experience. Still, I cannot, refrain from observing that the proposer and the seconder of the vote of thanks have passed eulogies on me which I feel to be undeserving. (“*No, No.*”) At any rate, gentlemen, I can say that I am not conscious of the many flattering sentiments they have expressed about me. I am afraid their kind and friendly feelings towards me personally have been more prominent in the vote than my own deserts.

Gentlemen, it has been customary for the President of a Conference to say a few words at the close of the proceedings. I shall follow that usage, and while I address you again for the last time from this chair, I crave your forbearance if I keep you in your places for a few minutes at so late an hour of the day. Let me first congratulate you, gentlemen, on the care, ability, and sound reasoning which you brought to bear on the resolutions which were submitted to you for your adoption. I rejoice to observe that in the matter of debating strength each Conference seems an improvement over the previous one. It argues that you are yearly growing more and more conscious of the expediency of making the Conference a real, earnest, and faithful exponent of your countrymen's views in this Presidency on important subjects of the provincial administration, subjects which affect not a little the weal or woe of our people. So far you are on the right track. For, it is scarcely necessary for me to remind you that it is after all the qualitative rather than the quantitative work which must tell on the Administration. In the degree that you excel in the former your utterances will carry greater weight and influence with the latter. (*Hear, hear.*) I therefore earnestly appeal to you all to make your future Conferences as practical and perfect as your honest and disinterested exertions can make them. This naturally leads me again to the importance of the kind of organisation, to which I referred in my opening address. If each village and taluka, each town and district were to put forth all its combined ability and strength for the promotion and advocacy of the common object in view, then, I am sanguine of hope that the reforms in the administration—imperial and provincial—for which Congress and Conferences are crying aloud or agitating would be

accomplished facts. The one end and aim of the organisation I wish you to institute is the collection of unimpeachable facts, such facts as may bear the scrutiny of the closest examination by the authorities—facts unimpeachable and unimpugnable. I ask you, gentlemen, why in spite of all opposition and obstruction has Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji—(cheers)—been able to command respect and attention in the House of Commons? Simply because his facts are hard facts and his arguments are unanswerable arguments. Gentlemen, you may not be unaware that there is no deliberative assembly in the whole civilized world which demands more facts and argument from its members than the British House of Commons—(cheers)—that mother of all parliaments. Rhetoric and eloquence are undoubtedly effective weapons of debate. But they are effective only when accompanied by facts and reasoning. If you have carefully followed Hansard you would at once confirm the correctness of my observation. Similarly, take the example of the Hon. Mr. Mehta in the Supreme Legislative Council. What is the true meaning of that official attack on him at Budget time? Simply this. That Mr. Mehta's financial facts were too hard a nut to be cracked by the official phalanx. (Loud cheers.) Hence that undignified ebullition of temper. But, gentlemen, I have said sufficient to inform you how important is the need of the kind of organisation I have referred to. It alone can collect and compile facts. When these are handled in a masterly way, you may depend upon it the path of reform will be cleared of half the lions who obstruct it now. I am glad that Belgaum seems to have thoroughly understood the value of this organisation in the very able efforts which Messrs. Chattré and Natu, along with their other colleagues, have made in organising the Conference, in collecting funds, in enlisting popular sympathy, and in awakening the ryots themselves, as witness the telling speech of the patel, with all his rustic fervour and eloquence. (Cheers.) It has made a good beginning. I think I am echoing the sentiments of all assembled here, when I say that Belgaum has more than realised the expectations formed of it. (Cheers.) If this be the beginning of its political activity, we can, gentlemen, safely augur what its energetic public men can do later on. In this respect it is to me a matter of sincere disappointment that Ahmedabad, or rather Gujerat, should be again relapsing in its former condition of *insouciance*. When I see around me delegates from all parts of the Presidency, I am grieved to notice that there is only one delegate from all Gujerat. I never expected this after the enthusiasm which Gujerat displayed at the Ahmedabad Conference under the leading of my friend the Hon. Mr. Setalwad who has been unavoidably absent. I hope, however, that Gujerat will not again lag behind after the efforts made to bring it in a line with other organisations elsewhere. Gentlemen, remember that in politics, as in every other matter, patience and perseverance are necessary, along with enthusiasm and earnestness. In some places people seem to be enthusiastic for the time being. You may hear the beating of drums and witness the flying of colours. You may hear hurrahs and huzzas. But all seems the next moment to be carried the limbo of oblivion. Enthusiasm oozes out as splendidly as it comes. (Laughter.) This will never do. Of course, I admit that we are still young in political agitation. It will require years to perfect us in this direction. But when will that day arrive? If we sleep for eleven months of the year and display in the twelfth spasmodic activity of the kind Ahmedabad showed at the Conference held there, I for one never expect that the day will ever arrive. (Hear, hear.) The cause of the country can never be advanced by laggards, and laggards, in my opinion, should have no place in our Conferences. This reflection brings me to the resolution which I moved and which you so unanimously adopted—I mean the one which says that the next Conference shall be held at Karachi. Gentlemen, I am rejoiced to know that Karachi has volunteered to hold the Conference. This is an encouraging sign. It shows that our friends there are re-awakening, that the Sind Sabha is putting itself on its legs again after the lethargy of the last few years. Let us all do the best in our power to make the Karachi Conference as much of a success as the Belgaum one. (Cheers.) It all depends on our own united and sustained efforts. The place is somewhat distant. But our common object should annihilate all distances, be they thousands of miles in length. I therefore hope to meet most of you, if not all, at Karachi twelve months hence, and I hope that Gujerat, which is nearer Karachi by many miles than Belgaum will muster strong and retrieve herself from the reproach of a laggard. (Cheers.)

Coming now to the subjects discussed, I am glad that fewer topics were selected by your committee and those of a practical character. I also notice you have this time dropped your omnibus resolution, that *olla podrida* of resolutions, which you are not in a mood to debate over and over again. A Conference is held once a year. The sittings do not last

beyond three days. Conservation of time and energy are most essential. Hence for a practical body like yours, which is desirous of doing good practical work, it is necessary to take up only such subjects as are ripe. It would be a wholesome rule were Conferences in future to take up as few topics as possible, but of a most pressing and urgent character, topics which may be most prominently before the public mind at the time. The fewer such topics the greater is the time available to each speaker. The subjects can then be discussed leisurely and with a full knowledge of facts and experience of the different speakers. The President would then be relieved of the disagreeable duty he has sometimes been constrained to discharge to ring the bell and remind the speaker that his orthodox ten or five minutes are up. (*Laughter.*) I would also observe in this place that delegates should not be ambitious to make speeches for speeches sake. Mere spouting will not do. (*Hear, hear.*) No quantity of spouting, however oratorical or rhetorical, will promote the true ends of a Conference. We must be, as matter of fact, hard-headed and practical as we possibly could be. In this respect I may say it was a pleasure to hear speaker after speaker on those two questions, which so vastly affect the poorest masses—I mean the one on forests, and the other on discomforts and annoyances to which third-class passengers are put to while journeying by rail. These are at the present moment the two most crying popular grievances all over the Presidency. I repeat, it was a pleasure to hear so many representatives of the poor coming forward and relating their experiences. This is exactly what we want. The larger the number of delegates who could speak to their burning wrongs at the hands of the official classes, from their personal observations and experience, the higher will Conferences rise in the estimation of the people at large, and the greater will be the influence on the course of administration. I am also glad that the Conference has once more appealed to Government to enfranchise native industrial and mercantile interests which in this Presidency, as well pointed out by Rao Bahadur Bhide, are most paramount. Gentlemen, I need hardly remind you that the good government of a country depends on its finances. But good finances must depend on taxation. And taxation can only be compatible with national wealth. National wealth, in its turn, depends on agriculture, commerce, and industries. You will thus see how important for a country is its commerce. Without it any government would be helpless. Thus the importance of the representative of commercial and industrial interests in the Presidency can be at once realized. You will remember, gentlemen, that the Government of Lord Harris defended its arrangement of the eight non-official seats on the Legislative Council on the principle of “interests,” worked on here and there according to territorial interests. Now, will it be denied that native commercial interests have been woefully neglected by the Bombay Government? I make bold to say that the capital sunk by native merchants in trade and commerce and by native mill-owners in cotton and other factories far transcends in amount the capital of all the combined European merchants of Bombay and Karachi. Moreover, European traders and merchants are after all birds-of-passage. They have no permanent interests in the country. They are seldom known to advocate native interests in Legislative Council. (*Hear, hear.*) And yet they are enfranchised while the larger native commercial interests, on which depend so much of the flourishing condition of the provincial revenue, are still left out in the cold. (*Shame.*) Is it not the case that the principle proclaimed by the Government is at variance with its practice so far as native merchants and mill-owners are concerned? It is to be hoped Lord Sandhurst will at an early day redress this injustice. In this connection it is much to be wished that the Provincial Conference will assist Industrial which our friends at Poona inaugurated some years ago. The industrial revolution is slowly going on in India. But it will need immense private enterprise and capital before we can witness any very remarkable change in the country. But this is too large a subject to be even touched at the very far end of the Conference. (*Hear, hear.*) I cannot, however, help saying that there ought to be a Social Conference at the conclusion of each Provincial one. You are well aware that such a Conference is held after each Congress Session. I however attach greater value and importance to Provincial Social Conferences. They will be productive of the greatest good to our people, if they are well organised. I know that in saying so I am treading on delicate ground. I shall, therefore, be cautious in my utterances. I am fully aware of the obstructions and difficulties which you, Hindu gentlemen, have to surmount. As Mr. Dadabhoj Naoroji once observed, you have a colossal social “Himalaya to cut.” (*Hear, hear.*) But, gentlemen, while admitting the difficulties, I must say that it is high time a good practical beginning was made—a beginning on the line of the least resistance. But it will never do to stand still. It will not do to have internal dissensions, to fight for shadows, and allow the substance to remain untouched. I am of belief that the promotion of Provincial

Social Conferences will lead to the highest social good in this Presidency. You are now daily taunted for your culpable backwardness in this respect. It devolves on you to remove that reproach. It lies on you to disprove the charge at present hurled against you that you are unwilling to move your little finger even in the matter. I am aware that the charge is not wholly true. But you must show by your acts and deeds that it is wholly undeserving. Social and political reforms are no doubt of slow growth everywhere, much more so in India. You have done fair progress in politics. Why stand back in matters which so vitally affect your social amelioration? Depend on it that in the degree that you strive for this object you would rise higher and higher in your social status—a consummation to be devoutly wished in the better interests of the country at large. It is to be earnestly hoped, therefore, that you will not fail to pay serious attention to this matter. (*Cheers.*)

Lastly let me say a word regarding the Simultaneous Examinations. We all condemn the action taken by the Government of India. We all declaim against it as unjust. But why then we do remain so listless? Why are we lagging behind when even so backward a province as the Punjab is sending petitions after petitions in hundreds and thousands to the House of Commons? I must remind you that without such petitions, we never can hope to make an impression on that assembly, and move it again to have its noble mandate of 1893 carried out by the authorities here. I trust, therefore, that you, delegates, will, on your return home, endeavour to have such petitions drawn and forwarded to Parliament. I am prepared to be your channel of communication. But I must exhort you to discharge the solemn duty you owe not only to Mr. Dadabhoj but to yourselves. You must take heart of grace from that veteran's preserverance and earnestness. (*Applause.*) Lastly, there is the question of more generous and wider support to "*India*," your Political organ in England. It is already extending its influence, and is sure to become a most potent weapon in the cause of the reform for which we have been agitating so long. Think, gentlemen, of the sacrifice of time and energy the British Committee are undergoing on your behalf, specially men like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Caine, and others. (*Cheers.*) We should be ashamed of ourselves that we should do so little while they are doing so much, and they are sympathetic aliens while we are natives of the soil. (*Hear, hear.*) It is really disheartening this want of generous support on our side. But it is even more disheartening to notice the woful want of any local organ of native opinion which may faithfully echo your sentiments and wishes from day to day. You are all agreed to the necessity of such an organ, and yet very little or next to nothing is done in the matter. Think gentlemen, how much more effectively might your Conference and Congress demands be advocated by such a paper than at present through your weekly and biweekly journals which, of course, in their own way are doing yeoman's service. But in these days of persistent agitations a political organisation without a powerful daily organ is most surprising. I consider it a shame to so wealthy a city as Bombay that she cannot boast of such a newspaper when benighted Madras can support two most ably edited ones and enlightened Calcutta three. (*Hear, hear.*) This is the last subject to which I would earnestly draw your attention. And now, gentlemen, let me bid you all a hearty and cordial farewell. You, gentlemen of Belgaum, have not only been magnificent in your hospitality, but have nobly done everything to assure the success of this Conference. On behalf of the assembled delegates I once more thank you from the bottom of my heart. I repeat, to me the task of presiding at this Conference has been a labour of love. You could not have called me to discharge a more pleasing and patriotic duty. Whether I have realised your expectations or not, I must leave you to judge. But I will say this much, that so long as this life is given to me it shall be devoted heart and soul to the service of my fellow-men. For in reality there could be no better service which a person can perform than the one he may render to his native country. (*Loud cheers.*)

Three cheers having been given for the Queen, Empress of India, the President dissolved the Eighth Conference.

**APPENDIX A.**  
**LIST OF DELEGATES.**  
AT THE  
**EIGHTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE,**  
**HELD AT BELGAUM,**  
*ON THE 12th, 13th and 14th May 1895.*

| No. | Place.      | Names in full of Delegates.                | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                                | How and when elected.                 |
|-----|-------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1   | Dharwar...  | Divakar Balwant Jathar ...                 | Brahmin...         | Editor, Rajhansa ...                       | Sneh. Pra. Mandli.                    |
| 2   | "           | Gadgaya Huchayya Vibhuti ...               | Lingayet.          | Pleader ...                                | Public Meeting.                       |
| 3   | "           | V. Vajravelu Mudliar ...                   | Mudliar ...        | Clerk, S. M. Railway ...                   | Sneh. Pra. Mandli.                    |
| 4   | "           | Ramchandra Swamirao Malapur ...            | Brahmin...         | Pleader, Vatandar, M. L. Bd. and M. M. C.  | Public Meeting.                       |
| 5   | "           | Hanmant Ramchandra Sirhatee ...            | "                  | Pensioner ...                              | Do.                                   |
| 6   | "           | Vaman Hari Chitale ...                     | "                  | Contractor ...                             | Sneh. Pra. Mandli.                    |
| 7   | "           | Antaji B. Jogalekar ...                    | "                  | Editor, Dharwar Vrita ...                  | Public Meeting.                       |
| 8   | "           | R. B. Karandikar B. A., LL. B. ...         | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 9   | "           | Jivanrao H. Betgiri, B. A., L.L. B. ...    | "                  | " ...                                      | Do.                                   |
| 10  | "           | Bhimrao Vyasrao Desai ...                  | "                  | Inamdar ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 11  | "           | Rao Bah. Huchrao Achyut Harihar ...        | "                  | Pleader, Belgaum ...                       | Do.                                   |
| 12  | "           | Rao Saheb V. R. Katti ...                  | "                  | Editor, Pensioner ...                      | Do.                                   |
| 13  | "           | Hanmant Y. Shimikeri ...                   | "                  | S. Master ...                              | Do.                                   |
| 14  | "           | Annacharya K. Katti ...                    | "                  | Law Student ...                            | Do.                                   |
| 15  | "           | Mahalingapa Shetti ...                     | Lingayet.          | Merchant ...                               | Public Meeting at Karjagi             |
| 16  | "           | V. M. Herlekar B. A., LL. B. ...           | Brahmin...         | Pleader ...                                | Public Meeting, Dharwar               |
| 17  | "           | Shivram Kashinath Tembe ...                | "                  | Sawakar ...                                | Do. Bamanhalli.                       |
| 18  | "           | Bhimrao Hayavadanrao ...                   | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Sneh. Pra. Mandli.                    |
| 19  | "           | Shantaram N. Vinekar B.A. LL. B. ...       | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Public Meeting.                       |
| 20  | "           | Subrao Sheshgiri Phadnis B. A., LL. B. ... | "                  | " ...                                      | Do.                                   |
| 21  | "           | Anant Babu Shastri Joshi ...               | "                  | Editor... ...                              | Do.                                   |
| 22  | "           | Pandurang Sadashiv Athavale ...            | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 23  | "           | Shesho G. Digrajkar ...                    | "                  | Landlord ...                               | Do.                                   |
| 24  | "           | B. B. Gudi ...                             | "                  | S. Master ...                              | Do.                                   |
| 25  | Hubli       | Vishnu B. Godbole ...                      | "                  | Mechanic ...                               | Public Meeting Hubli.                 |
| 26  | "           | Shivapa Basapa Nili ...                    | Lingayet...        | Merchant ...                               | Do.                                   |
| 27  | "           | Raghunath Anant Sule ...                   | Parbhu ...         | Clerk, S. M. Railway ...                   | Do.                                   |
| 28  | "           | Bhimrao N. Hublikar ...                    | "                  | Law Student ...                            | Do.                                   |
| 29  | "           | N. N. Hublikar ...                         | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 30  | "           | Vyasrao B. Deshpande ...                   | "                  | Landlord ...                               | Do.                                   |
| 31  | "           | R. M. Nadgir ...                           | "                  | Pleader, Haveri ...                        | Public Meeting, Haveri.               |
| 32  | Bijapur     | K. R. Natu B. A., LL. B. ...               | Brahmin...         | Pleader ...                                | Public Meeting, Bijapur.              |
| 33  | "           | Siddo Tammaji Badami ...                   | "                  | Pleader, Land-holder ...                   | Do.                                   |
| 34  | "           | Budha K. Govind... ...                     | Vaisya ...         | Pleader ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 35  | Karwar      | Rama H. Panage ...                         | "                  | Landlord, Haliyal ...                      | WandukhaNewaraniSubha Public Meeting. |
| 36  | "           | Yeshwant T. Lad ...                        | Hindu ...          | Cultivator, " ...                          | Do.                                   |
| 37  | "           | Shivram Yeshwant Bhadri ...                | Brahmin...         | Sowkar ...                                 | Do.                                   |
| 38  | "           | Venkapa Hegde ...                          | "                  | Cultivator Sowkar ...                      | Sirsi.                                |
| 39  | "           | Shivram Venkapa Kopal ...                  | "                  | Merchant ...                               | Do.                                   |
| 40  | "           | Shitaram Shivram Bhat ...                  | "                  | Sowkar ...                                 | Do.                                   |
| 41  | "           | Pundalikrao N. Pandit ...                  | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 42  | Sholapur... | V. B. Kirloskar L. M. & S. ...             | Brahmin...         | Medical Practitioner ...                   | Sholapur People's Association.        |
| 43  | Ratnagiri.  | Shrikrishna N. Joshi ...                   | Brahmin...         | Landlord, Manager Ratnagiri, Soap Factory. | Public Meeting, Batnagiri             |
| 44  | Kolaba ...  | B. L. Gharat ...                           | Hindu ...          | S. Master, Bombay ...                      | Taluka Alibag, Avas Association.      |
| 45  | "           | N. K. Gharat ...                           | "                  | Landlord ...                               | Do.                                   |
| 46  | Satara      | L. M. Kanhere ...                          | Brahmin...         | Inamdar ...                                | Public Meeting, Satara,               |
| 47  | "           | R. P. Karandikar ...                       | "                  | Pleader ...                                | Do.                                   |
| 48  | "           | L. B. Mutalik ...                          | "                  | " ...                                      | Do.                                   |
| 49  | "           | B. R. Sahasrabudhe ...                     | "                  | " ...                                      | Do.                                   |
| 50  | "           | Krishnaji L. Desai ...                     | "                  | Pleader, Islampur ...                      | Islampur, P. P.                       |

| No. | Place.      | Names in full of Delegates.                         | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                                               | How and when elected.                       |
|-----|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 51  | Satara ..   | D. R. Kuber ... ..                                  | Brahmin ...        | Pleader, Walwa... ..                                      | Public Meeting, Islam<br>pur.<br>Satara.    |
| 52  | " ..        | L. B. Mutalik ... ..                                | " ...              | Inamdar, Hony. Magistrate<br>M. L. B., Satara.            | Do.                                         |
| 53  | " ...       | Govind D. Limaye ... ..                             | " ...              | Pleader Asta ... ..                                       | Jalgaum, Public Meeting.                    |
| 54  | Khandesh .. | Abaji Ragho Mhalas ... ..                           | " ...              | Govt. Pleader, Jalgaum ...                                | Ahmednagar, Public Meet-<br>ing.            |
| 55  | Nagar ...   | Rao Bahadur Nilkantha Bhagwant<br>Mule              | " ...              | Pensioner, Ahmadnagar ...                                 | Nasik, Sarvajanic Subha,<br>Public Meeting. |
| 56  | Nasik ...   | Trimbakrao Balkrishna Takalkar ...                  | " ..               | Jehagirdar M. L. Bd. M.M.                                 | Do.                                         |
| 57  | " ...       | Gangadhar Narsinva Ketkar ...                       | " ...              | Pleader ... ..                                            | Do.                                         |
| 58  | " ...       | Balwant Khandoji Parakh ...                         | Maratha ...        | M. Pleader ... ..                                         | Do.                                         |
| 59  | " ...       | Krishnaji Govind Kale ... ..                        | Brahmin ...        | Pleader Sinner ... ..                                     | Do.                                         |
| 60  | " ...       | V. B. Akut ... ..                                   | " ..               | " Sinner ... ..                                           | Do.                                         |
| 61  | Ahmedabad   | Ganesh Gopal Pandit, B. A. ...                      | " ...              | " Agriculturist ... ..                                    | Guzerat Subha, E.<br>Mee                    |
| 62  | Poona ...   | Ganesh Vasudeo Sane ... ..                          | " ...              | Contractor ... ..                                         | Sarvajanic Subha.                           |
| 63  | " ...       | P. N. Kelkar ... ..                                 | " ...              | S. Master ... ..                                          | Do.                                         |
| 64  | " ...       | B. R. Natu ... ..                                   | " ...              | Inamdar, Sirdar... ..                                     | Do.                                         |
| 65  | " ...       | S. B. Phadke ... ..                                 | " ...              | Agriculturist ... ..                                      |                                             |
| 66  | " ...       | Prof. Vaijanath K. Rajawade, M.A.                   | " ...              | Professor ... ..                                          |                                             |
| 67  | " ...       | Prof. Dhondo K. Kurve B. A. ...                     | " ...              | Prof. Fergusson College ...                               | Do.                                         |
| 68  | " ...       | Mahadeo B. Namjoshi ... ..                          | " ...              | Mill Agent ... ..                                         |                                             |
| 69  | " ...       | Shri Baba Maharaja ... ..                           | " ...              | Sirdar ... ..                                             |                                             |
| 70  | " ...       | Prof. Bal Gangadhar Tilak B. A.,<br>LL. B.          | " ...              | Journalist ... ..                                         | Do.                                         |
| 71  | " ...       | Rao Bahadur Shriram B. Jathar,<br>B.A., C.I.E.      | " ...              | Pensioner, D. P. Inspector<br>Berars                      | Do.                                         |
| 72  | " ...       | Rao Badr. Vishnu Moreshtar Bhide.                   | " ...              | " Chairman S. Subha.                                      | Do.                                         |
| 73  | " ...       | Prof. Gopal Krishna Gokhale B.A.                    | " ...              | Hony. Secy. Sarvajanic Subha<br>Prof. Fergusson College   | Do.                                         |
| 74  | " ...       | Vinayak N. Apte ... ..                              | " ...              | Merchant, Banker ... ..                                   | Do.                                         |
| 75  | Bombay ...  | L. B. Jogalekar ... ..                              | " ...              | Pleader Thana ... ..                                      | Bombay Py. Association                      |
| 76  | " ...       | B. N. Bhanjekar B. A., LL. B. ...                   | " ...              | " High Court ... ..                                       | Do.                                         |
| 77  | " ...       | Bhalchandra K. Bhatwadekar, L.M.                    | " ...              | Medical Practitioner ... ..                               | Do.                                         |
| 78  | " ...       | K. N. Bahadurjee M.D. (Lond) ...                    | Parsee ...         | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 79  | " ...       | The Hon. P. M. Mehta M.A. C.I.E.                    | " ...              | Barrister-at-law and M. Su-<br>preme Legislative Council. | Do.                                         |
| 80  | " ...       | D. E. Wacha ... ..                                  | " ...              | Journalist, Merchant ... ..                               | Do.                                         |
| 81  | " ...       | Rustom K. R. Kama M.A. LL., B.                      | " ...              | Solicitor ... ..                                          | Do.                                         |
| 82  | " ...       | Jehangir K. R. Kama ... ..                          | " ...              | Barrister-at-Law ... ..                                   | Do.                                         |
| 83  | " ...       | Furdonji J. Kanga ... ..                            | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  |                                             |
| 84  | " ...       | Shivram V. Bhandarkar B.A., LL.B.                   | Brahmin ...        | High Court Pleader ... ..                                 | Do.                                         |
| 85  | " ...       | Vishnu K. Bhatwadekar B.A. LL. B.                   | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 86  | " ...       | N. M. Samartha B. A., LL. B. ...                    | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 87  | " ...       | Vinayak N. Bhagwat ... ..                           | " ...              | Pensioner ... ..                                          | Do.                                         |
| 88  | " ...       | Daji Abaji Khare B. A., LL. B. ...                  | " ...              | High Court Pleader ... ..                                 | Do.                                         |
| 89  | " ...       | Balaji Abaji Bhagwat B.A., LL. B.                   | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 90  | " ...       | P. P. Khare, B. A. LL., B. ...                      | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 91  | " ...       | N. V. Gokhale B. A., LL., B. ...                    | " ..               | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 92  | " ...       | M. R. Bodas M. A., LL. B. ...                       | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 93  | " ...       | R. S. Chitguppi ... ..                              | " ...              | Barrister-at-Law ... ..                                   | Do.                                         |
| 94  | Belgaum...  | Shripad A. Chhatre ... ..                           | " ...              | Pleader ... ..                                            | Public Meeting, District<br>Association.    |
| 95  | " ...       | The Hon'ble Vishnu Raghunath<br>Natu, B. A., LL. B. | " ...              | High Court Pleader, member<br>Leg. Council, Bombay.       | Do.                                         |
| 96  | " ...       | Balkrishnarao Hubli ... ..                          | " ...              | Pleader ... ..                                            | Do.                                         |
| 97  | " ...       | Keshav Gunesh Ajreker B. A.,<br>LL. B.              | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 98  | " ...       | Raoji Gangadhar Khot ... ..                         | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 99  | " ...       | Anant Mangesh Bidikar ... ..                        | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 100 | " ...       | Nilkantrao Nadgouda B. A., LL. B.                   | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 101 | " ...       | Waman R. Kulkarni B. A., LL. B.                     | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 102 | " ...       | Janardan N. Kale ... ..                             | " ..               | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 103 | " ...       | V. K. Marathe ... ..                                | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 104 | " ...       | V. R. Guttikar ... ..                               | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 105 | " ...       | B. R. Guttikar ... ..                               | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 106 | " ...       | Krishnarao R. Jalihal B.A., LL. B.                  | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 107 | " ...       | Dattopant Belvi B. A., LL. B. ...                   | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 108 | " ...       | Vishwanbhar V. Astekar ... ..                       | " ...              | " ... ..                                                  | Do.                                         |
| 109 | " ...       | Anarao V. Bhatkhande ... ..                         | " ...              | Inamdar ... ..                                            | Do.                                         |
| 110 | " ...       | Sadashivrao Nargund ... ..                          | " ...              | " Sowkar ... ..                                           | Do.                                         |



| No. | Place.      | Names in full of Delegates.          | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                   | How and when elected.                 |
|-----|-------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 111 | Belgaum...  | Trimalrao Datar ... ..               | Brahmin...         | Pleader ... ..                | Public Meeting, District Association. |
| 112 | "           | S. B. Bhate ... ..                   | "                  | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 113 | "           | Anandrao B. Madgiri ... ..           | "                  | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 114 | "           | B. D. Maneriker B. A., LL. B. ... .. | "                  | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 115 | "           | V. R. Kittur B. A., LL. B. ... ..    | "                  | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 116 | "           | Vitalrao Kalkundri ... ..            | "                  | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 117 | "           | Yelojirao Jadhav ... ..              | Maratha...         | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 118 | "           | V. V. Kamat B. A., LL. B. ... ..     | Brahmin...         | "                             | Do.                                   |
| 119 | "           | V. J. Shirgaoker, L. M. & S. ... ..  | "                  | Medical Practitioner ... ..   | Do.                                   |
| 120 | "           | S. R. Patkarpeker, B. A. ... ..      | "                  | Hd. Master L. M. High School. | Do.                                   |
| 121 | "           | Mahadevapa Bailur ... ..             | Vaishya ... ..     | Merchant. ... ..              | Do.                                   |
| 122 | "           | M. N. Jogleker ... ..                | Brahmin...         | Pensioner ... ..              | Do.                                   |
| 123 | "           | W. Y. Manjreker ... ..               | "                  | Contractor ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 124 | "           | Vishwanath M. Bapat ... ..           | "                  | Inamdar ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 125 | "           | R. B. Haroliker ... ..               | "                  | Pleader ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 126 | "           | Govindrao Hosur ... ..               | "                  | Contractor ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 127 | "           | Baburao Nargund... ..                | "                  | " Sawkar ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 128 | "           | Jafferset Ismaelset ... ..           | Mahomedan          | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 129 | "           | Ramapa J. Kalghatgi ... ..           | Vaishya ... ..     | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 130 | "           | Jivapa Angolker ... ..               | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 131 | "           | Mahadev R. Murkumbi ... ..           | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 132 | "           | Anapa Goude ... ..                   | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 133 | "           | Narshingrao Mane ... ..              | Maratha ..         | " Municipal Commis- sioner    | Do.                                   |
| 134 | "           | Anandrao Mane ... ..                 | "                  | " Hony. Magistrate ... ..     | Do.                                   |
| 135 | "           | Basapa A. Halgi ... ..               | Lingayet...        | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 136 | "           | Baslinga Swami Padadaya... ..        | "                  | Lingayat Hd. Priest ... ..    | Do.                                   |
| 137 | "           | C. P. Boyce, L. M. & S. ... ..       | Parsee ... ..      | Medical Practitioner ... ..   | Do.                                   |
| 138 | "           | Jamsetji Boyce ... ..                | "                  | Contractor ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 139 | "           | Mohomed Ayubshet ... ..              | Mahomedan          | Contractor, Merchant ... ..   | Do.                                   |
| 140 | "           | Abdul Ali Dosabhoy ... ..            | "                  | " Merchant ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 141 | "           | Anajee Chintaman Kittur... ..        | Brahmin...         | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 142 | "           | Govindrao S. Photographer ... ..     | "                  | Photographer ... ..           | Do.                                   |
| 143 | "           | Shantsheel Paul, B. A. ... ..        | Christian...       | Asst. Master L.M.H. School    | Do.                                   |
| 144 | "           | Abtrao R. Sawant... ..               | Maratha ... ..     | Editor, Bookseller ... ..     | Do.                                   |
| 145 | "           | Hari B. Samant ... ..                | Brahmin...         | Editor Belgaum-Sammachar      | Do.                                   |
| 146 | "           | Appaji Luxuman Naik ... ..           | "                  | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 147 | "           | Mahamad Ali Khatib ... ..            | Mahomedan          | Inamdar ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 148 | "           | Hyder Saheb, Basheban ... ..         | "                  | " M. M. C. ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 149 | "           | Bakar Saheb, Basheban ... ..         | "                  | " M. M. C. ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 150 | "           | Gous Saheb, Sondagar ... ..          | "                  | Merchant, M. M. C. ... ..     | Do.                                   |
| 151 | "           | Khan Saheb Ibrahim Saheb Khatib      | "                  | Inamdar, Hon. Magistrate.     | Do.                                   |
| 152 | "           | Sayad Satar Seheb ... ..             | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 153 | "           | Rahiman Saheb Bastwad ... ..         | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 154 | "           | Mohodin Saheb Kalyigar ... ..        | "                  | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 155 | "           | Dhondopant Kalkundri ... ..          | Brahmin...         | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 156 | "           | Rangrao Shirhati ... ..              | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 157 | "           | Appa Saheb Kargupi ... ..            | "                  | " Inamdar ... ..              | Do.                                   |
| 158 | "           | Bhao Saheb Asteker ... ..            | "                  | Inamdar ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 159 | "           | Shivaram G. Bhadbhade, L. M. & S.    | "                  | Medical Practitioner ... ..   | Do.                                   |
| 160 | "           | Nilkantrao Kargupi ... ..            | "                  | Merchant, Landholder ... ..   | Do.                                   |
| 161 | "           | Tawanapa Patrawali ... ..            | Jain ... ..        | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 162 | "           | Santamapa Ijardar ... ..             | Maratha ..         | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 163 | "           | Parwatrao K. Desai ... ..            | "                  | Landlord, Inamdar ... ..      | Do.                                   |
| 164 | "           | Dhondo P. Kirlosker, B.A., LL.B.     | Brahmin...         | High Court Pleader ... ..     | Do.                                   |
| 165 | "           | Rev. S. V. Karmarker ... ..          | Christian ..       | Missionary ... ..             | Do.                                   |
| 166 | "           | Narayen V. Velanker ... ..           | Brahmin...         | Pleader ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 167 | "           | Waijapa Channalapa ... ..            | Lingayet...        | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 168 | "           | Maryapa P. Bhoj ... ..               | "                  | " ... ..                      | Do.                                   |
| 169 | "           | Rangurao V. Sunthanker... ..         | Brahmin...         | Land-holder ... ..            | Do.                                   |
| 170 | "           | R. S. Patel ... ..                   | Parsee ... ..      | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 171 | "           | T. V. Athaniker ... ..               | Brahmin..          | General Agent ... ..          | Do.                                   |
| 172 | Shahapur... | Raoji Gopal Sadare ... ..            | Tailor ... ..      | Pleader ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 173 | Chikodi ..  | V. S. Gokhale ... ..                 | Brahmin...         | Pleader ... ..                | Public Meeting, Chikodi               |
| 174 | "           | N. G. Divan ... ..                   | "                  | Landlord ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 175 | "           | G. D. Shahade ... ..                 | "                  | Pleader ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 176 | "           | R. P. Atgur ... ..                   | "                  | Pleader ... ..                | Do.                                   |
| 177 | "           | K. D. Shahade ... ..                 | "                  | Merchant ... ..               | Do.                                   |
| 178 | "           | M. R. Mudholker ... ..               | Kshetriya..        | Editor... ..                  | Do.                                   |
| 179 | "           | Bhimrao A. Mahajan ... ..            | Brahmin...         | Pleader ... ..                | Do.                                   |

| No. | Place.      | Names in full of Delegates.  | Race and Religion. | Occupation.                 | How and when elected.          |
|-----|-------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 180 | Chikodi ... | S. V. Kulkarni ... ..        | Brahmin...         | Watandar ... ..             | Public Meeting, Chikodi.       |
| 181 | " ...       | K. K. Kulkarni ... ..        | " ...              | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 182 | " ...       | Ramchandrarao D. Kulkarni    | " ...              | Merchant, Banker Watandar   | Do.                            |
| 183 | " ...       | Y. A. Amale ... ..           | Kshatriya..        | Merchant Nipani             | Do.                            |
| 184 | " ...       | Devchand J. Gujar ... ..     | Gujar ...          | Merchant                    | Do.                            |
| 185 | " ...       | Lalchand Bhaichand ... ..    | " ...              | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 186 | " ...       | Narayan Govind Joshi ... ..  | Brahmin...         | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 187 | " ...       | R. G. Sondalgeker... ..      | " ...              | Inamdar                     | Do.                            |
| 188 | " ...       | M. B. Kulkarni ... ..        | " ...              | Watandar                    | Do.                            |
| 189 | " ...       | Satapa R. Sintre ... ..      | Lingayet...        | Landholder                  | Do.                            |
| 190 | " ...       | B. B. Nerlikar ... ..        | Brahmin...         | Inamdar                     | Do.                            |
| 191 | Athani ...  | Dinker L. Gadgil ... ..      | " ...              | Pleader                     | Do.                            |
| 192 | " ...       | Timaji Govind Mudkavi ... .. | " ...              | Pleader                     | Public Meeting, Athani.        |
| 193 | " ...       | Anaji Pandurang ... ..       | " ...              | Merchant                    | Do.                            |
| 194 | " ...       | S. B. Devale ... ..          | " ...              | Pleader                     | Do.                            |
| 195 | " ...       | Anaji Pandurang Kokotnur     | " ...              | Sawakar                     | Do.                            |
| 196 | Saundatti.. | Rao Saheb Govind S. Kulkarni | " ...              | Pleader                     | Public Meeting, Saundatti.     |
| 197 | " ...       | N. K. Lele... ..             | " ...              | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 198 | " ...       | Shantvirapa Anna Belubi...   | Lingayet...        | Sawakar                     | Do.                            |
| 199 | Khanapur..  | Dhondo R. Joshi ... ..       | Brahmin...         | Member Dist. Local Board... | Public Meeting, Khanapur.      |
| 200 | " ...       | G. R. Sabnis ... ..          | Goud Bra..         | Land-holder                 | Do.                            |
| 201 | " ...       | G. K. Deshpande ... ..       | " ...              | Inamdar                     | Do.                            |
| 202 | " ...       | M. J. Telang, B. A. ... ..   | " ...              | Law student                 | Do.                            |
| 203 | " ...       | Dhondi Bhutapa Patel ... ..  | Maratha ...        | Village Patel               | Do.                            |
| 204 | " ...       | Kusha bin Parsharam ... ..   | " ...              | Merchant Land holder        | Do.                            |
| 205 | " ...       | Vishnu Sadashiv Phadnis...   | Brahmin...         | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 206 | Gokak ...   | V. R. Mahajan ... ..         | " ...              | Inamdar                     | Public Meeting, Gokak.         |
| 207 | " ...       | Ramchandra Kasturi ... ..    | Jain ...           | Merchant                    | Do.                            |
| 208 | " ...       | Nerwanapa Ghotageri ... ..   | Lingayet...        | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 209 | " ...       | T. B. Mahajan ... ..         | Brahmin...         | Inamdar                     | Do.                            |
| 210 | " ...       | G. B. Mahajan ... ..         | " ...              | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 211 | S.M. States | Ramchandra B. Ranade ... ..  | " ...              | Agriculture                 | Public Meeting, Inchal karanji |
| 212 | " ...       | R. Bhopadev Apte ... ..      | " ...              | Vakil ... ..                |                                |
| 213 | " ...       | V. S. Gokhale ... ..         | " ...              | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 214 | " ...       | Ramchandra Dattatraya ... .. | " ...              | Merchant                    | Do.                            |
| 215 | " ...       | B. R. Chipalkatti ... ..     | " ...              | Landlord                    | Public Meeting, Mudhol.        |
| 216 | " ...       | V. N. Mirajker ... ..        | " ...              | " ... ..                    | Do.                            |
| 217 | " ...       | Dadasaheb Asteker ... ..     | " ...              | Inamdar Sangli ... ..       | Public Meeting, Sangli.        |
| 218 | " ...       | N. V. Limaye ... ..          | " ...              | Merchant " ... ..           | Do.                            |
| 219 | " ...       | A. B. Khandeker ... ..       | " ...              | Pleader " ... ..            | Do.                            |

APPENDIX B.  
RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE PREVIOUS CONFERENCES,  
HELD AT  
POONA, AHMEDABAD, AND BOMBAY,  
IN 1892, 1893, 1894.

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Summary of Resolutions adopted at the Fifth Provincial Conference.

**Resolution I.**

*Resolved.*—“That this Conference expresses its sense of deep sorrow at the loss which the public has suffered on account of the death of Sardar Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh and resolves that the same be communicated to the Rao Bahadur’s family.”

**Resolution II.**

*Resolved.*—“That this Conference, composed of representative gentlemen from the different parts of the Presidency, sincerely congratulates Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on his recent election to a seat in Parliament, and heartily thanks the liberal electors of Central Finsbury for the honour they have done to their unrepresented fellow subjects in India and the sympathy they have shown with the political aspirations of the natives of this country.”

**Resolution III.**

*Resolved.*—“That in view of the unanimous expression of public opinion against the Mhowra Bill recently passed by the Local Legislative Council, this Conference earnestly prays that His Excellency the Viceroy will be pleased to *veto* the measure.”

**Resolution IV.**

*Resolved.*—That the Conference authorizes its President to forward the following representation to the supreme Government with regard to the re-construction of the Legislative Councils :—

To,

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

SIR,

We, the delegates from the various districts in the Bombay Presidency, to the Fifth Provincial Conference held at the town Hall, Hirabaugh, Poona, on the 7th instant have the honour to submit for the favourable consideration of the Government of India the following scheme for the re-constitution of the Local Legislative Council on the basis of the India Council’s Amendment Act :—

The Local Legislative Council should hereafter consist of twenty-four Members, exclusive of the President. Four of these would be *ex-officio* (the two members of the Executive Council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Advocate-General), eight should be nominated by Government, and twelve elected by the people in the following manner :—

That for the purposes of election the Presidency should be divided into five electoral divisions, *viz.*, (1) Bombay ; City (2) the Maharashtra (including Tanna, Kolaba, and Ratnagerry) ; (3) Guzerat ; (4) the Karnatic ; and (5) Sind. That out of the twelve members to be elected, three be allotted to the Bombay City (one to be elected by the Corporation, one

by the University and one by the Chamber of Commerce, the Mill Owner's Association and the Native Piece-Goods Association.) The remaining nine members should be distributed as follows:—Two for Sind, two for Guzerat, two for Karnatic and three for the Maharashtra, including Tanna, Kolaba and Ratnagherry. That the electorate of each division, except the City of Bombay, should be divided into two parts; (1) Urban and (2) Rural. The elected members of all the Municipalities in each division will have the right to vote in the first, and the elected members of the Taluka and Zilla Local Boards will vote in the other. One member will be elected to represent the Urban and one to represent the Rural interest in Sind, Guzerat and Karnatic, while in the Maharashtra one will represent the Urban and two the Rural interests. That any defects in the popular election, such as the representation of minorities and Native States to be provided for, should be remedied by Government in making their nominations. We beg to remain, &c."

### Resolution V.

*Resolved*—"That, in the opinion of this Conference, the recent orders of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission are highly unsatisfactory and disappointing, in as much as—(a) The posts taken from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised service if the scheme of the Commission had been carried out in its entirety, whereas under the present orders of Government they remain isolated and unconnected posts, to which appointments can be made only under the Statute of 1870; (b) the quality and number of the posts proposed to be taken out from the schedule by the Government of India are inferior to those recommended by the Public Service Commission; (c) and the incorporation of the Statutory Civilians into the provincial Service is extremely unfair, and aggravates the injustice already done to these officers by the decision of Government that their appointments are to special posts only. And this Conference records with regret that on the whole the recent orders of Government put the natives of this Country practically into a worse position than they were in before the appointment of the Commission."

### Resolution VI.

*Resolved*—"That under the existing condition of this country, the promotion of higher education should be accepted as a primary duty of Government. That the policy of withdrawing from the direct control and management of higher education which is being pursued is injudicious, impolitic, and premature and that in this Presidency at least, where the State is the largest landlord, it is the duty of Government to spend a far larger proportion of public revenue for educational purposes than is now done."

### Resolution VII.

*Resolved*—"That this Conference is of opinion that the recent enhancement of Government assessments carried out under the revision survey settlement, is burdensome, and is calculated to retard the improvement of the *ryot*; and that this enhancement of assessment, as carried out in the Devghad Taluka, of the Ratnagherry District, has the effect of seriously injuring the private rights of property in that Taluka."

### Resolution VIII.

*Resolved*—"That this Conference heartily thanks Government for their recent resolution on the subject of the mitigation of the hardship of the administration of the Forest Department, and trusts that Government may see their way to remedy the state of things described in last year's resolution of the Conference, regarding concessions as to grazing and ownership of trees in occupied warkas lands."

### Resolution IX.

*Resolved*—"That this Conference generally approves of the remarks of the Commission, known as the Deccan Relief Act Commission, with reference to the system under which revenue is collected, and in particular begs respectfully to press on the attention of Government, the recommendation of the Commission about relaxing the rigidity of the collection of revenue by

granting timely and more frequent remissions: (2) in fixing more convenient times of instalments; and (3) advocating a liberal system of Government loans at further reduced rates of interest; but the Conference regrets that the Commission is not in favour of the conciliation and voluntary arbitration systems, which are in themselves ancient institutions of this country; and which, besides being an educative step, have proved practically useful."

#### **Resolution X.**

*Resolved*—"That as one of the main objects of the extension of local Self-government is to educate people and to develop or create, if need be, the capacity of self-help, it is desirable that direct Government control should not be exercised as frequently as now; that some measure should be devised by which the Municipalities, or groups of Municipalities, may vest executive power and responsibility in a single executive officer on somewhat similar lines to those laid down in the Municipal Institution of the city of Bombay."

#### **Resolution XI.**

*Resolved*—"That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of previous years on the subjects to salt, abkari, police, and village sanitation, and prays that Government be pleased to give effect to the recommendations contained therein at an early date."

#### **Resolution XII.**

*Resolved*—"That the next Provincial Conference be held in Bombay or Gujrat to be settled hereafter, and that Messrs. Watcha, Tilak and Setalvad be appointed Secretaries."

#### **Resolution XIII.**

*Resolved*—"That this Conference sincerely thanks the Committee of the Town Hall and Deccan Club for the assistance they were pleased to give to the gathering of this year's Conference."

#### **Resolution XIV**

*Resolved*—"That this Conference heartily and sincerely thanks the Hon. Mr. Perozshah M. Mehta, for having ably presided at this Conference."

## Summary of Resolutions adopted at the Sixth Provincial Conference.

### Resolution I.

(a.) That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective members 12 out of the total number of 25 seats in the enlarged Provincial Legislative Council.

(b.) That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a Division as the Central Division as also of Scind have been left absolutely unrepresented in the enlarged Council while other minor interests like those of the European Mercantile Community have been allowed over representation, and

(c.) That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date to so amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matters to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different divisions of the Presidency.

### Resolution II.

That this Conference, while re-affirming its resolution of last year on the question of the Provincial Service, places on record its regret that the rules regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service of this Presidency, promised in the last paragraph of the Government of India resolution of April 21st 1892, have not yet been published. At the same time, this Conference expresses its firm conviction that no substantial measure of justice to the claims of the Natives of India is possible in this matter, unless the Competitive Examination, at present held in London, alone for admission into the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in India and in England.

### Resolution III.

That this Conference, while generally re-affirming its previous resolution about Abkari, desires specially to record its firm opinion that the adult persons, residing within a specified area of a town or city, should have the power of requiring, whereby a majority of two-thirds of the registered residents of the place they so desire, that a shop of intoxicating drinks and drugs in their locality should be closed or not allowed to be opened in the first instance.

### Resolution IV.

That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, of medical education and the advancement of Medical Science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the old existing rules of the Medical Service, reserving all high grade appointments in the Civil Medical Department, including the Professorial Chairs at the Presidency Medical College, for members of the Commissioned Military Medical Service, ought to be modified so as to throw open these appointments to members of the Medical profession generally and indigenous Medical talent in particular, thus utilizing talent wherever available and materially reducing cost of the administration without impairing its efficiency.

That the President of this Conference be authorized to submit a memorial to the Secretary of State for India through the Local Government, on the lines of the above resolution.

### Resolution V.

That this Conference re-affirms its previous resolution on the subject of the attitude of Government towards the cause of higher education in the Presidency and desires specially to submit a strong recommendation to Government that its annual grant to the Bombay University should be again raised to its old amount, *viz.*, Rs. 15,000.

That this Conference regrets that regard being had to the importance of primary education the teachers in primary schools are too poorly paid in comparison with the other departments of the State and the Conference, in consequence earnestly recommends that steps should be taken to improve the state of these teachers in matters of salary, pension and allowances.

That the attention of Government be also drawn to the great necessity of imparting technical education to the industrial classes in vernacular by laying down standards for trade schools and Science and Technological classes and declaring liberal grants to these institutions and by opening Science and Technological Sections in connection with the Training Colleges and the Poona College of Science with a view to create a class of properly trained teachers to conduct these institutions.

### Resolution VI.

That this Conference puts on record its opinion that the separation of Executive and Judicial functions should be effected as early as practicable: that it could be effected with economy and efficiency by transferring the judicial powers vested in the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars, the Subordinate Judges, and that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to work out a scheme for the various District in the Presidency on the lines indicated in the Hon'ble Mr. Metha's Memorandum, with due regard to local circumstances and the said scheme when ready be submitted to Government for consideration :

|                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Hon'ble P. M. Metha,    | Mr. R. V. Putwari,  |
| Hon'ble C. H. Setalwad, | „ Motabhay Motilal, |
| Mr. Varajray Sakerlal,  | „ B. G. Tilak,      |
| „ Moolay,               | „ R. P. Karandikar. |

### Resolution VII.

That while re-affirming its resolution of the last year regarding the burdensome nature of the revised survey settlement and its injurious effects on the rights of private property in the Devagad Taluka in the Ratnagiri District, this Conference is grieved to find fresh instances of further disregard of the policy and principles laid down by the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State in 1886 and prays that feelings of increasing uneasiness amongst the agricultural classes be allayed by taking immediate steps to redress the grievances of the people of Panwel and Pen and other talukas and by giving fresh assurances that the policy enunciated in 1886 will be strictly adhered to.

## Summary of Resolutions adopted at the Sixth Provincial Conference.

### Resolution I.

(a.) That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective members 12 out of the total number of 25 seats in the enlarged Provincial Legislative Council.

(b.) That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a Division as the Central Division as also of Scind have been left absolutely unrepresented in the enlarged Council while other minor interests like those of the European Mercantile Community have been allowed over representation, and

(c.) That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date to so amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matters to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different divisions of the Presidency.

### Resolution II.

That this Conference, while re-affirming its resolution of last year on the question of the Provincial Service, places on record its regret that the rules regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service of this Presidency, promised in the last paragraph of the Government of India resolution of April 21st 1892, have not yet been published. At the same time, this Conference expresses its firm conviction that no substantial measure of justice to the claims of the Natives of India is possible in this matter, unless the Competitive Examination, at present held in London, alone for admission into the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in India and in England.

### Resolution III.

That this Conference, while generally re-affirming its previous resolution about Abkari, desires specially to record its firm opinion that the adult persons, residing within a specified area of a town or city, should have the power of requiring, whereby a majority of two-thirds of the registered residents of the place they so desire, that a shop of intoxicating drinks and drugs in their locality should be closed or not allowed to be opened in the first instance.

### Resolution IV.

That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, of medical education and the advancement of Medical Science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the old existing rules of the Medical Service, reserving all high grade appointments in the Civil Medical Department, including the Professorial Chairs at the Presidency Medical College, for members of the Commissioned Military Medical Service, ought to be modified so as to throw open these appointments to members of the Medical profession generally and indigenous Medical talent in particular, thus utilizing talent wherever available and materially reducing cost of the administration without impairing its efficiency.



That the President of this Conference be authorized to submit a memorial to the Secretary of State for India through the Local Government, on the lines of the above resolution.

#### Resolution V.

That this Conference re-affirms its previous resolution on the subject of the attitude of Government towards the cause of higher education in the Presidency and desires specially to submit a strong recommendation to Government that its annual grant to the Bombay University should be again raised to its old amount, *viz.*, Rs. 15,000.

That this Conference regrets that regard being had to the importance of primary education the teachers in primary schools are too poorly paid in comparison with the other departments of the State and the Conference, in consequence earnestly recommends that steps should be taken to improve the state of these teachers in matters of salary, pension and allowances.

That the attention of Government be also drawn to the great necessity of imparting technical education to the industrial classes in vernacular by laying down standards for trade schools and Science and Technological classes and declaring liberal grants to these institutions and by opening Science and Technological Sections in connection with the Training Colleges and the Poona College of Science with a view to create a class of properly trained teachers to conduct these institutions.

#### Resolution VI.

That this Conference puts on record its opinion that the separation of Executive and Judicial functions should be effected as early as practicable: that it could be effected with economy and efficiency by transferring the judicial powers vested in the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and Mamlatdars, the Subordinate Judges, and that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to work out a scheme for the various District in the Presidency on the lines indicated in the Hon'ble Mr. Metha's Memorandum, with due regard to local circumstances and the said scheme when ready be submitted to Government for consideration :

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| Hon'ble P. M. Metha,    | Mr. R. V. Putwari,  |
| Hon'ble C. H. Setalwad, | „ Motabhay Motilal, |
| Mr. Varajray Sakerlal,  | „ B. G. Tilak,      |
| „ Moolay,               | „ R. P. Karandikar. |

#### Resolution VII.

That while re-affirming its resolution of the last year regarding the burdensome nature of the revised survey settlement and its injurious effects on the rights of private property in the Devagad Taluka in the Ratnagiri District, this Conference is grieved to find fresh instances of further disregard of the policy and principles laid down by the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State in 1886 and prays that feelings of increasing uneasiness amongst the agricultural classes be allayed by taking immediate steps to redress the grievances of the people of Panwel and Pen and other talukas and by giving fresh assurances that the policy enunciated in 1886 will be strictly adhered to.

**Resolution VIII.**

That the rules under which fines are levied upon unalienated land used for non-agricultural purposes, are very oppressive and require to be considerably modified in order to help the growth of towns and cities and industries pertaining thereto upon which the material prosperity of the people so much depends.

**Resolution IX.**

That in re-affirming its resolution of the last year on the matter of Local Self-Government, the Conference desire to draw special attention to its first part, *viz.*, that as one of the main objects of the extension of Local Self-Government was to educate the people and to develop or create, if need be, a capacity for self-help, it is desirable that direct Government control should not be exercised as frequently as now.

**Resolution X.**

That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of the previous years on the subjects of Salt, Police, Forest and the Deccan Relief Act Commission and prays that Government be pleased to give effect to the recommendations contained therein at an early date.

**Resolution XI.**

That the meeting of the next Provincial Conference be held in Bombay and that Messrs. D. E. Watcha, B. G. Tilak, the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad and Mr. A. M. Dharamsy be the Honorary Secretaries of the next Provincial Conference.

**Resolution XII.**

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Reception Committee, and the Secretaries.

**Resolution XIII.**

That a vote of thanks to the President be passed for his able conduct in the Chair.

## Summary of Resolutions adopted at the Seventh Provincial Conference.

### Resolution I.

I. (a) That this Conference strongly deprecates the pronounced tendency of the Survey Department to set at naught the moderating restrictions placed upon excessive enhancements by Sir Philip Wodehouse's Government Resolution of 1874 and the Legislative enactment passed in 1886 by Lord Reay's Government guaranteeing exemption of private improvements.

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more so That this Conference notes with regret that during the last five years with those Government has not been careful in enforcing these wholesome restrictions on the work of the department, and it has in many cases over-ruled the suggestions of its own revenue officers when they were in conflict with the Survey Department.

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and will That, as all recent enhancements relate to the revision of original assessments made in times of high prices, when the methods and appliances of the department had received their full development, the only two grounds of rough work and low prices on which enhancements were made in the earlier revisions have ceased to be operative, and that it deserves the most serious consideration of Government, whether in the Konkan talukas especially more stringent limitations should not be enforced in regard to all proposals for the enhancements on individual holdings and old village groups, and whether full exemption of varkas cultivation and conversion into rice lands should not as a rule be guaranteed.

II. That this Conference again urges upon the attention of Government the injustice of fixing the revenue survey assessments in the Devghad taluka at a rate higher than what the owners of land can recover from their tenants under the Khote Settlement, calculated as it is to practically confiscate Khote rights; and the Conference regrets that no steps have yet been taken for remedying this great evil.

### Resolution II.

That this Conference regards with feelings of dismay and alarm the rules which have been drafted by the Bombay Government to regulate first admission to the recently-constituted Provincial Service inasmuch as these rules are calculated to seriously impair administrative efficiency in the Presidency by reason of (1) the exclusion of the Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service; (2) the prescribing of a ridiculously-low educational test for entrance by competition; and (3) the complete subordination sought to be effected of the competitive principle to the principle of direct nomination by Government; and that this Conference is emphatically of opinion that the introduction of race or class considerations in the apportionment of posts in the public service is in direct opposition to the pledges given in the matter to the people of this country by Parliament in 1833 and by Her Majesty the Queen and Empress in 1858.

### Resolution III.

I. (a) That this Conference re-affirms its opinion expressed last year as to the justice and expediency of allocating to non-official elective members twelve of the total number of twenty-five seats in the Enlarged Provincial Legislative Council.

(b) That this Conference places on record its deep regret that the Municipalities and Local Boards in so important a division as the Central Division, as also of Sind, have been left absolutely unrepresented in the Enlarged Council, while other minor interests, like those of the European mercantile community, have been allowed over-representation.

(c) That this Conference expresses its earnest hope that Government will see its way at an early date so to amend the present rules as to secure equality of privileges in the matter to the Municipalities and Local Boards in the different parts of the Presidency.

II. (a) That this Conference views with regret the unsatisfactory as frequently in which replies are generally made to questions put by Honourable Members of the Local Legislative Council, thus defeating the wholesome object for which the privilege of interpellation has been granted in the Amended Council.

(b) That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is highly expedient in public interests that the rules laid down regarding interpellation under the Amended Councils Act, 1892, should be so modified as to enable Honourable Members to preface their questions by brief explanatory observations.

(c) That this Conference is of opinion that, under the rules of debate prescribed for the Legislative Councils, the Provincial Council is the fittest and the most legitimate place where, on the presentation of the Provincial Budget, could be discussed, with appropriateness and due responsibility, all questions affecting land revenue, excise salt, assessed taxes, provincial rates, registration and forests, and the administrative policy respectively governing them, so far as that policy is directly or indirectly under the control of the Provincial Government; and that it is highly prejudicial to public interest to curb such debate by interpreting the said rules in an extremely narrow and illiberal spirit.

#### Resolution IV (Omnibus).

That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of the previous years on the subjects of salt, police, abkari, forests, local self-government, and village, sanitation, and separation of judicial and executive functions, but in doing so it expresses its satisfaction at the recent enunciation of the policy of the Government of India in regard to forests, and hopes the spirit of the Resolution will be loyally carried out.

#### Resolution V.

This Conference is of opinion that (a) offenders against the Tobacco Act should be tried by regularly-constituted magisterial tribunals where they can fully avail themselves of professional assistance, instead of being tried, as at present, before departmental tribunals where they are denied such assistance; (b) definite and sympathetic rules should be laid down and announced for the transfer of licenses after the decease of license-holders to their heirs and relations who may be solely dependent upon them for maintenance and support; (c) rules and regulations of the Tobacco Department should, in general, be so worked as to minimise, as far as possible, the existing hardships of country tobacco-dealers.

#### Resolution VI.

That this Conference notes with concern that, notwithstanding the deliberate expression of opinion on the part of the late Viceroy and of Sir W. Hunter and

ner authorities. The Government of India contemplates an early amendment of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in very minor particulars only, while the chief executive and administrative reforms suggested by the Land Indebtedness Commission in Part III of their report as essential complements to legislative action appear to have received no consideration. This Conference is of opinion that, as long as these reforms are not carried out and the rigidity of collection of revenue is not relaxed in favour of the ryots, and the high pressure of enhanced assessment is not reduced and more credit facilities are not provided, the agrarian problem remains what it has been hitherto, a source of anxiety to Government and of

(b) Perishment to the ryots notwithstanding any amendment of the laws for years the Local Government has imposed restraints upon the ryots which are more moderate than those of

#### Resolution VII.

whilst re-affirming its resolution of last year on the subject of the re-organisation of the Civil Medical Administration to the effect that, in the interest of the State, no less than of economy, it was time that the Civil Medical Service was no longer a branch of the Military Indian Medical Service and with appointments exclusively confined to members of the Military Medical Service, but formed a distinct and independent service by itself in which appointments were thrown open to the general public and made, on the ground of special merit and training only, to meet the requirements of its various departments of education, science, and sanitation, this Conference is strongly of opinion that the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service, of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants, compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the public service require thorough investigation and redress, and that Government will grant for the purpose an open inquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(b) That, whilst this Conference views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to re-organise the Chemical Analyser's Department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistant or, as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on a footing of specialists.

#### Resolution VIII.

(a) That this Conference regrets that adequate steps have not yet been taken to carry out the recommendation of the Education Commission to revise the antiquated standards now obtaining in primary schools, and strongly urges upon Government the necessity of introducing in those standards the important subjects of drawing, elementary science, and manual work, and of providing the necessary models, apparatus, and tools for that purpose, and lastly of bringing about a thorough improvement in the syllabuses and methods followed in the Training Colleges, so as to prepare really efficient teachers for conducting the work of primary education in a proper spirit.

(b) That this Conference is of opinion that the present agricultural and evening classes attached to high schools are not fulfilling their purpose adequately, and strongly urges the necessity of framing a systematic grant-in-aid code for encouraging the establishment and maintenance of Science, Art, and Technical

Schools by Municipalities and other Local Bodies, on the lines of the South Kensington and City and Guilds of London Technical Institute Regulations. The Committee, consisting of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal, C. I. the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Dr. M. Deshmukh, and Mr. T. K. Gajjar, with the last two gentlemen as Secretaries, appointed to submit practical proposals for carrying out the above object, and move Municipalities and other Local Bodies, as well as Native States, to establish Science, Art, and Technical Schools, and formulate standards and courses of instruction suitable to the requirements of each locality and to take all such measures they may deem necessary for the furtherance of the above object.

(c) That this Conference puts on record its satisfaction at steps been taken by Government to increase the salaries of primary school teachers and urges that Government will be pleased to carry out this reform without diminishing the present number of primary schools.

(d) That this Conference puts on record its sense of gratitude and satisfaction at the declaration made by His Excellency the Governor at Dharwar of the desirability of free primary education in this country, and this Conference trusts that His Excellency will, before the expiry of his term of office, take some measure in the direction of conferring the boon of free primary education on the people of this country as is the case in England under the Education Act of 1891.

(e) That this Conference is of opinion that the rules framed by Government under Section 24 of Bombay Act, VI of 1873, should be so revised as (1) to leave the Municipalities at liberty to make primary education in their schools completely free to all, or at least to all that are really unable to pay for it, without distinction of caste or creed; (2) to allow the Municipalities to fix their own percentages of free studentships and scholarships; (3) to remove all restrictions regarding the distribution of free studentships and scholarships between the various classes, except that preference be given to pupils of backward classes; and (4) to allow the various Municipalities to determine for themselves, subject to the control of local educational officers, what classes other than Mahomedans should, according to local circumstances, be grouped with the backward classes.

That this Conference is further of opinion that no hard-and-fast restrictions regarding free studentships or scholarships should be laid down in the case of all schools and especially those aided by Municipalities.

#### Resolution IX.

That the meeting of the next Provincial Conference be held in Belgaum and that Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. A. M. Dharamsi, the Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Nathu, and Mr. Chhatre be the Honorary Secretaries of the next Provincial Conference.

#### Resolution X.

That the best thanks of the Conference be given to the Reception Committee and the Honorary Secretaries.

#### Resolution XI.

That a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President for his able conduct in the Chair.