

REPORT  
OF THE  
EIGHTH  
Indian  
National Congress,

HELD AT

ALLAHABAD,

*On the 28th, 29th, and 30th of December,*

1892.

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# SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

## EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

Held at Allahabad on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1892.

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### Resolution I.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister, with the assent of the then Under-Secretary of State for India,—that it is intended by it to give the people of India *a real living representation* in the Legislative Councils,—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazettes, like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted.

### Resolution II.

**Resolved**—That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission, in that—

- (a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the Natives of India, the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870;
- (b) Whereas, while 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service: the number to be allotted to Assam not having yet been announced;
- (c) Whereas, while a Membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a Division, were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution;
- (d) Whereas, while one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.

And this Congress, again, distinctly puts on record its opinion, that full justice will never be done to the people of this country, until the open Competitive Examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

### Resolution III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions

has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve extra expenditure.

#### Resolution IV.

**Resolved**—That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this Congress desires to express its earnest hope, that unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labors of the Brussels Conference have been completed: and, further, that the Government will lay before the Public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend, before definite action, if any, is resolved upon.

#### Resolution V.

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

- (a) The reduction of the salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;
- (b) The raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum from five-hundred to one thousand;
- (c) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105 of the Despatch, published in the Gazette of India of March, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages;
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents of Police are;
- (f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act, so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;
- (g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-commissioned Officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;
- (h) The organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire of a system of Militia service; and
- (i) The authorising and stimulating of a wide-spread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

#### Resolution VI.

**Resolved**—That this Congress views with the deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of Government with respect to trial by Jury, and particularly the action of the Governments of Bengal and Assam in withdrawing the right of trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences, and most respectfully, but firmly, protests against such

policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government in England; and that, as prayed for in resolutions of previous Congresses, the right of trial by Jury be extended to those parts of the country where it is not now in force, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of Criminal Justice in British India.

### Resolution VII.

**Resolved**—That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual Military Expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the Military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion that, in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden.

### Resolution VIII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion, that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, *i. e.*, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

### Resolution IX.

**Resolved**—That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service, should be greatly reduced, and that measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress, again, most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and, that speedily, on the reforms, then and now, so earnestly advocated.

### Resolution X.

**Resolved**—That this Congress entirely adopts Resolution XI of the Congress of 1891, and reiterates its prayer, that having regard to the very serious discontent created, particularly in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India do investigate this matter carefully, and endeavour to mitigate the harshness of such administration, and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

### Resolution XI.

**Resolved**—That Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, and Rai Bahadur Anunda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the line indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.



To

The Hon'ble, The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the President and Members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1892,

*Respectfully Showeth,*

(1) That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon'ble House, the deep disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.

(2) That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India, in their resolution appointing the Commission, observed, "that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service." But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.

(3) That in respect, likewise, to simultaneous examinations in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous examinations. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4) That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that this Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon'ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country.

### Resolution XII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and, having regard to the fact that a similar Council has been created for the United Provinces, hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.

### Resolution XIII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and entirely approves and confirms the re-construction of the British Committee of the Congress which has been effected by them, as also the new arrangements which they have made in regard to their office establishment, and the journal "*India*;" and that this Congress also tenders its thanks to Mr. W. Digby, C. I. E., for the services which he rendered to the cause during his tenure of office as Secretary to the British Committee.

### Resolution XIV.

**Resolved**—That this Congress is thankful that the House of Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government in India, and desires, once again, to enter its protest against all State-regulated immorality in India.

**Resolution XV.**

**Resolved**—That, regard being had to the present political situation in England, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1890, for holding—all things being convenient—a Congress of not less than hundred delegates in England, in 1892, be now suspended, until after the Session of the Congress in 1893.

**Resolution XVI.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji their member in the House of Commons; and it again puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that gentleman has rendered to this country, reiterates its unshaken confidence in him, and looks upon him as India's representative in the House of Commons.

**Resolution XVII.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress hereby empowers the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund—now locked up in the "New Oriental Bank Corporation, Ltd.," at present in liquidation—to send, at least, five hundred pounds out of it to the British Committee, to be recouped by subscriptions from the Standing Congress Committees.

**Resolution XVIII.**

**Resolved**—That, regard being had to the representations received from the British Committee, this Congress is of opinion, that a sum equivalent in Rupees to two thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, be allotted for the expenses of the British Committee, for the year 1892-93; that deducting the money which has been received up to now, the balance be allotted amongst the different Standing Congress Committees, in accordance with the arrangements come to with them; and that the sum be remitted to England as soon as practicable.

**Resolution XIX.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary, and appoints Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, to be its Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year.

**Resolution XX.**

**Resolved**—That the Ninth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas, 1893, as may be determined upon, at Amritsar.

**Resolution XXI.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress hereby tenders its best thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, for having so kindly lent his Castle and grounds for the holding of this Congress.

**Resolution XXII.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress confirms the appointment of Pandit Bishumbhar Nath, in place of the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath, as one of the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund.

W. C. BONNERJEE,

*President of the Eighth Indian National Congress.*

**DETAILED**  
**REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS**  
OF THE  
**EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,**  
HELD AT  
**ALLAHABAD,**

On the 28th, 29th, and 30th of December, 1892.

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**FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.**

**1st Day.**

The Eighth Indian National Congress assembled on the afternoon of the 28th of December, 1892, in a large octagonal Hall, specially erected for the purpose, on the grounds of Lowther Castle, at the very place at which the Fourth Congress had met four years before. The Castle, which is now the property of His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, had been very generously placed by him at the disposal of the Reception Committee; and its extensive grounds were once more covered with rows upon rows of tents, in which more than 400 delegates were housed, the rest finding accommodation elsewhere.

The Hall measured 150 feet by 150 feet, and afforded room for 3,500 chairs for delegates and visitors. It was a splendid structure,\* and admittedly surpassed in elegance and finish, the best of the halls in which the Congress had held its deliberations before.

By about 1 P. M., over 600 delegates and 2,400 visitors had taken their seats within the pavilion. At a quarter past one, came PANDIT BISHUMBHAR NATH, the venerable Chairman of the Reception Committee, and took his seat on the platform. He had been ailing seriously for some months past; but, nerved by his strong sense of duty, he came, at considerable risk to his health, to discharge the duties which appertained to his office, as Chairman, of welcoming the delegates and of opening the proceedings of the Congress.

Precisely at 1-30 P. M., Pandit Bishumbhar Nath, (*Allahabad, No. 333, in list*) rose and said:—

**Chairman  
of  
Reception  
Commit-  
tee's  
Address.**

MY SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—Though professing to be a devout votary of Temperance up to this moment, I feel something has just inebriated me. It cannot be alcohol or wine. It is something too cheery and elevating. It is, I fancy, that cordial nectar, the intoxicating pleasure of meeting you all here in this hall of all nations. (*Cheers*). My proper function, on this occasion, I am happy to notice, is a short and sweet one, and equally grateful to my own feelings. I have not to preach a sermon from the pulpit, nor to inflict upon you a long verbose speech with a pyrotechnic display of oratory. My duty is simply to bow to you all, and wish you cordial greetings after my oriental etiquette.

An indifferent speaker, such as I am, might naturally feel nervous on rising to address so grand an assemblage, which, I may say without using any figure of hyperbole, is a miniature imitation of the highest deliberative Council in the world. Should

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\* The entire credit of this exceedingly effective construction belonged to Lala Ram Charan Das, Rai Bahadur, Senior Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board, Honorary Magistrate and Banker, of Allahabad, under whose direction and superintendence the Hall was planned and built.

my words fail me in giving expression adequately to my grateful feelings, I am confident you will appreciate the language of my heart, which, I believe, is the proper vehicle for conveying the sense of gratitude and esteem. Permit me then, on behalf and in the name of the Reception Committee, who have done me an honour that I do not deserve, to welcome you here to the Eighth Indian National Congress. (*Cheers*). The welcome, I beg to offer you, is not merely a ceremonious one. It is, I assure you, prompted by that *sanctum sanctorum*, the heart of hearts. There is an Arabic saying which in plain English means "Seldom, the Welcomer,"—its paraphrase being—add to affection come by alternation. You are, therefore, the more welcome as we have the pleasure of meeting here again after a rather long interval of four years.

You must have observed, I dare say, that there is a certain amount of advantage, combined with convenience, in the situation of this our tabernacle, close as it is to the Government House. Had we been privileged to establish a telephonic communication, between that stately mansion and this cottage of the people, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (*Cheers*) would have been able to listen to what we say, and thus to give us a hearing, if it so pleased him. But His Honour proceeded on his winter tour only yesterday.

As I proceed further, I cannot help observing, that in our mundane affairs smiles and tears stand sometimes side by side, and that joy and sorrow are, as it were, born twins, as a Persian phrase goes. You will, therefore, excuse me, if you find me animated or affected by mixed feelings of pleasure and pain. I am exceedingly glad to see so many worthy representatives assembled here from the various parts of this vast peninsula. And your genial presence, while it has brought a cheery sunshine into our midst, proves to demonstration that the keen, abiding interest evinced in our movement, is keeping pace with the steady development of the movement itself. At the same time, I am grievously sad to miss from amongst us that noble patriot of his country, whom alas! I see only in shadow and not in substance now, and into whose shoes I have been constrained, against my own will, to step by an unfortunate devolution of melancholy succession. Lamentable it is, indeed, that the necrology of our other leading men has swelled out of all proportions, and that we have to mourn deeply their untimely and premature loss. But as survivors left in the field, it behoves us to complete what they unfortunately have not been able to finish. It is our duty to cherish and perpetuate their sacred memory, and in order to attain that object, we must strive to lay stone upon stone, layer upon layer, and storey upon storey, until our Temple of Liberty rears up its proud head and reaches its destined pinnacle of glory, to the utter amazement and confusion of those who have been watching its rise with a degree of unjustifiable suspicion and mistrust. (*Cheers*).

This monument, no doubt, serves as the best living testimony of the blessings of liberty which we happily enjoy under the *Pax Britannica*. And the common platform, upon which we stand hand in hand, has its solid foundation sunk deep in the adamant rock of true devotion to the august Throne of our beloved Sovereign, the Queen-Empress of India. (*Cheers*). Every true Englishman, with whom the love of Liberty is an instinct, must rejoice in his heart to witness that that proud day in the history of the British occupation of India has come, when the children of the soil have learnt to stand upon their feet, and are now claiming their just rights in a loyal and constitutional manner. Both posterity and the history of our movement when written calmly, will, I am convinced, accord a just appreciation to its legitimate aims and reasonable objects. They not only err but sin, and sin criminally too, who insinuate that this movement is calculated to sap and undermine the foundation of constituted authority. (*Hear, Hear, and Cheers*). To be sure, such sappers and miners its supporters are not. Indeed, they are the sentinels in a hopeful band of volunteers, whose watch-word and bugle-call are, "Beware of true enemies in the guise of false friends." And the shibboleth of that band, marching forward with the banner of liberty, is—Peace, Progress, and Political advancement. The movement, instead of being a heap of loose dynamite, as it has been stigmatised, is a useful and necessary safety-valve in the highly complex machinery of the British rule in India. Our position has been well recognised by that eminent statesman, His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, our ruling Viceroy, and we do not now stand in need of any more characters from the minor satellites. (*Cheers*).

1st Day.  
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 Chairman  
 of  
 Reception  
 Committee's  
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The late Lord Lytton, one of our distinguished Viceroy's, on the occasion of the Delhi Assemblage, was pleased to observe that the polity affecting the well being of the British Indian Empire involved administrative problems left unsolved by Cæsar, unsolved by Charlemagne, and unsolved by Akbar. Of these, a crucial problem, which is, I believe, the burning question of the day, is, what is the possible remedy for ameliorating the condition of the 280,000,000 of souls in this extremely poor country. I would venture to reply, that the remedy is not far to seek. It lies in reducing the enormous military expenditure, in curtailing the "Home charges," and in mitigating the general rigour of taxation (*Cheers*). It is true that the British rule, as regards its intrinsic value, is solid pure gold, and therefore, as costly as that precious metal itself. It is, however, a true axiom of modern political science, that a State must adapt its polity to the good of its people, and that it must govern them not only justly, but cheaply too. Lord Brougham says, somewhere in his *Political Philosophy*, that "the good of the people is the only object to be considered in the arrangements of Government, and that this fundamental doctrine is the test by which every institution must be tried; and every institution is to be supported or condemned according as it is found sufficient to answer its purpose of promoting the common good or wanting in this object." There are various other means that might be resorted to for bettering the condition of the people here, such as utilising indigenous products and materials, and giving a more extended scope to the employment of competent Indians, of proved merit, in the public service, without distinction of colour and creed, which is a great bane of an alien rule. (*Cheers*).

I may, now, as well proceed to observe that our present Session is the *calmy eighth* in contrast to the *stormy fourth*. In 1888, the opposition shewn on the part of the local authorities, lamentably countenanced by the narrow policy of our late Pro-Consul, had naturally roused our enthusiasm to such a pitch that it not only over-powered and crushed down opposition, but frustrated all selfish designs to set one class against another. Happily, however, though there is now a lull in that respect, the movement has acquired a lasting permanency, which it is impossible to shake or disturb. (*Cheers*). Certain incidents, with which we were amused on the occasion of the last session here, and the adverse criticisms, which left a fugitive effect upon our minds, stale and unprofitable as they now are, have all faded out of our view, and been happily relegated to the limbo of oblivion. Raja Shiva Prasad too with all his stars and decorations and historical lore, both sacred and profane, (*Laughter*) has evidently received no inspiration to re-appear on the scene; and a bogus Patriotic Association, started by him and his colleagues, did die a natural death so soon as it was born. Is this not a true touchstone for testing the righteousness or otherwise of a cause? (*Cheers*).

Sir Auckland Colvin, in the midst of an over-crowded programme of his hygienic and humanitarian fads, has left some testamentary relics of a fragmentary nature. One of them is his studied and laboured oration delivered not long ago at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. He there confessed to having borrowed a great deal of his politics from the political teachings of the venerable sage there. (*Hear, Hear*). It is the repetition of the old story again, that the introduction of a representative system on an expanded basis into our Legislative Councils would not suit the existing condition of our people. We need not now care much for such imbecile platitudes. We have gained a partial victory. (*Cheers*). The India Councils Bill has passed into law. And though we have not got all that we wanted, the day, I hope, is within measurable distance, when the enlightened and benevolent policy of the Liberal statesmen and the intuitively generous instincts of the British nation will prompt them, in the interests of justice, to concede further the privileges claimed by Her Majesty's Indian subjects, who yield to none in their devotion to their Sovereign. (*Cheers*).

Permit me to say a word as to the necessity or otherwise of holding these annual sessions of the Congress. Some of our critics say that it is a sheer waste of money spent upon, what they are pleased to call, "talking Camps," and that the enormous amount wasted already might have been profitably used otherwise, with far better and more practical results. I regret I am unable to share this view. In the good old days some fanciful means and appliances were hit upon, now and then, by the then rulers of this

country, for the purpose of enabling their people to make their personal grievances audible. Anang Pal, a distinguished Hindu monarch, and long after him the Emperor Jahangir, had fastened for the purpose, in their palaces at Delhi and Agra respectively 'chains of justice' made of gold. But such chains could scarcely have been of any practical service or use, even in those days, when the wonderful powers of steam and electricity had not been discovered or utilised. We are now at the fag-end of the nineteenth century, and live under the ægis of a rule, which recognises only lawful agitation by constitutional means. Hence the necessity of our resorting to such a course. Whether such agitation is a blessing or a curse of the present civilisation, I do not propose to discuss here. We must go on, and go on vigorously, and not cease to agitate until we reach the goal of our ambition. (*Cheers.*)

1st Day.  
—  
Chairman  
of  
Reception  
Commit-  
tee's  
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The rise and growth of the British Indian Empire, with its great dimensions, enormous population, and vast resources, will stand unparalleled in the annals of the world. And it will remain a marvel for ever how a handful of merchants, trading originally in tea and silk, have carved out for their sovereign an empire, in comparison with which the historical Roman Empire falls into the shade. (*Hear, Hear.*) Whether this brightest jewel in the diadem of Britannia has been acquired by a breach or observance of the Ten Commandments is a matter that need not be discussed here. One thing is quite obvious. Its safe preservation in her casket needs an extension of a more considerate and liberal treatment towards those from whose exhausted mines it has found its way into distant shores. (*Cheers.*) The Bible of the British Constitution is as Christian as the Gospel of the faith of the British people. And it is to the truths inculcated in that Bible that we appeal most earnestly for the political regeneration of India; and Her Majesty's Indian subjects, who represent races once great in their own way but now comparatively behind in the race of progress, do crave from Her that humane treatment which the mighty can well afford to vouchsafe to the fallen. (*Cheers.*) The Political Emancipation of India will be a landmark in the history of the British civilisation, and when that time comes, and come it must, it will change the relations between the conqueror and the conquered, into those of affectionate ties and intimate friendship. (*Cheers.*)

Many speculative persons, I observe, have been exercising their minds, by asking themselves—Why ought England to retain India? I would say to them—Because India wants to be retained by England, and by no other power on earth. (*Cheers.*) If Russia dares to move an inch beyond the line of demarcation, chalked out for her, she must think over twice before she ventures to take such a perilous step. (*Cheers.*)

I must now close by being allowed to quote a passage from a useful work. It is:—“That the deep sense of duty, a special heritage of the British nation, handed down to them from the days of their Puritan ancestors, has made them scorn the idea of holding rule over others, solely to benefit themselves. And this feeling, I hope, will retain its strength in upholding her beneficial rule over India for many many generations to come.” To this I myself would say thrice—Amen, amen, amen. (*Cheers.*)

It only remains for me now to request you to elect a President for this assembly. I crave one word more. I appeal to those who have eyes to see for themselves and not jaundiced eyes as some of our journalistic friends seem to have. Let them judge and say whether the present session is duller than the dullest, or livelier than the liveliest that we ever had before. (*Cheers.*)

I beg your pardon for my feeble and tremulous voice which I have lost during my illness. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

MR. P. ANANDA CHARLU, (*Madras, No. 1, in list.*)—President of the Seventh Indian National Congress, who on rising was greeted with cheers, said:—GENTLEMEN,—As your cheers have preceded me, so I precede the distinguished gentleman whose name I am going to propose to you for election as your President. It has been said that we have finished one cycle and are beginning another. It is therefore most appropriate that the gentleman who inaugurated the first cycle should be here to attend the opening of the second cycle.

Election  
of  
President.  
—  
Mr. Ananda  
Charlu pro-  
poses Mr.  
W. C. Ban-  
nerjee  
—

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Election of  
President.

The first cycle began in a very small way, but to what proportions it rose we all know. (*Cheers*). Let this be the small beginning of another cycle which I hope Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, whom I propose to be your President, will succeed in making it swell to larger dimensions still. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Wacha  
seconds.

MR. DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA, (*Bombay, No. 39, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to second the proposition which has been just proposed. I think my friend is right in saying that this is the beginning of the second cycle of the Congress. The first cycle took its birth in Bombay, and being a Bombay man, I feel a peculiar pride and pleasure in seconding the resolution. Gentlemen, it was intended that this Resolution should have been seconded by Mr. Pherozechah Mehta, but I regret to say that unfortunately at the last moment he was laid up with fever and has not been able to attend this Congress. With these words I heartily second the proposition which my friend has proposed. In Mr. Bonnerjee you will find the stoutest and most ardent advocate the Congress has, and its strongest pillar too. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Bonner-  
jee declared  
elected.

PANDIT BISHUMBHAR NATH, (*Allahabad, No. 333, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—It is evident from the manner in which you have received the proposal to elect Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, as your President, that you heartily approve it. There is no other proposal before you. I take it then that it is your unanimous desire that Mr. W. C. Bonerjee should be your President. (*Cries of yes, yes, and prolonged cheers*). I declare Mr. Bonnerjee to be duly elected President of this Congress, and (*addressing Mr. Bonnerjee*) I request you, Sir, to kindly take the chair.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (*Calcutta, No. 178, in list*) then took the chair amid deafening cheers. When the ovation had subsided—

Babu Surendra Nath  
Banerji  
reads a mes-  
sage of wel-  
come from  
H. H. the  
Maharaja  
of  
Durbhanga.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJI, (*Calcutta, No. 188, in list*) rose and said :—GENTLEMEN,—Before we proceed with the business of the day, I have been requested by the President to inform you that he has just received a telegram from His Highness the Maharaja of Durbhanga (*cheers*), which, I am sure, will afford you the greatest satisfaction to hear.—The telegram runs as follows :—

“As Proprietor of Lowther Castle, I welcome the delegates to the Congress. It is a source of the greatest pleasure to me that the first use of this property, since my acquiring it, has been for Congress purposes.”

In response to a call from Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, three hearty cheers were given to His Highness the Maharaja.

The Presi-  
dent's  
Inaugural  
Address.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE, (*Calcutta, No. 178, in list*) who was received with renewed cheers, then rose and addressed the assembly as follows :—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The position, which, by your unanimous voice, you have called me to fill, is a most distinguished and honourable one. I am proud to fill it, and I trust that, with your help and by your forbearance, I may be able to discharge the duties which will be required of me as the President of the Eighth Indian National Congress adequately and satisfactorily. (*Cheers*). Those duties, as all of you who have attended our Congresses before know, are heavy and onerous in the extreme, and I appeal to you to deal out to me, in the same spirit in which you dealt out to my predecessors, such help and indulgence as may be needed by me.

You have been reminded that I have the honour to be the person, who inaugurated the Congress movement in Bombay, in the year 1885, as its first President. It is a singular coincidence that the Bombay Meeting was held on this very day, the 28th of December. The first cycle of our existence thus commenced on the 28th December, under my humble presidency, and ended with the presidency of my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu, who so kindly proposed my election. The second cycle begins on the same day—seven years afterwards, again under my humble presidency. At the first Congress there were only a few of us assembled together, but as I pointed out at the time, there were various causes which prevented a larger muster. Those, however, who assembled there on that occasion, were animated by a sincere desire to make the movement a success and fully determined that it should be so if hard work could effect it. And I

appeal to those assembled here to-day to say whether that movement has been a success or not. (*Applause*). Year after year we have met, each meeting vieing with its predecessor in the number of delegates attending it, the sacrifices which the delegates made to attend it, in the energy, zeal and determination with which the business was passed through, and the moderation which throughout characterised the proceedings before the Congress. There can be no doubt—say what those who do not view our proceedings with friendly eyes, may—that the Congress movement has been a success and a conspicuous success. The persons to whom I have referred have been troubling their brains, from almost the very commencement of the movement, to find out how it is that this movement, which they are pleased to call only a “native” movement, has been such a success. And they have hit upon one of the causes, which they have, iterated and reiterated, in season and out of season, as the cause of the success of the Congress; namely, the influence over us of that great man Allan Octavian Hume. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*). That Mr. Hume possesses, and has exercised, a vast amount of influence over the Congress movement, and over each single Congress which has met, is a fact. We are not only not ashamed to acknowledge it, but we acknowledge it with gratitude to that gentleman, and we are proud of his connection with the Congress. (*Cheers*). But the movement is only to some extent, and I may say, only to a limited extent, due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us. It is not the influence of this man, or of that man, or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is. It is the British Professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country; it is the British Merchants who have shown to us how well to deal with the commodities of our country; it is the British Engineers who have annihilated distance and enabled us to come together for our deliberation from all parts of the Empire; it is the British Planters who have shown us how best to raise the products of our soil; it is all these, in other words, it is all the influences which emanate from British rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is. (*Cheers*). The Congress is a mere manifestation of the good work that has been done by all those to whom I have referred (and I ought also to have referred to the British missionaries who have worked amongst us); and all that we wish by this movement to do is, to ask the British public, both in this country and in Great Britain, that, without any strain on the connection which exists between Great Britain and this country, such measures may be adopted by the ruling authorities that the grievances under which we labour may be removed, and that we may hereafter have the same facilities of national life that exist in Great Britain herself. How long it will take us to reach the latter end no one can tell; but it is our duty to keep the hope of it before us, and keep reminding our British fellow subjects that this hope shall always be with us. (*Cheers*.)

Some of our critics have been busy in telling us, thinking they knew our affairs better than we know them ourselves, that we ought not to meddle with political matters, but leaving politics aside devote ourselves to social subjects and so improve the social system of our country. I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which, I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organisation, to do what they can for its improvement. We know how excited people become when social subjects are discussed in public. Not long ago we had an instance of this when what was called the Age of Consent Bill was introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council. I do not propose to say one word as to the merits of the controversy that arose over that measure, but I allude to it to illustrate how apt the public mind is to get agitated over these social matters if they are discussed in a hostile and unfriendly spirit in public. But to show to you that those who organised the Congress movement, had not lost sight of the question of social reform, I may state that when we met in Bombay for the first time, the matter was discussed threadbare, with the help of such distinguished social reformers as Dewan Bahádur Raghu Nath Rao of Madras, Mr. Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and Mr. Krishnaji Lakshman

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Nulkar of Poona, Mr. Norendro Nath Sen, and Mr. Janakinath Ghosal of Calcutta, and others. The whole subject was considered from every point of view, and we at last came to the conclusion, with the full consent and concurrence of those distinguished men, that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress, with questions of social reform. At the same time we also came to the conclusion, that those gentlemen who were anxious, in a friendly spirit, to discuss their own social organisations should have an opportunity of doing so in the Congress Hall, after the business of the Congress should be over. The principal reason which actuated us in coming to that conclusion was that at our gatherings there would attend delegates following different religions, living under different social systems, all more or less interwoven with their respective religions, and we felt it would not be possible for them as a body to discuss social matters. How is it possible for a Hindu gentleman to discuss with a Parsee or a Mahomedan gentleman matters connected with Hindu social questions? How is it possible for a Mahomedan gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Parsee gentlemen matters connected with Mahomedan social questions? And how is it possible for a Parsee gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen matters connected with Parsee social customs? We thought, and I hope you will agree that we were right, that under the circumstances, all we could do was to leave it to the Hindus and the Mahomedans, Parsees, and other delegates to discuss their respective social matters in a friendly spirit amongst themselves, and arrive at what conclusions they pleased, and if possible, to get the minority to submit to the views of the majority. (*Cheers*). I may point out that we do not all understand in the same sense what is meant by social reform. Some of us are anxious that our daughters should have the same education as our sons, that they should go to Universities, that they should adopt learned professions; others, who are more timid, would be content with seeing that their children are not given in marriage when very young, and that child widows should not remain widows all the days of their lives. Others, more timid still, would allow social problems to solve themselves. It is impossible to get any common ground, even as regards the members of the same community, be it Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsee with respect to these matters. Thus it was that social questions were left out of the Congress programme; thus it was that the Congress commenced and has since remained, and will, I sincerely trust, always remain as a purely political organisation, devoting its energies to political matters, and political matters only. I am afraid that those, whether belonging to our own country or to any other country, who find fault with us for not making social subjects a part of our work, cherish a secret wish that we might all be set by the ears, as we were all set by the ears by the Age of Consent Bill, and that thus we might come to an ignominious end. They mean us no good, and when we find critics of that description talking of the Congress as only fit to discuss social problems, I think the wider the berth we give them the better. (*Cheers*).

I, for one, have no patience with those who say we shall not be fit for political reform until we reform our social system. I fail to see any connection between the two. Let me take, for instance, one of the political reforms which we have been suggesting year after year, *viz.*, the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the same officer. What possible connection can there be between this, which is a purely political reform, and Social reform? In the same way, take the Permanent Settlement which we have been advocating, the amendment of the law relating to forests and other such measures;—and I ask again, what have these to do with Social Reforms? Are we not fit for them because our widows remain unmarried and our girls are given in marriage earlier than in other countries? because our wives and daughters do not drive about with us visiting our friends? because we do not send our daughters to Oxford or Cambridge? (*Cheers*).

It is now my sorrowful duty to officially announce to you that death has been busy amongst the ranks of Congressmen during the year just passed. Standing on this platform and speaking in this city, one feels almost an overpowering sense of despair when one finds that the familiar figure and the beloved face of Pandit Ajoodhianath is no more. We mourned

for him when he died, we have mourned for him since; and those of us who had the privilege of knowing him intimately, of perceiving his kindly heart, his great energy, his great devotion to the Congress cause, and the sacrifices he made for that cause, will mourn for him to the last. With Pandit Ajudhianath has passed away that other great Congress leader, Mr. George Yule. These were the two most prominent figures in the Congress held in this city in 1888: Pandit Ajudhianath as the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Mr. Yule as the President of the Congress. It was my singular good fortune to have been the means of inducing both these gentlemen to espouse the Congress cause. I was here in April, 1887, and met Pandit Ajudhianath, who had not then expressed his views, one way or another, with regard to Congress matters. I discussed the matter with him. He listened to me with his usual courtesy and urbanity, and he pointed out to me certain defects which he thought existed in our system; and, at last, after a sympathetic hearing of over an hour and a half, he told me he would think of all I had said to him, and that he would consider the matter carefully and thoroughly, and then let me know his views. I never heard any thing from him from that time until on the eve of my departure for Madras to attend the Congress of 1887. I then received a letter from him in which he said I had made a convert of him to the Congress cause, that he had thoroughly made up his mind to join us, that he was anxious to go to Madras himself, but that illness prevented him from doing so, and he sent a message that if it pleased the Congress to hold its next Sessions at Allahabad in 1888, he would do all he could to make the Congress a success. And you know—certainly, those of you who attended know—what a success he did make of it. Our venerable President of the Reception Committee of this present Congress has told us the difficulties which had to be encountered to make that Congress a success, and I do not belittle his services or those of any other worthy Congressman who worked with him at that Congress, when I say that it was owing to Pandit Ajudhianath's exertions that that Congress was the success it was.

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When it was time to select a President for recommendation to the Congress of 1888, it was suggested to me, I being then in England, that I might ascertain the views of Mr. George Yule, and ask him to preside. I accordingly saw him at his office in the City, and had the same kind of conversation with him as I had had, the year before, with Pandit Ajudhianath. He also listened to me kindly, courteously and sympathetically, and asked me to give him all the Congress literature I had. I had only the three Reports of the Congress meetings of 1885, 1886 and 1887, and I sent these to him; and to my great joy, and, as it afterwards turned out, to the great benefit of the Congress, Mr. Yule came to see me at my house and told me that he entirely sympathised with the cause, and that, if elected to be the President of the Congress of that year, he would be proud of the position and would do what he could for us. Those who had the good fortune to attend the Congress of 1888, know how manfully and how well he sustained the duties of his position; how he pointed out that the chief plank in the Congress platform—namely, the reform and re-constitution of the Legislative Councils of this country—was by no means an invention on the part of the Congress; that that point had received the attention and had been favourably considered and spoken of by that marvellous English Statesman, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. He told us that we were treading on the footsteps of that great man, and that if we perseveringly stuck to our colours, some time or other we should get what we wanted. From that time to the day of his death, Mr. Yule worked with us, gave us his valuable advice and helped us considerably as regards our working expenses. Pandit Ajudhianath as you know, from the time he joined the Congress, worked early, worked late, worked with the old, worked with the young, never spared any personal sacrifices, so that he might do good to his country and to the Congress, and his lamented death came upon him when he was coming back from Nagpore, after having worked there for the success of the Nagpore Congress of last year. Those who ever so slightly knew Pandit Ajudhianath and Mr. Yule will never be able to forget the great services which those gentlemen rendered to the Congress cause.

From Madras we have the sad news of the death of Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar. He was an earnest worker and did yeoman's service to the cause of his country. In 1888.

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he was one of a band of three who were deputed to go to Great Britain during the then general election: his colleagues being Mr. N. G. Chandravarkar of Bombay, and Mr. Monomohun Ghose of Calcutta, and these three devoted men vied with each other as to who could do the most work for the benefit of his country. Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar served on the Public Service Commission, and we all know the bitter disappointment he felt when the Secretary of State for India did not carry out what he had hoped he would; namely, accept the recommendations of the Public Service Commission as a whole. There were some recommendations of the Commission which Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar, and those who worked with him, did not approve; but in order that the recommendations of which they approved might be carried into effect, he and his colleagues gave in their adhesion to them, and all joined in signing the Report. I remember that the Report did not give any satisfaction to the country at large. We had discussions on the subject at the Congress of 1888, and some of us were very anxious that that report should be disavowed, and that we should, by a resolution, tell the Government that the recommendations of the Commission did not come up to our expectations at all. Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar advised us not to agitate the matter then, but wait until the Secretary of State's orders were out. If, he said, the Secretary of State accepted those recommendations the matter might well be allowed to rest for some years to come; but if he did not do so, then he, Rama Swami Moodeliar, would be the first to re-open the question and carry on the agitation to the end of his life, if necessary. He was a sagacious and courageous man, and in him the Congress has lost a leader of eminence and earnestness. In Madras, we have also lost G. Mahadeo Chetty and Ramaswamy Naidu, both earnest Congress workers, and they will be missed by their Congress friends and acquaintances. In Bengal, we have had two heavy losses by the death of Prannath Pandit and Okhoy Coomar Dass. Prannath Pandit was the worthy son of a worthy father, the late Mr. Justice Sumbhoonath Pandit—the first native gentleman who was appointed to the Bench of the High Court;—and though he died young he was of great service to his country and to our cause, and had he been spared he would have done still greater services. Okhoy Coomar Dass was a younger man still, but his energy was great, and as a public man he outshone many of his contemporaries in Lower Bengal. It was due to him that many abuses in our Courts of Justice were exposed, and it was due to him that Howrah owes its Standing Congress Committee. We grieve for all these spirits who have passed away from us, and I would beg leave, on behalf of this Congress, to express to their respective families our respective and reverential condolences in the great loss that has overtaken them. "Sorrow shared is sorrow soothed," says the old adage, and, if that be a fact, I have no doubt that our sympathy will go somewhat towards assuaging the grief of their families.

Gentlemen, I must now proceed to call your attention to subjects more exciting, though, with the exception of a couple of them, I am not in a position to say, they are more cheering. The first piece of cheering news I have is that Lord Cross's India Councils Bill, after delays which seemed to many of us to be endless, has at last passed through the Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent. From what we have been able to gather from the speeches delivered by the Viceroy during his tour in Madras, it would seem that the Rules under which the Act is to be given effect to, are now under the consideration of the Government of India. We all know that the Act in terms does not profess to give us much, but it is capable, I believe, of infinite expansion under the Rules that are to be framed. If those Rules are framed in the spirit in which the present Prime Minister of England understood the Act was framed, and what he said was assented to by the then Under-Secretary of State for India, namely, that that the people of India were to have real living representation in their Legislative Council,—if those Rules are framed in the spirit of true statesmanship, statesmanship such as one would have confidently expected from Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord William Bentinck and a host of other distinguished Anglo-Indian statesmen who have made British India what she is—I have no doubt we shall all be glad to put away the first plank in our Congress platform, namely, the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. The spirits that

seem to be abroad just now in this country however do not seem to me to give a very hopeful augury as to these Rules. I am afraid that some of our rulers have been possessed with the idea that we have been progressing too fast. It is a great pity that this should be so. But if these rules do not come up to our expectations, gentlemen, we must go on with our agitation and not stop until we get what we all think and we all believe, and, what is more, what our rulers themselves have taught us to believe, we have a right to get (*Cheers*).

Another cheering event to which I have to call attention is the return of our leader, our revered leader, Dadabhai Naoroji (*Three Cheers*) to sit in the House of Commons as member for Central Finsbury. You all know it had been hoped that he would be able to come out from England to occupy the position I am now occupying. We all looked forward to his presence amongst us with hopefulness and trust and with great satisfaction, because, if he had been with us we could have shown to him, face to face, that our confidence in him is just as high as it ever was. We could have told him, by word of mouth, of the great joy which spread throughout the length and breadth of India when the news of his return to the House of Commons was received, of the anxiety with which we watched the fate of the election petition which was presented against his return, and how glad we were that it was at last withdrawn. And he could have carried back with him to England our message of gratitude to the electors of Central Finsbury (*Cheers*), and have shown them that in electing him as their representative they had also elected a representative for the people of India in the House of Commons. (*Cheers*). Unfortunately, his opponent, Captain Penton, had presented that hateful petition, and just at the moment that Mr. Naoroji was to have made his preparations to come out to India, it was fixed to be heard. Mr. Naoroji had to stay. There was a hand to hand struggle, and it was at last found that the number of votes for the two candidates was on a level. Captain Penton must have felt that if he went on any further his number might come down, and then Mr. Naoroji would retain his seat and Captain Penton would have to pay all the costs. He thought discretion the better part of valour, and prudently withdrew his petition, each party paying his own costs, and the seat of Mr. Naoroji is now perfectly safe. And as long as this present Parliament lasts he will remain our member (*Cheers*), and we shall get all the help, it is possible for him to give us, in the cause of Indian reforms. But we must not expect too much from him. He is but one in a House of 670 members, and though he will do for us all that prudence, good sense, vast knowledge and great eloquence can do, yet he is single-handed. To be strong, he must receive all the support he can from this country, and backed by that support he may be able to put our case convincingly before the House. But, what we really want is not that our countrymen generally should sit in the House of Commons. Englishmen themselves find it extremely hard to find seats there, how much more must we who are "blackmen." What we want and have a right to get is that our countrymen should have the opportunity of really representing to the Government the views of the people of this country in this country. What we want is that there should be responsible Government in India. I have always felt that the one great evil of the Indian administration is that our rulers are responsible to no one outside of their own consciences. That they conscientiously endeavour to do what they can for the good Government of our country, may be accepted as an undeniable fact and accepted with gratitude. But it is not enough that our rulers should only be responsible to their own consciences. After all they are human beings, with human frailties, and human imperfections. It is necessary that they should be responsible to those over whom they have been placed by Providence to rule. (*Cheers*). In making these observations I have not lost sight of the fact that the Government of India, in India, is responsible to the Government of India, in Westminster, and that the Government of India in Westminster is responsible to the Cabinet of the day, of which he is invariably one of the members. Nor have I forgotten that the Cabinet of the day is responsible to the House of Commons. But when you come to consider what this responsibility really is, I think, you will all agree with me that I have not overstated the case in the slightest degree. Unless the Secretary of State for India happen to be a personage of exceptional force of character and of great determination, such as the late Prime

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Minister proved to be when he was in India Office, he generally, to use Burke's language, says "ditto" to the Government of India in India. The Cabinet is so troubled with the affairs of the vast British Empire that the members really have no time to devote to India as a body, and leave her to their colleague the Secretary of State for India. When any Indian question comes before the House of Commons, what do we see? The Cabinet of the day has always a majority in the House, and it always finds supporters among its own party, whether they are placemen or whether they are country gentlemen who go to the House of Commons as the best club in England. (*Cheers*). And in non-party matters—and they make it a pretence in the House of Commons to regard Indian affairs as matters non-party,—in all non-party matters, the Government of the day can always rely upon a large amount of support from the opposition. (*Hear, Hear*). There are a few members of the House of Commons who make it a point to devote a portion of their time and energies to the consideration of Indian questions. But they are only a few; they have hardly any following, and if they press any matters on the attention of the House, with any degree of zeal, they are voted down as bores by the rest of the House of Commons. (*Hear, Hear*). Of course the case of Mr. Bradlaugh (*Cheers*) was entirely different. He was a most masterful man, and by his mastery over his fellowmen, he attained the position for himself which he occupied in the House of Commons at the time of his death. There are but few in England like Mr. Bradlaugh. I am sorry to say that since the death of that great man we have not been able to find one who possesses his capacity, possesses his knowledge, or possesses the influence which he exercised over the House of Commons. Therefore, when you consider what the responsibility of the Government of India is to the Government of England and the House of Commons, you will not, I think, be able to come to any other conclusion than that it is *nil*. (*Hear, Hear*).

By the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on lines that would allow representatives of the people to be elected to these Councils, the Government would be face to face with them. They would know, at first hand, what the real feelings and the real grievances of the people are. (*Hear, Hear*). They would then be able to devise measures which would be in consonance with the feelings of the people, and which would get rid of their grievances. At present, the *modus operandi* is this. A Secretary thinks that a particular measure ought to be passed, and it may be taken that he honestly believes that the measure would be for the benefit of the country. He invites two or three Indian gentlemen of eminence, with whom he is acquainted, to see him. He speaks to them in private, and gets their views, which, unfortunately, in the case of these Indian gentlemen, generally coincide with the views he himself holds. (*Laughter*). The measure is passed. There is a great cry of indignation in the country. The answer of the Government is,—“Oh, but we consulted the leaders of your society, and it is with their help this measure has been passed.” I hold that the time has passed for this sort of statesmanship. If the Government make a real effort to arrive at what the views of the country and people generally are, I have no doubt that they will be able so to shape their policy as to give satisfaction to all concerned. This, to my mind, is the chief thing that we need. (*Hear, Hear*). In the Councils our representatives will be able to interpellate the Government with regard to their policy and the mode in which that policy is being given effect to. My conviction is, that the weal and woe of our country is not so much dependent upon the Viceroy or the Local Governor, however sympathetic and kind, but upon the officials who have to administer the law and come in contact with the people. Until there is the right of interpellation granted to us in our own Councils, there will be no true responsibility on the part of our Government. I repeat that those who are placed over us, our Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and others of lesser degree, are more or less actuated by the desire to do us good, both for their own sake as well as for the sake of the people of the country; but the system under which they work is a vicious one, and the result is, no good is really done. (*Cheers*).

Now, Gentlemen, while a Conservative Government has given us this India Councils Bill, and a Radical constituency has sent one of our countrymen to the House of Commons,

showing in the first instance some, and in the second, a great amount of liberality, here in this country, we have had in a neighbouring province a policy adopted which has made a painfully profound sensation over the whole of this vast empire—a sensation which it will take a very long time to allay. In the first place, though we, in this Congress, and the country generally, have been pressing and pressing and pressing the Government not to take away the grants for education but to increase those grants, so far as the provinces of Bengal and Bombay are concerned, grants in aid of high education have been doomed. Government require, they say, money for primary education; they do not wish to spend money upon high education. I am not one of those who believe that primary education is not required. I think, it is as much required as high education. But I confess, I do not understand for a moment why it is necessary to starve high education in order that primary education may be provided for and protected. (*Cheers*). Government ought to foster education of all kinds alike; it ought to spend its resources upon every kind of education (*Renewed Cheers*) for the people; not only primary education but technical education of all kinds, and also high education. It is said,—“you who have had, and who appreciate, high education ought to maintain it yourselves.” I know of no other country in which such a thing as this has been said by the Government to the people they rule over. It is one of the first duties of the Government to educate the people just as it is their duty to protect them from thieves and robbers. (*Cheers*). If they tell the people to-day—“Go and educate yourselves,” why should they not tell them to-morrow—“You are rich and can afford to keep durwans. Go and protect yourselves against thieves and robbers, we will not do so.” (*Cheers*).

But the sensation, to which I have referred, is one not so much due to the doings of our Bengal and Bombay Governments as regards high education, as to the notification which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has lately issued, withdrawing trial by Jury in serious cases from the seven Districts in Bengal, where the system of trial by Jury has been in existence for some years. (*Cries of “Shame”*). The plea, upon which this notification has been based, is that trial by Jury has been a failure as a means for the repression of crime. (*Cries of Shame, and no, no*). Can it be said that if a Sessions Judge trying a case with the assistance of Assessors and without the assistance of a Jury acquit a prisoner, that he is a failure as a means for the repression of crime? If that cannot be said with regard to Sessions Judges, with what justice can it be said in regard to Juries? (*Cheers*). Those of us who have had any acquaintance with the subject, have long felt that the administration of Criminal Justice in this country has been extremely unsatisfactory. There has not been much said about it, because it affects people, the majority of whom are poor men—men who cannot make much noise. They submit to what takes place, grumble among their fellows and cry *kismut*. Now let us see how the matter stands. While in Civil cases the evidence is taken down in the language in which the witness gives it, by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and in appeals the evidence thus taken down is made the basis of the judgment of the Appellate Court where it differs from the notes of the Judge, in Criminal cases the evidence is, as a rule, taken down by the presiding officer in English. Most of these presiding officers are gentlemen who come to us here from Great Britain. They, no doubt, try and learn the languages of the people they are sent out to govern, but the circumstances, in which they are placed, and the circumstances in which the people of this country are placed, are such that they are compelled to live in utter isolation from one another. You may read the books of a country, you may know its literature well, but unless you have a familiar acquaintance with the people of the country, unless you have mixed familiarly with them, it is impossible for you to understand the language these people speak. Why is there so much outcry about what is called “Babu English”? Many Babus, and in this designation I include my countrymen from all parts of India, know English Literature better, I make bold to say, than many educated men in England. (*Cheers*). They know English better and English Literature better than many Continental English scholars. They know English History, as well, if not better, than Englishmen themselves. Why is it then that when they write English,

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when they speak English, they sometimes make grievous blunders? Why is it then that their composition is called stilted? Because their knowledge is derived from books only and not from contact with the people of England. If an English gentleman were to write a book or write a letter, in the vernacular with which he is supposed to be most familiar, I am afraid his composition would bear a great family likeness to "Babu English." It would be "English Vernacular." It would contain grammatical mistakes which would even shame our average school boy. Let an English gentleman, thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular of a district, speak to a native of that district. His pronunciation would be such that the native, even if educated, would find it difficult to understand him. It is gentlemen of this description who hear country-people, called as witnesses before them, give their evidence in the vernacular. How is it possible for them to understand them correctly? How much do you think of what these witnesses say to the Judge is taken down correctly and finds a place in the Judge's notes? (*Little or nothing*).

—And when an appeal is preferred to the Appellate Court, it is this evidence, and this evidence alone, upon which the Judges of that Court have to act. When the District Judge tries a Civil case, he has the plaint and written statement translated for him into English by his clerk. The evidence given before him is, as a rule, interpreted to him by the pleaders on either side. But when the same District Judge acts in his capacity as Sessions Judge and presides over Criminal trials, he, as a rule, takes down the evidence, without the aid of interpreters, in English, and he charges the Jury, in Jury cases, in the vernacular of the country. (*Laughter*). The Indian Penal Code has been translated into all the vernaculars of the country, and those who know these languages and who know English, I think, are agreed, that it is extremely difficult to make out what the vernacular Penal Code means; and charging the Jury in the vernacular means, that the Judges have to explain the Penal Code to them in the vernacular—a superhuman task almost! Again, while in Civil cases pleaders, and particularly pleaders of position are allowed a free hand as regards cross-examination, in Criminal cases, particularly in cases where the accused is unable to employ pleaders of eminence, but is compelled to have either junior pleaders or mukhtars, the cross-examination of the witnesses may be said almost to be a farce. The presiding officer gets impatient in a very short time, cuts short the cross-examination at his own sweet will and pleasure, and in many cases most important facts are not elicited in consequence. (*Hear, Hear*). While in Civil appeals, you, as a rule, get a patient hearing, the argument sometimes lasting for days, just think, those of you who have any experience of these Courts, what takes place when Criminal appeals are heard by Sessions Judges in the moffassil! They are often taken up at the fag end of the day and listened to with impatience, and then is asked the almost invariable question, as the Judge, after hearing the appeal for a few minutes, is about to rise for the day,—“Have you any thing more to say; I will read the papers for myself and give the decision to-morrow.” The Judge rises, and the poor man's appeal is over. Some appeals are dismissed and some, though this is more rare, are allowed. Again, while in Civil cases there is hardly any fear of their being decided on facts outside the record, in Criminal cases there is the greatest fear that outside influence is brought to bear upon the presiding officer. The thing is inevitable when you consider that the District Magistrate is the real head of the Police of the district, and that all officers trying Criminal cases, except the Sessions Judge, are subordinate to him and depend on him for promotion; and as regards the Sessions Judges themselves, they may, by the system which has now been introduced of dividing the Civil Service into two branches, find themselves independent of the District Magistrate one day and his subordinate the next, during the time he oscillates as acting Sessions Judge and Joint Magistrate, as not unoften happens. Again, in Civil cases we have the right of appeal as of course, and, if they are of sufficient value of appealing to Her Majesty in Council; in Criminal cases we have to apply for leave, to appeal and have our appeal only from the Sessions Judge to the High Court, and from the inferior judiciary to the Sessions Judge, and in some cases to the District Magistrates. There are many other points to which attention may be called but I think I have said enough to convince those who are not familiar with the matter, that I was right when I said that

the administration of Criminal justice in this country was most unsatisfactory. (*Cheers*). The only safeguard which accused persons have against this system in Sessions cases, is trial by jury. (*Hear, Hear*). And now the notification of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal withdraws this safeguard from the seven districts in Bengal where it existed, and the whole of India has been threatened with a like withdrawal. (*Cries of "Shame"*). The question is not a provincial but an imperial one, and of the highest importance. I therefore think, it is our duty to take this question up and help our Bengal brethren to the utmost extent of our power to get back what they have lost, and to see that other parts of the country are not overtaken by the same fate. (*Hear, Hear*).

Let us for the moment consider, what is the meaning of "trial by Jury having failed as a means for the repression of crime." One of the learned Judges of the Calcutta High Court who was consulted upon this matter, I refer to Mr. Justice Beverley, said, that he did not think that a person bent upon committing a crime would stop to think whether, if he was detected, he would be tried by a Judge with a Jury or tried by a Judge with the aid of Assessors. (*Loud Cheers*). Judges and Juries do not sit to repress crime but to ascertain if crime has been committed, and if the Jury find that crime has been committed, the Judge punishes the offender. (*Cheers*). It is the duty of the police to see that crime is not committed, and when, in spite of their vigilance, crime is committed, to bring the offender to justice. In this country, where unfortunately the police are not over-scrupulous as to how they get up cases, trial by Jury is the most essential safeguard against injustice. Jurymen being drawn from the people themselves are better able to understand the language in which witnesses give their evidence, better able to understand and appreciate the demeanour of witnesses—the twists and turns in their answers, the rolling of their eyes, the scratching of their heads, and various other contortions of their physiognomy which witnesses go through to avoid giving straight answers to straight questions—than the Judge upon whom, unless he be an officer of exceptional and brilliant talents, they are lost. (*Hear, Hear*). A former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, himself a Sessions Judge of large experience, and, therefore, able to speak with authority on the subject—I allude to the late Sir A. Rivers Thompson,—said in regard to Jurymen, that they were more scrupulous in accepting police evidence than the Judges were, and that it was quite right that it should be so. The law allows Sessions Judges to make references to the High Court if they differ from the verdict of a Jury. These references come up before the High Court, and the learned Judges of that Court have before them only the evidence recorded in English by the Sessions Judge, the evidence recorded in the Court of the Committing Magistrate and the Judge's charge. Though they may be men of brilliant talents, men of great experience, men of great conscientiousness, I still venture to think that it is impossible for them—human beings as they are—reading merely the dry bones of the evidence placed before them upon paper, to come to a correct conclusion as to whether the Judge was right or the Jury were right. (*Cheers*). If they heard the evidence given by the witnesses in their presence, their conclusion would no doubt be accepted as more satisfactory, and if they differed from the Jury it might be that the Jury were wrong, but under the present system how can that be done? How can it be said, that when they accept the opinion of the Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges are right and the Jury wrong? And in many of these references, the High Courts have accepted the verdict of the Jury and differed from the recommendation of the Judge. (*Cheers*). The only ground for saying that the system of trial by Jury has failed is, as I understand, that the High Court has in some instances differed from them, and adopted the recommendation of the Sessions Judge. I have told you, it is impossible—regard being had to the limitation of human nature—to say with confidence, who was right and who was wrong; but assuming that the Jury were wrong in many instances, and that they had given improper verdicts, what is the consequence? A few more persons who would have been in jail are now free men. What then? Has there been any complaint on the part of the people of these seven districts, that they went about in fear of their lives, because by the obstinacy and perversity of Jurymen, accused persons who ought to have been condemned to death had been set free? (*Hear, Hear*). Did any one say, that he or she regarded the system with disfavour

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or dislike or fear? Had any one suggested, that the system should be abolished? I say emphatically, No! No complaint reached the Government from the people affected, that the system had failed. It is the overflowing desire on the part of the Government to do good to us that has been the cause of the withdrawal of this system! Save us from our well-wishers, say I. (*Loud Cheers*). I could have understood the action of Government if there had been any hue and cry in the country on the subject. I could have understood it, if any representation had come from those affected to the Government; but under the circumstances this bolt from the blue I do not understand and cannot appreciate. (*Loud Applause*). It is said that, trial by Jury is foreign to this country. We who have cherished our Panchayet system for generations to be told that trial by Jury is foreign to us, to be told so at the sag end of the nineteenth century, why it is strange indeed! No, no, gentlemen—it was on our Panchayet system, that Lord Cornwallis proceeded when in 1790 he ruled that we should have trial by Jury. It was on that system that Sir Thomas Munro based his regulation which his successor promulgated in 1827. It was on that system that the Bombay regulation on the subject was introduced, and when these regulations were codified in 1861, it was on that system the law was based. We must have the system extended to the whole country and not withdrawn from any part of it, and we must therefore join together and agitate on the subject from one end of India to the other, and say, that this notification, which has given rise to so much discontent, was not required, and that it should be withdrawn, and withdrawn as speedily as possible, and the policy of which it is the outcome reversed. (*Loud Applause*).

I am afraid gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I should have done. (*Cries of, "No, No, and go on"*). I have but a few more words to say, and these I shall say as briefly as I can. I said at the outset, that the Congress movement has been a great success, but it behoved us all to make it even a greater success than it is. During the Jury agitation in Bengal I was greatly pained, more pained than I can describe, by one of the apologists of the Government saying openly in his paper, that the agitation against the Jury notification was of no account because it was only a "native" agitation and that no Europeans had joined it. As a matter of fact, I know from personal knowledge that a great many very respectable and independent gentlemen in Calcutta joined the movement and cordially sympathised with it. But supposing it had been otherwise? This same apologist has, day after day, pointed out that the withdrawal of trial by Jury, in these seven Bengal districts, in serious cases, does not in any way touch Europeans or European British Subjects. If he is right in this, it is a matter of no surprise that Europeans have not joined the movement. But because Europeans have not joined the movement, is a movement of the people of this country to be despised? Is our voice not to be listened to, because, forsooth, to that voice has not been added the voice of our European fellow-subjects? (*Hear, Hear, and Cheers*). We would welcome, welcome with open arms, all the support which we can get from our European fellow-subjects. I believe, that so far as the non-official Europeans are concerned, their interests and ours, in this country, are the same; we all desire that there should be a development of the resources of the country and that there should be enough for all who are here, whether for a time or in perpetuity. (*Hear, Hear*). But apart from that, why is our voice to be despised? It is we who feel the pinch; it is we who have to suffer, and when we cry out, it is said to us, "O! we cannot listen to you; yours is a contemptible and useless and a vile agitation, and we will not listen to you." Time was when we natives of the country agitated about any matter, with the help of non-official Europeans, the apologists of the Government used to say triumphantly, "this agitation is not the agitation of the natives of the country, but has been got up by a few discontented Europeans; don't listen to them, it is not their true voice; it is the voice of these Europeans." But now we are told, "don't listen to them, it is their own voice and not the voice of the Europeans." (*Shame*). It is sad that such reflections should be published by responsible journalists pretending to be in the confidence of our rulers. I hope and confidently trust that these are not the sentiments by which any administration in India is actuated. I hope and trust that when we make respectful representations to the Government, they will be considered on their own merits,

whether we are joined in our agitation by our European fellow-subjects or whether we stand by ourselves; and in order that these representations of ours, not only on the Jury question but on other questions which touch us, may succeed, it is necessary that we, in our Congress, should work and work with a will. It is not enough that you should come from long distances and be present at the annual sittings of the Congress. It is necessary, when you go back to your respective Provinces and districts, that you should display the same zeal and interest there. It has been the habit to leave the whole of the Congress work to the Secretary. We go back to our districts and sleep over it and leave the Secretary to do all he can for the business, in the shape of getting money, and then when it is time for the sessions to be held, we put on our best clothes, pack up our trunks and go. But that is not work. Let us all on our parts act zealously and make sacrifices: without money it is impossible to be successful in anything. Let each of us go back and help our respective Secretaries; let us try and get as much money as we can for the success of the cause. (*Hear, hear*).

You all know that our cause has the support of some distinguished men in England, who form, what is called the Congress Committee in England. They are willing to give us their services unstintingly, ungrudgingly, but you can not expect them to give their services to us at their own expense. You can not expect that the necessary expenses required for the hiring of rooms, for the printing of papers, for the despatch of telegrams and all other things necessary for carrying on the great cause, shall be paid out of their own pockets. We must do our best to support them; we must do our best to support the cause; and if we are true to ourselves, if we are true to our principles, if we are true to our country, be assured that in the fulness of time all that you require from the benign Government of the British nation, all that you seek from them to make you true citizens, will be given to you by that nation. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, *Officiating* Joint General Secretary, (*Calcutta, No. 188, in list*).—I now request the Secretaries of the several Standing Congress Committees to hand in the lists of the names of those gentlemen who have been elected by the delegates of each circle to represent them on the Subjects Committee.

The lists having been given in, they were read out, and approved by the whole assembly.

The following gentlemen were elected to the Subjects Committee:—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE.	1. MR. J. GHOSAL (No. 187) .. .. . (Calcutta.)
	2. BABU TARAK NATH PALIT (No. 182) .. do.
	3. " NALIN BEHARI SARKAR (No. 183) .. do.
	4. " HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA (No. 179) .. do.
	5. " KALIPRASANNA KAVYAVISHARAD (No. 185) do.
	6. " KHITENDRA NATH TAGORE (No. 180) .. do.
	7. RAI YATINDRA NATH CHAUDHRY (No. 189) (24 Perghanas.)
	8. BABU MOHIT CHANDRA BASU (No. 194) do.
	9. " ROMESH CHANDRA MANDAL (No. 209) .. (Hooghly.)
	10. " KESHAVA CHANDRA SADHU (No. 208) .. do.
	11. MR. K. B. MULLICK (No. 222) .. do.
	12. BABU TARAPADA BANERJEE (No. 195) .. (Nuddea.)
	13. " HARI PRASAD CHATTERJEE (No. 196) .. do.
	14. " KALIGOPAL MAZOOMDAR (No. 200) .. (Jessore.)
	15. " BENIBHUSAN ROY (No. 199) .. (Khulna)
	16. " HARDYAL NAG (No. 224) .. (Tippera.)
	17. " CHARUCHANDRA MITRA No 2. (No. 223) do.
	18. " BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN (No. 210) .. (Berhampore.)
	19. " BROJENDRA NATH SEAL (No. 211) .. do.
	20. " NAFAR DAS ROY (No. 214) .. do.
	21. " DHAN KRISHNA GHOSE (No. 220) .. (Beerbhoom.)
	22. MR. K. B. DUTT (No. 201) .. (Midnapore)
	23. BABU NAVA KUMAR MITRA (No. 204) .. do.
	24. " RADHANATH CHANGKAKOTI, (No. 227) .. (Debrugarh.)

1st Day.  
—  
The President's  
Inaugural  
Address.  
—

Election of  
the Subject  
Committee.  
—

Election of the Subjects Committee.	CALCUTTA CIRCLE—(contd.)	25.	BABU LAKSHMINATH BEZBARUA (No. 226)	..	(Debrugarh.)
		26.	" BHOLANATH BARUA (No. 225)	..	do.
	DACCA CIRCLE.	1.	" SARAT CHANDRA BASU (No. 239)	.	(Dacca.)
		2.	" HEM CHANDRA ROY (No. 191)		do.
		3.	" ANATHBANDHU GUHA (No. 230)		(Mymensing.)
		4.	" SRINATH RAI (No. 231)		do.
	FURREEDPORE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU GIRIJA SANKAR MAZOOMDAR (No. 240)		(Furreedpore.)
		2.	" AMBIKA CHANDRA MAZOOMDAR (No. 241)		do.
	BARISAL CIRCLE.	1.	BABU HARA KANTA SEN (No. 248)		(Backerganj.)
	RUNGPORE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA (No. 190)		(Rungpore.)
		2.	" SATIS KAMAL SEN (No. 247)		do.
	DINAJPORE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU MADHAV CHANDRA CHATTERJEE (No. 245)		(Dinajpore.)
	PUBNA CIRCLE.	1.	BABU JYANA GOVIND CHAKRAVARTI (No. 235)		(Assam.)
	BHAGALPORE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU PARVATICHARAN DAS (No. 282)		(Purnea.)
		2.	" SRIMOHAN THAKUR (No. 278)		(Bhagulpore.)
	CHOTA NAGPORE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU RADHAGOVIND CHAUDHRY (No. 255) <sup>1</sup>		(Chota Nagpore.)
	BEHAR CIRCLE.	1.	BABU GURU PRASAD SEN (No. 259)	c	(Bankipore.)
		2.	" SALIGRAM SING (No. 264)		do.
		3.	" MAHABIR SAHAY (No. 263)		do.
		4.	MAULVI ABDUL HAMID (No. 257)		do.
		5.	BABU NUNDKISHORE LAL (No. 270)		(Gya.)
		6.	" GADADHAR PRASAD (No. 261)		do.
	MOZUFFERPORE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU SORASICHURAN MITRA (No. 272)		(Mozufferpore.)
	BENARES CIRCLE.	1.	HON'BLE RAMKALI CHAUDHRY (No. 283)		(Benares.)
		2.	MR. UPENDRA NATH BASU (No. 288)		do.
	3.	BABU MOKSHADA DAS MITTRA (No. 287)		do.	
	4.	" ANNADA CHARAN DATTA (No. 292)		do.	
	5.	PUNDIT CHUNNU LAL (No. 295)		do.	
	6.	BABU BHOLANATH RAI (No. 299)		(Ghazipur.)	
	7.	" BENI PRASAD (No. 329)		(Mirzapur.)	
	8.	" SREE RAM (No. 318)		do.	
	9.	" MUKTESHWAR RAI (No. 309)		(Azamgarh.)	
N..W. P. CIRCLE.	1.	RAJA RAMPAL SINH (No. 334)		(Allahabad.)	
	2.	PANDIT SUNDER LAL (No. 335)		do.	
	3.	" MOTI LAL NEHRU (No. 339)		do.	
	4.	MR. D. BANERJI (No. 337)		do.	
	5.	PANDIT BALDEV RAM DAVE (No. 340)		do.	
	6.	BABU CHAROO CHUNDRA MITTRA (No. 341)		do.	
	7.	PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (No. 346)		do.	
	8.	BABU DURGA CHARAN BANERJEE (No. 374)		do.	
	9.	SYED*ABDUL RAOOF (No. 382)		do.	
	10.	MUNSHI SADRA-UD-DIN (No. 430)		do.	
	11.	PANDIT PRITHI NATH (No. 473)		(Cawnpore.)	
	12.	HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM (No. 510)		(Aligarh.)	
	13.	PANDIT JAGAN NATH (No. 498)		(Agra.)	
	14.	MR. ALFRED NUNDY (No. 497)		do.	
	15.	BABU PRAHLAD SING (No. 520)		(Meerut.)	
	16.	" BRIJNANDAN PRASAD (No. 604)		(Moradabad.)	
	17.	" NARENDRA CHANDRA BOSE (No. 602)		do.	
	18.	" PREO NATH BANERJEE (No. 595)		(Bareilly.)	
	19.	PANDIT JWALA DUTT JOSHI (No. 598)		(Almorah.)	
	20.	" ANAND NARAIN (No. 528)		(Dehra Doon.)	
	21.	BABU BAIKUNTHANATH SARKAR (No. 590)		(Shahjahanpur.)	

			Election of the Subjects Committee.
ODDH CIRCLE.	1. BABU BANSI LAL SINH (No. 530)	(LUCKNOW.)	
	2. MR. BISHAN NARAIN DAR (No. 532)	do.	
	3. " HAMID ALI KHAN (No. 533)	do.	
	4. " BIPIN BEHARI BOSE (No. 545)	do.	
	5. NAWAB ALI MAHOMED KHAN (No. 552)	do.	
	6. BABU GUNGA PRASAD VARMA (No. 531)	do.	
	7. PANDIT JAGAT NARAIN (No. 538)	do.	
	8. BABU GOKUL CHAND (No. 577)	(Fyzabad.)	
	9. " RAMSARAN DAS (No. 574)	do.	
	10. MUNSHI ALI HOSSEN SAHEB (No. 575)	do.	
	11. " IMTIAZ ALI (No. 576)	do.	
	12. BABU PITAM RAI (No. 569)	(Sitapur.)	
	13. MUNSHI MURLIDHAR (No. 571)	do.	
	14. PANDIT SITAL PRASAD (No. 588)	(Kalakankar)	
PUNJAB CIRCLE.	1. CAPTAIN A. BANON (No. 609)	(Lahore.)	
	2. LALA RAM CHAND (No. 607)	do.	
	3. MR. N. GUPTA (No. 610)	do.	
	4. LALA MURLI DHAR (No. 612)	(Umballa.)	
	5. " KANHAYA LAL (No. 615)	(Amritsar.)	
	6. MR. NUND KISHORE (No. 619)	do.	
	7. " BULAKI RAM (No. 618)	do.	
	8. DR. PARMANAND (No. 611)	do.	
	9. MR. UMA SANKAR (No. 616)	do.	
	10. BABA NARAIN SING (No. 617)	do.	
	11. MAULVI UMRAO MIRZA HAIRAT (No. 621)	(Delhi.)	
	12. MR. RAGHUNATH DAS (No. 623)	do.	
SHOLAPORE CIRCLE.	1. MR. P. L. NAGPURKAR (No. 64)	(SHOLAPORE)	
	2. " D. B. CHAKRADEO (No. 63)	do.	
SATARA CIRCLE.	1. MR. BULWANT SRIDHARA SAHASRABUDDHE (No. 70)	(Satara)	
	2. " R. P. KARANDIKAR (No. 69)	do.	
AHMEDNAGAR CIRCLE.	1. MR. B. B. NAGARKAR (No. 61)	(Ahmednagar)	
DECCAN CIRCLE.	1. RAO BAHADUR VISHNU MORESWAR BHIDE (No. 85)	(Poona.)	
	2. MR. GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE (No. 82)	do.	
	3. " KASHINATH GOVIND NATU (No. 93)	do.	
	4. " MAHADEO BULLAL NAMJOSHI (No. 96)	do.	
	5. " JANARDAN RAGHUNATH NIMKAR (No. 101)	do.	
	6. " RAM CHANDRA KESHAV LIMAYE (No. 86)	do.	
	7. " R. T. KIRTANE (No. 108)	do.	
BOMBAY CIRCLE.	1. MR. D. E. WACHA (No. 39)	(Bombay.)	
	2. " DAJI ABAJI KHARE (No. 40)	do.	
	3. " CHIMAN LAL H. SATAVAIID (No. 49)	do.	
	4. DR. S. W. KANE (No. 41)	do.	
	5. " M. G. DESHMUKH (No. 50)	do.	
	6. MR. JAGAMOHAN DAS VRINDAVANDAS (No. 42)	do.	
	7. " T. De SOUZA (No. 54)	do.	
SINDH.	1. RAO BAHADUR PISUMAL ZOKEI RAM (No. 60)	(Sindh.)	
BERAR CIRCLE.	1. RAO SAHEB DEVA RAO VINAYAK (No. 134)	(Berar.)	
	2. MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (No. 120)	do.	
	3. " R. N. MUDHOLKAR (No. 119)	do.	
NAGPORE CIRCLE.	1. MR. NARAYAN SWAMI NAIDU (No. 141)	(Nagpore Dn.)	
	2. " BHAGIRATH PRASAD (No. 139)	do.	
	3. " HARI MAHADEO PANDIT (No. 144)	do.	
	4. " LAXMAN GOBIND DESKARA (No. 169)	do.	

Election of  
the Subjects  
Committee.

NAGPORE CIRCLE—(contd.)

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|----|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 5. | Mr. K. V. JOSHI (No. 145)           | (Nagpore.)     |
| 6. | " RAM GULAM AVASTI (No. 138)        | (Jubbulpore.)  |
| 7. | " RAOJI GOVIND KHIRWARKAR (No. 160) | (Hoshangabad.) |
| 8. | " N. N. DE (No. 150)                | (Bilaspur.)    |
| 9. | " NUND LAL (No. 153)                | do.            |

MADRAS CIRCLE.

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|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1.  | RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU (No. 1) | (Madras.)    |
| 2.  | THE HON'BLE C. SANKARA NAIR (No. 2)  | do.          |
| 3.  | MR. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR (No. 5)      | do.          |
| 4.  | " V. RAGHAVACHARY S. (No. 7)         | do.          |
| 5.  | " PETER PAUL PILLAY (No. 9)          | do.          |
| 6.  | " V. JAGANNADHA SHASTRI (No. 15)     | (Parvatipur) |
| 7.  | " P. VENKAT RAO PANTALU (No. 14)     | do.          |
| 8.  | " P. KESAVA PILLAY (No. 37)          | (Gooty)      |
| 9.  | " S. VIRARAGHAVA IYER (No. 17)       | (Palghat)    |
| 10. | " C. ANNAMALAI MUDALIAR (No. 31)     | (Bellary)    |
| 11. | " C. VIJIARAGHAVA CHARIAR (No. 22)   | (Salem)      |
| 12. | " C. VENKATA CHARIAR (No. 21)        | do.          |
| 13. | " RAMASWAMY CHETTIAR (No. 26)        | do.          |
| 14. | " S. M. NARAIN SWAMY IYER (No. 10)   | (Shivaganga) |
| 15. | " D. V. RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR (No. 30)  | (Chittoor)   |
| 16. | " V. VYATHI IYER (No. 27)            | (Salem)      |
| 17. | " NATARAJU IYER (No. 4)              | (Madras)     |
| 18. | " RAGHU RAM RAO (No. 12)             | (Chingleput) |

Congratula-  
tions to Mr.  
Naoroji and  
thanks to  
Central  
Finsbury.

THE PRESIDENT:—It has been suggested that you should authorize me to send in your name to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a telegram congratulating him on his being elected a member of the House of Commons, and also thanking the electors of Central Finsbury for having elected him. (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers*). I shall do so in your name this evening. (*Cheers*).

The Congress will stand adjourned till 11 A. M. to-morrow.

The meeting broke up with three cheers for Her Majesty the Empress of India.

The Subjects Committee then met and sat until late in the evening. It met again on the following day, and sat for several hours.

## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 29th December, 1892.

THE Congress reassembled at 1-30 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen,—This is the 29th of December, 1892. On this day eighty-three years ago, the Grand Old Man of England was born. Let me call for three cheers for Mr. Gladstone.

Three hearty cheers having been given,

THE PRESIDENT.—As we have done hitherto, I suppose I have your permission to send a telegram to Mr. Gladstone congratulating him on the eighty-third Anniversary of his birthday. (*Yes, Yes, and Cheers*).

The President then read out the following rules for the conduct of business at the sittings of the Congress :—

### *Rules for the Conduct of Business.*

(a)—No one who is not a delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter.

(b)—Every delegate must address the assembly from the speaker's platform.

(c)—The proposers, seconders, and supporters of each resolution will be selected by the Subjects Committee.

(d)—The President will allot the time during which each speaker can speak, and no one should exceed this without the special permission of the President. The President will sound his gong once to warn each speaker when the time allotted to him is drawing to a close, and he will sound it a second time when that period has elapsed; and should he consider that the speaker ought to cease speaking, the President will touch the gong again, when the speaker must, there and then, close his address.

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

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

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

(h)—No other business shall be brought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been disposed of. But afterwards, if time permits, any delegate who shall have given notice in writing, at the commencement of the sitting, to the President, of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, or a definite resolution, which he sets forth, proposed, shall have a right to,

2nd Day.

Cheers for  
Mr. Gladstone.

Rules for  
the conduct  
of business.

2nd Day.  
 Rules for the  
 conduct of  
 business.

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

THE PRESIDENT.—I now call upon Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu to move the first Resolution :—

Resolution I.  
 Reform of  
 the Legis-  
 lative  
 Councils.

RAI BAHADUR ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 1 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I shall not begin with reading this amply worded proposition, as I fear that, when I finish reading it, I might be out of breath. Proceeding straight to the consideration of the measure to which the proposition relates, I must say that I fully share the profound regret, which is everywhere felt, at the absence in the Act itself of a clause, embodying the principle of representation, meant to be given by it. (*Cheers*). If such a clause existed in it, it would put it out of the power of narrow-minded men to deny the right as years elapse. (*Hear, Hear*). This is all the more to be regretted, because the mover of the Bill, Lord Cross, had himself made his object clear when he said that he meant “not only to give the Governor-General, the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors the sufficient assistance which they might require, but so as they might get the *best representatives of the people of the country*.”

With an intention such as this presumably before him, it is difficult to see how the draftsman of the Bill managed not to insert it, unless he took his cue from the satirist who has said that language was given to man to hide his thoughts and not to express them. When, however, the Bill passed on to the House of Commons, all our hopes were fully revived when Mr. Gladstone spoke on it. A couple of lines from that great man’s speech may be usefully cited here. Mr. Gladstone said : “I believe I am justified in looking forward not merely to a *nominal but to a real living representation of the people of India*.” (*Hear, Hear and Cheers*). This declaration as to the scope of the Bill by Mr. Gladstone was assented to by the Under-Secretary who stood sponsor to it in the House of Commons. The words of Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords may be likewise quoted to show how he understood the aims of the Bill which is asked for. He said :—“If we are to do it,” and if it has to be done, let us do it systematically. . . . taking care *that the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India*.” (*Hear, Hear and cheers*).

When the Bill was passed into an Act, accompanied with these declarations and elucidations, and transmitted to the authorities here, our fears ought to cease ; and the solution of such a course is perhaps this : that the authorities in England meant to give the authorities here an opportunity and a scope to inaugurate a truly liberal measure of reform and thereby earn credit and achieve a reputation. In this reasonable view we might well rest, hoping for the best. But certain utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy during his recent tour, gave cause for some alarm and made it necessary for us to declare ourselves at this meeting of the Congress. (*Hear, Hear*). If the fears I have expressed prove ultimately that I have been an unfounded alarmist, I shall be glad to stand corrected. (*Cheers*). Since coming here I have not been able to speak to the delegates from the different parts of the country to see what particular method should be adopted in each particular place. But I think it right to put to you a test case for your anxious consideration. Take a city with four hundred thousand persons. Suppose, on a certain given standard of individual fitness, there are about four hundred and sixty men there, and thirty-two of them, on the ground of that standard, go into a Municipal Board. Would you hold that, in such a case, the possession of a franchise by only those thirty-two men is a real living representation as regards the four hundred thousand constituting, *ex hypothesi*, the

population of the city, or as regards even the four hundred and odd who are on a level of qualification with those thirty-two men? (*No, No.*) Yet such a course is threatened by what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say. I think we have a right to expect that, while the Government is at liberty to fix the standard of fitness ever so high as it thinks proper, after the standard is once set forth and enunciated, all persons on a level of qualification on that score must unquestionably possess the franchise as an *individual or personal* franchise. (*Loud and Prolonged applause*). Anything short of it will be a perfect farce, if not a sham, and an unjustifiable injustice to the vast majority. (*Renewed cheers*). Another thing we have a right to expect is the denial of the franchise to mere voluntary bodies. When this was submitted to His Excellency, he gave an answer which showed that such a rule would, in his opinion, be an injustice to important special interests. I am afraid that this reply involves a confusion between voluntary bodies and special interests. No one denies or ought to deny that special interests should receive protection. But protection of such interests is one thing, and conferring the franchise on voluntary bodies is quite another thing. The two are not identical. They do not stand together. The former may be fully secured, without having recourse to the latter method. If instances of the kind I have brought to your notice exist—and not a few of them do exist—then I venture to assert that, in all such cases, there is not or cannot be any pretence of a real living representation; and that any scheme which admits of such cases would only prove the World's Grand Old Man to have been a false prophet; and, it would certainly not be in consonance even with Lord Salisbury's view of the situation. (*Loud Cheers*).

With these remarks I shall read the proposition which runs thus:—

*That this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister, with the assent of the then Under-Secretary of State for India,—that it is intended by it to give the people of India a real living representation in the Legislative Councils,—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazettes, like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted. (Cheers).*

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA, (*Calcutta, No. 188, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In seconding this resolution I am reminded of the words, the memorable words, of the Member for India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (*Cheers*). In a remarkable communication, which he has addressed to you, Sir, as the Joint-General Secretary and to the President of the Reception Committee, he has made the remark that it is time that a new departure should be made in the Congress programme, and that we should begin a new cycle. To my mind there is nothing which affords a more conspicuous instance of your recognition of the advice, conveyed to you by our distinguished friend, than your election to the office of President, of the gentleman under whose auspices, the work of the first cycle was so happily begun. (*Cheers*). That cycle was a glorious one, fruitful of splendid results. God grant that the promises of the past may be accomplished in the present, and that the new cycle may prepare the way for the fulfilment of those hopes and aspirations which we are accustomed to identify with this grand and magnificent movement. (*Cheers*). But, gentlemen, there is a discordant note sounded in the camp of our opponents. (*Laughter*). We have been told that ours is a discredited movement; that our enthusiasm is on the wane; and a writer, improving on the situation, writing in one of the journals published in this place, was good enough the other day to tell his readers that this feeble and faulty organization was about to disappear, (*laughter*), and if it is at all to be remembered, it would be recalled to mind with a smile of contempt. (*Laughter*). Well, when I was reading that paragraph, a thought occurred to my mind, and I am sure the same thought must be passing through the minds of many of you within the sound of my voice. I said to myself that if our movement was a discredited movement, how came it to pass that so sapient a journalist should devote four columns of his ponderous artillery to the extermination of that which



2nd Day.  
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 Resolution I.  
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 Reform of  
 the Legis-  
 lative  
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was naught, and to the condemnation of that which was beneath contempt? (*Loud cheers*). Prosecuting the same line of thought, it occurred to me that if our movement was so utterly discredited, so unworthy of mention, how was it that a late Viceroy, one of the astutest that ever sat on the Viceregal throne, honoured us with a great oration, on the eve of his retirement at the memorable St. Andrew's dinner at Calcutta? It also occurred to me as I was reading this passage to ask—how it was that Lord Lansdowne the other day, extended to us, the representatives of this discredited movement, the friendly hand of recognition? (*Cheers*). Our movement to pass away, unhonoured and unmourned! Much more likely that this miserable rag of a newspaper will vanish into the inane, without a word of sorrow or regret. (*Applause*). This splendid organization to pass away unhonoured and unmourned! Why, it has left its foot-prints deep upon the fleeting sands of Time. It has become part and parcel of the history of Modern India. Will any body deny that this Indian Councils Act, which we are discussing at the present moment, is the outcome of our labours and of our self-sacrificing efforts? Who ever had heard of the expansion and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils before the Congress started the subject? (*Applause*). And within the life-time of a generation, we have obtained what may be regarded as the first instalment of reform in this direction, which it has cost other countries centuries of incessant toil and effort. And indeed, we may well be proud of what we have achieved in other directions. You appealed and agitated for the wider employment of your countrymen in the public service of the land. You prayed that the age for the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service be raised; you prayed that simultaneous examinations be held in India as well as in England. You have got the one, but not got the other. The other will come to you in its own good time. (*Cheers*). It is monstrous that our young men should be compelled to travel a distance of over ten thousand miles, and to pass a most difficult competitive examination, forsooth, for the inestimable boon of serving in their own country! (*Applause*). Did you ever hear of such monstrous injustice? Why, the people of Ceylon which is a Crown colony of England are better off. They have simultaneous examinations there for the higher appointments. But not only so, even Java, a Dutch colony, said to be a most misgoverned country, has this privilege which we in India do not possess. (*Hear, Hear and 'shame'*). Our rulers profess to be guided by the gracious terms of the Queen's Proclamation, which is the Magna Charta of our rights and privileges (*cheers*); and in that Proclamation there are these words of gracious promise:—"And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race, creed or colour, be freely admitted into all offices, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, their ability and integrity duly to discharge." (*Hear Hear*). Mark also the memorable words of Lord Ripon in interpreting the Proclamation—words of righteous indignation against the meaning sought to be put upon that document by Sir James Stephen. I desire to commend these words not only to the members of this Congress, but to the enlightened and informed consciences of our rulers. Lord Ripon said upon that occasion: "Our power and influence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers or the reputation of our arms." (*Cheers*.) What becomes of the Proclamation, what becomes of the generous words of our Sovereign, of the beneficent interpretation put upon them by her Viceroy, when viewed in the light of the proceedings of the Government of India? To tell the people of India that they are freely entitled to fill every office in the gift of the Crown, and that merit is to be the sole qualification, and then to point out to them that London is the only place, a place ten thousand miles distant, where these examinations are to be held, is to be guilty, if it were the case of an ordinary individual, of impudent and impertinent hypocrisy. (*Loud Cheers*). I presume there is to be one code of morality for individuals, another for Governments. I brush aside this cob-web of sophistry as truly unworthy of our rulers. As much for the maintenance of the honour of our Sovereign, and the credit and reputation of the English people, as for our own interests, we ought to agitate for simultaneous examinations being held in this country as well as in England. (*Cheers*).

There has been "progress in all respects save one; and this leads me to that very unhappy Notification which has been issued in Bengal restricting the right of trial by Jury. Year after year in your Congresses you have been praying for the extension of the right of trial

by Jury: the Government answers your demand by restricting the right in Bengal. At one stroke of the pen, without any warning or explanation of any kind, we find this precious right filched away from us. [*A voice:—Question.*] It is a very important question and one intimately connected with the matter I am discussing, for if we had Representative Councils, I am perfectly certain we should have long before this brought the Government to book through the exercise of the right of interpellation, which our members would enjoy. Is it conceivable that if we had a reconstituted Council with the right of interpellation, the Government of Sir Charles Elliott could have withdrawn the system of trial by Jury without a protest from the Council, without a host of questions being put to him of an exceedingly unpleasant character? I think, therefore, it will be admitted that this is a matter which is relevant to the point I am discussing. I wish to say one word more, and that is this, that though this question concerns the people of Bengal alone, brother-delegates from Madras and Bombay, you must not lay the flattering unction to your souls that you will escape the fate which has overtaken us. If you have read the despatch which has recently been issued, you will find that the Government is at the present moment considering the propriety of withdrawing the trial of murder cases from the cognizance of juries in the Bombay districts, and of restricting the right of trial by Jury in the Madras Presidency, where, as you know, it has been extended to every district. Therefore, this is a question in which we are all deeply interested, the people of Bengal, the people of Madras and the people of Bombay, and we should stand shoulder to shoulder in safe-guarding the rights which have come down to us from the past, consecrated by the labours of those who have gone before us. (*Cheers*).

In the resolution which has been entrusted to me, you express your regret that the Indian Councils Act does not come up to our expectations. Year after year we have been recording resolutions praying for the introduction of the representative element in the Councils and the expansion of their functions. Lord Dufferin despatched a minute to the Secretary of State in which he partly supported the views of the Congress and recommended the reconstitution of the Provincial Councils upon an elective basis. (*Hear, hear*). But what do we find has been done? As a matter of fact the representative element has not been recognized in the Act, but a clause has been inserted which is known as 'the Kimberley clause,' and which provides for the selection, but not the election, of representative members from various bodies. Great was the regret felt on the Liberal side of the House that the Bill did not provide for the recognition of the elective element. There was one gentleman, however, who raised a discordant note, and that was Mr. Maclean, the late member for Oldham. (*Hisses*). I think we may treat even Mr. Maclean with some little consideration. Mr. Maclean was pleased to tell the House that this Bill was nothing more or less than an offer to hand over the Empire to the control of the Baboos of Bengal. (*Laughter*). The Baboos of Bengal have never wanted anything of the kind. Their friends have never urged such a claim on their behalf. Mr. Maclean unfortunately forgot that what was intended for Bengal was intended for the rest of India as well (*cheers*), and he forgot also that in the year 1878, he spoke at a great meeting held in the town of Bombay, and that at that meeting he supported a resolution which provided for the reconstitution and the expansion of the Legislative Councils! Mr. Maclean may have changed his views. Possibly, Mr. Maclean is of the opinion that it is an old-fashioned practice to stick to one's principles. (*Laughter*). He may not think it necessary to be guided by the considerations of such a paltry morality. At any rate, he owes it to the public to offer some explanation with regard to this convenient change of front. But with the exception of Mr. Maclean and of that worthy Baronet, also from the Bombay Presidency, Sir Richard Temple, there was really no sort of opposition worthy of the name in the House of Commons, and the Bill passed amid what might be considered the unanimous approval of the House. But there was one utterance, a remarkable and a statesmanlike utterance, and that was from Mr. Gladstone in which he gave expression to those enlightened views upon which we base our right for a liberal interpretation of the Indian Councils Act. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). My friend has read an extract from Mr. Gladstone's speech, but I desire to quote two more passages in order to emphasize the demand which we now make for a generous construction of the Act. Mr. Gladstone observed:—

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"It is there that we stand upon solid ground, and Her Majesty's Government ought to understand that it will be regarded as a most grave disappointment, if, after all the assurances we have received that an attempt will be made to bring into operation this powerful engine of Government, there should not be some result such as we anticipate from their action. I do not speak of its amount: I speak more of its quality." (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

And again:—

"All these things induce us to look forward hopefully to a great future for India, and to expect that a real success will attend the genuine application, even though it may be a limited one, of the elective principle to the Government of that vast and almost immeasurable community." (*Renewed applause*).

Well, we appeal to Mr. Gladstone, and the illustrious leaders of the Liberal party, for the application of the elective principle to the constitution of the Councils, and I am sure that we will not appeal in vain. (*Prolonged cheers*). A party that is pledged to the principle of Home Rule in Ireland cannot but lend an indulgent ear to the aspirations of the people of India for the wider extension of Self-Government in this country. (*Loud applause*). Self-Government is the ordinance of nature, the dispensation of Divine Providence; it is the leaven of modern society; it is the cement which binds together the most distant families of the human race; it is of universal application; it transcends considerations of race, colour and creed. "Representative institutions," remarked Mr. Gladstone, in a great speech he made in the year 1890, "are consecrated possessions which in the counsels of Providence have been entrusted to the care and the guardianship of the English people." (*Loud applause*). We appeal to Mr. Gladstone, we appeal to his colleagues to admit us into this inestimable legacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. (*Prolonged cheering*). Wherever floats the flag of England, Self-Government is the order of the day. (*Hear, hear*). Wherever Englishmen have gathered together in their colonies, be they in the frigid zones of the north, or amid the blazing heat of the Equator, or in those distant tracts watered by the southern seas, Self-Government again is the order of the day. We are not Englishmen or men of English race or extraction, but we are British subjects, (*hear, hear and cheers*), the citizens of a great and free empire; we live under the protecting shadows of one of the noblest constitutions the world has ever seen. (*Applause*). The rights of Englishmen are ours, their privileges are ours, their constitution is ours. (*Loud applause*). But we are excluded from them. (*Cries of 'shame'*). How long is this exclusion to last? That will depend very much upon ourselves. If we are true to the traditions of the Congress, and loyal to the noble teachings of our great Chief (*loud cheers*), who, though not present in body, is present in spirit with us—if we live up to the exalted standard of his noble life—if we consecrate our efforts by the spirit of self-sacrifice, if we are unsparing in our pecuniary sacrifices, unremitting in our personal efforts, then the great God who presides over the destinies of fallen nations will in his own due time pour down upon us, in plentiful abundance, his choicest blessings; and though we may receive a temporary check, and the flag which we now hold aloft may droop from our sinking hands, I am confident that in the near future there will rise up others, who, more fortunately situated than ourselves, will carry that standard to victory, and establish in this luckless land those principles of liberty, which, while they will serve to weld together the diversified elements of our common nationality, will, at the same time, place the Empire of Britain in this country upon the only unchangeable basis upon which it can rest, viz., the love, the gratitude and the contentment of a vast and immeasurable population. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

RAJA RAM PAL SINH, (*Allahabad, No. 334, in list*) GENTLEMEN,—After listening to the illustrious gentleman whose eloquent language you have just heard, you will not be at all pleased with a speaker like me who speaks in plain and broken English. But, gentlemen, I am sure that the righteousness and the importance of the cause which I advocate, and in behalf of which I now stand before you, will plead my excuse. I am only going to say what is right and just, and it is for this reason I now venture in all humility to stand before you. You know, Gentlemen, that I have been a traveller in foreign countries, and that I have probed the opinions of foreigners in regard to my country, my countrymen and our real interests; and I am sorry to

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say that these people,—not only Englishman, but other Europeans and even Americans too, in fact, the world generally—have called you a degenerate race, a nation which cannot be compared to the least civilised community in Europe, because they say you do not show that spirit of independence which European gentlemen, as a rule, have, because the mass of your population do not possess that sturdy sense of self-respect and that love of liberty which would make them resent every wrong and injustice, and boldly claim their rights and privileges. And I must say that there is some truth in this indictment (*A voice "very little"*). But the indications of the growth of a new spirit which are everywhere visible now, will, I am sure, soon take away this reproach from our people. (*Hear, hear*). Then, gentlemen, you have been seeking a voice in the Legislative Councils of your country by loyal and respectful representations, and your critics have said that you will never get it until you express your wishes forcibly. But their views have been proved to be unsound. (*Hear, hear*). The English Government have listened to our prayers, and may the Government be blessed in that they have promised to give us a voice in the Legislative Councils of our country. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*). This right ought certainly to have been conferred upon us long ago in pursuance of Her Majesty's gracious Proclamation. (*Hear, hear*). But there seemed to be no hope of the promises of that Proclamation being fulfilled until the Congress, this happy child of the British administration (*cheers*), now eight years old, came into existence and made its voice heard. (*Renewed applause*). You must insist, gentlemen, still further, on the rights and privileges, which have been promised to you, as subjects of Her Majesty, the Queen of England and the Empress of India, (*Hear, hear and cheers*), being granted to you in their integrity, and you may be sure that they will be granted. (*Renewed applause*). Indeed, even Lord Lansdowne said the other day at Poona that your rights will be granted to you.

Gentlemen, the reason of my rising here is to caution you that when you receive the right of representation, you should take care not to return such members as have, as a rule, been hitherto appointed to the Legislative Councils, men who would merely hold up their hands when the Viceroy would hold up his, and keep them down, when the Viceroy would keep down his. (*Hear, hear*). Such men ought ever to be kept away from the Councils. (*Cheers*). But you should elect, gentlemen, men who should be able to think for themselves, and to speak out their minds freely. (*Hear, hear*). The duties of members of Legislative Councils, always responsible, are becoming more and more onerous day by day. The condition of the people is growing from bad to worse. (*Hear, hear*). The resources of the country are being drained week by week and year by year. It is becoming more and more necessary that Government should devise measures to check the growth of poverty, necessary as much for the stability and reputation of the British administration, as for the welfare of the people. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). It is true that we enjoy under this administration, the blessings of a general education; it is true that we enjoy security of life and property; it is true that we have facilities for travelling by rail such as never existed before; it is true that we have excellent postal and telegraph services. For all these, and numerous other similar blessings and benefits, we feel, and shall always feel, sincerely grateful to the British Government. (*Loud cheers*). But, gentlemen, it is also unfortunately too true that vast millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India are living from hand to mouth, and are eking out a most miserable existence on the verge of starvation. (*Cries of "shame," "shame"*).

The causes of this evil are manifest. The practical monopoly of all the high offices in the administration by foreigners, who do not make this country their home, and who spend the greater portion of their pay and pension in foreign lands; the monopoly of the foreign trade by foreign merchants, and the annual drain in the shape of Home charges, coupled with the heavy loss by exchange, must naturally make the country poor and the people miserable. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*). And in order, gentlemen, to press on the attention of Government, the urgent necessity of the reforms which we believe to be necessary to remedy this deplorable state of things, we require the presence in the Legislative Councils, of men who are acquainted with the condition of the country, and who would fearlessly represent the grievances of the people to Government, and plead that they may

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be considered in a truly earnest and paternal spirit, and, so far as may be possible, remedied. (*Cheers*).

Gentlemen, it has been said, and very well said, that a king who is loved by his subjects is better secured than one of whom they are afraid, like the Emperor of Russia, for instance (*Hear hear*); and therefore I feel certain that if our grievances had been properly represented to Her Majesty, the people of India would long since have been made happy, the gracious promises of Her Majesty's Proclamation would have been fulfilled, and there would have been greater sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. (*Cheers*). In conclusion, I earnestly hope that it will be impressed upon the Government that the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils will be equally beneficial to Her Majesty's Government and to the people of this country. (*Loud applause*).

[Raja Ram Pal Sinh then addressed the meeting in Urdu, much to the same effect.]

MR. M. B. NAMJOSHI, (*Poona, No. 96, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I rise to support, you may well take it, is a self-supporting resolution, and one which hardly requires any observations from any one to commend it to your acceptance. However, for the purposes of the few observations that I am going to make, I have divided the resolution into four parts. The first part gives the history of the movement and the outcome of it; the second part expresses our regret, because the Act does not make any provision for the introduction of the elective principle into the re-constituted Legislative Councils; the third part expresses the hope that a liberal interpretation will be put upon the Act in framing rules to give effect to its provisions, and that the wishes of the nation will be fully met in that direction; and the last part makes a prayer, and the prayer is that the Government of India will be pleased to publish these rules before passing them finally, so that the public might have an opportunity of expressing their opinions regarding them, and judging for themselves how far their wishes are met by the rules. These are the four parts into which I divide the resolution for the purposes of the observations I have to address to you.

Now, gentlemen, we express regret, because in the case of permissive legislation, we are always dependent on the good will of the executive. (*Hear, hear*.) This is what we do not want. (*Cheers*). The Bombay Act of 1878 deals with the subject of Local Self-Government, and it remained a dead letter till 1883, (*cries of 'shame'*) when it pleased the Government to introduce the elective principle into the constitution of the Municipalities. The Local Government did nothing like it until it was pressed to do so by the higher authorities. (*'Shame'*). We wish that this may not be the case here, (*Cheers*) and we, therefore, regret that the measure which has been passed does not provide for the certain introduction of the elective principle into the constitution of our Councils. (*Cheers*.) However, the thing has been done (and we have hardly time to speak upon it), and we, therefore, dispose of that part of the subject by the expression of our regret, and rely upon the Act as it is, and upon the assurances given by the leading statesmen of the day in the House of Commons, for the fulfilment of our desires. And, gentlemen, I have not the least doubt that if the Government give effect to those assurances, our purpose will be served. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). Statesmen in Parliament have declared that the intentions of the Legislature should be met most liberally by the Government, and we only express the hope that they will be so met. And, lastly, we ask that the Government will publish the rules, which they have been authorised to frame under the Act, before passing them finally. These rules are, as it were, a secondary piece of legislation. The Parliament passed the Act, and has left it to the Local Government to pass rules under the Act. The Parliament thus took the Government here into its confidence, and it is but just and reasonable that the Government, in its turn, should take the public into its confidence. (*Cheers*.) The benefits of such a course are too obvious to require any mention. Under Lord Ripon's Government executive orders were issued requiring that rules framed under a particular Act should be published, so that the public might have an opportunity of making suggestions regarding them. We only require the Government to follow the instructions laid down by Lord Ripon, and as I believe that the

sympathies of the present Government are with us, I hope and trust that they will be pleased to grant this our very reasonable prayer. (*Loud Cheers*).

MR. NARAYAN SWAMI NAYADU (*Nagpore, No. 141, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In supporting the resolution so ably put forward by my learned friend Mr. Ananda Charlu, and so well supported by my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, I think it will be unnecessarily taking up your time to add anything more in the shape of arguments upon the subject. The resolution simply states what we expected and in what we feel disappointed, and it also expresses the hope that the Government of India will do what they ought to do unasked. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). I believe, gentlemen, that it was under the dispensation of a benign Providence that India was placed in such close relationship with the British Empire, the greatest empire that the world has ever seen. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). India was once in the zenith of civilisation, but time and circumstances brought about her downfall. And it seems it was with a view to restore her to her former high position that the Almighty Providence entrusted the destinies of this country to our Aryan brethren of the West. (*Cheers*). I call Englishmen our Aryan brethren, because they belong to the Aryan race. (*Hear, hear*). It behoves Englishmen that they should well discharge the duties so solemnly imposed upon them by the Great Providence. They have educated us, and opened to us the rich stores of the noble literature of their country. The result of that education is that a large number of our brethren here are as enlightened and as well educated as Englishmen are. They are occupying leading positions as lawyers, doctors, engineers, and so on in the different walks of life open to them. (*Hear, hear*). We naturally desire now that our English brethren should enable us to rise to the same position as they occupy by conferring upon us all those inestimable political privileges that they themselves enjoy. (*Cheers*). They ought to see, and see with becoming pride, that India is not now what it was fifty years ago; that, thanks to the fostering influences of their own administration, we have made great progress in education and enlightenment, and have learnt to appreciate what our rights are and what our duties are to our fellowmen, to our sovereign and to our country. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). They ought to give us an opportunity now to exercise those rights and to perform those duties, that we may be able to promote our common welfare. (*Cheers*). Our request is a very moderate and simple one. We say that the people ought to have a voice in the framing of the laws which are to govern them. We say that there should be a real representation of the people in the Legislative Councils of the country, based on the principle of election. We are convinced that this is absolutely necessary in the interests both of the people and the Government. (*Loud cheers*). We had expected that provision would be made for such representation in the Councils Act recently passed by Parliament. And we were very sorry to see that no such provision was made but that the matter was left in the hands of the executive administration. The solemn assurances given by the Under-Secretary of State for India, coupled with the most important utterance of Mr. Gladstone, to which reference has already been made, have inspired us, however, with the hope that an honest and earnest effort will be made to secure by the rules to be framed under the Act, a living representation of the people in the Councils. The Government are indeed bound to frame such rules as will secure that object. This they can only do by recognising the principle of election in those rules, in conformity with the views of Mr. Gladstone and those who agreed with him. And I earnestly hope that the Government will do this, and thereby make the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils a source of real benefit to the country. (*Cheers*). I hope you will all agree with me in thinking that this resolution has been framed in such a manner as to meet with your unanimous approval, and I commend it confidently to your acceptance. (*Loud cheers*).

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MR. UMA SHUNKAR, (*Lahore, No. 616, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—After hearing so many eloquent speakers who have preceded me, it would have been better for me to keep quiet, as I do not think that anything has been left for me to touch upon. But the request of my fellow delegates of the town I come from, impels me to say a few words to you. I come from Amritsar, the sacred and religious city of the Sikhs. (*Hear, hear*). Now none of you can say that the Sikhs have not proved themselves to be the most loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen by their devotion to her. (*Cheers*). And, gentlemen, they

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desire the reform that you advocate in this resolution as much as others do, because they believe it will conduce to the good both of the Government and the people. (*Loud Cheers.*) Gentlemen, the resolution that I have come here to support is like the request of an intelligent young man who having passed his preliminary examination, goes to his parents and asks for text books of a higher class. One would expect that the parents will be delighted to see the progress the young man has made, and gladly supply him with such books as he requires. But what would be thought of those parents who would refuse to give him the books he needs, and give him instead books of an inferior character, too ill-suited to his advanced mental capacity? (*Cheers.*) Can any one say that the reform that the condition of the country demands, and that we have so long and so persistently been praying for, has been granted to us? ('No,' 'none.') And is it not a matter of supreme regret that it has not been granted? ('Yes,' 'yes,' and *cheers.*) However, gentlemen, we need not yet despair. Our object can to a great extent be gained if the rules which are to be framed under the Act, be made in the spirit of Mr. Gladstone's declarations in the House of Commons. And I hope, and hope with confidence, that they will be so framed (*loud cheers*), and that the reputation of our Government for desiring and promoting the advancement of the Indian people will not only be maintained but enhanced. (*Renewed applause.*) With these few words, I heartily support the resolution, and hope you will all support me. (*Loud Cheers.*)

HAFIZ MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHEEM, (*Aligarh, No. 510, in list.*).—GENTLEMEN,—As called upon by our worthy President, I rise to support this resolution with pleasure. I shall first translate it for the sake of those who do not know English. (The speaker, who spoke in Urdu, here stated the purport of the resolution and then proceeded as follows:) Gentlemen, you have heard what the resolution says. It embraces many points. My predecessors have fully dealt with each and all of them. I wish to say a few words in respect of only two of them.

The first point is as to why we express regret at the fact that the Act as passed by Parliament, does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Councils, but leaves it to the Governor-General in Council, if he so please, to make from time to time regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made, and to prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect. Gentlemen, the introduction of the elective principle in the constitution of our Councils, was and is the most essential part of the reform we have been contending for for so many years. (*Hear, hear.*) We had expected that Parliament would recognise that principle in the Act in clear and unmistakable terms. But instead of doing that, it has left the matter in the hands of the Government of India. We have no guarantee that the discretion so vested in the Government would be wisely and liberally exercised, none even that it will not be abused (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) Some of our administrators have no doubt been very liberal and far-seeing statesmen (*Hear, hear.*) But there are others among them who are illiberal and short-sighted. A spirit of retrogression seems to have taken possession of their minds and seems to be guiding their actions. Far from desiring to extend liberty and to secure fresh privileges to the people, they seem to delight in curtailing and restricting what little the people enjoy ('*Shame*'). The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal affords us an instance. Sir Charles Elliot is a Civilian of these Provinces. He began his career here. There is a great deal of difference between the education and the ideas of liberty which education brings, which prevail in these Provinces and those in Bengal. When Sir Charles Elliot came to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces, he did not probably like the liberty and the privileges enjoyed by the people there, and consequently commenced attacks on them in various forms and ways. One of the deadliest of such attacks was the one he hurled at the system of trial by jury, which had been in force there for the last thirty years (*Cries of 'shame,' 'shame'*), and had been spoken well of by many preceding Lieutenant-Governors! Sir Charles Elliot abolished that system by one stroke of his pen! ('*Shame,' 'shame'*'). Section 269 of the Code of Criminal Procedure gives a discretionary power to the Lieutenant-Governor to extend or withdraw the system of trial by jury wherever and whenever he may think fit to do so. And Sir Charles Elliot has exercised that discretion, *with* the sanction of the Government of

India, in a manner which has shocked the whole thoughtful population of India. (*Cheers*). If the right of trial by jury had been secured to the people by the provision of the law, it would have been beyond the power of a tyrannically disposed Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Charles Elliot to deprive them of it after they had enjoyed it for 30 long years, in the manner in which he has done it (*Hear, hear and cheers*). We regret that the provisions of the Councils Act do not secure to the people the right of electing their representatives to the Council, but merely empower the Governor-General in Council to introduce from time to time such rules as he may think fit for the nomination of members to the Council, because we fear that if there happen to be a Governor-General as despotically inclined as Sir Charles Elliot, he might by one stroke of his pen, at any time abrogate or suspend the regulations that may be in force for the election of members, supposing that such regulations have been introduced. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

The second point to which I wish to draw your attention is as to why this resolution contains a prayer that the rules that are at present being framed under the Act may be first published as draft rules before being confirmed and enforced. It is the recognised practice of all civilised Governments, and of the British Government in India as well, that they publish the draft of every proposed enactment or rule which is likely to affect the public before it is passed, in order to afford the public an opportunity to offer such suggestions or criticisms upon them as they may deem fit to make. Even Municipal bye-laws which affect only a small local area are laid before the public before they are confirmed. (*Hear, hear*). The rules and regulations relating to the nomination of members to the Legislative Councils will affect the whole of this vast country. Both reason and justice therefore make it all the more necessary that they should be published, and the public invited to express their opinion regarding them, before they are finally sanctioned. (*Loud Cheers*). If this wise course is not adopted, and the rules are flung all of a sudden upon the people, and fail to meet their just demands, we shall have no option left to us but to prefer objections to them both here and in England, and send up petitions to Parliament until we have got them revised and brought into harmony with our reasonable aspirations and desires. (*Cheers*). If for no other reason, I hope the Government of India will publish the draft rules for this one reason alone. (*Cheers*). With these few remarks, I heartily support this resolution. (*Loud cheers*).

MOULVI WAHABUDEEN (*Moradabad, No. 606, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—After so many speakers have spoken, it is superfluous for any other person to rise and say anything in support of the resolution now before you. But I have only a few remarks to offer, and I hope you will allow me to do so. You know, gentlemen, that this Councils Act has been passed after thirty years. The first Act was passed in 1861; and it is now in 1891 (1892) that this second Act has been passed, which is no doubt the direct outcome of the agitation of the National Congress. (*Cheers*). In criticising the provisions of this Act, however, we should not forget that the art of administration is a very difficult one. (*Hear, hear*). My predecessors have spoken in a very despairing tone of the possible results of this Act. I agree to some extent with them. But I hope for far better results. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). I base my hope on the fact that the British Government both in this country and in England, pride themselves upon this that they are always open to conviction, and are ever willing to modify their opinions whenever they find that they are mistaken, and also willing to adopt what may be shown to be most acceptable to the nation at large. (*Hear, hear*). The British Empire is the most extensive empire the world has yet seen. (*Hear, hear*). And it is at the same time so powerful that it can most gracefully make concessions to the reasonable wishes of its people, and thereby strengthen the bonds of their attachment to it. (*Loud cheers*). And I fully believe that the Government will concede to us, slowly it may be but most surely, all that is reasonable and feasible in our demands. (*Loud cheers*). Now we have been agitating for the reform of the Legislative Councils for eight years. Throughout the length and breadth of India, in every hamlet and house-hold, we have asked for some reform which will secure to us a voice in our Legislative Councils. And I am glad to find that our prayers have at last been listened to. (*Cheers*).

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Lord Lansdowne's speeches at Madras and Poona leave no doubt in my mind that our requests will soon be granted, and I earnestly hope they will be granted. (*Cheers*). For surely nothing could be more injurious to the British administration, than that an impression should go abroad that the promises held out by His Excellency are not to be carried out, and that the British Government is not willing to concede to the reasonable wishes of its people. (*Cheers*). It would also be deeply to be regretted if the prayers of nearly thirty crores of people who have, with folded hands, been praying that a change should be made in the law in respect of the constitution of the Legislative Councils, should be disregarded by Government. (*Cheers*). I would say that if an impression once goes abroad that the Government deliberately ignore the united wishes of the people, it would not at all be creditable to the British Government. (*Loud cheers*). I therefore hope and trust that the promises held out by Lord Lansdowne will soon be fulfilled and that the wishes of the nation will be fully satisfied. (*Loud cheers*).

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

Mr. G. K. GOKHALE (*Poona, No. 82, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The proposition which I have to move for your adoption is as follows:—

*"That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Public Service Commission, in that—*

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- (a) *Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the Natives of India, the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870 ;*
- (b) *Whereas, 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service : the number to be allotted to Assam not having been yet announced ;*
- (c) *Whereas, a membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a division were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution ;*
- (d) *Whereas, one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.*

*And this Congress, again, distinctly puts on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country, until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.*

Really, gentlemen, if ever a mountain was in labor and brought forth a mouse, it was in the present instance of the work of the Public Service Commission: (*Cheers*). Those of you who may remember the loud flourish of trumpets with which this Commission was heralded into being, will easily understand what I say. And we of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha here especially remember with what tremendous indignation and excitement Lord Dufferin spoke to us at Poona in 1887 about the way in which our Bengal brethren were predicting all sorts of evil from the appointment of the Commission. (*Hear, hear*). We, however, now find that the instinctive manner in which our countrymen of Bengal seemed to shrink from that Commission, has been more than justified. Gentlemen, the Commission was appointed to devise a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do *full justice* to the claims of the people of this country for their higher and more extensive employment in the public service. But what is the result? Have we been granted higher and more extensive employment? ('No,' 'no'). You will find upon a careful consideration of the subject, that we have not merely not gained anything, but we have been actually put back considerably. (*Cries of 'shame'*). Just consider where we were before the appointment of this Commission. Of course, there was the Statute of 1861, which had reserved certain posts for those alone who would pass the London examination, but under the rules of 1879, *one-sixth of the whole recruitment* was secured

to natives of India. Mark, one-sixth of the whole recruitment was secured and not one-sixth of the reserved posts only, as the Government of India and the Commission have tried to assume. (*Hear, hear*). There is much difference between one-sixth of the total recruitment and one-sixth of the reserved schedule posts. There are only about 600 scheduled posts. But over and above these, about 150 other posts are generally held by Covenanted Civilians. Thus there are altogether about 750 posts which are held by Covenanted Civilians in this country. Gentlemen, remember that I am taking the figures which the Government of India themselves have supplied, in their reply to a representation from the Indian Association of Calcutta, and not the higher ones given by the Commission in its report. Well, under the rules of 1879, if full effect had been given to them, we should, in the long run, have had one-sixth of these 750 posts and not merely one-sixth of the 600 reserved by the Act of 1861. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, I grieve to say that in regard to this question of one-sixth, the Commission itself has written in a very misleading manner. In recommending that 108 posts should be detached from the schedule of the Act of 1861, the Commission has gravely stated that the number is greater than the one to which we were entitled under the rules of 1879. Of course, the posts reserved by the Act of 1861 are only 600, and one-sixth of them, *i. e.*, 100 is undoubtedly less than 108. But it is simply astonishing that the Commission should have ignored the fact that the rules of 1879 had secured to us one-sixth of the annual recruitment, and this recruitment takes place, not for the 600 reserved posts only, but for the 750 reserved and unreserved posts which are generally held by Covenanted Civilians. Thus, if full effect had been given to the rules of 1879, about 125 posts, usually held by members of the Covenanted Service, would have, in the long run, been held by Statutory Civilians. And when, therefore, the Commission recommended the setting apart of 108 posts only, it did, beyond a shadow of doubt, recommend a number that was smaller than that which was secured to us by the rules of 1879. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). Thus did the Commission discharge the duty entrusted to it, of doing full justice to the claims of the people of this country to *higher and more extended employment* in the higher grades of the public service! ('*Shame*', '*shame*').

Gentlemen, you now see what our position was before the appointment of the Commission. Next let us look at what the Commission proposed for us. The Commission proposed that in place of the posts secured to us by the rules of 1879, 108 posts from the schedule of the Act of 1861 should be set apart for us. Well, this was giving us 108 in the place of our 125, but there was one good feature about the Commission's recommendation. The Commission had recommended that these 108 posts should be detached from the schedule of the Act of 1861 by Parliamentary legislation, and should then be incorporated into the Provincial Service which the Commission had proposed to create. That service practically was to be exclusively for the natives of this country, while the Imperial service was intended for those who passed the examination in London. If this recommendation of the Commission had been carried out, these 108 posts would have formed part of the Provincial Service. The Secretary of State was, however, afraid of facing Parliament. Lord Cross felt that if he took the matter before the House of Commons, inconvenient questions might be raised, and his own hands, to some extent, forced, because at that time our high-souled and devoted champion, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (*loud cheers*), was alive, and he would certainly have seen that some justice at least was done to the people of India. It was necessary, therefore, to avoid Parliamentary legislation, and this choice being made the subsequent course of the Secretary of State was clear. And the position now is this:—Government has retained the Statutes of 1861 and 1870, but the rules of 1879 framed under the Act of 1870, have been abolished, and the 108 posts which the Commission proposed to detach from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 by *Parliamentary legislation* remain in that schedule. And the Government of India now proposes to place instead about 93 or 94, out of the posts reserved in the schedule, on a separate list, and make appointments to them, if it thinks that competent natives are available, under the Act of 1870. (*Cries of 'shame'*). Gentlemen, if the scheme of the Commission had been adopted, the schedule of the Act of 1861 would itself have been curtailed by Parliamentary enactment, and the posts cut off, *i. e.*, 108 in number, would have formed part of the *Provincial Service*. But by avoiding Parliamentary legislation, these posts

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—and even their number has been reduced from 108 to 93 or 94—have now been left hanging alone and unconnected between the two services, the Civil Service of India and the Provincial Service, and appointments to them would only be special appointments under the Act of 1870. This leaves a large measure of discretion to Government, which, I am not sure, will not be abused. (*Cheers.*) Then, Gentlemen, you have to remember that the Secretary of State has already decided that appointments made under the Act of 1870 are made to single posts only and do not form part of an organized service. Indeed, when the Commission made its recommendation about the 108 posts, one of its chief arguments in favour of its scheme was that by it the natives would be great gainers, inasmuch as the posts detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would form part of an organized service. The distinction between appointments to specific posts and appointments to posts forming part of an organized service was thus stated by the Commission:—"Membership in an organized service ensures a more permanent status and involves more certain prospects than if appointment is made to a particular post only and every step of further promotion requires a fresh exercise of the power of appointment under the Statute. In the former case, the merit and ability required as a condition of first appointment are, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, presumed for purposes of subsequent promotions; in the latter case, they have to be proved afresh at each step." When a person is a member of an organized service Government has to prove his incapacity before he is passed over; while when he holds a specific appointment only, such as are conferred under the Act of 1870, it is for *him* to prove that he deserves to be promoted. (*Hear, hear.*)

Thus if the 108 or rather 93 appointments had been thrown into the Provincial Service, we should have had a right to all those appointments and should have got them all, unless the Government were able to prove that there was not a single individual amongst us natives of India fit for any of them. But now we have ourselves to prove our fitness, in a manner satisfactory to Government, before we get them. Gentlemen, you will thus see that if the scheme of the Commission had been adopted, the Government would have had to prove our incompetency in each case before they could be in a position to appoint a Covenanted Civilian to any of these posts. This means an important difference. The grievance is a very serious one, and it is therefore only proper that it should occupy the foremost position in this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The second part of the resolution is one which you can very easily understand, and I shall not therefore detain you more than a moment in speaking upon it. It states that while the Commission recommended 108 appointments to be given to us, the Government has only given 93, or, including 2 or 3 appointments for Assam, about 96. Thus the number recommended by the Commission has been considerably reduced, and the quality also of the appointments has been lowered, inasmuch as the highest posts recommended by the Commission have been withheld by Government. (*Cries of 'shame'*). To sum up our complaints in this matter, we find that even the retrograde recommendations of the Commission have been deprived by the Government of India of whatever beneficent character they possessed; that the number and quality of the posts proposed to be detached by the Commission from the schedule to the Statute of 1861 have been reduced; and that a large and perilous measure of discretion has been reserved by Government to itself which is almost sure to be abused. And all this as the outcome of the labours of a Commission solemnly appointed to do full justice to our claims for larger and more extensive employment in the higher grades of the public service! (*Cries of 'shame'*).

The last part of the resolution deals with the question of simultaneous examinations. I do not wish to say much on this question, partly because I can say very little on this subject that may appear new to you, and partly because I have been anticipated in my observations by my friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, who has stated the case with his usual eloquence and vigour. But I will say this, that, so far back as the year 1860, a Committee of the Indian Office did actually recommend the holding of simultaneous examinations as the only way to adequately fulfil the pledges that have been from time to time given to the people of this country by Government in this matter. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, in those days the consciences of our rulers were not so elastic as they have now become. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). The Committee of the India Office felt that though Government had been repeatedly promising that no distinction would be made among Her Majesty's subjects on the ground of race, colour or creed, yet, practically, for years together they shut us out from the Civil Service of our own country. The Committee therefore unanimously recommended the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, the value of that recommendation of the Committee was further enhanced by the fact that it was made only three years after that terrible event, the Mutiny of 1857. There is a point in that, for if ever a policy of distrust would have been justified, it would have been so at that time! (*Hear, hear*). And yet what the Committee of the India Office recommended as necessary in 1860, the Public Service Commission of 1886 chose to regard as unsafe and dangerous. (*'Shame'*). Theoretically, of course, there is no inequality, but as pointed out by Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, though we are told that we are at liberty to enter the Civil Service, if we can, when we want to enter, we are asked to seek a door which stands at a distance of ten thousand miles from this country. And thus practically what they give us with one hand they take away by the other. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

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Gentlemen, I must not take up more of your time, but I will only say one word in regard to the promises which have so often been made to us in this matter. So far back as 1833, the Parliament of England deliberately declared that as far as admission to the Public Service of India was concerned, no obstacles would be placed in the path of natives on the score of race, creed or color. That declaration was further emphasised in the great Proclamation of 1858. And if these solemn promises are to be fulfilled, there is only one way in which that can be done, and that is by holding simultaneous examinations here and in England. (*Cheers*). We might for the present be prepared even to accept some limitations. We might, for instance, go in for the compromise suggested by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his evidence before the Public Service Commission, that the annual recruitment should be half of natives and half of Europeans. Personally, I may go further and say that natives who pass in India should be compelled to reside for two years at some English University. But, so long as we are not examined here, it is idle to say that because the competitive examination is the same, therefore natives and Europeans are placed on a footing of equality. (*Cheers*). Unfortunately the fact cannot be gainsaid, that of late our rulers have been showing a disposition to regret the promises given us in the past; and I should not be surprised if they one day turned round and said, that these promises were never intended to be carried out. In that case, I say, it would be well for them to openly and publicly fling into flames all these promises and pledges as so much waste paper, and tell us once for all, that after all we are a conquered people and can have no rights or privileges. (*Loud cheers*).

That the Government has, of late, been pursuing a policy of retrogression is clear to every one. Turn whichever way we may, we find that a change, and a change for the worse, is coming over the spirit of the Government. Whether you consider the Jury Notification in Bengal, or the curtailment of educational grants, or the treatment accorded to Municipalities, you cannot help feeling that Government is treating us with increasing jealousy and distrust every day. And unless this regime of distrust is soon changed, unless the policy of Government is inspired by more sympathetic feelings, darker days cannot but be in store for this poor country. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, it is not difficult to understand why this change of spirit has come upon the Government. Indeed the reason was eloquently given expression to by Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta at the last Bombay Provincial Conference. Mr. Mehta said that it was all very well for the rulers to talk of raising the subject to the level of the ruler, but when the subject began to press close, uncomfortably close, the temptation to kick back a little was irresistible.

Gentlemen, in the midst of this dark and dismal situation, there is only one relieving feature. It is the election of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to Parliament. (*Cheers*). You know what Mr. Dadabhai has said in his letter to the President, that he has spent the greater portion of his past life in efforts to secure, on the part of the rulers, a better recognition

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of the claims of Natives to admission into the higher grades of the public service in India, and in the House of Commons he intends to do what he can in regard to this affair. Let us, therefore, hope that through the exertions of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and through the exertions of English friends, and through our own exertions, a change will soon be brought about in the present unsympathetic policy of the Government of India (*Cheers*); and the Government of India can give us no better earnest of such a change of spirit than a reconsideration and modification of its recent unjust and unsatisfactory orders relating to the Report of the Public Service Commission. (*Loud applause*).

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, (*Allahabad, No. 346 in list*).—Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to second this resolution more as a matter of form than of necessity; because, in the first place, the subject has been discussed very fully in previous Congresses, and, in the second place, the very lucid speech of my esteemed friend Mr. Gokhale, renders it unnecessary for me to offer any further remarks to show the reasonableness of the proposition before you. If you look back at the arguments addressed to you in previous Congresses, you will see that the worst apprehensions which were expressed regarding the results of the Public Service Commission, have been realised, and that very few of the recommendations which tended to our benefit have been accepted. (*'Shame'*). It is really a matter for deep regret that it has been so. It cannot but pain us, people of India, to find that though we have been agitating for the last thirty years for an adequate share of employment in the public service of our country, and though our claims to such share have been repeatedly recognised in the most solemn manner by the Queen and Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, we are not up to this time allowed a free and fair scope in the matter of that service. (*Cheers*). Acts of Parliament and the Proclamation of the Queen have laid it down that Natives of India will be freely admitted to every post the duties of which they may, by their integrity and ability, be able to discharge. But in actual practice their claims are deliberately and shamelessly ignored, and Europeans are pitchforked into places of emolument which Indians are by their ability and character fully qualified to fill. (*Cries of 'shame' and loud cheers*). This, gentlemen, has become a question of the most serious importance. It is one in which the most vital interests of the people are involved. We are not prompted to ask for a more extensive employment of our countrymen in the public service simply for the pleasure of seeing them there. If our country were not being drained of its money year after year by the inordinate employment of persons whose home it is not, and who would not make it their home, (*hear, hear*), we would never have given such painfully earnest attention to the matter as we are now giving. (*Loud cheers*). But this ceaseless drain is making India every day poorer and poorer, and it is the duty of every well-wisher of the country to endeavour to stop or check it, as best as he can. (*Cheers*).

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you what amount of drain the employment of non-domiciled Europeans causes on this country, but if you permit me, I will give you a few figures taken from a Parliamentary return of the annual salaries of officers employed in India in 1889-90 to give you an idea of what that drain is. The paper I quote from is dated the 31st March, 1892. It shows that among persons drawing salaries ranging from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per annum, there were 1,207 Europeans, 96 Eurasians and 421 Natives of the country, and they drew respectively in the aggregate—Europeans 88 lakhs, Eurasians 6 lakhs, and Natives of this country 29 lakhs per annum. (I leave the fractions out). In posts with salaries ranging from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 per annum, there were 713 Europeans, 8 Eurasians and 45 Natives, and the salaries they respectively drew were represented by 97 lakhs for Europeans, 1 lakh for Eurasians, and 5 lakhs for Natives of the country. In posts with salaries varying from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 there were 300 Europeans, 2 Eurasians and 4 Natives of India—the total of their salaries being 72 lakhs for Europeans, Rs. 46,000 for Eurasians, and Rs. 95,000 for Natives. These figures relate to the civil department. I need not trouble you with those relating to the military and other departments, though I have got them in my hand. I will give you the total of what was given in the shape of salaries to Europeans and Natives respectively in India in 1889-90. The Europeans numbered 13,178 in all the departments—I am only speaking of posts with salaries of Rs. 1,000 and upwards,—the Eurasians 3,309, and the Natives of

the country, 11,554. But the salaries which they respectively drew in the aggregate were—Europeans, Rs. 8,77,14,431, Eurasians, Rs. 72,96,026, and Natives, Rs. 2,55,54,313; that is to say, the Europeans drew 9 crores nearly as against  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores drawn by Natives. (*Hear, hear*).

So far as regards salaries. Consider now the pensions which Europeans, and Natives received respectively. Natives of India received in pensions here Rs. 59,81,824 only, while the amount of pensions drawn in England alone by Europeans came up to £3,710,678. (*Hear, hear*).

I think I need not trouble you with any more figures, as I think those I have given speak sufficiently eloquently. They show there is a great and inordinate drain of India's money because of the inordinate employment of Europeans in the higher ranks of the public service. If you analyse these figures, if you go into the lists of the different departments, and separate the Civil from the Military, you will be further astonished at the result. The greater portion of all the good posts are reserved for Europeans, while the children of the soil get the smaller appointments, carrying small salaries with them. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

This is one of those causes which is at the bottom of the increasing poverty of the people of this country. About that poverty there cannot now be the slightest doubt. Lord Dufferin's Government did doubt the accuracy of the statements made about the poverty of the people, and he, therefore, appointed a committee of enquiry, the result of which was embodied in the now well-known resolution of October 1888. That resolution says that there is evidence to show that there is a great deal of poverty in the country; and with that fact established, and with the knowledge that in this country the average annual income per head is only £2 as against £39 per head in England,—I think, no man can for a moment doubt that the result of the present system of getting out excessively highly paid Europeans for employment in the higher ranks of the Indian Service, must have a most disastrous effect on the prosperity of this country. (*Loud cheers*).

I shall not take up much more of your time. I only hope that this ruinous condition of things will not be allowed to go on much longer (*applause*); but if it is, I do not know what the consequences will be. European officials of Government come here for only a short period of time, say twenty or twenty-five years at the utmost. They feel therefore, as a rule, but a temporary and limited interest in its welfare. But we who live here permanently have to suffer the consequences of good or bad administration for all time. It is, therefore, that we beg of them to govern the country economically and well. And it is as a means to that end, that we ask them to substitute the comparatively cheaper indigenous talent and industry in place of the highly costly imported foreign agency in the administration. (*Cheers*). And I devoutly hope they will not longer refuse to listen to this voice of reason and justice. (*Renewed cheers*).

This question of the services has engaged the attention of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ever since the year 1855, and he is anxious that this Congress should re-affirm the resolution that until simultaneous examinations are held in India as well as in England, full justice will not be done to the people of this country. He is so anxious that we should do so, because he intends to bring the matter before Parliament. You know Mr. Dadabhai has fought many a battle in connection with this question. It was through his endeavours that the Act of 1870 was passed by Parliament. He had, of course, hoped for very much better things from that Act, but all the good it was expected to do was nullified by the way the appointments were made under it. We too complained of the Statutory Service, not because it was a Statutory Service, but because the discretion vested in the Government was exercised in a faulty manner. We asked that simultaneous examinations should be held in England and in India, but we did not expect that while that concession would not be given to us, the Statutory Service would be practically abolished. But when we hoped and prayed for better things, the little that we had has been snatched away from us with cruel hands. Such is the justice our rulers have come to administer to us now! (*Cries of 'shame' 'shame'*). However, it is clear that so long as simultaneous examinations are not held in this country and in England, it is idle to expect our countrymen to enter that service in sufficiently large numbers. We only ask for simultaneous examinations here and in England, though, as Mr. Dadabhai said at the first Congress, the right thing would be to hold examinations for

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admission into the Civil Service of India only, (*cheers*), because those that want to enter the Civil Service of India should take the trouble to come to India to compete for it. (*Cheers*). It is singularly unjust to compel the people of this country to go ten thousand miles away from their country, to pass an examination to qualify themselves for service in their own country. (*Loud applause*). No other people labour under such an awful disadvantage. Must we alone be subjected to it because we are the subjects of a strong power like England? (*Loud cheers*). England, we know, has got the strength of a giant, but she should not use it as a giant in enforcing unfair terms and conditions against a people, placed by Providence under her care, but should allow her nobler instincts to guide her in this matter as they have guided her in many others, and see that we are governed practically, and not merely theoretically, in consonance with those noble principles of justice and good government which her honoured Sovereign and her statesmen have laid down for the purpose, and which guide her in the conduct of her own affairs. (*Cheers*). We pray only for a fair field and for no favour. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

MR. JANARDAN RAGHU NATH NIMKAR, (*Poona, No. 101, in list*).—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—It devolves upon me to support the second resolution. I have been desired to speak in English, but I have a great esteem for my vernacular—Marathi—in which I have the liberty of expressing myself more fully and emphatically. However, I will try my best to satisfy the audience by addressing in both.

For the sake of my own convenience and that of the subject under consideration, I may divide the subject into two parts, the first of which consists chiefly of our regret regarding matters mentioned in items *a, b, c* and *d* of the proposition, and the second of a suggestion to be made to our worthy Government. As to the first part, I have but very little to say as that part hardly requires any explanation or argument. But I will cite to you an instance whereby you will come to know at a glance the position we have been put in by the Public Service Commission. No doubt my way of explanation would at first sight seem to you a rural one, but upon consideration—I may say a deeper and impartial consideration—(*laughter*) of the same, the truth will be whispering itself into your ears and hearts.

The nation—our country India—has been long since suffering from a liver complaint in the form of the Civil Service question. It grew weaker and weaker day by day. A doctor—the Civil Service Commission—was brought in. The pulse and every other part of the body was ostensibly examined, and every diagnosis was had. Medicines were prescribed and remedies were suggested, but never administered. (*Laughter and cheers*.) Notwithstanding all the outward, rather external, remedies, the patient could find no cure. Not only were there no hopes of recovery, but the health which commenced to point its way to fate, could by no means be restored to its former state. Is it not, gentlemen, then wonderful to bring in a doctor for the relief of an impatient patient, and more wonderful to find the doctor's skill tending to accelerate the death of the sufferer? (*Cheers*). Oh, be assured that the patient is suffering from a certainly known disease, but that the doctor pretends not to know what he really does not intend doing, or knowing does not administer the proper remedy, or not administering the proper remedy finds himself in such a position that he feels inclined very naturally to conceal his own mistake, which he may colour otherwise. But you know we are not impatient patients and can patiently watch the movements of our too benevolent doctor. Is it fair and just, I ask, to take away from us that which we specially crave for, and to make us unjustly appear foolish by comparing our former position, when we had made no demand, with our present position? Can we be called guilty because we invoked the help of a doctor, and should we be made to suffer under the principles of contributory negligence? It would just be equivalent to the story of the lamb and the wolf, where the latter found pretence to kill the former by advancing a most absurd argument of the current of water going upwards from below, simply because the lamb had touched it for drinking. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, such being the state of things, it would simply be dangerous and ridiculous to pray for any thing any more, beyond silently praying to the Almighty for a proper justification of things.

There is no use saying anything more on the first part, and so I now turn to the second part, which is really more important and a key to the whole fabric of secrecy. I cannot

now continue my speech in English for reasons other than personal, and I must now ride over my vernacular horse which will take me more safely to where I must go before this august assembly. (*A laugh*). Words do mean either this or that, but when they are heated they get in them some spirit by way of conduction. I must mainly support the second part of the proposition, for a part fully supported makes the whole supported by way of a witty system of arguments. Many of us may be under a mistake, the mistake of considering the permission to our children to appear in England for the competitive Civil Service Examination as a boon. I should like to say, it is quite otherwise. I come here from Nasik, a distance of about 700 miles. The journey has caused my voice to cheat me and I cannot prosecute it. (*Laughter*). I had been to Zanzibar in 1876, while in my prime, in a big civil case, and lived there for about a year, following the same profession that I do now. My travel to and from Zanzibar brought on me diseases, the continued ill-effects of which have invalidated me for the whole of my life. So I assure you from a personal experimental point of view that to send our children to England, a place at a distance of thousands of miles, would be to lose them for ever, in many cases though not in all. (*Hear, hear*). I have reason to say that many of our Native Civilians, who have been to England, enjoy a comparatively shorter life. The variety of difficulties in going to England, at all events, on either this or that ground, is insurmountable. I am not going to put forward before you the difficulty from a religious point of view, on which I have no occasion to express my opinion in this assembly.

Would any of you like to send your children away to Brahma Loka, or to Badri Kedar, to study the Yogas under the Himalayan Yogis for even a short term? I think not. It is a misery to have falsehoods covered over with a showy truth. The reason why simultaneous competitive examinations, in England and in India, are not liked by our Government is but an open secret. We are not insensible to the spirit of words or actions or gestures. Why should not English boys come over to India to compete with us here, especially when they would even here have some advantages over us in the matter of the examination? Their training here from the beginning would fit them, besides, much better for their duties, as they have to serve here just after passing the examination. (*Hear, hear*). We know what sort of Civilians they generally are when they first come here, as well as how stagnant some of them remain even after they have long been entrusted with responsible duties. Many of you have always occasions to appear before Civilians in the variety of your duties, and you must find, though you may not say so for reasons plain enough, that some of them are, in common sense and in human dealings, no better than our common people.

We have a natural right to compete here in India, and we have every facility for doing so. Why should we be deprived of it and driven to the forbidding alternative of transporting our children to a distant land, for no fault of theirs, in the very days of their prime, when there is every danger of their falling into the many temptations which would beset them there? (*Cheers*). We have our graduates here from our colleges. We have our lawyers and our doctors too, who have passed here, standing on the same level with the Europeans. What is there, then, more difficult to be accomplished in the Civil Service? Has the English Bishop the power like our ancient Rishis, to make an Indian youth know everything earthly and heavenly by merely placing his holy hand upon his head, and by sprinkling the holy water of the English Ganges—the Thames—upon him? (*Laughter*). I dare say, there is nothing required for success in the Civil Service Examination that cannot be accomplished here in India. (*Hear, hear*). But the notion that the observance of the sacred condition, namely, that of passing the test in England, as the real bestower of universal knowledge upon the brains of the student, must be cast to the ground. (*Cheers*).

As I have already remarked, I do not consider the privilege of competing for the Civil Service in England as a boon at all. Until the examination is held in our own land, it merely purports to be a sham show of a gift which the giver simply holds out in his hands but never intends really to part with. (*Loud cheers*). In short, the condition precedent is virtually the withholding the boon itself. Friends and gentlemen, what earthly reason there is for not holding simultaneous examinations in England

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and India, it is difficult to say. But I cannot help thinking that our rulers do not really wish to make us Civil Servants in the sense of European Civil Servants. (*Cheers*). It is not an instalment they have granted but a bit of infected bread thrown at a barking dog. So beware of the danger, and agitate, agitate, and agitate, honestly and most loyally, till you get what you want. (*Cheers*). Appeal to the good sense of the civilized British Public, without whose help we cannot move an inch from the pit we are fallen in. If examinations are held in India, Indian brain will doubtless surpass the European brain in some exceptional cases, it will equal it in ordinary cases, but will be inferior to it in none. (*Hear, hear*). In any case there will be a difficulty in maintaining the white guests of the land, on the field of the Civil Service, the provisions of the host being short of his own appetite. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). New posts cannot under the circumstances be created, having regard to the financial condition of the country, and hence springs the motive for confining the Civil Service examination to London. (*Cheers*).

Gentlemen, examinations in India would result in a thirteenth month in a famine year, for a high-salaried Famine Commissioner swallows up a mountain of food himself, which would otherwise be made use of in a famine year in saving the lives of the dying millions. (*Cheers*). In this way the second part of the proposition is a key to the secrecy and sacredness of the Government policy, and a key to the prosperity and welfare of India. (*Hear, hear*). And now, gentlemen, as I said at the commencement of my speech, I will give you a vernacular illustration and summary of the subject.

An old blind man of eighty having no estate and progeny performed austerities for a long time. God Shiva came down to him to give him a *wara* (gift or blessing). The old man bowed and prayed that he might see a *chhattra* (regal umbrella) on the head of his grandson. And our demand in the second part is to the same effect. (*Hear, hear*). And I hope that by the grace of the Almighty God, under the favorable auspices of the nineteenth century, and by the benevolence of the Liberal party and ministry, we may be given what is ours by natural right. (*Cheers*). Let Englishmen come here and let Indians go to England as they may like, for competitive examinations, and let fair justice be done to India by Britannia, proud of her unselfish and philanthropic benevolence as displayed in liberating millions of Negroes. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

MOULVI UMRAO MIRZA HAIRAT, (*Delhi, No. 621, in list*), then spoke in Urdu thus.—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

Yah kis dil-e-ghamtda ki zarf-o-buka hai	Jis se ki ghazab aj zamane men hua hai.
Jo chashm hai khunbar hai jo dil hai wah majruh,	Jo sina hai wah chak ka bhi chak hua hai.
Kyon aj barasti hai yeh mayust-o-hirman,	Kyon aj zamane men yeh wawaila hua hai,
Yah kaun si mahfil hai nazar ati hai wiran,	Saqi ka nishan hai na surahi ka patâ hai.

(*Cheers*).

I am a Mahomedan, but not a Mahomedan whom Anti-Congress men might call a hired Mahomedan (*Laughter and cheers*). I am a Mahomedan who has joined the Congress after full deliberation. I have considered all its aims and objects, pondered over them and fully understood them before coming here to make my speech. (*Hear hear*). I am a Mahomedan who has always had in view the welfare and progress of India. I shall be happy to sacrifice my person and my property for the sake of my countrymen (*cheers*). I am a Mahomedan who desires to cement further the union of Hindus and Musalmans. (*Cheers*). So far as I understand it, the Congress movement is more beneficial to Mahomedans than to other communities, because it aims at the improvement of India's welfare and prosperity, and the Mahomedans being poorer than others must naturally derive greater benefits from it. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). To explain this let us take, for instance, a dining table at which two persons are sitting. The one who is more hungry will naturally and necessarily consume a greater portion of the food than the other. For this reason I consider the Congress to be an extremely good, or rather, I should say, the best movement for our welfare. (*Cheers*).

In the Congress of 1888 which was held on these very dates, in this very city, and nearly on this very spot, I came and delivered a speech. And I wish, Mr. President, with your permission, to enquire as to why some people are against this movement. It is to

me quite surprising and inexplicable. It seems that they have not perhaps fully understood the objects of the Congress. Had they properly understood them, it would have been clear to them that what we Congressmen want is only the fulfilment of the solemn pledges held out to us by Her Majesty the Empress of India. (*Cheers*). We ask for the same rights that our gracious mother Queen has so very kindly and generously promised to confer upon us. (*Hear, hear, and cheers*). Should we not, with due respect, implore her to fulfil those promises, and to thereby improve our present miserable condition? To whom shall we go for the redress of our wrongs and the satisfaction of our wants, if we are not to lay them freely before our Government? (*Hear, hear*). Should we ask for them from Russia, or implore France to befriend us, or expect help from any other power? No, that shall never be. (*Loud cheers*). We have the pride of being the subjects of the British Government, and, God willing, we shall not be the subjects of another power. (*Renewed applause*). We regard this Government as our benefactor, and therefore lay our grievances and wants freely before it, and ask it to remedy them. The Anti-Congressists perhaps look up to some other power, and hence they do not wish to bring the needs of the people to the notice of the Government, and try to lull it into the false belief that the people are happy and contented. (*Loud cheers*). They have tried to frighten us also into silence by misrepresenting our objects and our motives. But how can we honestly remain silent, and put on an appearance of content, when our hearts are aching, and increasing poverty is making life more and more burdensome day by day? (*Cheers*). We certainly do not like to cry out for help in any condition, but what shall we do if our sufferings do not allow us to remain silent? (*Cheers*). In our religion prayer is devotion, and he who lays his wants before the Almighty God is His favourite devotee. It rests with him to grant our prayer or not to grant it. It is our duty to lay our wants before him. (*Hear, hear*). Almost all religious systems inculcate prayer to God. Whenever we are in trouble, it comes spontaneously out of our mouth, "O God! deliver us from this affliction." Will He consider us undutiful for doing this, and suspect our good faith? No. Never. Those who do not humble themselves before Him, those who do not lay their wants before His gracious Throne, do not perhaps hold him to be the remover of difficulties. (*Cheers*). This illustrates our position in relation to our Sovereign also. We believe our government to be just, generous and merciful (*cheers*), and we further believe that it will redress all our grievances, and satisfy our just demands, and hence our request to Government. (*Cheers*). Those who do not so appeal to Government, do not probably consider it to be just and strong. Those who charge us with sedition and say that we conspire against Government, are themselves the real traitors. (*Cheers*). Fy! Fy! How can any man in his senses charge us with sedition? Is sedition spoken before a public assembly held in a public place, in a city which is the seat of Government?—before an assembly consisting of Europeans, reporters of newspapers, and thousands of persons of different castes and creeds? O God, save us from such infamous imputations! We merely seek justice, such justice as will promote the prosperity of India, and the glory of England (*loud cheers*),—by which I mean what I am going to say in English, so that you gentlemen may not think that I am ignorant of that language. (*Hear, hear*). I know English very well and can deliver speeches also in it. But being a Mahomedan, both in appearance and at heart, I thought it was incumbent on me to make my speech in my own language on this occasion. Justice may be defined as follows:—"Justice is neither an internal balance of the soul's faculties, nor a rule imposed by the will of the stronger; but a mutual agreement to abstain from aggressions, varying from time to time with the varying interests of society, but always determined by considerations of general utility." (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

The resolution which I stand here to support relates to the Civil Service. Before I proceed to deal with it, I must thank the Government for raising the standard of age for the Civil Service Examination. I should also like to ask the opponents of the Congress why they show such eagerness now to take advantage of that change, which has been brought about by the efforts of the Congress? (*Cheers*). To maintain their position, they ought to have stuck to the old limit of age and refused to derive any benefit from the new one. (*Laughter and cheers*). But no, they would not do so. They may well be compared to a fox

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who sits closely watching a tiger who is in search of prey. As soon as the tiger has come by it and has satisfied his hunger, and goes away leaving the refuse behind, the fox comes quickly in to feast upon it. But he shows his gratitude to the tiger by denouncing him all the same and warning the animals of the forest to beware of him. (*Laughter*). We have got one of our prayers granted after so many years of labour and expense, and our opponents are now coolly coming in to share the gain with us without any expression of gratitude. We do not grudge them this. (*Hear, hear*). We only say that it is the height of ingratitude on their part to stand in our way and oppose us any longer. (*Cheers*). But they are now silent, and from the fact of their silence, we may well conclude that they have at least half consented to our proposals. (*Cheers*).

The restriction as to the Civil Service examination taking place only in London means practically that Indians should not become Civilians. (*Cheers*). If we cast but a cursory glance at the diverse creeds and religious persuasions prevailing in this country, it would soon become manifest how fettered Indians are with religious restrictions and what their mode of life is. In the first place, Indian boys of 18 or 19 are scarcely in a position to compete for the Civil Service examination. In the second place, even supposing that they are fit, their religious restrictions stand in their way. (*Hear, hear*). Thus they must get over these insurmountable difficulties before they can reach England. And then what would it matter if out of thirty or thirty crores of people only a handful of them succeeded in getting into the Civil Service. Such being the circumstances, we beseech the Government to remove the restriction of the examination being held only in England. And we hope the Government will certainly listen to our prayers, and accede to our request. (*Cheers*). I conclude my speech with this prayer:—"O God! Bless thou our Government still further; incline its heart mercifully to our prayers; ever know us to be loyal and faithful to our Government, and make our Government kind and just towards us." Amen! (*Loud applause*).

RAI JOTINDRO NATH CHOUDHRY (*Calcutta, No. 189, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—After the very eloquent speeches which you have heard on this question, I have very little to add. But as I feel very strongly on the subject, I shall only very briefly give my views on the same.

To serve one's own country is a right inalienable from its people. So in this view I look upon all those appointments which can be safely given to the natives of the soil and which are filled by foreigners, as so many appointments robbed from the people to whom they belong by natural right, specially in India where we Indians are most cruelly debarred from all the higher employments. (*Cheers*). Our claim to the Civil branches of the Public Service rests on double grounds. The greater employment of the natives of this country in the Public Service of their own country can be supported on economic and political grounds also. When Indians will be employed, more largely than hitherto, in the higher branches of the Public Service, it will, I am sure, go a great way to solve the great question of the Indian poverty. On the other hand, the necessary suffering of the people under a foreign or alien rule will, to a large extent, be mitigated by the wider employment of the natives of the country in the higher branches of the Public Service, inasmuch as it will make, as nearly as may be, the Government a National one, and thereby will take away much of the grievances which must otherwise be the fate of the governed. But I do not understand why the Government should hesitate to grant the National prayer, I mean the desire of the Indians to be permitted to be employed in the higher branches of the Public Service of their own country, more largely than has hitherto been the case—a desire, which, as we have seen, is supported by justice and good policy alike. (*Cheers*).

We all know how the recommendations of the Public Service Commission were unsatisfactory in the extreme; but still unsatisfactory were the orders of the Government thereon. It will be impossible for me to describe *seriatim*, all the points of grievances which arise naturally out of those orders; I shall attempt here only to deal with the salient ones. As for example, we see it recommended by the Commission "that a provision should be inserted in the Statute 24 and 25 Victoria, Cap. 54, enabling the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting,

to remove appointments or classes of appointments from the schedule, or include them in the schedule, as may seem desirable from time to time, provided that no such order shall take effect until it has, with the reasons for making it, been laid for ninety days before both Houses of Parliament." Now if this concession were granted to the Indians, by a slight change in the Statute of 1861, it would have been a constitutional gain to us of the highest order, and, moreover, it would have been, for the matter of that, an extension and legislative embodiment of the policy which has been adopted by the Government since the days of the Statute of 1793. (*Hear, hear*). I would have liked to have this incorporated in the body of the resolution itself. As regards the necessity and bare justice of holding an examination in India for the Covenanted Civil Service simultaneously with the examination in London, it is unnecessary for me to say much. To deny this would be inconsistent with the liberal Statute of 1833 and the noble words of the Royal Proclamation of 1858. (*Cheers*).

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In paragraph 11 of the letter of the Government of India, No. 1838, addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which was practically an answer to the memorial submitted by the Indian Association praying for the reconsideration of the resolution containing the orders of the Government regarding the Provincial Service, we find the reasons, or the so-called reasons, for the exclusion of a membership of the Board of Revenue and a Divisional Commissionership from the lists of offices thrown open to the Provincial Service. The so-called reasons are these—I shall quote here the exact words—"that it was not advisable," "that a definite proportion of Commissionerships could not be transferred to the Provincial Service," "that it was dissented from or only agreed to after much hesitation by a strong minority," and "that the mere fact of their being entered in the list could not have been held to give the Provincial Service any right whatever to either of them." All these reasons are perfectly unintelligible, at least to my humble self. (*Cheers*). The paragraph ends by saying "that the Government still retain the power to appoint any Native of India to either of the posts with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India." No body denies the power which the Government have in this connection, but the question is, is there any likelihood of a Native of India being ever appointed to either of these two posts under the present circumstances. ('None', 'None'). It is for this reason absolutely necessary that we should insist upon having these two appointments, along with other appointments, detached from the scheduled appointments of the Covenanted Civilians, (*cheers*) and upon having them included in the list of appointments to be reserved for the Provincial Service. (*Cheers*). With these words I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

MUNSHI ROSHAN LAL (*Allahabad, No. 348 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

I do not propose to take up much of your time because sufficient has been said already. I shall only briefly say what I have to say on the subject of holding simultaneous examinations in England and in India. The speakers who have already spoken have dwelt more particularly upon the distance of India from England, but none of them have noticed the chief difficulty, and it is an insuperable one, namely, that of caste. (*Hear, hear*). Our Government has known it from the very beginning, because at the impeachment of Warren Hastings it was said that there was not one man from this country to find fault with him in England, and Mr. Burke said that that was owing to the prejudices of the people which prohibited them from going to England. What was the intention, then, in holding the Civil Service examination in England only? The intention was patent and clear; it was because prejudices were in the way of allowing Hindus to compete for these examinations that they were held in England only. (*Cheers*). This prejudice has taken such a strong hold upon the public mind here that even Mahomedans, till lately, thought it contrary to their religion to go to England. (*Hear, hear*). Government who knew full well that this country was possessed of such a prejudice, ought not to have, for one moment, thought of holding these examinations in England alone, and ought from the very beginning to have held the examination simultaneously in England and in India. (*Cheers*). Then, you know how easy it is to compete for an examination in one's own country. English students have the advantage of being in their own country, while those from here have to go so far as ten

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thousand miles in order to compete for the Civil Service examination. But this is not all. If the Government had passed a resolution that only those persons who paid taxes to the amount of Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 2,000 a year would be allowed to compete, I think I might have been content. This holding of the examination in England, means the shutting out of a mass of Indians from the competition, because it is well known that enormous sums are required to enable Indians to go to England and compete for this examination. This has not hitherto been brought to your notice, and I consequently think it my duty to submit it for your consideration, and for the consideration of a Government which is called just and benevolent, a Government full of good intentions towards those who are under its rule. (*Cheers*). I am not sure that the country is yet reconciled to the idea that Hindus can go to England without loss of caste. If these difficulties are in our way, let our competition with Europeans be equal and just and upon our own grounds. (*Cheers*).

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

Resolution  
 III.  
 Separation  
 of Judicial &  
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MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR, (*Berar, No. 119, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution with which I am entrusted runs thus :—

*That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve extra expenditure.*

You all know that in that remarkable post-prandial oration which Lord Dufferin delivered in 1888 and in which he thought it necessary to make an attack upon the Congress, the only thing, he could say about this proposed reform was that it was a counsel of perfection. (*Hear, hear.*) When the armour of irony could not furnish anything except this single phrase to his Lordship, the country naturally felt that this was a demand which the Government had made up its mind could not long be resisted, and that we were within a measurable distance of the accomplishment of one of our wishes at last. (*Hear, hear.*) Since that speech was delivered four years have elapsed, and except in Madras where a small beginning has been made, nothing has been done in any other part of the country. On the contrary we find a disposition manifested on the part of the Executive to extend their powers and to encroach upon the province of the judiciary. ('*Shame*'). It is therefore no wonder if a change has become necessary, and if the Congress, as representing the people, finds it necessary to pronounce its opinion clearly and in no mistakable manner in regard to a proposition which during the last three years was put along with others in what is called an 'omnibus resolution'. Our demand for the separation of the executive from the judicial functions is based not on any sentiment or mere theoretical grounds, but on grounds of expediency; because we perceive that the system in existence is productive of hardship and inconvenience to the people. I shall go further and say that it is productive in many cases of actual injustice. (*Cheers*). And after all what is it that we ask? We ask for a very simple thing. We see here several functions combined in one individual. We say, "have a division of labour; assign criminal work and civil work to different officers." And no one would have supposed that this was a matter in which the Government would have thought it necessary to make any resistance or delay. But some excuse or other is put forward and we are obliged over and over again to repeat our demand. (*Shame, shame*).

The present system, I need hardly say, is productive of actual hardship in several cases. (*Cheers*). Those who have any experience of court-life will know what the hardship is and to what extent it proceeds at times. I have practised for the last twelve years in a non-regulation province, where this combination of functions exists in a very aggravated form, and I may take credit for knowing something of the evils of the system. In that province we have a combination not only of executive and judicial functions, but we have there officers who are Civil Judges, Criminal Judges and revenue officers also; and we there feel the hardship more than you do here. This is the way in which this combination of functions tells on the disposal of cases and so often produces actual injustice. A case is

fixed for trial on a particular day, and the parties and their witnesses are present ; but unfortunately some urgent executive business crops up and the trial of the case has to be put off ; the parties have then to go away and have thus to incur unnecessarily fresh expense. But that is nothing, for in the meantime there is an opportunity afforded to those who are so inclined to concoct evidence, and those who know anything of the Police know that the opportunity is not rarely taken advantage of. (*Hear, hear*). But there is a great deal more. Most of these officers have to go on circuit, and I know what going on circuit means. People living in the south-eastern or in the southern parts of the district are taken to its far eastern limits inhabited by tigers. The executive work has to be done with tigers (*laughter*), and there not only our officers but a host of attendants and suitors have to find accommodation for themselves under the shadowy trees of the forest. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

\*Then in criminal cases also great injustice is perpetrated, because when an officer goes on tour the defendant is not seldom driven to sell or mortgage his house in order to raise sufficient money to induce an able man from the Bar to go out to defend him ; for otherwise he will have to dispense with all legal assistance and throw himself on the mercy of his Judge, and the mercy of the Judge is a matter of which we can never be sure. If these were the only considerations which I could have urged, I should have said that even upon these considerations, the system is one which stands condemned and should be corrected. (*Cheers*). But there are other things also. Law, in India, as everywhere, has become a science, and it is a very intricate science in India even now. One would expect that those who are to dispense justice should be up to the mark in it. But it is not the fault of the Executive Officers if they possess no such qualities. When they have to write a hundred letters a day and to settle boundary and other disputes, and to attend to multifarious duties of other kinds they cannot be blamed if they have no time to read the Law Reports. (*Hear, hear*). There are many who cannot even find time to read the Acts themselves (*laughter*), and so far as they are concerned we cannot justly blame them, although it means a real hardship to the people. The administration of justice is thus entrusted to persons who, to speak plainly, are not capable of properly discharging their duties, and therefore we have a right to ask that this system should be put an end to. (*Cheers*). Look again at the duties of an executive officer and of a Judge. Are they compatible ? Certainly not. The frame of mind necessary for an executive officer and the frame of mind necessary for a Judge are different. Executive officers ought to mix freely with the people, they ought to try to make friends with them, they ought to see this and to see that. A Judge, on the contrary, ought to shut his ears against everything except that which comes before him in Court. But an executive officer has, as such, to learn everything, and to do everything ; and when he comes upon the bench, he is expected to divest his mind of whatever he has heard elsewhere. Even the best officer of Government is after all a human being, and no one can blame him much, if, when he has come into contact with different people and has heard all sorts of rumours outside, he cannot divest himself of the bias which he has imbibed. It is not fair to the officials that this system should be allowed to exist, if, under it, Judges in many cases must come to a knowledge of facts from outside information. This objection is fatal to the system. It impairs the efficiency of the system, and makes justice in many cases an impossibility. Upon that ground alone the system ought to be condemned. (*Cheers*).

As the law exists in India, the powers which are given to Magistrates are something tremendous, and the present system is one which has been called dangerous, not by Congressmen only, but also by the most sedate body in the country, I mean the Judges of the Calcutta High Court. This is what they say :—" In India the powers of the police in investigating cases and the powers of the Magistrate in the trial of cases are closely connected, and it frequently happens that it is combined in the same individual. It not unfrequently happens that the Chief Executive Magistrate practically becomes the prosecutor and may frequently become the Judge, though he may have formed a strong opinion on the case behind the back of the accused without having had the opportunity of hearing his explanation or defence." (*Hear, hear*). I suppose no words that I can use can be stronger than the words these Judges of the Calcutta High Court have used. In fact the Government themselves admit the necessity of improving the present system and effecting a real

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reform. But say they, "where is the money to come from." Where is the money to come from? I should say, from the same treasury which supplies money for the Frontier defences and wars. (*Cheers, and a voice 'or from distilleries'*). I take Mr. Evans' explanation and say, or from distilleries (*Laughter*). I go further. Supposing all this costly military expenditure is absolutely necessary (*a voice, "no"*), supposing, I say, for the sake of argument that it is so—I am decidedly of opinion that it is not necessary—but supposing it is—even then I say that the measure that we advocate is one which is so imperative, the reform is so absolutely essential, that even if it is necessary that additional taxation should be imposed, the administration of justice should be rendered more efficient and more secure even by resorting to additional taxation. (*Cheers*). It is upon these considerations that I commend this proposition for your acceptance. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. AMBICACHARAN MOZUMDAR (*Furreedpore, No. 241, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been often said of the other propositions with which we have had to deal, that they are class propositions, but I believe that the proposition with which we are now dealing is not amenable to that sort of observation at all. It is a proposition which affects the nobility, the gentry and the peasantry alike. (*Hear, hear*). It is just four years ago, when, while assembled here, you shared in the regret so touchingly expressed by our distinguished countryman, your well-known omnibus driver, Babu Kally Churan Banerji, (*cheers*) that we had still to reaffirm this resolution. What then, gentlemen, must be our feelings to-day to hear after four years that, it is no longer a question of the separation but the emancipation of the Judiciary from the thralldom of the Executive. (*Hear, hear*).

In every circular order issued, in every notification passed, in every resolution adopted, there is always observable a distinct tendency to under-estimate and override purely judicial functions, and to emphasise the superiority of the executive. In every enactment passed there is always reserved a clause giving power to the local government to frame rules, and this clause is invariably made a loop-hole or pretext for encroachments on the sacred domains of judicial administration. (*'Shame'*). We are ostensibly governed by elaborate codes of Civil Procedure, but our Courts are practically guided by a set of circular orders emanating from the Executive Government. Now, gentlemen, I do not know how you fare under the Civil Procedure Code, but speaking for myself and for the place whence I come, I may tell you that we are in the midst of an awful convulsion in this direction. There we have the Civil Procedure Code, a code which provides a certain procedure for the conduct of civil trials, but there comes forth an edict from the Lieutenant Governor which smashes the procedure altogether, and you find that the latter edict prevails. (*'Shame'*). In criminal cases, too, we have certain modes prescribed for conducting criminal trials, but a fiat comes from the Government that the trial must not be proceeded with further than three adjournments. Now I should like to know whether the Executive Government would be prepared to hold that if after three successful adjournments the culprit succeeds in avoiding arrest, the case should not be proceeded with further. (*Hear, hear*). Now, gentlemen, this is the condition under which we live; and if we are to consider the opposition which the Government has itself displayed, and the attitude which it has assumed towards this movement, I believe you will all be struck with surprise. Of late we have got a Lieutenant Governor in Bengal who seems to be entirely possessed with the mania for wandering and knocking about the country. It was said by an Englishman that it was a characteristic of the Irish people that they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland; similarly our Lieutenant Governor is to be found everywhere except at his head quarters, Belvedere, and he wants all his subordinates to be everywhere except at their legitimate posts, at the head quarters. One of the District Magistrates in my part of the country, who, I know, is one of the ablest and most conscientious men in the Civil Service, had the boldness and courage to oppose this system, and he observed in one of his administration reports that it seriously interfered with his judicial duties at head quarters. Now, gentlemen, you will be all surprised to hear what umbrage he gave the Lieutenant Governor by taking such an attitude. Here I will read a resolution on the Administration Report published in the Calcutta Gazette of the 3rd November, 1892. The Magistrate to whom I refer is Mr. Hare, the District

Magistrate of Dacca. The resolution says:—"The Lieutenant Governor is surprised to read that an officer of Mr. Hare's ability and energy should protest against the length of tour imposed upon him and that the Commissioner of the Division should be inclined to support him. His Honour believes that if a Collector distributes his tour throughout the year, he will not find that it interferes with his work at the *sadar*; but at least the manner in which that work and those duties differ from the calls on the time of Collectors of other important districts should have been fully stated before the orders of Government were impugned; and in future if the period of tour falls short of that prescribed, a full explanation should be submitted." Now you know that man's poor Calendar consists of 365 days 15 minutes and 30 seconds, and no more. We have 52 Sundays and 32 close holidays during which the Criminal Courts never sit. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, wants twenty more days added to these in order that his injunctions may be carried out. There remain five months in the year for the discharge of Civil duties, and the exercise of judicial functions is one of them. (*Hear, hear*).

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Now this being the attitude of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in regard to the Criminal side, I will show you how he has also been tampering with Civil justice in the foremost province of the empire. In reviewing the administration of civil justice for the year which has just closed, the Lieutenant-Governor has tried first of all to enunciate a novel measure or standard for judging the judicial capacities and industry of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges. He was anxious first of all to ascertain what he called the 'unit,' of a case. I cannot understand what this unit means, but he was anxious to establish this in order to ascertain the respective merits and demerits of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges. He first of all says that two Small Cause Court suits are equal to one ordinary suit; and three ordinary suits are equal to one appeal suit. (*Laughter*). What kind of weight was this weight? 'Troy weight' it cannot be, nor can it be the Apothecaries' weight; it might be Avoirdupois weight, but for its shortness; nor can it be the N.-W. P. or Assam weight, for we know that Assam has become a successful academy for the training of judicial officers. (*Laughter*). He says the unit of cases must be taken at 1,900 a year, and he goes further and says that as has been done in one district, each Munsif should decide 2,500 cases. Gentlemen, I have the honour, most dishonourable, of belonging to that very district. Now having struck out that average, he goes out of the way of all known administrative reports and passes an encomium upon those Munsifs who have massacred 2,500 cases a piece. In his eagerness, however, he forgot the other figures; you have only to go lower down his report to find what was the result in appeal of these 2,500 cases. We find that in that district more than 53 per cent of these cases were reversed upon appeal, whereas in the neighbouring district the percentage does not come up to even 40 per cent! (*Hear, hear*). Then in regard to the mode in which the Lieutenant-Governor is dealing with this question, you can well understand that violent diseases are often contagious, and this contagion is spreading far and wide and contaminating many of the officials. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

I shall now give you some illustrations of the mischief which has been done by this unholy alliance of the judicial and executive functions. I shall not refer to the Salem riot case, nor the Sham Bazar riot case. But I shall refer you to more recent cases. The first of these cases is the case of the Empress *versus* Mahabut Ali. It was a case under Sections 408 and 463 of the Penal Code for breach of trust and forgery. In that case you will find that the Sessions Judge went out of his way and asked the enquiring Magistrate to commit the case to him. (*Cries of 'shame'*). So you see that this tendency of the Executive officers has permeated the mind of even District Judges. The result of that case is well known to my Patna friends. The jury acquitted the accused, but the Judge referred the case to the High Court, and the High Court, unfortunately for the Judge, confirmed the verdict of the jury. (*Hear, hear*). The second of these cases is the case of the Empress, on the prosecution of Watson and Co. *versus* Brajendronath Chatterjee. This case came from the Nuddea District. The accused was the Principal of a College in the mofussil of Bengal. I will not allude to the details of this case, but it is said that this unfortunate gentleman spoke something against the oppression of Watson and Co's. servants, and he came to grief over it. A case under section 107 was instituted against him, and it was heard before the Sub-divisional



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Magistrate. Mr. Fisher was the District Magistrate of Nuddea, and in his supreme anxiety to maintain supervision over the acts of his subordinates, he issued written instructions to the Sub-divisional Officer, which ran as follows:—"Perhaps you are aware that a certain Professor is delivering lectures against Watson and Company. It is necessary that you should bind him down and nip him in the bud." (*Cries of 'shame' 'shame'*). I am sorry that I should have to speak against this Sub-divisional Magistrate, and I offer a sincere apology to any of his relatives who may be here. But the interests of truth and justice make it my duty to say what I am saying here. Brajendronath had not committed any riot or any thing of the kind; he had only delivered some speeches, and he was to be bound down to do—what? Not to make any speeches for the term of one year! (*Laughter*). If that were the law, I am afraid that our esteemed and learned friend the President would have to find life-long security, and I don't think that even the term of one life would suffice for my esteemed friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerji. (*Laughter*).

The last case to which I come is the well known case of Mr. H. A. D. Phillips *versus* Rajah Sooryakant Acharya of Mymensingh. (*Hear, hear*). This nobleman built a town hall in his district at his own expense, and he contributed largely towards the cost of providing an efficient system of water supply for the good of his townsmen as well as for the benefit of the District Magistrate, Mr. H. A. D. Phillips. (*Hisses*). Why do you hiss at Mr. Phillips? You should rather hiss at the vicious system of which he is the outcome. (*Hear, hear*). Well, Raja Sooryakant Acharya was hauled before the Assistant Magistrate, one Mr. Hallifax, but though the case was placed before Mr. Hallifax it was practically in the hands of Mr. Phillips himself. In fact the case, as it was conducted before Mr. Hallifax, was a solemn farce enacted before the public and before two eminent barristers of the Calcutta Bar, and, I may go further and say, within the cognizance of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal himself. (*'Shame', 'shame'*). Here was a case in which the possession of nobility, the exercise of public spirit and of private hospitality were not sufficient to protect a man from the terrible consequences of the unjust wrath of the executive head of the district! Rajah Sooryakant Acharya, for reasons best known to Mr. Phillips, was put into the prisoners' dock like an ordinary criminal, and, as if that was not sufficient, it seems that a common felon was introduced into that box at the same time to receive his sentence. (*'Shame', 'shame'*). And to whom do you think all this was due? Not to Mr. Hallifax, the presiding officer, but to the prosecutor Mr. H. A. D. Phillips, who openly and unblushingly declared that Mr. Hallifax was merely his "Post Office and conduit pipe." (*'Shame', 'shame'*). I could have quoted to you many more cases of this nature, but my time is up, and I ought not to abuse indulgence which I have received from the chair as well as from yourselves.

Now as to the second part of this Resolution which states that the separation of judicial and executive functions should be effected without further delay, even if it should in some Provinces involve extra expenditure. I think I am able to show that so far as the Province of Bengal is concerned no additional expenditure will be needed. You will find from the Government Administration Report that there are in Bengal some forty District and Assistant Superintendents of Police. Now these gentlemen receive between them by way of salary no less a sum than Rs. 2,54,455 annually. But that is not all; they do something more; they travel, though for whose benefit I do not know and they receive in the shape of travelling allowance a sum which amounts to Rs. 22,386. In Behar, we have 17 District and Assistant Superintendents who draw Rs. 1,26,650 as salary, and a further sum of Rs. 18,651 as travelling allowance; and the total sum expended on account of these District and Assistant Superintendents of Police and their establishments amounts to Rs. 6,87,400. In Bengal, there are altogether only 47 Districts, and only 47 Additional officers are required to separate the judicial from the executive functions of the Magistrate, to have Judicial Magistrates as distinguished from and in addition to Executive Magistrates. A first grade Joint Magistrate whose pay is Rs. 900 a month will quite serve the purpose. The pay of 47 such Magistrates would amount to Rs. 5,31,600 per annum, and we would still have a saving of about Rupees 7,000, which according to Sir Charles Elliot's estimate of the proper pay of a clerk, from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30, would sufficiently cover the

cost of the necessary establishment. But the Government will ever be short of money for a reform which the people call for, while they have always money available to wage wars amongst mountain fastnesses and to maintain a scientific frontier. (*Shame.*) I submit, however, that in the interests of justice, the reform which we so earnestly pray for by this resolution ought to be carried out without delay. (*Cheers.*) And if the Government remain callous to our prayer, we ought to appeal to the people of England, by whom we may fully expect justice to be done. In doing so, we shall be pleading to a people who have judicial functions entirely separated from the executive in their country; to a people for whom 'Milton wrote and Sidney died', and by whom the *Magna Charta* was obtained; and I believe we shall not appeal to them in vain. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. HEM CHANDRA RAI, (*Dacca*, No. 191, *in list.*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been pointed out that the administration of criminal justice, at least in one of the provinces, whose moral and material progress it behoves the Congress to watch and safeguard, has undergone such a change for the worse that something more than our ordinary vigilance must be called into requisition, and prompt steps adopted to arrest the further development of the policy of subordinating the judiciary to the executive, which, thanks to the mischievous activity of the ruler of one of the sister provinces, now obtains in Bengal, and coming from there, I cannot help expressing our heartfelt gratitude to our distinguished brethren from the other provinces, happily better circumstanced in this respect, for their determination to make common cause with us in earnestly pressing this suggestion of ours for the complete separation of judicial functions from executive ones, on the notice of the authorities, in the light of certain recent events, some of which it will be my duty briefly to indicate.

Sir, the Local Government in Bengal have, somehow or other, taken it into their head that there are more acquittals than are desirable. The fiat has gone forth, and the District Magistrates have begun to coerce the subordinate Magistracy into convicting persons against the plain dictates of justice. (*Shame, shame.*) What with this unwholesome official pressure, what with the persistent Anglo-Indian clamour against the supposed weakness of the Native Magistracy, aided partly by the indifference of the highest court in the land, to which, we cannot, as a fact look up always with hopeful confidence, the situation of our Deputy Magistrates has become anything but enviable. (*Cheers.*) Cases are not unfrequently referred to them with almost plain directions as to how they are to be decided, and do you think, gentlemen, that after such a strong expression of opinion from his chief, a Deputy Magistrate, in absolute dependence as he is upon his official superior for his future elevation in service, would have the high judicial probity to arrive at findings justified by legal materials and approved by the dictates of his conscience? No wonder, then, that this sneaking habit on the part of some of the District Officers of tampering with the independence of the Subordinate Magistracy has lowered the Criminal Courts in the estimation of the public, and has brought about a widespread feeling of alarm, which it is in the interests of good Government instantly to allay. (*Cheers.*)

I have referred to the prevailing mania for conviction. Is it to be at all wondered that when the ruler of a Province publicly approves of the work of and bestows praise upon those of the Magistrates, who are able to show a greater percentage of convictions than their other compeers, without caring to enquire what the nature of the instances have been in which the latter have acquitted persons,—is it to be at all wondered that the administration of criminal justice has arrived at a very bad pass, indeed, and has become a sham altogether? Fancy, the noble principles of justice almost unheeded, the efficiency of the administration of criminal justice gauged by gross arithmetical computation, and officers plainly told to help the police-prosecutions, and cynically ridiculed if they attempt to play the rôle of a Judge! (*'Shame,' 'shame'*). No, gentlemen, the indignation that prevails in my province in regard to this matter, cannot be adequately described by any words of mine. Cases have been cited to you, showing the pernicious interference of the District Magistrates with the judicial work of their subordinates, and I am not going to tread over the same ground again; but permit me to recount some of the instances of the public

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disapproval by the executive head of the province of purely judicial findings, a course unwarranted by the facts of the cases in point, unseemly in the extreme, and utterly subversive of judicial independence. (*Hear, hear*). You remember the Shambazar Riot Case. Well, there an experienced Civilian Judge, aided by an efficient jury, after a prolonged hearing came to the conclusion that the charge had not been satisfactorily brought home to the accused, and discharged them. The Lieutenant-Governor, on the *ex-parte* representation of the Commissioner of Police, the virtual prosecutor in the case, condemned the Judge in a way that even the *Englishman* newspaper, the sole apologist His Honor has in the press, was not able to approve of Sir Charles Elliott's action, and criticised it severely. (*Shame, shame*.) You have heard of the Dacca Bribery Case. Well, there the best Judge on the Calcutta bench pronounced the accused not guilty, and surely ordinary decency should have induced the Lieutenant-Governor to accept the verdict of the highest Court in the land as final; but he did nothing of the kind; he took an early opportunity of expressing his own belief in regard to the case. (*Shame*.) Therefore it is that I earnestly beg of you to unite with us in renewing our prayer for the separation of judicial and executive functions, and in respectfully praying that the adoption of the suggestion, which even Lord Dufferin was pleased to characterise as "a counsel of perfection", may no longer be deferred, even though it may lead to some extra expenditure. (*Cheers*.) Gentlemen, the system is already in vogue in the Presidency town, where the Magistrates are purely judicial officers, untainted by executive capacities; and it does seem to me anomalous that while the healthier system should prevail in places where we have an intelligent public, a strong bar, and an over-vigilant press to safeguard our liberties, the other arrangement should flourish in the Moffusil, where we have no such wholesome checks upon it. (*Hear, hear*.) I therefore commend the third resolution to your unanimous acceptance. (*Cheers*).

MR. K. G. NATU, (*Poona, No. 93, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is said that an error, however small, ought never to be allowed to stand uncorrected, and I must begin at the beginning by saying that my name is not K. A. Natu, as printed in the printed resolution, but K. G. Natu. (*Laughter*). Now without making any apology, I shall at once go to the subject and make one or two remarks. The subject has been exhaustively dealt with by the speakers who have preceded me, and they have left me very little to say. But I wish to notice this fact most prominently: that the tendency of modern legislation here is to subordinate the Judicial to the Executive. You will find that realised, so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, in the Land Revenue Code, the Hereditary Offices Act, the Income Tax Act, and a host of other Acts which give you no relief whatever. A small clause is added at the end of these enactments which provides that "no suit shall lie," and there is an end of the matter. You must keep quiet. The tendency in England is otherwise. There they generally subordinate the Executive to the Judiciary. I am really surprised to hear that so great a change takes place when Englishmen come here to India. Here they change their colours and their principles. This is a growing evil and it is therefore to be protested against. There is not the slightest doubt about it.

The second thing to which I wish to refer is the objection that the separation of the judicial from the executive is a transformation which is dangerous in some respects for the collection of revenue. Some are afraid of that, but when they hear that so far south as Tanjore and Madura they have made a beginning without any fear at all, that the Maharajah of Baroda has it under his contemplation to introduce the same reformed system, these critics will not be able to substantiate that objection, because they will find that there is really no danger in it. (*Hear, hear*.) Then as to the importance of the separation. I have, in the course of my practice, come across men who after having been Executive officers have become Judges, but they have still in them a legacy of their former ideas, a legacy of what they were before. On the Bench of Magistrates there are officers who spend their time in forming suspicions and directing arrests. When such an officer is made a Judge, he often sees that there is no evidence against the accused, and that the prisoner has established his innocence. The Pleader has said all he had to say, the Judge admits all his arguments, but still he says "yet there is something at the bottom of it for which the accused must be punished." (*Ironical cheers*.) There is no doubt that some officials would be

very sorry to have to make a choice between the two. They think when these two functions are divided all is gone. But it is, I say, for the benefit of all that these two functions should be separated. I will tell you of one case. When an Assistant Collector sanctions the prosecution of a *patel*, what does he do? He sends the papers with a letter to the Collector saying that in his own mind he was perfectly convinced of the man's guilt; so that it comes to be a reference not from Phillip sober to Phillip drunk but from Phillip drunk to Phillip more drunk! (*Cheers*.)

RAO SAHEB DEVA RAO VENAYAK, (*Berar, No. 134, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—

It is a curious coincidence in my case that I have to stand before you for the second time at the same place where I have stood once before, for the very same reasons, about the very same grievance, and to speak to the very same resolution; or rather to enter the very same protest against the present judicial administration of our country. When I stood before you on the last occasion, I thought it was the first and last time I should have to protest against the existing practice of combining the judicial with the executive functions in the same individual; but I am sorry that I have been obliged to stand up to speak a second time about it. (*Hear, hear*). On that first occasion, I gave my reasons, and along with my reasons I added my twenty six years' experience, for protesting against the practice. Now I have simply to add four more years of my experience to what I said four years ago. I also gave illustrations to prove what I said, that the system was extremely faulty; and now again I have the misfortune to say the same thing.

You know that I come from the Berars, where we had the pleasure of receiving you as our guests last year. There, as most of you know, we have a Deputy Commissioner, as you have a Collector, who controls the administration of a whole district, and I may be permitted to say that he is all in all. In our province the designation has some special charm about it. For you will see that there he is not only the Magistrate and Collector, but he is also the Civil Judge of the district, though lately some of these civil powers have been taken out of his hands entirely. The powers exercised by other officers are called the powers of a Deputy Commissioner, so that you see there is a peculiar liking in our Province for the term "Deputy Commissioner." In criminal matters we have not made any advance; we are now just where we were four years ago. The system is productive of injustice and unfair results. But I need not dwell upon that part of the subject, because my predecessors have exhausted, or nearly exhausted it, and it is useless for me to take up your time in going over the same ground and giving a few more illustrations to illustrate the same thing. There, as everywhere else, there are noble exceptions, and we have noble exceptions amongst us, I am glad to say. (*Hear, hear*.) But with all our noble exceptions, I mean individual cases of impartial and fair-minded officers who mean to do justice, to be fair and unbiased towards persons going before them in the shape of party over party, the system itself is rotten at the bottom. (*Cheers*). We cannot always rely upon noble exceptions. And I need not say that where people are living under a civilised Government, they expect a civilized method of judicial administration. What we claim is but fair justice; that fair justice ought to be done. (*Cheers*). It is as much, if not more, in the interests of the government as in the interests of the people, that fair and impartial justice should be meted out. By administering justice to the people, the Government will acquire popularity, and the people will then be more loyal, more dutiful and more useful in times of need. (*Cheers*). You have not seen, gentlemen, a more careful and a more astute statesman than Lord Dufferin; and what did Lord Dufferin say in regard to our prayer? He said it was a counsel of perfection. We want that counsel to be acted upon. (*Cheers*.) We want the reform to be introduced. We believe that our Government is a liberal Government and will do us justice. But you must go on agitating constitutionally and loyally, for what is due to you and you are bound to succeed. With these remarks I submit to you the resolution which has been proposed and seconded. (*Loud Cheers*).

MR. MURLI DHUR, (*Umballa, No. 612, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—My knowledge of the English language can be compressed into the smallest pill box,

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(*laughter*.) and I am really surprised that I should be called upon to support the present Resolution. I thought it was only the old, the infirm, the blind, the deaf and the mute that required the support of any body. The Resolution before the meeting is not deaf, but it falls flat upon deaf ears. (*Hear, hear*). It can see, but others don't see the inside of it. (*Hear, hear*). It is not dumb, it can speak and speak with silent tongue; but others don't hear it, because they are deaf; and really an old man like myself is not a proper person to support a Resolution which is old enough to take care of itself. (*Laughter*). It is 8 years old, but if you think it is a child then I will take it into my hands. (*Laughter*).

Well, gentlemen, the union has not proved a happy one, and therefore it is high time that there should be a judicial separation between the parties. Of course one of the parties desires to bring a case into Court, and as I belong to the side of the complainant, I appear on behalf of *Lady Justitia* before this august tribunal. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). She does not merely want a judicial separation, but she wants a complete divorce, and I hope her prayer will be granted. (*Cheers*.)

But I do not see what is your reason for asking for the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, unless it may be that you seem to think that thousands of innocent persons are now being sent to jail. But have you such a horror of a jail? Why? There all distinctions of caste and creed and colour are done away with; there you all dine at the same table. Brahmos and Theosophists are for universal brotherhood, and there is certainly universal brotherhood within the precincts of the jail. (*Laughter*). Of course there are separate quarters provided in the jail for different kinds of prisoners. Englishmen, for instance, are not quartered in the same place as 'niggers' are kept in. But there should be no distinction whatever, and perhaps they will come to the same level some day. (*Laughter*).

Now I will come to the point, and shall quote some instances of the kind of justice we get in the Punjab. The head of the district is the only officer of the district who combines all the functions in himself. He is the Commissariat Officer, the Chief Commissioner of Police, the Judge, the Magistrate, the Juryman, the Counsel, the Prosecutor and everything. Nothing more is desired to make him more formidable and irresistible. He is perhaps more irresistible than the Czar of Russia himself, (*hear, hear*.) and is it not cruel on your part to desire to deprive the lion of his claws and the tiger of his teeth? Surely you will not be so cruel, gentlemen. A man belonging to the (?) class in the Umballa district was actually *challaned* to the Magistrate by the Tehsildar for spending more money than was prescribed by the rules of his caste upon the marriage of his son. The man actually came with this *chalan* signed by the Tehsildar. I saw the *chalan* myself and I showed it to the District Judge, and the man actually thought he was to be criminally prosecuted. But it was not so; it was only a sort of threat held out to him. (*Shame*.) The Court, of course, could not hear his case at Amritsar, so the man followed the camp. I do not know what became of this man, but no criminal prosecution was launched against him, and he only had to follow the Magistrate's camp here and there. The spending of less money was all that was wanted; otherwise the reform was done. That is the sort of reform we have got in the Punjab! This is one instance of our reform.

Now I come to the criminal administration of justice. All the functions of the Civil Courts were at one time suspended from the Chief Judge downwards. The Magistrate of the district is a truly conscientious man, and is a gentleman who seeks the welfare of the people. And I tell you, sincerely and honestly, that he is the most sincere well-wisher of the people and devises means for their welfare. (*Hear, hear*). But unfortunately he is guided by the Police, who do not care a fig for the welfare of the people. He established Punchayet Courts throughout the districts and authorised Tehsildars and others to receive petitions on unstamped paper or on paper bearing a stamp of eight annas. They are called Nowsherwani petitions; and what is the nature of these petitions? They are in the nature of mortgage and sale-deeds which formerly used to be cancelled by third-class Magistrates. They had no Civil powers whatever, but they could deal with cases relating to property worth thousands of rupees. (*Cries of 'shame'*). These people used to sit in judgment upon

money-lenders, keep them in confinement, examine their books; and in one instance Mr. R. P. Warburton, to whom a similar petition was presented, examined the books, and when the man failed to attend in obedience to verbal orders, he was ordered to be prosecuted. (*Cries of 'shame'*).—(Here the President sounded his gong).—Gentlemen, my knell has sounded; the time of my dissolution is come; now I am a shadow and must disappear. (*Laughter and cheers*).

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

MR. D. E. WACHA, (*Bombay, No. 39, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution I am going to move for your approval is this—

*"That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this Congress desires to express its earnest hope that, unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labors of the Brussels Conference have been completed: and, further, that the Government will lay before the Public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend, before definite action, if any, is resolved upon."*

You are all aware that if at this moment there is a burning problem of the day—a burning problem in the practical and satisfactory solution of which all the great nations of the world—great in strength and great in wealth—are deeply interested, it is the problem of Currency. It looks simple enough how to give tolerable stability to the ratio between silver and gold; but it is superfluous for me to tell you, you who all well understand it, that though simple as the question looks, when you come to consider it seriously, you cannot help acknowledging it to be one of the most difficult and complicated of economic problems which the latter days of the nineteenth century have to deal with. Neither can you help acknowledging that it is one on the correct solution of which entirely depends the economic salvation in the near future of a country so peculiarly circumstanced as ours,—a country, subject to foreign yoke, raising its revenue in silver and paying almost one-fourth of its obligations in gold; a country whose trade is mostly with a powerful and gold using country; a country, in short, suffering at the present moment in an aggravated form all the evils arising partly from the selfish policy of its rulers and partly from a mischievous piece of legislation in States far away but on whose silver mines it is necessarily obliged to depend. (*Hear, hear*).

Some definite idea of the difficulties of the subject may be derived when I say that the ablest experts and the most experienced authorities broadly differ from each other, and that apart from the wide and radical differences of opinion prevailing among the greatest bankers and merchants of the West. Even the experts who were appointed by our gracious Sovereign as a Royal Commission on Currency in 1886, were unable to arrive at a unanimous decision on the subject. There was a majority report and a minority report, besides individual opinions and individual dissents. But the general tendency was to let the problem alone, lest a precipitate jump in the great unknown might lead to graver consequences, of a more far-reaching character than those which were to be witnessed at the date of the drawing up of the Final Report, namely, October 1888.

Such being the difficulties surrounding the problem, I take it for granted that you do not expect me here to descant on the causes of the present evils or to discuss at length the merits and demerits of the remedies proposed, specially those having reference to India, namely, the closing of the mint against the private coinage of silver and the introduction of a gold standard with or without a gold currency. It would be presumptuous for me to speak with anything like dogmatism on a matter on which the ablest experts in England and elsewhere are hopelessly at conflict. (*Hear, hear*.) From the tenor of the resolution just read to you, you will have understood what its sole aim and object is. It is this. We, the delegates in Congress assembled, earnestly desire at this critical juncture, when some action on the part of the Government is reported to be imminent, that it will refrain from

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either taking a leap in the dark or adopting precipitately a measure which might eventually prove to be infinitely worse in its consequences than the evils to be witnessed at present. (*Hear, hear.*) In doing so we are not going to commit ourselves to any particular panacea, proposition, or fad. We are not going to tell our rulers that we favour bimetalism or monometallism. Neither are we going to pronounce any decisive opinion on the proposal for a gold standard and gold currency or for closing the mint against private coinage. No. All that we do pray Government to consider is this. That having regard to the great divergence of opinion among experts themselves on the various proposals—one class confidently asserting that nothing but good can be their outcome, while another class asserting with equal confidence that nothing but greater evils can be the result,—having regard to this divergence, as wide asunder as the poles, it would be the part of wise and cautious statesmanship to pause before taking any rash steps which may involve the country in grave consequences from the effects of which it might become a formidable task to extricate it altogether. (*Hear, hear.*) Government cannot deny this wide divergence as revealed by the Royal Currency Commission, and, lately, by the Committee presided over by Lord Herschell, so far as we have been able to learn from the part evidence hitherto taken. Every remedy, when put to the test in the crucible, seems to be defective, that is to say, it presents, its good as well as its bad side. While to add to the gravity of the situation, none is able to assert with confidence that there is a preponderance of advantages over disadvantages in the several remedies proposed. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I do not speak without the book on this subject. I refer you to the text of the Currency Report itself in verification of my statement. I beg to refer you to the entire Chapter III, of Part I. of that report which is signed by *all* the members of the Commission. Under such circumstances, I am sure you will agree with me when I state that it would be wisdom on the part of a deliberative assembly like ours to refrain from pronouncing any definite opinion on the various remedial proposals and asserting that we approve these and we disapprove these. (*Hear, hear.*) I think there is yet time to exercise the virtue of patience, ay, Job-like patience. I am aware that there are those who say that the Indian Government has preserved patience enough, and that it is the height of folly on our part to counsel further patience as the only counsel of perfection. But, gentlemen, we must all remember that in a matter of such immense import as Currency—whose effects are always far-reaching and last for more than one generation,—it would be considered a want of true economic insight on our part to be impatient. For, after all, what are fifteen or sixteen years in a period of what may be called economic revolution. Surely, nobody denies that all the world over, not India alone, there is passing a great economic wave, the end of which we have not yet seen. As in matters physical, so in matters economical, the ordinances of nature stand good. You seldom have a clear sky while a hurricane is hanging on the horizon or actually brewing. It is only when the hurricane has spent itself, and probably done its worst, that the atmosphere again becomes clear and nature resumes her normal condition. And as there are physical hurricanes which no human ingenuity can avert, so there are economical hurricanes which no human wisdom can enable us to avoid. In my opinion, we have not yet seen the worst of the present economic revolution; and unless the worst which is now looming on the horizon is passed, we will not see the end of our difficulties. Evils of this kind have to be endured. And, I repeat, that it is the part of wisdom so to endure them than to face greater evils under the impulsè of momentary alarm and under the delusion created by plausibilities the effects of which are an unknown quantity. (*Hear, hear.*) In the economic life of a nation, as in its political life, fifteen years are as a drop in the ocean. Posterity, in all probability, will condemn our impatience to reform the Currency in the dark, and curse us if we reform or improve it in a way which might entail on it greater evils than those we ourselves are enduring. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, when I say that the virtue of patience should be exercised, I am not unaware of what a limited class of Anglo-Indians, mostly servants of the Crown, and a handful of non-officials (though not planters) who support the official classes, speak as to such a waiting policy. A well-known Official in Bombay characterised it as the "gospel of inertia," while another called it the "policy of drift." This limited class, and, I believe, I am right

in calling it "a microscopic minority," is no doubt very impatient. It thinks the evils are intolerable and should no longer be borne. It is this class which is too eager to force the hands of Government. Now, I do not deny the existence of the evils complained of. In fact none denies them. But at any rate, so far as my personal knowledge is concerned, I have not yet heard a single individual of that impatient minority boldly telling Government that if certain remedies propounded by it are carried out, it takes upon itself the responsibility of saying that no harm to the general interests of the people of this country, specially the producers, will come of their adoption. (*Hear, hear.*) It seems that each and all shrink from undertaking that responsibility. But if these irresponsible persons shrink, is there not the greater reason for a responsible Government to shrink? (*Hear, hear.*) The fact is, gentlemen, that there is at present only a choice of evils—evils certain and known and evils uncertain and unknown, but, according to all experts, of possibly greater magnitude. What, gentlemen, under such circumstances would practical wisdom suggest? Is it not prudent to prefer the lesser evils in order to avoid the greater and the unknown. (*Hear, hear.*)

The whole question of Currency, you will thus see, hinges on this *one* point, and I appeal to you all to realise the issues which hang on this momentous question. When you have realised their gravity, you will, I dare say, admit at once that it is a question in which precipitate action of any kind is wholly to be deprecated, aye, vigorously resisted.

We, therefore, wish that this Resolution be submitted to Government with the view of postponing action till the results of the final labours of the Brussels Conference (which has now postponed its sittings till May,) are made known, and till the Indian public has had the opportunity of considering the resolution at which Lord Herschell's Committee may arrive. We have full confidence in the wisdom of the Government of India that it will not take any hurried or rash step. Up to date, notwithstanding the agitation of the Indian Currency Association in the Presidential cities, Lord Lansdowne's Government has exercised great prudence and patience. The circumstance is, in my opinion, and I presume in your opinion also, not an unwarrantable assumption of its determination to take no action till it was reasonably satisfied that the proposed changes will in no way be prejudicial to the best interests of this great country. That it has been fully alive to the hardships and other embarrassments arising from the steady decline in the value of silver for years past, goes without saying. For the last sixteen years and upwards it has closely watched the dwindling rupee, and has half a dozen times earnestly drawn the attention of the India Office to the effects of low silver on the sterling remittances to the Secretary of State, and to the fact of the growing difficulty of bringing about an equilibrium in the annual balance sheet of the Empire.

Soon after the demonetisation of silver by Germany in 1873, there was appointed a Departmental Committee, at the instance of our Government, to investigate into the causes of the depreciation of that metal and its diminished exports to India, and to suggest remedies. It carefully went into the whole question, and had, I believe, the benefit of the counsel of the late lamented Professor Fawcett. (*Hear, hear.*) The conclusions it came to may be briefly recapitulated here. (1) That the total remittances actually made to India in Government Bills and treasure together, in the ordinary course of business, have declined, but only on a slight scale. (2) That except for other causes, and excluding the extraordinary years of the cotton famine, there is no evidence to show that the demand for silver would have materially fallen. (3) But that the supply of a different form of remittance, namely, Government Bills, has superseded to a great extent the necessity of remitting bullion. (4) That the effect of this cause has to be measured in very large figures, as the yearly amount payable by India for the disbursements of the Home Government has risen since the Indian Mutiny from £ 5,000,000 to £ 15,000,000, a difference of which the magnitude will be appreciated when it is remembered that it is considerably more than half of the total amount of silver annually produced. (5) That the full effect of this substitution has only been recently felt, as that effect was retarded by the construction of Indian Railways, which involved an expenditure in India of money raised in England, counterbalancing, therefore, an equal amount of expenditure in England of money raised in India. (6) That the amount of the disbursements which has just been stated appears to represent



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the present normal expenditure of the Home Government, and that, therefore, unless by some marked change of policy, no diminution of that amount can be looked for."

I need not wait to inform you, gentlemen, that the Departmental Committee hit the nail on the right head. It is the Home Charges which are such a dreadful source of evils. (*Hear, hear*). The Committee insinuated a change in the policy which has led to those charges, but you all know that those have been increasing instead of diminishing, principally owing to the "forward" policy in frontier matters, which has been in such feverish ascendancy for the last seven years.

Again, in 1878, the identical proposals which are now put forward by the Currency Association, namely, the closing of the mint to private coinage, and a gold standard, were submitted by the Indian Government to the Secretary of State. These were referred for consideration to a Departmental Committee also, who reported that they could not recommend them for adoption. The principal objections urged against them, and reiterated by the Currency Commission (*vide* Part I. of their Final Report—Section 176) were:—

(a) That by enacting a gold standard without a gold currency, it would be practically equivalent to the establishment of an inconvertible token currency.

(b) That the closing of the only mint now open to the free coinage of silver might have so serious an effect upon the market value of the metal, that it would be impossible to maintain the rate of exchange fixed upon.

(c) That it would not meet the real difficulty of the present situation in India, which is, that owing to the fall in all gold prices, a larger amount of produce has to be exported in payment of gold debts; and that consequently any apparent gain to the Government of India would be balanced by a corresponding loss to the people of that country.

(d) The danger of illicit coinage which would be greatly increased if the exchange value of the rupee were raised much above its intrinsic value.

An enormous mass of literature on the subject has, however, accumulated since the Currency Commission published their report. But I should not omit to remind you at this stage that that Commission was composed of the ablest experts, with Lord Herschell, than whom a more impartial and capable judge could not be found, as President. Our own able Finance Minister, Sir David Barbour, as well as the late Sir Louis Mallet, permanent Under Secretary to the India Office, were also on the Commission. Thus India's interests were ably represented in that body of experts. It took evidence of every class of witnesses. Anglo-Indian witnesses, official and non-official, were also examined; among the latter, such men as Mr. Bythell, Mr. Comber, Mr. Birkmyre, Mr. Maclean, Mr. Barr Robertson, Sir Evelyn Baring and many others. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji himself tendered evidence as the Indian representative. (*Applause*). So also Mr. E. Sassoon. Some of you may have read the evidence of some of these gentlemen and be aware of the general tendency of their respective inferences. Again, economists of the highest repute in Europe and the United States were invited to give an expression of their opinion on the general question, men like Professors Marshall and Dr. Soetbeer, Professors Nasse and Lexis, M. Lavelaye, Mr. David Wells, Mr. Dana Horton, and, lastly, Mon. Vandenberg, President of the Java Bank. Thus every variety of opinion and every shade of it was elicited. Those views were closely examined from every conceivable stand-point, and if any person, as President, could have sifted that tangled mass of conflicting evidence, and still more tangled mass of conflicting and imperfect statistics, it was Lord Herschell. How imperfect and conflicting the latter were may be learned from the 5th paragraph of the opening report. The Commissioners observe, "that there is hardly any fact connected with it on which there are not considerable differences of opinion. When we proceed from facts to inferences these differences naturally become more marked." (*Hear, hear*). The majority reported that it was not practical for any nation, *without united action*, to do anything to appreciate silver. They agreed that it was every way desirable and advantageous to the world at large to have an extended use of the metal, but unanimity was absolutely essential for the purpose. But the whole difficulty lies there. How can an extended use of silver be brought about? Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States thought one way because their interests lay in one direction.

Those are diametrically opposed to the interests of other countries, neither powerful nor great, who think another way. But it has been stated since, that inasmuch as the interests of the great nations are conflicting, India should be allowed an unfettered action to regulate her own Currency, apart from the exigencies of British-Indian finance! The interests of India, however, are, in my personal opinion, so indissolubly bound up with those of England that I, for one, fail to perceive how it is possible to treat the question of Indian Currency without reference to India's financial relations with that country. It would be absurd to expect England with her gold currency and her loans and advances to foreign countries, amounting to hundreds of millions sterling, to agree to a change which would bring about an extended use of silver. Neither could the countries of Latin Union do so. Nor for that matter could the United States, though for the present gold is leaving that country. The States are in reality suffering from the evils of their own creation,—I mean the Bland and Sherman legislation. In endeavouring to find market for the production of their silver mines they have really killed the goose that laid the silver eggs. The States sowed the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind, the effects of which are being felt here. (*Hear, hear*).

The Royal Commission carefully considered all the conditions which existed at the time it drew up its report, especially those of Indian exchange, and came to the conclusion that matters should be allowed to remain where they were, till further knowledge and experience were gained. Now Sir David Barbour was upon that Commission. In 1885 he published a book on Bi-metallism and propounded therein certain theories. But the knowledge and experience which he later on derived as a Commissioner must, I presume, have considerably modified his original opinions, and were he to re-edit the book, it would not be a matter of surprise to find him discarding some of those theories. Very few Indians and Anglo-Indians agree with him in the efficacy of the remedies he now advocates. He is, I admit, an excellent Finance Minister, who has consistently fought against the over-grown military expenditure of the empire, and deserves our thanks. (*Applause*.) The bogeyman of General Chesney has done us valuable service, for otherwise our military expenditure might have to-day mounted to even a higher figure than 22 crores, with a corresponding large amount to be paid in the shape of "loss by exchange." But his proposals on the reform of Indian Currency have, I fear, found few followers here or in England.

Matters remained quiet enough till the autumn of 1890, when the ill-fated Sherman Act came into operation empowering the United States' treasury to buy 4½ million oz. of silver per month. The American legislature in its hurry to appreciate silver legislated in a way which has not only defeated its object but produced results the very opposite of those which it fondly anticipated. After a temporary boom it landed the States in difficulties, and the influence of the operations of the legislation of 1890 are having their baneful effect on Indian Currency. But for that legislation, there would, in all probability, have been no occasion for the agitation of the Indian Currency Association. The rapid fall of silver to 39d. alarmed that microscopic minority whose leader is the Hon'ble Mr. Mackay. Now none denies the evils to which he drew public attention some months ago, though, it must be observed, in a spirit of wild exaggeration. Many of his statements were such as could not stand the test of a close examination. In fact they have been successfully combated since. He and his Association were seized with a panic. They sounded the tocsin of false alarm and took a blind jump into the great unknown. They did not retreat from their original position till their mistake was pointed out by the majority of the sober on-lookers. I am only speaking to the naked fact when I say that the Mackay propaganda went up booming like a rocket only to come down like a stick. (*Laughter*.) The Government had till then stood aloof. In Bombay, too, every one who fully understood the complexities of the problem, held themselves aloof. Messrs. Beaufort and Symon, two influential English merchants, had the courage to oppose the agitation. Mr. Mackay, thinking his case was hopeless here, proceeded to England with a light heart to see if Manchester would come to his aid. But that city gave him no encouragement whatever, and judging from what has lately appeared in the English papers, I for one should not be surprised if his propaganda comes to be rejected there wholesale. (*Hear, hear*.) Mr. Mackay went to England with the object of giving his evidence before Lord Herschell's Committee and convincing that body. But he returned

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to India a wiser and more sober man. He found his own level before the experts of the Committee. He was interviewed by the English press in Bombay in which, as you may have read from the papers, he was constrained to counsel his colleagues that they should for the present bear the evils as best they may for some time longer. (*Hear, hear.*)

All these facts, gentlemen, show how difficult it is even under present circumstances to find a safe remedy. No doubt each and every one of us are fully aware of the growing evils and temporary dislocation of trade under an unstable ratio. But we are also aware that these evils, however intolerable, have to be endured, and must be endured, till the hurricane of exchange has blown over. As you cannot stem the advancing tide, so it is not possible to stem the progress of this silver hurricane. (*Hear, hear.*)

Under the circumstances, we have formulated this Resolution asking the Government, in the first instance, not to be led away by the cry of a powerful and interested class and legislate in a hurry so as to create new evils of a greater magnitude. We also trust and hope that it will not be seized with the panic which has seized the Currency Association and its followers; that it will not act precipitately so as to make a change in the Standard or Currency leading to new disasters. Tampering with the Currency is a dangerous thing. The most mature consideration is imperative before a change is resolved upon, especially in a country like India where you have 300 millions of people to deal with, and where the entire revenue is raised in silver, while one-fourth of it has to be remitted in gold, with a foreign trade partly in silver and partly in gold. What the evils of the change may be I will not try to enumerate at this late hour (for I have already been long and our President has been courteously forbearing in allowing me double the time prescribed and more.) I could say a great deal on the subject for the next six hours. But I think I could not give you a more succinct idea of the evils to be apprehended than by reading a paragraph on the subject from the *Statist* of 5th November last, which I now hold in my hands. It really tells you all in a nutshell, so to say.

"Assuming that a gold standard were adopted, the rupee would be degraded in India to the position of the shilling in England, that is to say, the value of the rupee would not be fixed by the value of the silver in it, as at present, but by the manipulation of the Government. Now, it is contrary to all the traditions and all the principles of British Government to give to any official, no matter who he may be, powers so enormous as would be necessary to manipulate the Currency of a vast empire with a view to giving to it a fictitious value. If the Prime Minister were corrupt he would be able to enrich himself by disturbing the money market. If he were unwise he would throw all trade into confusion by his folly or his unskillfulness. That appears to us an unanswerable objection to all proposals for artificially maintaining the value of the rupee. But it is only one amongst a multitude of objections not less forcible. Suppose the rupee were degraded to the rank of one shilling—were made, that is to say, a mere token coin;—prices in future would be determined, not by the intrinsic value of the rupee, but by the value of gold, prices in India, that is to say, would cease to be silver prices, and would at once become gold prices. Let us assume that the advocates of the plan would shrink from attempting to raise the rupee to the value of 2s, that they would be moderate in their aims and would be content, let us say, to raise it to 1s-6d. The rise would amount to about 20 per cent, and there must in consequence be a fall in all prices of about 20 per cent. Between 1873 and 1880 there was a ruinous fall in prices in all gold-using countries of just about that percentage. Producers, manufacturers, and merchants suffered disastrously. Credit was shaken, trade was depressed, and all because the purchasing power of gold rose. India was exempted from the sufferings of the gold-using countries because she had a silver standard and a silver currency. There was no fall in prices in India, no shock to credit, no failures on a vast scale. Trade continued to improve, the resources of the country were developed, and its prosperity has since steadily increased. Now it is seriously proposed to deprive India by the act of her own Government of the immense advantages conferred upon her by her silver standard and her silver currency. We presume that the plan is based upon the mistaken notion that the value of gold is more stable than that of silver. We have seen that between 1873 and 1880 all gold prices fell ruinously. We have also seen that during the same period silver prices did not fall, in other

words, while a smaller quantity of gold year after year exchanged for a larger quantity of all other commodities, silver included, the same quantity of silver, or nearly the same, exchanged for the same quantity of all other commodities, gold excluded. Does it not necessarily follow that it was the conditions which determine the value of gold which altered, not the conditions which determine the value of silver; or to put the matter into, perhaps, plainer language, does it not necessarily follow that the value of silver during the past twenty years has been far more stable than the value of gold? The plan, then, is based upon an absolute error, upon a misreading of the history of the past twenty years and having its root in error its fruit cannot fail to be injury and disaster.

“ We have seen above that the plan, if adopted and successfully carried out, would deprive India of an inestimable advantage her monetary system now confers upon her and would bring about a disastrous fall in prices. Let us try to realise what a fall in prices in a country like India to the extent, say, of 20 per cent. would actually mean. The land tax, which our readers will recollect is really a rent, is fixed for a term of years in rupees. If the purchasing power of the rupee were raised 20 per cent. or anything like so much, the land tax would be raised in exactly the same proportion, for every rupee would then represent 20 per cent. more of the produce of the ryot's land. Similarly the rents of houses and lands all over India would be raised to the same extent. All the other taxes payable to the Government would likewise be raised. So would all debts due at the time the change was made; in other words, every banker and capitalist, as well as every usurer, would find his property, so far as it had been lent out to others, increased 20 per cent., while every debtor throughout the length and breadth of India would also find his debts augmented by 20 per cent. Of course, likewise, officials' salaries would be enhanced in the same way. The result, therefore, would be that the Government, the official classes, bankers, landlords, and usurers, would all receive 20 per cent. more of the property of the vast population of India. There would be a sweeping transfer of property from the producing working millions who create the wealth and make the prosperity of the Empire to the servants of those millions and to the parasites who prey upon them. We would ask any sane man, whose brain has not been addled by currency disquisitions beyond his capacity, whether this is a project that ought to be listened to for a single moment? Whether it is to be thought of that the whole strength of the British Empire should be used to impoverish the hard-working millions, and to enrich usurers and Government officials? And if it is not, we would urge upon public opinion to reject so monstrous a proposal with contumely. The ordinary man must not think that it is a question for experts alone, which may be left to a hole-and-corner committee. It is one that affects the whole future of the British Empire. Whatever may happen we must defend India to our last shilling and our last man. We are at this moment spending large sums in preparing against a Russian attack. Will it strengthen us if an attack should come to have wide-spread distress and discontent created by the acts of our own Government? These are the dire evils apprehended, but I may say that the effects of the closing of the mint would be infinitely worse than those above described. (*Hear, hear.*)

I need not inform you, gentlemen, that the *Statist* is a first-class economic journal, and bears a first-class reputation with its twin the *Economist*. The Anglo-Indian agitators say they are monometallists and write all in the interests of the great “gold bugs” of Lombard Street. That may be so. But what we have to see is whether their arguments have been successfully combated. Gentlemen, without being accused of egotism, I may say that I have been a close student of this Currency question for the last 12 years. I have not yet met with a single serious criticism in current Anglo-Indian or English literature on the subject in which the views of the two able journalists, so far as India is concerned, have been controverted. Meanwhile here is one of them, writing at the distance of 6,000 miles, in defence of the Indian ryots and the Indian tax-payers generally. A stronger defence in the interests of the people of this country I have not yet come across. I have seldom perused writings on such a subject so remarkably critical and wholesome in character, and I recommend each and all of you, brother delegates, to read, mark and inwardly digest all that has appeared about Indian Currency and Indian finance in the pages of the *Statist* and

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*Economist* for this year. I am sure it will repay perusal and will enable you to acquire a fair idea of the *pros* and *cons* of the whole controversy. You will also learn there how dangerous it is for our Government to legislate in panic or adopt other measures in a hurry and to repent of them afterwards. It is for this reason we earnestly appeal to Government to move cautiously in the matter, so as not to jeopardise the interests of millions of its subjects entrusted to its care. There should be, in the words of the late Mr. Bagehot, a "reasonable apprehensiveness" of the effects of the remedies now in the air and with which it is supposed to be closely identified. It has on its shoulders a solemn responsibility, which, it is to be trusted, it will conscientiously endeavour to discharge in the best interests of the governed. (*Applause.*) With these observations I now commend the resolution to your approval. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

CAPTAIN BANON (*Lahore, No. 609, in list.*).—Gentlemen,—I am most unfortunate in coming after a speaker like Mr. Wacha, for he has so thoroughly exhausted the subject that he has left me nothing further to say. What we want is that Government should do nothing in a hurry, because the dangers of acting in a hurry, in a matter like this, are very great. (*Hear, hear.*) It is very easy matter for people to talk about the Currency, and there are no end to the fads and nostrums which are supposed to work all manner of miracles; but should they fail, the consequences may be terrible, and may even lead to national bankruptcy. (*Hear, hear.*) We want things to be left very much as they are at present; and it is not only the Congress, but other people also, who want things to be left alone. The greater portion of the non-official European community, to which I have the honor to belong, are desirous that nothing should be done; because if anything is done to increase the gold value of the rupee, it will act fatally on almost all the planting interests in India, as well as most of the manufacturing interests. There are tea and coffee planters, and indigo planters, and others who trade in wheat, rice, and oil-seeds, and if the gold value of the rupee is increased, all the capital which they have sunk in these industries will be depreciated, and these industries, perhaps, may no longer prove remunerative.

I hold in my hand a small pamphlet entitled "*A Gold Standard for India, critically examined,*" by a Mr. Stoker of the Indian Civil Service. He is one of the rising Civilians in these provinces, and is now Commissioner of Excise; and I may here say, that I totally disagree with Mr. Evans' remarks on a former resolution. It is said that the Currency Question is a very hard question to understand, but in this pamphlet Mr. Stoker has gone a long way to make this question simple of comprehension. Of course, he, like many others, as I understand, thinks that the Government ought not to allow everybody to present their silver at the mint to be coined into rupees, and provided the gold value of the rupee falls lower, the free coinage of silver should be stopped, to keep up the gold value of the rupee. (*Hear, hear.*) The question really is this, does the fall in the gold value of the rupee affect the people of this country so much that it has become necessary to take this extreme measure? For, in this pamphlet Mr. Stoker shows that if you make the gold value of the rupee stable, you, at the same time, make the silver value of the rupee unstable, and our trade is not only with countries using a gold currency, but also with countries using a silver currency. Mr. Stoker writes as follows, in this very able pamphlet of his, which I have already brought to your notice. "It is true that the volume of trade with the East is inconsiderable compared with the volume of trade with the West. But still it is profitable in itself, and, as will presently appear, serves as a means of adjusting the Home Charges. \* \* \* It appears from these figures that eastern countries pay India for nearly two-thirds of her goods by bills on London, and that these payments almost equal in amount the remittances which the Indian Government has to make to England." (*Hear, hear.*)

If the Indian Government think that in consequence of the failure of the Brussels Monetary Conference there is a danger of the rupee falling from fifteen pence to eight pence, ten pence, or even to a shilling, I think they would be justified in temporarily closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, on the understanding, that they will be again opened when silver has regained its present value. (*Hear, hear.*) But as the depreciation of the rupee is entirely due to the Home Charges, I think a better way would be to render the Indian Government independent of the fluctuations to which the rupee is

subject. This can only be done in one way, and that is to collect Customs duties *in gold* at the Indian Ports equal in amount to the Home Charges. (*Hear, hear.*) From fifteen to twenty millions sterling would be required; but the English Government raise more than twenty millions by their Customs duties; and so the people of England can scarcely blame the Indian Government for doing what their own Government does for revenue purposes. (*Cheers.*) As the President has warned me that my time is up, I will, with your permission, resume my seat after having seconded this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

PROFESSOR BHAGIRATHA PRASADA, (*Nagpur, No. 139, in list.*)—Gentlemen,—I rise to support the resolution which my learned friend Mr. Wacha has proposed and which Captain Banon has seconded. The chief object of this resolution is to request the Government of India not to hurry matters, and to place before the public any proposals which the Government might think proper to carry out, in order to save itself and the country from the disastrous effects of the Currency troubles, with this exception only, that its hands are forced by any foreign power by which it may be compelled to take action. But if it be forced by any association in India it should not do anything without consulting public opinion in India itself. My learned friend Mr. Wacha has told you what the effect of hasty action may be, and he has quoted to you the example of America. You remember the action taken by America on the silver question, and how it led to all the difficulties and disasters. It is absolutely necessary that this country should be consulted before any action is taken, because in case the Government failed to take all circumstances into account, the result might be very disastrous. (*Hear, hear.*) The case must be studied by people whose interests are concerned, for, as I have said, if all the circumstances are not considered, the solution of the difficulty may prove to be ruinous. A few years ago there was a special Factory Act passed, and at that time telegrams passed between the Secretary of State and the Indian Government. The Secretary of State said, "you must pass such a clause." The Government said, "we cannot do so because it is against the interest of India." Then the Secretary of State said—"O no! we have it here and you must do it." The Government of India said, "We cannot do it, because the majority of the Council do not agree." The Secretary of State pressed for the insertion of the clause in question, simply because the Lancashire merchants complained that unless the Government of India had the same factory legislation as existed in England, their interests would suffer, as the people of India would then be able to produce better cloth and undersell them. (*Hear, hear.*) For these reasons, it is necessary for us to go to the Government of India and pray that no action be taken until the Brussels Conference has concluded its sittings, and that in case any action is to be taken on the recommendation of Lord Herschell's Committee, it should first be made known to the public, and after public discussion is over and the Government has come to know what the views of the public are, then action should be taken. That being the case I heartily support this proposition and ask you to be good enough to adopt it. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—Before I put this resolution to the vote, I think it my duty to tell you that the Congress as a body are in no way bound, and are supposed not in any way to give countenance to the views which have been expressed by Mr. Wacha or by Captain Banon or by the last speaker, Professor Bhagirath Prasad of Nagpore. (*Hear, hear.*) They may be right in their views or they may not; we may agree with them individually or we may not; but the reason why we wish to pass this resolution is that it may not be taken that we are not alive to the importance of the question, and that the Government may know that what we desire them to do is so to act that our country may not in any way be made the loser by any measure which may be undertaken. (*Cheers.*) With these observations I put this resolution to the vote.

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

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# THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, December 30th, 1892.

3rd Day.

The Congress re-assembled at 11 A. M.

Resolution  
V.

Reduction of the Salt duty; raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum; reform of the excise administration; Judicial and Police reforms; modification of the Rules under the Arms Act; Military Colleges; Volunteering.

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE, (*Bezar*, No. 120, in list).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
—The resolution which I put forward for the favor of your adoption reads as follows:—

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

- (a) *The reduction of the salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;*
- (b) *The raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum from five-hundred to one thousand;*
- (c) *Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105 of the Despatch, published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages;*
- (d) *The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;*
- (e) *The fundamental reform of the Police administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents of Police are;*
- (f) *A modification of the rules under the Arms Act, so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, caste, or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;*
- (g) *The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-commissioned Officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;*
- (h) *The organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire of a system of Militia service; and*
- (i) *The authorising and stimulating of a wide-spread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.*

I ask you not to be deterred by the length of this resolution which I propose, and do not imagine you have got a very hard task before you. On the contrary we have got a long bill of fare to-day, and I propose to give you some healthy and solid food in it. They

are all long resolutions, but they are all familiar to you, and to me many of them are like old friends. I have been dealing with them for the last four years, and I have to deal with them again. They do not all share the character of old friends, and I should have been very glad to drop some of them, only if I had been assured that they had reached their destinations. But as it is, we have to carry them with us year after year.

I wish to give you now a popular version of this long resolution. Imagine a poor man coming to this Congress and talking to you, and then you will see what he wants. Salt is the first and foremost necessity of life. Therefore his prayer is about salt in the first instance. (*Hear, hear.*) This poor man says, "You have taxed salt too much; you have lately increased the duty by eight annas, and I cannot have enough of salt. So if you cannot remove the duty on it altogether, then do away with at least this extra eight annas lately imposed upon it." (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) Then he talks about his income. A man who does not get enough of salt does not get enough of food; so he says—"I want a little more food and a little better food. (*Hear, hear.*) I don't wish to get any luxuries, and I surely don't want drink, so I want you to conduct the Excise administration as rigidly as possible, and to give effect to local option." Though, of course, we would like that there should be no drink at all, if the Government must have its revenue from liquor shops, let us have them only where we want them. (*Cheers.*) Having had a little more salt and a little more food, and not desiring any drink at all, he desires something more, and says—"Protect me from the Police. The Police give me a great deal of trouble." (*Hear, hear.*) The poor man cannot complain like the rich. Learned lawyers are very good people but they do not work for nothing. So the poor man cannot engage the services of these people, and he naturally desires to have protection from the police. (*Hear, hear.*) Supposing the Police do protect him. Then he says, now and then mistakes are made by the Police. Therefore he desires that native gentlemen who know him and his wants, should be appointed in the higher ranks of the Police. (*Hear, hear.*) Then he says—"In case I should have the misfortune to be charged with some offence, give me the right to have a jury of good native gentlemen who understand me to try me." (*Hear, hear.*) If you give him all these things, he feels a little hopeful. What does he desire next? He wants to go into his fields. But there are wild animals about it who come and do injury to his crops and cattle. He wants therefore to have a little rifle with him, (*hear, hear.*)—a smooth-bore will do just as well. Therefore he asks for a modification of the Arms Act. (*Hear, hear.*) He also likes to have bright colours upon him and to serve in the army. Therefore he asks you for a little bit of volunteering. But he cannot always go a long distance. Therefore he asks you to organise a militia. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

Looked at in this way, you will see that the whole resolution is connected from the beginning to the end. Among these subjects there are one or two which I wish particularly to speak to you about. I have been trained to drive the omnibus under an able master like Kalicharan Banerjee. He got me into it, with a few passengers in the omnibus. Two of these have come under great disfavor. One of them wanted to rule the whole of India, and to obtain supreme authority there, and we tried to introduce him. But what do you think the Government have done? They have confiscated seven of his large estates. Thus this poor man in endeavouring to extend his sphere to the whole of India has lost nearly all he had. There is another gentleman here amongst you all, of whom you would like to hear something, and that gentleman is POLICE REFORM. We have from time to time been speaking about him, and I suppose no subject comes more home or is understood better than this. (*Hear, hear.*) I am not permitted to mention names, but I know certain gentlemen, admirable detectives and Superintendents of Police, and they have always got kudos, but only one of them is an Indian. And what has been the consequence? He is senior by a year and a half and he has been placed below a junior. This is exceedingly bad. (*Hear, hear.*) Moreover detective duties require a knowledge of the languages of the people and their modes and habits of life. A detective should be able to mix with them and disguise himself as one of them. Do you think any English gentleman will be able to pass amongst us as a Brahmin, or a cooli or a koonby? It is impossible. We have a tremendous cry raised against juries. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal wants

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modification of  
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 lunteering.

to blame juries for acquitting people. But he has not found out the real culprits. The Police bring up persons who are thoroughly innocent, and what can be the consequence? (*Hear, hear.*) Instead of condemning the jury-system, they should extend it to other districts where it does not at present obtain, and the higher grades of the Police department ought to lose some of their estates, and natives should be allowed to enter into them. Then the whole thing will be carried out properly. I am most anxious that these reforms should be carried out as speedily as possible. (*Hear, hear.*) With these remarks I commend this resolution to you. The subject is a large one and I commend it to your best consideration. (*Cheers.*)

REV. T. EVANS, (*Lahore, No. 608, in list.*).—Gentlemen,—My first pleasant duty is to convey the cordial compliments of my friend and your friend, and the friend of India,—Mr. W. S. Caine—(*cheers*), to the members of this Congress, and especially to that portion of the assembly who are honest *water-drinkers.* (*Applause.*)

My attention at present shall be given to the question of Abkari, or more strictly speaking "Shur-ab-kari." (*Laughter.*) "Shur" is a Persian word for *evil*, and it is a very appropriate term for the Excise Department in India. (*Hear, hear.*) I wish to impress upon this assembly the urgent need of a dual reform in this matter. First and foremost we require a radical reform among the *people* of India. (*Hear, hear.*)

Time was when drinking habits were almost exclusively confined to the lower classes, when indulgence in *shur-ab* was considered a low and a degrading and a vile habit, fit only for the very lowest classes of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) Those days are gone, and it is a sad fact that now all classes of people indulge, and it seems a stern fact that social advancement and English education go hand in hand with indulgence in strong drinks. Some students, I am told, think that they are not, and cannot be, full-fledged "gentlemen" (*laughter*) till they drink English made liquor—and that to be able to indulge in alcohol is "a sign of culture." (*Shame.*) Then we also see that in this matter religious grades are degraded. There was a time when Brahmins held *maddyam* or alcohol in utter abhorrence, and looked upon those who used it with disgust. But now we have Brahmins who not only drink but who traffic in the poison. (*Shame, shame.*) This I have found to be the case in a number of stations throughout India. It is true the *Veda* prohibits the use of liquor in strong words—"Muddyam ma peyam ma deyam ma grahyam," *i. e.*, intoxicants should not be drunk, given or taken. Among the five mortal sins of the Hindu religion for which there can be no atonement, to indulge in liquor is one. It is said to be a crime equal to that of killing a Brahmin or a cow. And yet none of these sacred prohibitions are regarded. The filthy flood of strong drink overleaps all bounds, social and sacred, and the Brahmin in these degenerate days has come down to the low level of the lowest castes, for all worshippers at the intoxicating altar of Bacchus, high and low, become "hail fellows, well met," as they unite in imbibing alcohol. (*Shame.*)

It is easy to say—"petition Government to shut the liquor shops."—A better plan would be to shut our own mouths and abstain from alcohol. (*Hear, hear.*) Some one has said:—"There is a little liquor shop which every man can close. It is that little liquor shop just beneath your nose." (*Cheers.*) Then I ask—*Who is to lead?* Is it not the leaders of society? Is it not the leaders of the National Congress? Where are the Brahmins—the Barristers—the graduates of the Universities? Will these not come down to rescue? Let all the noble Bonnerjees, Chatterjees and Mookerjees of Bengal;—all the Chariars, and Iyers and Ayengers of Madras;—all the Cowasjees, the Hormusjees and Naorojees of Bombay; and all Pundits and Purohits of the N. W. P. and Cashmere, with all the Moulvics and Sayyeds of the Mahomedans, come forward to head the battle against the monster demon drink;—yea, and the Sirdars and Gooroos of the Sikhs, and the Missionaries and Ministers of the Christian religion, as well as all the delegates of the Congress, all should join hand to hand and heart to heart to attack the *Rakshas*—*i. e.* the demon of drink, and chase the hydra-headed monster out of the land. (*Cheers.*) Remember your responsibilities as men of light and leading. The lower orders look up to us, as we are, so will they be. "*Jas raja tas parja.*" "*Jaisa bap, taisa beta.*" "*Jaisa swami, taisa sevak.*" Gentlemen, you are leaders—see that you lead in the right way and set a proper example to the masses. (*Hear, hear.*)

I am hoping to be able to say that we have now over a hundred Associations throughout India in connection with the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association whose head quarters is in London. (*Hear, hear*). I have just been up to the north of the Punjab, where I have in one month organized 8 new societies with over 2,000 new members, and the friends in Lahore are all alive, and are moving to build a large Temperance Hall which is to cost Rs. 20,000, (*hear, hear,*) as well as to start a Temperance Journal in the vernacular. The work is going on, but the flood of drink is also on the increase. This you will see if you look at the leaps and bounds made by the Abkari Revenue. Take a few statistics. In Bengal, the normal rate of the excise revenue for many years was from 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees. Now it is 110 lakhs. (*Shame, shame*). In Madras the excise revenue has thus advanced.—

In 1850	it was	..	..	..	Rs. 21,73,509;
in 1860,	..	..	..	..	" 29,70,722;
in 1870,	..	..	..	..	" 59,18,364;
in 1880,	..	..	..	..	" 61,13,402;
in 1887,	..	..	..	..	" 91,66,476;
in 1888,	..	..	..	..	" 97,38,896;

or an increase since 1880 of no less than 36 lakhs of rupees. (*Shame, shame*.) The increase in Bombay has gone on at an equally rapid rate, and the same is the case in the Central Provinces. As to the N.-W. P., in 1858, the excise revenue here was but 19 lakhs; now, it is over 50 lakhs. (*Shame, shame*.) Above 10 years ago the excise revenue of the Punjab was hardly 10 lakhs, it is now nearly 20. Eighteen years ago the excise revenue of the whole of India was 230 lakhs, it is now about 450 lakhs of rupees. (*Shame, shame*). This may be a grand thing for the Government, but it is most ruinous to the people. (*Cheers*). Therefore I say make a strong stand against the terrible evil before the land is flooded with a deluge of destruction. (*Hear, hear*.) "Charity begins at home," and the people of India must begin this reform by sweeping the curse clean out of their own homes and putting all who drink under the ban of social ostracism. You put those out of caste who drink water from the hands of the low caste people;—why then are they not put out of caste for drinking liquor made and mixed by dirty and degraded "*kalars*"? (*Hear, hear*).

Home reform first, and then we want—*Government reform*. Government has moved a little under pressure;—but we want it to move much more. (*Cheers*). If it be asked what we want the Government to do, I answer—first of all, we want the Government *to be true to its own professed policy and promises*, (*hear, hear and cheers,*) the professed policy of—"a maximum of revenue from a minimum of consumption." Is this carried out? I don't hesitate to say—No. Do you ask for proof? There are many. Take one just now.

If the policy is to supply the public demand only, I ask why does the Government sanction the manufacture of *much more* drink than the contractors with all their greed can sell? I visited last year most of the *Government distilleries* in the N.-W. P. and the Punjab, and without a single exception I found that there are *more* stills sanctioned than are required. Let me now give a few cases. In the Punjab at—

Gujranwalla	10 stills sanctioned	..	..	..	only 5 at work;
Lahore	18 "	..	..	..	" 6 "
Ferozepore	8 "	..	..	..	" 3 "
Amritsar	15 "	..	..	..	" 13 "
Jullundhar	6 "	..	..	..	" 3 "
Umballa	6 "	..	..	..	" 3 "
Ludhiana	6 "	..	..	..	" 4 "

In the N. W. P. at Allahabad, 29 stills sanctioned—only 20 taken, and of these only 12 at work. A contractor who has been in the Allahabad distillery for many years, by name *Baddho*, told me that though the Government has always sanctioned 29 stills, he never saw more than 18 at work, and as a rule they do not use more than 10 or 12. Does this show that the Government wants "*minimum of consumption*"? No; but the trade is overstocked, and besides the extra stills, there are thousands of gallons of liquor kept in store in the godowns of the distilleries to be used in case of need;—and at the time of the

3rd Day.

Resolution V.

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"holce" festival Government allows the stills to work day and night, and the liquor shops are allowed to be opened for hours later than the demands of the Excise Law. (*Shame, shame*).

Again, why is the "minimum guarantee" system in vogue in Bombay by which the contractor for liquor is bound down to produce so many thousand gallons whether he is able to sell it or not? Why? Because he has to pay a duty on each gallon and the more the gallonage the greater the revenue. Further, why does not Government consult the public in opening grog shops and give effect to the principle of local option? In the *Gazette of India* for the 1st March, 1890, the Viceroy wrote:—"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiments, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained." On the 29th of March, 1890, Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India in his Excise Despatch to the Viceroy, said:—

"That while absolute local option in Excise matters is not feasible, yet weight can be, and should be, and is given to local option in regard to licensing liquor shops." Now I ask—are these concessions granted? I do not hesitate to say—they are not. Only to-day I got a letter about a petition to remove a grog shop from an objectionable position in the district of Umballa. That petition was sent to the Deputy Commissioner four months ago—but no reply! (*Shame*.) In Madura, in Calicut, in Tanjore, in Sholapur, in Cuddapah, in Fureedpore, in Lahore, in Agra, in Mussooree, and in Dehra Doon, to my own positive knowledge, petitions of this nature have been rejected on paltry excuses, and as to making an effort "to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment" about grog shops, *no such effort is ever made*. (*Shame, shame*.) From pressure brought to bear by the British Parliament promises are made, laws are enacted; but if they tend to diminish the revenue, they are evaded, and the Government of India winks at their evasion for revenue reasons. (*Shame, shame*.)

This is the case not only with the liquor but also with the opium and *chandu*. Some-time ago the opium dens were condemned, and a law was made to shut them up. Now what do we find? Listen to a *Confidential* despatch from the head of the Excise Department in the N.-W. P. Here it is:—

"*Confidential. No. I of 1892. D/ 26 July, 1892.*

*From T. Stoker, Esquire, C. S., Commissioner of Excise, N. W. P. and Oudh,  
 To all Commissioners and Collectors, N. W. P. and Oudh.*

*D/ 26 July, 1892.*

Sir,—You are already aware that henceforth the *chandu* and *madak* smoking is absolutely prohibited on the premises licensed for the sale of the drug. It is impossible to doubt that this prohibition will be followed by the opening in many places of unlicensed places of resort where smokers can obtain the facilities which they require, and that such places will have to be kept under observation both for general reasons, and also with a view to prevent the use of illicit opium.

As the law now stands, the authorities have no power to suppress consumption on premises where opium or its preparations are not sold. There is nothing in the law to prevent any one opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium-smokers who bring their own *chandu*. He can supply pipes and lamps and service, and charge a fee for their use, and the law cannot touch him unless he is detected selling opium or its preparations, or found in possession of more than the legal quantity. On this point the opinion of the Board of Revenue is that it is not altogether advisable that such places should be suppressed. Collectors should watch such establishments carefully so as to prevent the sale thereof of illicit opium. The known conditions of *chandu* smoking render the maintenance of some common places for the consumption of the drug an almost absolute necessity. No efforts should be made to suppress such places, as it is better that they should be known, and thus be liable to supervision.

I have, &c.,  
 (Sd.) G. C. HAMPTON,  
*Hd. Asst. for Commissioner of Excise.*

Now, I ask, is not this a shameful policy of shabby shuffling to try to evade the law in order to facilitate the sale of extra opium? Is such a condition worthy of the dignity of the British Government? (*Applause*). The *root* of the whole matter is the effort made to *increase the revenue*. But is it politic, is it expedient, is it just to replenish the revenue from the vice and the demoralization of the people?—yea, and to do so by resorting to ways and means that are mean and dishonorable? Let us then send forth floods of petitions to England to show the British public how the Excise administration is conducted here. We have strong friends and patriots there in the persons of Messrs. Caine, S. Smith, Schwaan and others. (*Cheers*.) Supply them with shot and shell to destroy this citadel of iniquity, for the work must be done by the powerful and patriotic vote of the House of Commons—the paladium of English justice and fair-play. (*Loud applause*).

MR. OUDH BEHARI LAL, (*Allahbad, No. 416 in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support this resolution. I hold in my hand copy of an extract from instructions of the Court of the Directors of the East India Company issued so long ago as the year 1838. It runs as follows:—

“It cannot be too strongly urged upon Collectors that the object which Government has in view is to restrain and, if possible, to arrest and diminish the total actual consumption of spirituous liquor, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded that any amount of revenue that may be lost by the efficiency of the system to this end, will be repaid a hundred-fold by preservation and advancement of moral feelings and industrious habits among the people.” (*Hear, hear*). These are the noble words of the Directors of the East India Company, used in the year 1838, but what do we *actually* find now? Has this been the policy of the Government since? I say emphatically—no. (*Cheers*.) Instead of being true to their words, they have adopted a policy based only on financial considerations. (*Shame*). They do not seem to recognise that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. It is certainly wrong on the part of individuals to yield to temptations, but it is no less wrong, especially on the part of the Government, to allow temptations to multiply before the masses of the people of this country. (*Cheers*).

Let it not be understood that we desire to make the people of India moral by means of resolutions of the House of Commons; that is impossible. They must be made moral by influences working at home. What we contend is that the Government ought to see that liquor shops are not forced upon the people in places where they are not wanted, and that distilleries are not established against the wishes and sentiments of the people. (*Hear, hear*). When sometime ago I went on a Temperance tour to Benares, I was sorry to hear in various places that it was generally believed that it was not the intention of the Government officials to close liquor shops, merely on the request of the people, for they think that if they were to yield to the demands of public opinion, it would show their weakness. From what has occurred in various places, I am inclined to think that the belief is not groundless. It is a shame and a scandal that some of the Government officials who come to this country forget their British instincts and become as despotic and autocratic as they can be. They not only defy the voice of the public here but try to ignore even resolutions passed by the House of Commons, and do not consider themselves responsible to anybody. If this is not despotism, I should like to know what it is. The interests of this country and the honor of England alike require that it should not be so, and that an earnest effort ought to be made by all concerned in the welfare of these great countries to stem the tide of drunkenness, which threatens to deluge this land and bring disgrace upon the English people. (*Cheers*).

[Munshi Sheikh Husain *alias* Sheikh Chand Wahid, (*Bombay No. 52, in list*),—*This gentleman spoke next in support of the resolution in Urdu, but he has not supplied either a copy of his speech, or a translation thereof. Hence no report of his speech can be given, there having been no reporters for vernacular speeches.*

MR. B. S. SAHARABUDDHE, (*Poona, No. 70, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—This resolution combines many propositions. My predecessors have spoken upon many portions of it, and I would confine my attention to those points only which I wish to bring

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Reduction of  
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raising of the  
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taxable mi-  
nimum; re-  
form of the  
excise admi-  
nistration;  
Judicial and  
Police re-  
forms; mo-  
dification of  
the Rules  
under the  
Arms Act;  
Military Col-  
leges; Vo-  
lunteering.

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V.

Reduction of the Salt duty; raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum; reform of the excise administration; Judicial and Police reforms; modification of the Rules under the Arms Act; Military Colleges; Volunteering.

particularly to your notice. It is proposed to introduce into the Code of Criminal Procedure a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by Magistrates they may be committed to the Court of Sessions. I will give you one instance which will convince you of the real necessity for this provision. A person was accused of committing theft; he was first of all sent before a second class Magistrate, and after evidence had been taken the District Magistrate was moved and thought it was his duty, in exercise of his powers of revision, to send the case to another Magistrate. Charges were then drawn up; and when the Pleader for the accused saw that the Magistrate was bent upon convicting the man, he made a representation to the Magistrate that it would be better in the interests of justice to send up the case to the Court of Sessions. If we had the right asked for here, he could certainly demand that the case should be sent up. Fortunately the case was sent up to the Sessions Court, and there, after careful enquiry by the Sessions Judge, the man was acquitted (*hear, hear*;) and the Judge's remarks show that the case was a false one. If the good sense of the Magistrate had not induced him to commit the case to the Sessions, the man would have been convicted. (*Hear, hear.*) If we have a section introduced in the Criminal Procedure Code, enabling the accused in warrant cases to demand that his case should be sent up to the Sessions, it would be a great advantage. Therefore you see our humble prayer is that there should be a provision introduced into the Code of Criminal Procedure to enable a person to demand that he may, under certain circumstances, be committed to the Court of Sessions. (*Cheers*).

As to the reduction of the salt duty, this is one of the propositions which affects the masses very much, and we may therefore call this the poor man's proposition. (*Hear, hear.*) It is said that we never care for the masses, and that we are never anxious to protect their interests; but here is a case which will show that we have been agitating for years for some relief to the poorest of the poor (*hear, hear,*) and we have to regret that there are no signs yet of that relief coming. All that we see is that the Viceroy has given some attention to the matter, for when he was at Madras he said that this would be the first tax which he would wish to see reduced. But we do not know when the tax will be reduced. (*Hear, hear.*) So that there is every necessity for our repeating this prayer in the interests of the masses; and we earnestly hope that it will be granted before long. (*Cheers.*) I hope you will all concur in carrying this proposition with acclamation. (*Loud cheers.*)

MUNSHI ABDUL QADIR, (*Punjab, No. 614 in list*).—*This gentleman supported the resolution in a speech in Urdu, but he has not supplied either a copy of the speech or a translation of it in English, and hence no report of his speech can be given, there having been no reporters for vernacular speeches.*

THE PRESIDENT.—I have received two other applications from delegates for permission to speak upon this resolution. Is it necessary to have it further discussed?—(*Cries of 'no,' 'no,' 'vote, 'vote.'*)

The motion was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Resolution  
VI.  
Demands the withdrawal of the Jury notification and the extension of the system of trial by Jury.

BABU GURU PRASAD SEN, (*Bankipur, No. 259, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In their letter dated 31st May, 1890, the Government of India asked the Government of Bengal for a report (1) as to 'how the Jury system has worked in the Lower Provinces, (2) what opinion is entertained as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime, (3) what improvements, if any, are called for in its application.' To clear the ground for the adoption of the resolution on the Jury question which I shall presently propose, it shall be necessary for us to examine these questions.

In my humble opinion, no amount of platitudes, or denunciation, but a careful examination of figures comprising the crime statistics for a number of years can alone help us in coming to a right conclusion regarding the matter. We have Jury trials and Non-jury trials in Sessions Court under the Government of Bengal, and the result of trials with jury as compared with the result of Sessions case trials without jury, will show the merit of each. Such a statement I now hold in my hand. It is a comparative statement of the above kind from 1877 to 1891 compiled from the Reports of the Administration

of Criminal Justice in the Lower Provinces. It will be tedious to read to you all the figures, even if our 10 minutes' rule will allow. I shall crave your permission to take it as read, and I shall hand over a copy to our Secretary for record as a part of this address. I shall however read to you the summary of the result.

From 1877 to 1891, barring the years 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882 for which certain figures are not available, the number of trials with jury was 3,567; the number of verdicts agreed to by the Sessions Judges was 2,921; the number of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges was 632; the number of references disposed of, under Section 307, Criminal Procedure Code was 238; verdicts approved of by the High Court were 90; verdicts set aside by the High Court were 148. The percentage, therefore, of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges to the whole number of verdicts during these years, was 16·9. The percentage of verdicts actually set aside to the total number of verdicts, was 3·68. While, if all cases in which the Sessions Judges disagreed from the verdict of the jury, had been referred by them under Section 307, Criminal Procedure Code, to the High Court, and the verdicts set aside in the same proportion as in cases referred, the percentage of verdicts which would have been set aside, would be 11·8.

On the other hand, we find that during the same period the total number of Non-jury trials, *i.e.*, trials with Assessors, was 12,141. The number of appeals disposed of by the High Court from the decisions of the Sessions Judges was 8,205; the number of cases in which there were no appeals, was 3,936; of the appeals disposed of, 6,632 were affirmed, and the number reversed, modified and sent back, was 1,603. The percentage of judgment, of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals, was 81·6, and the percentage of judgments reversed, modified, and sent back, was 19·4. The percentage of judgments affirmed or not disturbed to the total number of trials was 86·7, while the percentage of judgments that would have to be corrected by the High Court, if there had been appeals in all cases to the total number of trials, would be 13·3.

It would, perhaps, be conceded that the cases not referred were such that if they were before the High Court there would be less chance of their being set aside. Under the present Code (Section 307, Cr. P. C.), wrong verdicts may be set aside in every instance; it is not, therefore, an irremediable wrong. (*Hear, hear*). Again, there are doubtless cases in which no appeal against the sentence of the Sessions Judge is preferred, because the prisoner has no money or friends to take up his case before the High Court; and if appeals had been preferred in these cases the sentences would not have been affirmed; while, therefore, the mode in which the percentage has been worked out in column 9 of the Statement A. I have in hand, is unfavourable to the Jury, the mode by which the percentage in column 7 of the Statement B. also in hand, has been worked out, is very favourable to the Sessions Judge, and they have been worked out in this way to remove all hesitation in adopting them for the purpose of comparison.

Now, comparing these figures, we find that while the actual percentage of verdicts of juries set aside during these years has been only 3·68; the actual percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges reversed by the High Court in appeal, is 19·4. (*Hear, hear*). While if all disagreed verdicts had been referred to by the Sessions Judges to the High Court, under Section 307 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and these verdicts set aside in the same ratio as those referred, the percentage of verdicts set aside would have been only 11·8, but the percentage of judgments of the Sessions Judges that would have to be corrected by the High Court, to the total number of trials, treating cases not appealed against as affirmed, would be 13·3. (*Hear, hear*). [ The Statement A. referred to above is published as *Appendix II.* ]

These figures, I hold, conclusively prove that the Jury system has worked much better than the Non-jury or the Assessor system. (*Cheers*). Opinions, from whatever source they may come, would be of no weight if not based on facts, and isolated facts can scarcely furnish a correct basis for generalization. (*Hear, hear*).

Elsewhere the opinions on which the action of the Government of Bengal has been based have been sufficiently scrutinized, and it has been very satisfactorily shown that

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they do not support the conclusion, much less justify the action which the Government of Bengal has chosen to take in this matter. I shall not take time by repeating arguments there used.

It will be seen that the Jury system has been primarily condemned on the opinions of some of the Sessions Judges ; but the figures reveal the rather astounding fact that there has been a steady deterioration of late years in the work of these Sessions Judges (*hear, hear*) ; thus :

Years.	Percentage of Judgments of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals.	Percentage of Judgments of Sessions Judges not disturbed to the total number of trials.
1877	81.5	89.1
1878	83.6	91
1879	85.2	89.6
1880	80.4	87
1881	80.7	88.3
1882	82.5	89.9
1883	83.8	89.1
1884	82.5	88.6
1885	79.9	84.1
1886	83	88.4
1887	80	86.3
1888	79.7	85.5
1889	78.1	85.6
1890	78.6	83.7
1891	77.4	83.5

There is, however, another set of figures which clearly indicates such depreciation, and is enough to excite consternation and alarm. (*Hear, hear.*) These figures are—

Years.	Total number of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Judges decided on reference by the High Court.	Confirmed.	Committed or set aside.	Percentage of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Courts, and set aside by the High Court.
1886	26	16	10	38.4
1887	34	23	11	28.2
1888	31	13	18	41.9
1889	22	11	11	50
1890	33	19	14	42.4
1891	48	32	16	33.3

The Jury system is condemned because of the prejudices of native jurors to convict in murder cases. Elsewhere it has been satisfactorily shown that the supposed reluctance does not exist ; but in the face of the figures I have placed before you, the only action that should have been taken was not to take away the safeguard of a Jury trial but to extend

it to other places where it does not exist, specially in cases punishable with murder. (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

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With reference to the second question, Mr. Justice Beverley observes:—"As to the merits of the system as a means for the repression of crime, it seems to me that it is difficult to form an opinion. I should think it extremely improbable that a murderer or a dacoit, before committing the offence, would sit down to consider whether in the event of his being apprehended he would be tried by a Judge sitting with Assessors, or by a Judge and Jury. On the other hand, the employment of juries to try criminal cases does tend to disseminate a knowledge of the criminal law, and such extended knowledge, it may be presumed, must have a tendency to repress crime. A statistical test of the merits or demerits of the Jury system as bearing upon the repression of crime, might be afforded by a comparison of the statistics of human crimes before and after the introduction of the system in 1862, or by a comparison of the statistics of such crime in Jury districts and those districts in which the system has not been introduced. But any such statistical comparison would be by no means conclusive." (*Hear, hear*).

The Statements B. and C. which I hold in hand, have been compiled from Crime Statistics for a series of years, beginning with the year 1878, for the purpose of such comparison:—[These Statements are published as *Appendices III and IV.*]

It will be found at a glance,

- (1) That the offences under the Indian Penal Code have not at all increased;
- (2) That all other offences, excepting offences against property, have decreased;
- (3) That the slight increase in offences affecting property can only be traced to the inefficiency of the Police and the poverty of the people;
- (4) That as regards the Jury districts there has been a sensible decrease of all offences under the Indian Penal Code;
- (5) That this sensible decrease is decidedly marked with reference to all offences excepting offences affecting property;
- (6) That the number of offences in the Assessor districts has to a certain extent increased;
- (7) That this increase is marked both in offences affecting property and offences falling under other heads;
- (8) But that it is more marked in offences affecting property than in the other kinds of offences;
- (9) That the number of petty offences under Special Laws (infringement of Bye-laws of Municipalities and such like) have almost doubled from 1880 to 1890.

And the conclusion from the second of these Statements is that while in 1878 the proportion of our criminal population, *i.e.*, persons convicted under the Indian Penal Code to the whole population of Bengal, was one in 958, taking 66 millions as the population of the Lower Provinces, it was one in 1,155 in 1891 taking 66 millions again, as the basis of calculation, without taking into consideration the increase since then. (*Hear, hear*).

I have not at present in hand, figures giving such percentages for other countries, but from the comparison of the percentages in the Lower Provinces at two different periods, I ask what was the good of raising all this commotion? (*Cheers*).

Then as to the last point, it is generally assumed that the Jury system was an exotic institution brought in for the first time in India in 1862. There appears to be some misapprehension on this subject. It may be that we had no institution by this particular name in India previous to that year. It may be that to a certain extent, the spirit of Local Self-Government had been crushed out of us; but that no country was better fitted to receive the institution of Jury, and for the matter of that Local Self-Government of all kinds, than India, and that the institution of Jury came to be planted in a congenial soil in 1862, there cannot be any doubt.—(*Cheers*). The antiquity of the system



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of Jury trials in England cannot perhaps be traced back to a period anterior to the 11th century of the Christian era. But look to the *Sanhitas*, none of them later than the Christian era, and you shall find that in ancient India, the trials of all cases, Civil and Criminal, used to be in the Court of the King's Council, Assemblies of Townsmen, Companies of Traders, and Families. (*Hear, hear.*) You will find a complete account of it in *Yajnyavalka Sanhita* and its commentaries, the *Mitakshara* and *Viramitrodaya*. The Court of the King in Council used to be presided over, in the absence of the King, by the *Pradvivak* (Chief Justice), and composed of an uneven number of *Sabhasadas* (members of the assembly)—7 and 5 were the usual number—taken from a 11 classes of people, while the other tribunals as their names indicate, were composed of the people themselves. The relic of all these, the *Punchayat*, still attests the vigour, with which Local Self-Government used to be carried on at one time in India. (*Cheers*). And even now the people say '*Punch muh Parmeshwar*'—the voice of the *Punch* is the voice of God. That indicates the kind of reverence and awe, with which our people even now look on the voice of *five* of themselves, and if any reform, short of reforming the Police and the Magistracy, and insisting on a better knowledge in our Sessions Judges of the language of the people, is needed here, it is in the selection of the people's *Punch*. (*Cheers*). Hundreds of such men are available in every town, nay in every important village, if one was to know where to find them out. And in this connection let me make a suggestion. If instead of the Police, the members of the District and Local Boards or Municipalities were to be entrusted with the duty of finding out men for selection, there would be no lack of good, honest and able men to fill up the Jury list. (*Hear, hear.*)

I beg now to propose the resolution, with which I have been entrusted, for your acceptance. It is as follows :—

*That this Congress views with the deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of the Government of India and of the Governments of Bengal and Assam in withdrawing the right of trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences, and most respectfully, but firmly protests against such policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India and failing that, by the Government in England; and that as prayed for in resolutions of previous Congresses, the right of trial by Jury be extended to such parts of the country where it is not now in force, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of criminal Justice in British India. (Cheers).*

We have this year separated the Jury question from our Omnibus Resolution because of the importance the question has assumed in Bengal and is likely soon to assume in other parts of India. The reference in the first part of this resolution is in one sense to a local matter affecting even not the whole of Bengal; but no apology is needed to introduce this to you, as you have in past years determined that the extension of the Jury system in criminal trials, wherever it does not prevail at present, lies at the very threshold of any reform in the administration of Criminal Justice in India, and thus any restriction of it in any part of India, in any form, you cannot but hold to be a retardation of a needed reform. (*Cheers*). Trial by jury, as I have shown to you, I hope conclusively, from the Criminal Statistics of Bengal, is a great safeguard for the protection of the life, liberty and property of the people. (*Cheers*). Again, the way in which the restriction on the Jury system has been imposed affects the general policy of good Government in India. (*Hear, hear*). It has certainly created much consternation and alarm; but I venture to hope there is no reason to distrust the motive of Government, and in that hope we pray that the present Jury policy may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government in England, and the Jury system introduced in parts, where it does not exist at present, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of Criminal Justice in British India. (*Cheers*).

BABU BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN, (*Murshidabad, No. 210 in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject before you must be looked at from the Congress point of view. The principle underlying the system of trial by jury was introduced in Madras and

Bombay in 1832, and in Bengal, by an Act of the Supreme Council, in 1861, and the Local Government, vested with the authority given by the act, selected 7 districts for the enjoyment of the privilege in respect of certain classes of offences. In 1867, Sir Cecil Beadon was for the extension of the system to other districts. (*Hear, hear*). In 1871, Commissioners recommended withdrawal, but the recommendations were rejected. (*Hear, hear*). In 1872, the Code of Criminal Procedure provided for a reference to the High Court by the Judge in case of disagreement between the Jury and the Judge. In 1884, there was a discussion of the question by Government, resulting in leaving things *statu quo*. In 1892, came the Jury notification, under consideration, published in Bengal on the 26th of October last, and in Assam, a few days later. No previous notice, no reasons contemporaneously given! but certain correspondence published *after* the notification giving the opinions of some officials! (*Shame.*)

Neither the Government of Bengal nor the Administration of Assam have yet published any resolution setting forth the grounds on which their action in withdrawing the trial of heinous offences by Jury is based. (*Hear, hear*). But it can be gathered from the correspondence published that the system has been condemned on the ground of failure of justice, it being borne in mind that the notification can be supported on two grounds only, *viz.*, political considerations and failure of justice. (*Hear, hear*). A privilege once granted and enjoyed for a period of 30 years ought not to be taken away without making out a very strong case for such a measure. (*Cheers*). The Government has therefore to establish clearly the alleged failure of justice in cases decided by the Jury to justify its action. (*Hear, hear*).

The statistics given by the learned mover of this resolution surely do not justify the action of the Government. If it could be shown that there has been a decline in the number of convictions for certain classes of offences, and that crime has increased in consequence, the position of Government would be strengthened; but how does the matter actually stand? Even the best apologists of the notification do not suggest that crime has increased in consequence of acquittals of really guilty persons. (*Cheers*.) It would be interesting in connection with this to compare India with England, and some other European countries. From the statistics available from one of the best authorities, it would be found that the Prison population per one hundred thousand was 90 in England, in 1882; 158 in France, in 1885; 230 in Italy, in 1887; 120 in the United States, in 1886; 160 in Japan, in 1887; and 38 in India, in 1887. (*Hear, hear*). And I may here mention that eminent criminologists of England, of Germany, and of Italy, have expressed their surprise at the small ratio which the prison population bears to the general population in India. (*Hear, hear, and cheers*).

The number of trials, convictions and acquittals ought no doubt to be taken into consideration with reference to this particular point, in anticipation of any argument that might be urged by the supporters of the notification. There were in India in 1881,—11,72,000 trials, and 5,27,000 acquittals; in 1887,—13,77,000, trials, and 7,03,000 acquittals; that is to say, there was an increase in the 6 years of 19 p. c. in the number of cases tried, and of 4.5 p. c. in acquittals. (Population increased 4.5 per cent. in the six years.) This decline of 4.5 per cent. in convictions is not owing to a failure of justice in trials by Jury, but is attributable to many important factors, such as the poverty of the country, the vigorous action, and the unnecessary and unjustifiable action of the Police, the mismanagement of cases before Magistrates, the perfunctory and unsatisfactory commitments of cases to the Sessions Court. (*Hear, hear*).

As regards cases of homicide in England, the ratio of convictions is about 50 per cent., whereas of convictions in respect of other offences, the ratio is about 75 per cent. It becomes a question of grave importance why in England with an efficient Police and an intelligent and educated jury there is a larger percentage of acquittals in cases of homicide than in other cases. (*Hear, hear*). And here I cannot help bringing to your notice the fact that Mr. John Bright, in one of his speeches advocating the abolition of capital sentences, observed that the Jury naturally were over-scrupulous in weighing evidence in cases where the punishment

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might be death. (*Hear, hear.*) Now in India the percentage of acquittals in cases of homicide is far less than what it is in England, notwithstanding that the Indian Jury is supposed to be averse to capital punishment and is over-scrupulous in weighing evidence in cases where such punishment is possible. (*Hear, hear.*) Any decline in convictions in cases of heinous offences, even if assumed for the sake of argument, does not necessarily establish a failure of justice. A reform of the Police ought to precede any attempt to withdraw the system of trial by Jury. (*Cheers.*)

If the statistics do not justify the notification, can it be supported by the opinions of Subordinate Officials, or Commissioners of Divisions, Sessions Judges and Magistrates and some of the Judges of the High Court? Irrespective of the merit or demerit of those opinions, it is a fact that the opinions were neither asked for nor given with reference to the question of the withdrawal of the system of trial by Jury. (*Hear, hear.*) In certain cases they were only asked to express how far the system had been successful as a means for the repression of crime and what improvements could be made in it. It is, to say the least, unfair to the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court, unfair to the officials mentioned and unfair to the people at large, to use those opinions obtained ostensibly for one purpose for altogether a different one. (*Cheers.*) Sir Charles Elliott is credited with strength of mind and the courage of convictions, which seven Lieutenant-Governors preceding him are alleged to have been wanting in; if so, he ought to have put the question of the withdrawal of the system of trial by Jury in cases of certain heinous offences pointblank to those whom he thought fit to consult, and ought to have published his grounds for issuing the notification to give the public an opportunity to criticise those grounds.—But what did His Honor do? From the summits of the Darjeeling Hills, he suddenly hurled the notification down at the head of the people. The people were quite stunned, and when they recovered consciousness, they found that the notification had, only four days after its publication, come into operation, and that their cherished and valued right of trial by jury in heinous cases, had been taken away by His Honor by one single stroke of the pen in exercise of the authority given him under section 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code. (*Cries of 'shame, shame'*). A few days later, the Assam Administration published a similar notification in the official Gazette, with this difference only that the order is to come into force from the 1st of January next!

Now, gentlemen, at a peaceful time, when political considerations are not even suggested as having any thing to do with the notification, the manner of its publication cannot be too strongly condemned. (*Cheers.*) If a bill be introduced for the first time in the Legislative Council, it has to be published in the official Gazette and public criticism is to be considered. *A fortiori* when a vested right, exercised by a large number of Her Majesty's subjects for a period of thirty years, is intended to be taken away by the Governor of a country, the proposal ought to be allowed to be subjected to public criticism, by timely publication. Why this unseemly haste, this precipitancy in sending forth a fiat, which gives rise to so much irritation and excitement, and results in an agitation the like of which has scarcely ever been seen. (*Hear, hear.*) Is the expected good likely to counterbalance the discontent and dissatisfaction which has been caused by it among the most loyal of Her Majesty's subjects? No. The notification is the outcome of a policy which is retrograde and reactionary, and which is now being pursued by the Government of Bengal in utter defiance of public opinion. (*Shame.*) I won't say that the notification is meant to be a slap to Babudom; but what I do say is that the measure is a deliberate insult to this Congress, which has been year after year recording its resolution for the extension of the system of trial by jury in places where the same is not in vogue. This being so, the Congress must not be content simply with the withdrawal of the notification, but should re-double its efforts for the extension of the system of trial by jury to places where it is not at present in force. And for this purpose, we should move the Government of India, and if necessary, the Government of England. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. LAKSHMINATH BEZBARUA, (*Assam, No. 226 in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—In supporting this resolution on behalf of the people of Assam, I have this much

to say, that the notification came upon the people of Assam in a very evil hour. It cannot be generally known that this privilege was given to the people of Assam long before the Bengal people had the good fortune of getting it. (*Hear, hear*). It is as old as the British rule in Assam, which began sixty years ago. All of a sudden, like a thunderbolt from a blue sky, this notification fell upon them, completely putting them out and surprising them. If there is any province in India which wants trial by jury more than another it is Assam. (*Hear, hear*). You know that Assam is a non-Regulation Province; it is in fact still in darkness, and the people are backward and poor. Education has not there made much progress, and civilisation has made but little advance. And it is also well known that raw and inexperienced Civilians are generally imported into Assam, who not only administer justice in a lawless manner, but tyrannise over the people, and often do things which you will be surprised to hear of, but not nine-tenths of which are ventilated in the columns of newspapers. (*Hear, hear*). We have got no good Barristers or Advocates in Assam to explain things to these young Civilians, who are generally scarcely out of their teens when there. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for us to have the safeguard which trial by jury affords against miscarriages of justice. (*Cheers*). With these few words, I beg to support the resolution. (*Cheers*).

PANDIT SHAM NARAYAN, (*Lucknow, No. 541 in list*).—*This gentleman supported the resolution in a speech in Urdu, but as he has not sent either a copy of the speech or its translation in English, and as there were no vernacular reporters, we are unable to give a report of his speech here*).

MR. R. K. LIMAYE, (*Poona, No. 86, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In supporting this resolution, I have to observe that the present is one of those instances in which the Government, with an honest desire to improve the administration of justice, thinks, but I believe wrongly, that it ought to mould its conduct by hearing one side of the problem only, *viz.*, the official side. In the present case, if the Government had taken the public into its confidence a little, it would have found reasons, not to curtail the system, but to develop and expend it. (*Hear, hear*). Mind the Panchayat or Jury system has not been imported here from abroad. It is an old institution of ours. (*Hear, hear*). But really we need not go so very far back. Let us examine the law as it stands at this day. The law lays down that the trial (of course, in some grave and serious offences and in some districts chosen by the Local Governments,) should be by jury. In such a trial, the majority of the Jury constitutes one Judge and the District Judge, another Judge. If they disagree, the case is decided by the High Court on a reference. If they agree, the Judge decides the case at once. There is no independent power in the Jury. (*Hear, hear*). If the Judge and the majority of the Jury acquit or convict an accused, you cannot say that the Jury were wrong. If the High Court decide the matter on a reference, justice is done there. Where is the occasion then for a failure of justice which might discredit the system? (*Cheers*.) I say if proper persons are selected to sit on the Jury by responsible officers, (I think the Government officials would not like to be told that they fail in this duty,) then how can the system fail at all? (*Cheers*). The statistics so far as they can be gathered from published reports, point to one conclusion only, *viz.*, that no case has yet been made out by the officials to discredit the system as a whole, but that one-sided and insufficient materials were placed before the Government, which, without pausing to hear the other side, passed erroneous orders. (*Cheers*).

Perhaps it may be said that there is no necessity for assisting a Judge by a Jury. To that the reply is simply this. Where the Sessions Judges as a rule are strangers to the habits, customs, language, &c., of the accused and the witnesses, it is imperatively necessary that they should be assisted by a strong and intelligent Jury, to avoid such appalling mistakes as some of the European Judiciary are found at times to commit. (*Cheers*). All the delegates of the Dekkan, and some from other parts also, full well know by this time the important murder of the meaning of the words *Kāranibhūt* committed at Satara the other day. (*Hear, hear*). कारणीभूत was not understood by the learned Magistrate to mean "cause of" as it should have been, but was interpreted by him, with his great *aya* and *cooly*

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Resolution VI.

Demands the withdrawal of the Jury notification and the extension of the system of trial by Jury.

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learning,—(laughter), to mean "causing fiend." (Laughter). I think I must stop here. I need not cite any more instances as they are too numerous. I heartily support the resolution and commend it to your favourable consideration. (Cheers).

MR. RAMANUJA CHARIAR, (*Madras, No. 568 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject of this resolution is one about which I am aware there can hardly be any difference of opinion. My reason for speaking on this occasion is to show that although the presidency of Madras is unaffected by the recent Bengal Notification, yet the people of Madras heartily sympathise with their brethren in Bengal. (Cheers). The recent misfortune that has befallen that Presidency is a calamity which may be considered to be common to the whole country. (Hear, hear). But the remarks which were made by our President in his inaugural speech as regards the difference in the mode of recording evidence in civil and criminal trials in Bengal, do not apply to the procedure in our country. In civil cases in the Madras presidency the depositions are recorded in the vernacular by a clerk differently from the manner in which the evidence in criminal cases is taken down. Both in civil and criminal cases the Judge is empowered to record the depositions in English in brief, and the decisions are also recorded by the Judge himself in English. But leaving this difference in the mode of recording evidence aside, it cannot be denied that Juries have in the majority of cases rendered good service to the people in the trial of cases. Sometimes Judges display a desire to get rid of Juries, and in entertaining such a desire they have an object in view. There are some cases tried by Sessions Courts in which from the very nature of the offences, it is impossible to get any clear and positive evidence. For instance in cases of bribery, and in cases in which the offence is committed clandestinely and in private. In such cases some Judges, in the absence of strict legal proof, seem determined to convict the accused on the strength of their own moral conviction of the man's guilt, and in such cases it is convenient to get rid of the Jury and base the Judge's conviction on indirect evidence strengthened by his own conviction of the probabilities of the case—which is a very wide term. It is for such reasons that some Judges have evinced a desire to abolish Juries, but that is no reason why we should not insist upon the retention of Juries. Juries in most cases agree with the Judge. In Madras Juries almost invariably follow the lead of the Judge. Therefore the allegation which has been made with regard to Juries being the cause of a failure of justice cannot apply to Madras. These are the reasons which I beg leave to advance against the abolition of trial by Jury in Sessions cases. (Cheers).

BABU TARAPADO BANERJEE, (*Nuddea, No. 195 in list*).—BROTHER DELEGATES,—It is with much diffidence that I rise to support this resolution which has been so ably proposed and seconded. I have no intention of figuring in the capacity of a speech-maker to-day. I wish only to say this that in the final decision of this important matter, are involved the interests of a large proportion of the people of India, and that upon it depends the future of our national advancement. (Cheers). We have been deprived of a valued right which according to all sound principles of criminal jurisprudence, even the humblest member of a subject race is entitled to claim and possess. It is an admitted principle of law that in accusations of a serious and grave nature, the accused should have the privilege of choosing his own judges. (Hear, hear). To be judged by one's own peers is a privilege highly valued as a safeguard against any failure of justice. And our Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Elliott, has deprived us most unceremoniously of this privilege. (Shame).

As regards my own district, I am told that the Judges, with only one single exception, have borne testimony to the fact that Native Juries are not only fully competent to perform the duties of Judges of facts, but are above bribery and corruption. (Cheers). The facts and figures which have been placed before us to-day show that the Jury system has worked very satisfactorily in all districts in Bengal. I therefore fail to see why this notification should have ever been issued, and why the Government of India should not be able to revoke it. But recent events in connexion with what is called the 'compromise' show that we have very little hope of good from that quarter. I would therefore request you to organise a delegation to England to represent your grievance there. (Hear, hear).

The matter is of the utmost importance. It is not the concern of a day or an hour, but our perpetual happiness is involved in it, and I ask you all to unite in securing a satisfactory solution of this question. (*Cheers*).

MR. C. V. NAYADU, (*Nagpore, No. 143 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support the sixth resolution, so ably put before you by my learned countryman of Behar. You have heard with regret how in Lower Bengal a single notification emanating from the Government there, has abolished the Jury system that was in vogue there ever since the year 1862. About Bombay and Madras you have heard ere this as to how unsatisfactorily Juries are treated in those Presidencies. I would now request you to hear something of the criminal administration of the Central Provinces. (*Hear, hear*).

It is nearly 40 years since the Criminal Law, as administered in other parts of British India, has been in force in our Provinces. We have a Judicial Commissioner doing the work of a High Court. We have in force in our Provinces all the Criminal Laws that are applicable to other parts of India. In almost every district we have Honorary Magistrates appointed from among the educated class, and there is no lack of educated gentlemen who can weigh the evidence of any criminal case heard by them and come to a correct finding. (*Hear, hear*). Several reforms have been introduced in the administration of our Provinces during the last 15 years, and the people there are not now what they were some years ago. We find a large number of educated gentlemen and graduates of various Universities in almost every district. We have Local Self-Government in our midst. The Municipal Acts are in force amongst us. The members of District Councils and Municipalities are acquitting themselves in such an excellent manner that questions of importance relating to the welfare of the country are very often referred to them for opinion. (*Hear, hear*.) And we the delegates of the Central Provinces are clearly of opinion that the time has come when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended to many of our districts. (*Cheers*.) The principle involved in this system is simply this:—That an accused person should be tried by his countrymen, who know the customs, manners and the language of the accused. (*Hear, hear*). It cannot be urged by any body that there is a single district in our Provinces which cannot supply such men as can do justice to any criminal case that may be brought before them. (*Hear, hear*). We do not however at present wish that the Jury system be extended to all the districts in the Province, but we wish and pray that it be introduced at least in the districts of the head quarters of the four divisions of our Provinces, namely, Nagpore, Jabbalpore, Hoshangabad and Raipur. (*Hear, hear*).

You have heard this subject urged from the Congress platform again and again. For want of a jury system hundreds of innocent men are sharing the ignoble quarters of a prison house, and hundreds who should have been there are gentlemen at large. (*Loud cheers*.) In order to blot out the evil and to ensure the happiness of millions of our countrymen, the Government should, instead of turning a deaf ear to our representations, come forward, kindled with that fire of duty and with that love of justice that characterize every Englishman, to give us what we want and what we expect of them as our right. The fellow subjects of Windsor Castle will ever be bound together by the bonds of brotherhood; the proud banner of St. George, St. Andrews and St. Patrick of the British flag will ever wave gloriously in the air, as long as the sun and the moon remain in the firmament. (*Cheers*). The common subjects of one Sovereign, the common children of one fatherland will happily march onwards beating the drum gaily for the glory of our Queen-Empress. (*Cheers*).

MR. S. B. BHATE, (*Belgaum, No. 72 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In coming to this platform my object is simply to state to you that the policy which has been advocated by the Bengal Government, seems to have found favor with the Government in our Presidency also. There were communications made to many Sessions Judges where the system prevails, and these Judges were asked to report upon the kind of work done by juries. The Sessions Judges have in a hole and corner way reported to the Government that the system is at fault, and that juries have been doing their duties in a way of which the less said the better. But these statements are based upon facts which are not at all capable of proof (*hear, hear*), and are based upon a one sided view of the matter. Belgaum is one of those districts where

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this system has been working for four or five years, and so far as the work of jurors is concerned, there have not been any flagrant instances of failures of justice. (*Hear, hear.*) Yet the Sessions Judges have ventured to report to Government without consulting the wishes of the people who are most intimately concerned with the matter, that the system has proved an unmitigated failure, and our Local Government seems anxious to follow this notification of Bengal by a similar one in three or four of our districts. (*Shame.*) Poona is one, Belgaum is another, and Surat the third. These three districts are being marked out for being deprived of the system of trial by jury. (*Shame.*) This is a matter against which a most emphatic protest must be entered in the most earnest and unmistakeable language by us all, and I hope our protest will not go in vain. With these few words I commend the resolution to your unanimous acceptance. (*Loud Cheers.*)

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

Resolution VII.

Claim for an equitable contribution by England towards Indian military expenditure abnormally increased owing principally to the Imperial policy of Great Britain.

MR. D. E. WACHA, (*Bombay, No. 39, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, The resolution I am about to propose to you is one which, I am sure, will not only commend itself to your approval but be carried by acclamation—such is the admitted justice of its demand and such the unanimity on the subject. It is as follows:—

*“ That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual military expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of this country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion, that, in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden.”*

You would no doubt, remember, gentlemen, that at previous Congresses, particularly at the one held last year at Nagpur, I expatiated at length on the enormous growth of the military expenditure since 1884-85. It has risen from 16 to 22 crores in seven years. But it is altogether needless for me on this occasion to tire your patience by referring to its particulars once more. You will, however, have understood from the drift of the resolution just read to you what is it that we now demand of the Home Government. It is acknowledged in all quarters, aye, even by those who are the unmitigated apologists of the “Forward policy” feverishly pursued by the Government of India, that the gross injustice of throwing on this country for years past, the *whole* burden of the military expenditure, a considerable portion of which should, in all fairness, be borne by the British Treasury; ought no longer to be tolerated, past endurance as it is, and entailing as it does oppressively heavy sacrifices on the already over-burdened tax-payers of the land. (*Hear, hear.*) That the demand for the reparation of such injustice should be heard, and loudly heard, in the hall of St. Stephen itself goes without saying. For it is an injustice against which the Indian Government has been protesting vigorously enough for the past fifteen years, but protesting in vain. (*Hear, hear.*) Responsible administrators at Calcutta and at Westminster have not only protested against the shameful injustice, but recorded their deliberate opinion as to the expediency of redressing it, considering that wealthy England partly defends herself at home at the expense of the revenues of impoverished India. (*Shame.*) Apart from the long-standing scandal of the charges in connexion with the Home depôts to which I drew pointed attention at the sittings of the First Congress, and apart from other unjust charges, such as those of transport, arrears of pensions, and so forth—apart from these, the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relations with Russia, and its attitude towards the whole question, known as the Eastern question, (*hear, hear*) have foisted on India the annual permanent charge of 2 crores on account of the 30,000 additional troops maintained since the acquisition of Upper Burmah and the Penjdeh incident. That this additional burden is altogether unjustifiable is well-known. So, too, all the cost of the so-called “Special defences”. You would remember my referring to these last year and reading to you a few extracts from the minutes of two of the members of the Government of India on the subject, namely, those of the Hon’ble Mr. C. P. Ilbert and Sir Auckland Colvin. They courageously protested not only against the unfairness of the burden, but against the policy

which led to that addition. I particularly read out to the Congress that part of the joint minute of those members of the Government in which it was observed that the addition of 30,000 troops to the then existing force, under the plea of safe-guarding the Empire against attack from without, was hollow, and that its veiled object was purely the kindling of the faggots of external aggression. That minute is so valuable an one and so remarkably prophetic every way, as subsequent events have demonstrated, that I could not do better than have it inserted as part of my speech for your benefit. And, with the permission of the President, I would place it on the table for the purpose. [*Vide* Appendix V.] Now, I say, that the warning of Mr. Ilbert and Sir Auckland Colvin was prophetic. This must be clear to you from the number of so-called punitive expeditions undertaken by the Government of India, under the mischievous advice of its military advisers (*hear, hear,*) since 1885-86—expeditions which have enabled them to acquire the Zhob valley and that portion of Baluchistan which is now known as British, and such strategical places as Gilgit, Chalt, Hunza and Nagyar, and the probability, later on, of the occupation of Chitral, not to say anything of the continued bullying and baiting attitude adopted towards the Amcer of Afghanistan (*hear, hear,*) with the fixed determination to have a bold “spring forward” on a fitting opportunity. All the places I have alluded to, have been almost forcibly acquired (*shame*) under the plea of checkmating Russia in her nearer advance to India and carrying on a filibustering policy beyond the Hindu Kush. As I informed you, it is the policy of keeping Russia away from the Bosphorus, which is the sole object of Russia’s advance nearer the confines of India. But for this Imperial policy of Great Britain, of which Russia’s onward march is the logical sequence, all the events that have occurred on the North-West Frontier would have been nowhere, and this incubus of a large standing army, gnawing away the finances of India and eating into the vitals of the tax-payers would have never been known. (*Hear, hear.*)

Members of the Standing Committees of the Congress at various centres would remember that in 1888, Mr. Martin Wood, an honoured gentleman and a veteran, though now retired, Anglo-Indian journalist, who has been fully in sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Congress, and who is unostentatiously doing great service to the cause of this country at home, had addressed a most thoughtful letter to the Congress on the subject of this disastrous “Forward policy.” Owing, unfortunately, to some technicality it yet remains unrecorded in your proceedings. But most of you are perfectly cognisant of the facts and arguments with which that letter bristles. These have not yet lost their value. If at all, their relevancy is a great deal emphasised and their importance enhanced by the events which have transpired and are transpiring since the date of the inditement of the letter. It must be in your recollection that the cardinal point to which Mr. Wood referred in that correspondence was this forward policy of the Government which is the dominant factor of the chronic embarrassment of Indian finances. It is also the key to the whole material condition of the country. I passingly referred to that cardinal point in my speech last year, but as it bears the closest relation to the subject-matter of the resolution now before you, I deem it advisable to quote the passage at whole length, and afterwards place this letter on the table also, with the permission of the President, as part of this day’s proceedings. [*Vide* Appendix VI.] Mr. Wood observed :—

“It is a maxim acknowledged by our statesmen that expenditure depends on policy. In this instance the grievous addition to the unproductive outlay from Indian revenues is wholly due to the revolutionary change entered on in 1876, followed by the disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1878-80, and now sought to be perpetuated by the establishment of permanent military posts far beyond the physical boundaries of India on the West, for the maintenance of which the immensely costly railways already referred to, have been constructed. You are well aware that the policy has been adopted, and forced on India under cover of partisan counsels among certain English politicians; but this does not make it any more worthy of approval or lessen the need for its being checked, or, if possible, reversed.” Thus it is *the policy* which is at the root of the expenditure, and all of you will agree with me in thinking that, next to seeing that expenditure controlled or its burden partially relieved by the British treasury, our constant aim should be to nag on at the

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Claim for an equitable contribution by England towards Indian military expenditure abnormally increased, owing principally to the Imperial policy of Great Britain.



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mischievous policy, with a view to its reversal. (*Applause.*) But meanwhile let me further point out to you the broad considerations which we are sometimes apt to overlook or postpone, as Mr. Wood justly observes, amidst the stress of other current topics. These considerations are :

- (a) "The financial position of India dominates all its other material conditions.
- (b) "The pressure caused by the absorption of your resources, consequent on the fatal error of thrusting military outposts beyond the natural boundaries of India, transcends in its cramping and distressing effects all other financial and fiscal mistakes put together.
- (c) "That error, with its concomitant military extravagance, is one of executive policy, and no reform in administration nor in the local Legislative Councils will avail to obtain a reversal of that erroneous policy or security against repetitions of similar sacrifices of India's true interests.
- (d) "By appealing in respect of the paramount financial peril of India, first, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State as the one directly responsible authority, and, next, to the High Court of Parliament, your Congress will effectually convince independent English politicians of the capacity of your people to understand and deal with those large questions of policy, on the right solution of which depends the present and future welfare of the masses of your people."

Gentlemen, I need not tell you how weighty are these considerations, and what is, therefore, the duty of the Congress in reference to them. I dare say you fully comprehend the drift of the extracts just read and clearly understand the position of Indian finance as dominated by the huge octopus of military expenditure. The Currency question becomes of secondary importance in comparison with it. For though you may remedy your Currency, the financial embarrassments arising from the burdensome military expenditure will continue to prevail until the policy which entails it is absolutely reversed. (*Hear, hear.*)

I am deeply of conviction, and, so too, I believe, you are, that were this policy to be reversed to-morrow, we would see an end to the "prolonged wail" of our Finance Ministers in succession touching the growing difficulty of bringing an equilibrium in the annual balance sheet of the empire. We would then at once see an end to the inspired statements put forth from time to time about the enhancement of old and the imposition of new taxation. (*Hear, hear.*) I am one of those who have long since felt that in the direct proportion that the Home obligations of all character are reduced, will India find greater stability in the ratio between silver and gold. As I stated to you last evening, that was the opinion of the Departmental Committee of experts in 1876. It is idle to say that many of our gold obligations, especially those in connection with guaranteed railways, could not be converted into silver. There are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of the needed conversion. So experienced a Finance Minister as Sir John Strachey was deliberately of opinion, as observed in his book of Indian Finance, that it was practical. It is the powerful vested and most selfish interests, coupled with the tenacious perversity of some of the men at the helm of affairs at Westminster, which are in the way of the solution. (*Hear, hear.*)

But this is somewhat of a digression from the subject proper. What I have to remind you about is this : that the military policy pursued since 1876 by the Government of India, notably since 1885-86, is the real difficulty of India, not the temporary evils arising from Currency. (*Hear, hear.*)

I observed at the outset that not only is the entire Native press but even the Anglo-Indian press in favour of the demand made in the resolution before you. The Government of India itself has, since 1879, more than once bitterly complained in its despatches of the unjust burden saddled on the Indian Treasury in reference to that portion of the military expenditure which in all conscience and equity should be borne by the British Treasury. For it is incurred in consequence of the policy pursued by England towards

Russia in Europe. Even apart from the charges arising out of that policy, there are others which have been seriously objected to from time to time as being unjust,—charges of a variety of character which I enumerated at length in my speech at the First Congress and in support of which I submitted extracts from State despatches and other official returns of the Government of India itself. I will not, therefore, detain you by again reiterating them on this occasion, because there is an absolute unanimity on the point. The only thing now essential is to formulate our demand as definitely as possible, based on such unanimity. In so doing, we really support the Government of India and strengthen its hands. (*Hear, hear.*)

But, gentlemen, I may further request you to remember that it is not only the Government here that has protested against the injustice of the burden of military expenditure being laid by a rich country like England on so poor a country like India. (*Shame.*) Members of the Council of India too have protested against it. When the entire cost of the unrighteous second Afghan war was at first attempted to be foisted on India, some of those members vigorously recorded their minutes against the scandalous injustice of the attempt. Some went into the broad question we are discussing to-day. These minutes, I believe, are so germane to the substance of the resolution before you that I would be wanting in my task if I did not acquaint you with them. They are all taken from the Blue Books on Afghanistan published by order of the House of Commons in 1879-80-81. The entire cost of the Second Afghan war was, as you are aware, 25 crores of Rupees. And it was after a memorable debate in the House of Commons that India was done paltry justice to by a contribution of 5 crores from the British Treasury at the rate of a crore per annum, though there was not an inconsiderable body of English opinion in favour of England bearing the whole cost.

This is what Sir Erskine Perry, one of the truest and staunchest friends of India in the India Council, whose loss we must for ever deplore, observed: "I deny absolutely that the interest of India demand a war. Lord Lytton has told us more than once that the Central Asian question is *not an Indian but a European question*, that it depends on the policy of the Cabinet. I bow to the reasoning the soundness of which I am not in a position to judge; but as our Indian politics are charged by Parliament with the protection of the revenues of India, I maintain that *it is unjust to throw any of the cost of an Imperial policy on the revenues of that extremely poor country.*" (*Hear, hear.*)

The late Sir Henry Durand, then Military Member of the Council and who was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, minuted:—

"For the above reasons I should have been disposed to vote against the present charge on the revenues of India, but looking upon it only as an advance to the Imperial Government, feeling also that it is expedient that no time should be lost in providing for a necessity growing out of an actual war, and having been given the power under Section 23 of 21 and 22 Vict., Chapter 106, of recording my opinion, I have voted with my colleagues in the affirmative."

Sir Barrow Ellis recorded the following minute, and I ask you to listen to it most attentively as it has a great bearing on the general question. Sir Barrow Ellis, too, you may know, was a steadfast and true friend of this country and a just and most sympathetic Civilian, the type of whom is getting rare.

"It is not for me to justify the war, nor to seek to determine the causes that have led to it, except in so far as they bear on the question whether the charge ought to be borne by Indian revenues or by the Imperial Treasury. Had the war been undertaken on account of aggression by Shere Ali, or because the Afghans menaced the peace and security of India, then doubtless, at whatever cost, the charge would fairly have been debitable to India, but surely no one will allege these to be the causes of the war. It is not anything that Shere Ali has said or done that *per se* justifies the extreme step of declaring a war that must at least cost much money, and many valuable lives. *The war is clearly the outcome of events in Europe, and the necessity for it has arisen from the action of Russia, which action again was devised as a support to the schemes in Europe. It is thus in the interest of the Empire, and*

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*in furtherance of European policy, that the war has been brought about, and it is in these considerations that its justification must be found. I trust, therefore, that it will be borne in mind that the mere fact of the locale being on the Indian Frontier ought not to be made an excuse for placing a new burthen upon India. In any case substantial aid will be freely given by India in the supply of war material, and in meeting the ordinary cost of a large portion of the troops engaged; the additional charges involved ought to be accepted by the British Nation, and this liability, I doubt not will be generally recognised. The people of India are unrepresented, and it is the more incumbent, therefore, that the British Nation should impose on India no charge of this kind that is not just and beyond challenge. Taxation is already as heavy in India as it well can be, and the people will feel the more new taxes, which in any case would cause grave dissatisfaction, not to say discontent, when the imposition of such taxes is due to an expenditure which ought in fairness to be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, and not by the already over-weighted Indian tax-payer." (Hear, hear.)*

Gentlemen, I ask you to consider whether the weighty reasons stated in the minute of Sir Barrow Ellis do not still hold good? Is it not time we should reiterate them at this juncture with all the strength legitimately at our command, especially, when the expenditure, which stood at 14 crores before the breaking out of the second Afghan war, now stands at 22 crores, and the burden of the additional cost is admitted on all sides to be intolerable?

But let us pass from the testimony of the Members of the Council of India (there is other evidence which for want of time, I refrain from referring to in this place) to that of another and distinguished official, of purely English training, who occupied the post of Finance Minister during the ever-memorable Viceroyalty of the beloved Lord Ripon, (*Loud applause*), one who by his conspicuous financial ability and appreciation of the real material condition of India, gave the greatest satisfaction to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects here, I mean Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer, (*Applause*) whom we should all gladly welcome as Viceroy (*Loud applause*) if, as is rumoured, he is to succeed Lord Lansdowne. Minuting on the question of military expenditure, Sir Evelyn Baring observed (*vide Blue Books on Afghanistan, 1879-80-81*):—

"I do not think the financial condition of India is free from anxiety whose main source of revenue is derived from payments in silver, either fixed in perpetuity or only capable of increase at long intervals, while at the same time it owes a large sum annually in gold. *The Home charges have of late years been gradually increasing.* In 1881-82 they will amount to no less than 18 millions sterling. The charge is abnormally high, and moreover includes many remittances which are merely in the nature of banking transactions, *but when all reasonable deductions have been made, the amount which India must send home to meet her current wants is still very large.* Obviously under such conditions our essential element of State finance—stability—must be wanting."

Then, after referring to the precariousness of opium receipts and the necessity of keeping down the Salt duty as low as possible, and after reviewing other sources of revenue, Sir Evelyn further observed:—

"Lastly, the pressure of population upon the soil, which year by year increases in intensity, presents an economic difficulty of the first magnitude with which, indeed, I doubt the capability of Government to cope by any direct means, but which renders it imperative upon us to reduce in every possible way the pressure of taxation. *On these grounds I consider not only that it would be in the highest degree unwise to take any steps which could have for the result a large increase of a wholly unproductive nature, but I entertain a strong opinion that the reduction of present Military expenditure is of all others the financial question which most deserves the attention of the Government of India.*" (*Hear, hear.*)

Finance Minister after Finance Minister who succeeded Sir E. Baring has spoken in the same strain, so that I do not at all feel myself called upon to say aught more upon this subject after the authoritative opinions of all such experts and statesmen. I trust, therefore, that this resolution on which all India and even the Council of India are agreed, will be passed by acclamation. (*Loud applause.*)

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, (*Allahabad, No. 346 in list*),—GENTLEMEN—The resolution which is now before you is one of immense practical importance and deserves your heartest support. While the question of Exchange is troubling the minds of the Indian Government, we cannot do better than to lay this resolution before them in the hope that it will receive that attention from the Government in India and in England which it so manifestly deserves. If the Home Charges were reduced, the recruit depôts for India needlessly maintained in England at the expense of the former while actually serving as part of the defensive service of the latter, and if the other charges on account of military expenditure to which Mr. Wacha has referred were brought under the full control of the Government of India, I feel Indian treasury will be surely relieved to a considerable extent. England is in all honour bound to contribute her fair share of which she at present is unjustly depriving this poor country. There are no two opinions on the justice of our demand. Mr. Wacha has sufficiently brought the salient points in connection with it under your consideration. I will not, therefore, detain you any longer beyond expressing the hope that the Government in England will give their very best attention to this subject and afford to the finances of India that relief to which she is so equitably entitled. (*Cheers.*)

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

MR. BROJENDRANATH SEAL, (*Murshidabad, No. 211, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—Any display of personal modesty on my part, any rhetorical flourish of faltering diffidence, even if I were disposed to go through such graceful or graceless attitudinizing in obedience to custom, is effectually checked by the thought that I have been asked to review a policy which closely touches the vital interests of 220 millions of human beings in not more than a few brief minutes. A national system of education which moulds the minds and destinies of a seventh of the entire human race has something in it of the endless vista, something of the measureless tread of generations that we find in the awful mysteries and dispensations of Providence. A statesman with the creative gift, with the vision and the faculty divine, will find in the unrealised potencies of such a situation the *materia prima*, the unorganised matter, for educating a moral world peopled with the "fair humanities and intelligential essences" of the millenium. Something of the prophetic vision, an inspired sense of the glorious possibilities of an enlightened and puissant Federation of Nations in this dark Eastern Continent, filled the minds of the great pioneers of western education in India, among whom we find the illustrious names of Munro and Elphinstone, of Macaulay and Bentinck. (*Cheers*). Excuse me, Sir, if in the presence of this vast national gathering which is the faint beginning of the realisation of their hope and their prophecy, I linger for a moment in fond illusion as with a sense of present reality over the constellated glory of that noble band, before I turn to contemplate the shadows that are now stealthily creeping over the fair vision of India's future enlightenment which fired their imagination and inspired their efforts.

The present educational policy of the Government may be described under the four heads of University, Secondary, Primary and Special (or technical) education. As regards University education, in the words of Sir Raymond West, President of the Indian Section of the last Oriental Congress, "the policy of withdrawal from University education has been steadily pursued" in recent years. In Bengal three State Colleges have been already transferred to private or Municipal management, and "the retrogression has been marked in 1889-90 by reducing the staff of European Professors at the Hoogly College, and by placing the Krishnagar and Rajshaye Colleges under a European Principal of the Subordinate Educational Service assisted by graduates of the Calcutta University." The two last Colleges now exist on sufferance, and their fate would have been sealed ere long had it not been for the large public endowments that led to their foundation and in a manner pledged Government to their maintenance. "The reduction of Collegiate expenditure will appear from the fact that the cost of each student to Government has fallen by 20 per cent." In Bombay the State grant to the University of Rs. 15,000 a year has been threatened, and higher fees will have to be imposed upon the candidates. "In the Punjab, of six Colleges only one remained under Government in 1890-91." In Madras, where, as in Bengal, there are

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a number of aided and unaided Colleges, the same policy of withdrawal has been definitely kept in view. Shortly after the Viceroy's last visit, Dr. Duncan, the officiating Director of Public Instruction, Madras, declared that while the State would not abandon the cause of higher education, the people must themselves come forward to found or endow Colleges if they desired the extension of such education. This would be specially necessary as the State funds would be more and more applied to primary education, and as "the missionary societies that now maintain large colleges will in all probability withdraw from the field in India and employ their resources in Africa and other lands." This last remark of the learned Doctor applied to all the provinces of India, and the withdrawal of the missionaries from the field of secular instruction will only aggravate the difficulties of the situation which the retrogressive State policy is fast bringing on. (*Hear, hear*).

With regard to Secondary Education, the education imparted in our high schools, the same policy of withdrawal is everywhere manifest. (*Hear, hear*). The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has devised a definite scheme, beautiful in its simplicity and symmetry, for effecting this withdrawal, under which two Zillah Schools would be annually abolished where these exist alongside unaided institutions, and the education service would literally die out in course of time as vacancies would not then have to be filled up. (*Shame*). Indeed there is a probability of the education service being made non-pensionable, and this change will facilitate the abolition of the Government Colleges and Zillah Schools. Gentlemen, these proposals may appear to you very drastic, but you must remember that the evergrowing desire for high education in Bengal has been regarded in some circles as a disease which demands drastic remedies. (*Shame*). There are even desperate devices ingeniously adopted by those who control the State expenditure on Education. The Accountant-General is in the habit of deducting large sums as probable savings from the totals of sanctioned expenditure. In 1889-90 the deductions amounted to about 2 lacs, and in 1890-91, to about Rs. 1,70,000, or about one eleventh of the whole sanctioned expenditure. These large deductions are two-handed engines, they force on a reduction of educational expenditure, and they make a show, in the end, of State liberality, as the actual expenditure, to whatever extent reduced, cannot but exceed the curtailed estimate. "In 1889-90 grants-in-aid were refused to 413 Secondary Schools, and this was followed in 1890-91 by a decline of 2,000 in the number of pupils in these establishments. (*Shame, shame*). In Madras, in 1888-89, there were 147 Upper Secondary Schools of which only 4 remained which were directly supported and controlled by Government." The Municipalities are everywhere told that they must curtail their grants for secondary education, which must be left to take care of itself unsupported by state or local funds.

I now proceed to consider the attitude of Government towards Primary Education. The partial abandonment of collegiate and secondary education has been professedly made in the name of primary education. Gentlemen, the extension of elementary instruction among the masses is a matter of the highest importance from the politico-administrative as well as the socio-economic point of view. (*Hear, hear*). In India specially, where the machinery and modes of administration, the laws and the polity are not of indigenous growth, and are based on the most enlightened economic, sanitary, juristic and political views, the diffusion of primary education among the masses is a permanent State necessity, if the people and the Government are to be in touch with each other. (*Cheers*). But, gentlemen, I am sorry to find that the Government is desirous here also to shift the burden on the shoulders of others, (*shame*) I mean the Municipalities and Local Boards. In Bengal we do not hear any longer of the State being compelled to curtail its expenditure on higher education in the interests of primary education; the cry is now different. It is that it is the Municipalities and the District Boards that must provide for the elementary instruction of the masses. The matter has an interesting history. When the reduction of State expenditure on high education was decided upon, the Director of Public Instruction recommended an addition of 10 lacs a year to the primary education funds, and was confident that this would place the State system of elementary instruction on a satisfactory basis. The Government held out hopes of such an expansion, but the 10 lacs exist only in imagination, and there is a talk of the imposition of a local cess. (*Shame*). The matter has now assumed a new

aspect. In the recent resolution of the Bengal Government on the working of Municipalities outside Calcutta, the Lieutenant-Governor notes that only 29 per cent. of the boys of school-going age receive primary education, and expresses his opinion that less than 50 per cent. cannot be considered satisfactory in the case of Municipal towns. Taking the population in Municipal towns according to the returns of the last Census, and counting the cost at 10 as. per head, the Lieutenant-Governor finds that 3.2 per cent. of the total Municipal income (outside Calcutta) will suffice for the end in view. Expenditure on secondary education does not come in Sir Charles Elliott's view within the legitimate scope of Municipal bodies, at any rate not until the claims of primary education and other paramount interests are fully met. Sir Charles Elliott holds the same views with regard to the responsibilities of District Boards for primary education. In his resolution reviewing the reports on the working of District Boards in Bengal, the Lieutenant-Governor notes that the general average expenditure on education is only 20.5 per cent. on the ordinary income of the Boards, and trusts that the report for next year will show a more liberal expenditure on this object. The state of things in Bombay with regard to primary instruction is best seen from the following extract:—"In the Bombay Presidency where perhaps public education has been the most earnestly pushed forward, one sixteenth of the land-tax is handed over to the Local Boards, and they are required to spend one-third of the amount on elementary education. (*Hear, hear*). The primary schools are treated as a first charge on the public revenue, whether local or provincial, and secondary schools have in some cases been even suppressed."

Now as regards special (including scientific and technical) training, with the exception of the Faculties of Law, Medicine and Engineering, very little provision is made for imparting Collegiate or secondary instruction of the special or technical kind outside the Bombay Presidency. There is however a general desire on the part of Local Governments that the science courses for the degree examinations should attract more students than the literary course. "In Madras, in 1887-88, there was a transfer of about 30 per cent of candidates from languages to the various optional subjects." In Bengal, the fact that a greater percentage of candidates are plucked year after year at the Philosophy and History examinations than at the science examinations might *prima facie* be expected to make the science course more attractive than the literary one, but the Director reports in 1890-91 that there has been a steady decline in late years in the number of students taking up science in aided and unaided institutions. In 1890-91 the proportion of B. Course to A. Course candidates was in Government Colleges 1 to 2½, in aided Colleges 1 to 18, and in unaided Colleges 1 to 6. The Government however have adopted another method in their commendable zeal for the encouragement of science studies, and have begun to abuse the A. Course men as inferior or third class men. In Sir Charles Elliott's opinion what the country wants most is a diversity of pursuits for its educated youth and not an adherence to the beaten path of literary careers. Personally Sir Charles Elliott has in many ways shown his earnestness in the cause of higher scientific education in this country, and his recent institution of medals for scientific research by a generous donation proves him a friend to scientific education, just as he is a friend to primary education, provided both can be extended and advanced without additional responsibilities being thrown upon Government. Sir Charles Elliott rejoices to see that there is a perceptible movement in all parts of his province in favour of the establishment of industrial schools. We do not hear a word however of the Polytechniques or Technological institutes, or even of the agricultural, commercial and industrial schools of the secondary grade, which among the Continental nations have borne such splendid fruit in equipping them for the struggle for existence all over the globe, and which England is now fast developing for the sake of her own most cherished and vital interests. (*Hear, hear*). This is a curious trait, gentlemen, of the educational policy of Government all over India. The anxiety and the alarm caused in high places by the overgrowth of literary education, the diversion of the energies and the intellect of the country to practical and technical subjects, and the disinclination to take real scientific or technical training in hand by establishing a net work of industrial, commercial or agricultural schools, are

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characteristic symptoms of the Government attitude and policy. (*Hear, hear*). Two good results are however already visible : the standard of University examinations or of admission to them is being materially raised, and this is as it should be ; and in Bombay, Madras and the Punjab practical or non-literary examinations have been instituted by the Government which are not intended to lead up to the University. These examinations are worse than useless in the absence of special schools of the secondary grade. Still these ends are so high and paramount in themselves that every sound educationist would welcome the reduction in the number of University students that may be due to the operation of such causes ; but whatever diminution there has been in Madras (and the diminution has been already in course of a year) or may be in Calcutta or Bombay from the raising of the examination fees must be held on all sides to be a source of the most profound regret. (*Cheers*). It is also a matter of painful surprise that in view of the fact that the science course is taught little, if at all, in the aided and unaided Colleges, the Government should not, with all its zeal for the diffusion of scientific knowledge, see the necessity of staying or checking its policy of withdrawal from the State Colleges, which are acknowledged on all hands to be the only properly equipped agencies for the diffusion of such knowledge. (*Cheers*). In England they have a Government Science and Art department for which the Parliament annually votes more than five-hundred thousand pounds sterling. (*Hear, hear*). I should state, however, that in Bombay a large impetus was given to scientific instructions under Lord Reay,—(*cheers*),—and that the expenditure in 1890-91 rose from Rs. 89,000 to Rs. 1,23,000 contributed by Government. The Victoria Jubilee Institute is doing most excellent work in this regard. While higher institutions either of the collegiate or of the secondary grade are, therefore, with the above exceptions, not thought to be within the scope of the State responsibilities in the matter of education, the Government are favorably disposed towards the establishment of lower schools of handicraft and mechanical industry under District Boards and Municipalities.

The recent educational policy may be briefly sketched thus :—Higher education of the University as well as the secondary grade tabooed as regards State or Municipal aid ; the attempted diversion of a large class of students from the academic or literary to practical or professional studies other than law, in the interests of the industrial development of the country, if not also with an ulterior political motive, combined with the non-provision of polytechniques or technological institutes, or even of commercial, industrial or agricultural schools of the secondary grade, to impart that very sound scientific and technical training which the Government is so very anxious to see diffused and extended in the material and economic interests of the country. (*Shame, shame*.) An anxious and watchful regard for the intellectual improvement of the masses, combined with a strange apathy to that higher education, which, in the language of Mountstuart Elphinstone, is the light that must touch the mountain tops before it can pierce to the levels and the depths. (*Hear, hear*.) And finally the non-expansion of the State system of elementary education for the masses, not because of the indifference of the people, but because the Government will not undertake the cost of extension, but would fain saddle the Municipal and Local Boards with it ; in one word, the practical denial of the responsibilities of the Government for any sort or degree of education whatever, in contravention of the theory and practice of all civilised states. (*Shame, shame*). This is the position to which we are reduced to-day in India !

Indeed, when in the shadow of the great modern ideas that are stalking abroad, the States of Mysore and Baroda are developing national systems of education ;—when, in the great struggle that has begun among the races of mankind, immobile China has begun to move, and besides adding Mathematics to the Chinese classics for the Civil Service examinations, has opened a great State College of Foreign knowledge, the *Tweng wen-Kwan*, where the English, French, German and Russian languages, the physical, the physico-mathematical and the natural history sciences (including such abstruse sciences as physical astronomy and meteorology) are taught by European and American Professors ;—when Japan has provided for a population of 40 millions a full-fledged national system of education after the Prussian pattern, providing a Minister of education and the

machinery of State Universities and compulsory instruction, so much so that Tokio can boast of a psychological laboratory such as Cambridge lacks, and a Professor of Psychology who has brought out a great work on this most modern of subjects; when the great post-mediæval-European Renaissance is likely to usher in the greater Renaissance of the world;—we in India are confronted to our dismay, our discomfiture, our shame, by this unique spectacle of a civilised Government with the noblest traditions, practically renouncing some of the gravest responsibilities and functions of all civilised Governments, and reversing its own just and enlightened policy of a hundred years, built up and codified by the statesmen who have bequeathed this priceless legacy of an Empire! (*Mournful applause*).

Before I proceed to show how the present policy is a reversal and a violation of our great Educational Charter, allow me, gentlemen, in passing, to notice, with the contempt they deserve, some glaring sophisms which we often meet with now-a-days in a certain class of writings and speeches.

It is often said that high education is a gratuitous state gift to our middle and upper classes,—that students here pay less than they have to do in European Colleges and Universities, and that an eleemosynary high education is a source of danger to the state.

Gentlemen, in reply let me read the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth, late Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay, and Dr. Duncan, Officiating Director of Public Instruction, Madras, given before the Education Commission of 1882. Here is what Dr. Duncan says :—

“Compare these classes (the classes from which the students of the Madras Presidency College are drawn) and the fees they pay with the classes whose sons attended the Scotch Universities and the fees charged them. A Scotch Arts Student usually pays six or nine guineas a year, according as he attends the lectures of two or three Professors, whereas the Madras student pays Rs. 60, and the Calcutta student Rs. 144, a year. I protest against the practice of singling out the people of this country from those of all other countries in the civilised world as a people who receive an eleemosynary education at the hands of the State. I have compared India with Scotland. If we compare it with Germany it will be still more apparent that India is not so exceptionally dealt with as is commonly supposed. Mr. Lethbridge has recently shewn that the tuition-fees in some of our Government Colleges are high as compared with those of Oxford and Cambridge.” (*Hear, hear.*)

Principal Wordsworth's evidence runs thus :—“The fees paid for attendance or lectures at the Elphinstone College amount to Rs. 60 a term. I have a nephew who is a student of the University of Bonn. He is attending 18 lectures weekly this term, and he writes to me that his fees amount to 70 marks for the term, which one may estimate at Rs. 35. Most of the lectures he attends are gratuitous. The fees he is now paying are for lectures in law and Italian literature which are really extras. I fancy that the son of a small official or merchant in Germany enjoys the advantages of academic education at a much cheaper rate than the Hindu or Parsi in Bombay does, and has also, I must regretfully admit, a much superior article for his money. But it is not considered in Germany an injury to the rest of the community or a religious injustice that a superior education should be available at the public cost to the middle classes on whom the stability and improvement of every modern State depend.” (*Cheers*).

Another standing ground of alarm is the supposition that the Universities in India are turning out a disproportionately large number of educated young men who find no outlet for their energies and cultivated talents, and in their disappointed ambition sow broadcast the seeds of discontent over the country. A few facts and figures would be here apposite. In England, in 1891, the number of College students, exclusive of evening students and extension classes, was about 22,000 out of a population of 27 millions, or a male population of about 13 millions;—in India, the number was about 15,000 out of a total population of 220 millions, or a male population of about 110 millions. (*Hear, hear*). Look at the matter from another point of view. In British India 21 per cent. of the boys of school-going age attend school; in England 7.2 per cent. of the males were illiterate in 1890, giving certainly more than 93 per cent. of the boys at school; and since the Parliamentary grant of

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ten shillings per head to managers of elementary schools, we might put the figure still higher. Now the youths receiving secondary education, in the words of Sir Raymond West, amount after all to only five per cent. of the whole number recorded as under instruction in India, and the students in Colleges amount to no more than one per cent. In England the proportion is twice as great, in a German State four or five times as great,—of youths under secondary education. In a German town, from a third to a half of the children are in the High Schools." Now as the total number under instruction relatively to the male population is five times as great in England and Germany as in India, the proportion of youths receiving secondary instruction relatively to the male population is seen to be ten times as great in England, and twenty or twenty-five times as great in Germany, as in our country. (*Hear, hear.*)

The State grants for education in India are threatened with curtailment on the ground that India cannot afford to spend so much on education. Gentlemen, India spends just one per cent. of her revenue on education. No other civilised Government in the world shows a low proportion like this. (*Hear, hear.*) In 1889-90 the total expenditure on public education in India was Rx. 2,765,869 of which Rx. 488,403 came from local rates and cesses, Rx. 129,464 from municipal funds, Rx. 581,623 from subscriptions, endowments, &c., and Rx. 767,289 from provincial revenues. We find on the other hand that the annual grants to primary schools alone amounted in the United Kingdom in 1890 to £ 5,161,471, and the Parliamentary vote for the Government Science and Art department was £ 530,986. (*Hear, hear.*)

I shall now show, gentlemen, how the present policy is a reversal and a violation of our great Educational Charter, I mean the Court of Directors' Despatch of 1854 with the Revised Code of 1859. Before I describe the provisions of the Charter I shall have briefly to sketch the history of educational policy and organization under the British administration. It was on the occasion of the grant of the Company's Charter in 1813 that a clause was inserted providing that a sum of one lakh of rupees was to be set apart from the surplus revenues and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British India." (*Hear, hear.*) But for nine years the grant remained a grant on paper. From the evidence of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mr. W. W. Bird and Mr. C. H. Cameron before a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1852-53, we learn that the lakh of rupees was not drawn from 1813 to 1821. A Committee of Instruction was appointed in 1823, and "worked on the old lines devoting their energies to the promotion of oriental learning among the literary classes of Mahomedans and Hindus." Munro's minute on indigenous education and Elphinstone's on the encouragement of oriental learning advocating the continuance of the Dakshini grants of the Peshwas, are too well-known to need any but a passing mention. Macaulay's "zeal for useful, practical and scientific knowlege" brought on Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of March, 1835, which "decided in favor of English education to the entire neglect alike of oriental and vernacular instruction." From that time until we come to the Despatch of 1854, the control and supervision of education remained in the hands of bodies variously named Councils of Education, Educational Boards, University or Collegiate Boards in the various provinces. "It was after the reversal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853," I am quoting from a blue-book, "that the Educational Despatch of the Directors, dated 19th July, 1854, came out to India." The object of this great document was large and national. "It marked out the spheres of usefulness of all classes of institutions, Oriental, English and Vernacular, then working in the country, and it cared for the educational interests of the entire community." (*Hear, hear.*) The really comprehensive character of the Code is seen in the summary given of it in the 3rd paragraph of the Revised Code of 1859.

The improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and Vernacular, having been the general objects of the Despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were (1) the constitution of a separate department of the administration for the work of education; (2) the institution of Universities at the

several Presidency towns; (3) the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a higher order, and the increase of their number when necessary; (5) the establishment of additional Zillah or Middle Schools; (6) increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country, and finally, (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government, in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools." The Blue-Book from which I quote, here adds:—"The objects of this Despatch were thus not one but many, not the limitation of State expenditure and efforts to elementary instruction, but the extension and improvement of education of every class." (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I do not pretend that the Directors' Despatch, any more than the Magna Charta of the English people, is perfect. It laid down a policy that was capable of development. It was in some respects in advance of the English system that then obtained, and in other respects retrograde. It enunciates the responsibilities of the State for all the grades and kinds of education, and hence the State system that has been built upon it has included within its scope Universities, high schools, primary schools as well as technical institutions. In this respect it was an advance on the English system of the day, in other respects it was retrograde. It introduced the grant-in-aid system including in its scope higher education as well as lower and middle, to which last alone it was confined in England. No doubt the grant-in-aid system was intended by the Directors as an "auxiliary to the direct measures of our Government for the extension and improvement of general education." But altogether too much emphasis was placed on the future possibilities of the grant-in-aid system and on its applicability to all grades of education.

As a matter of fact the grant-in-aid system has only a limited applicability. It is totally unsuited to the institutions for the highest University education, whose watchword is centralisation, massive and august, the pomp and circumstance of knowledge enthroned, working through "the interwoven affinities of historic association and human imagination and sentiment," as embodied in venerable foundations and endowments, whether State-managed or State-chartered. The grant-in-aid system is also unsuited to the elementary education of the masses. I am personally of opinion that the Continental system which finds in local rates and cesses the resources for working the machinery of a national system of compulsory education, is the one to which we must ultimately tend in India, but in its earlier stages elementary instruction must not only be managed and supervised but also be maintained by the State, until the Municipalities and Local Boards become fit through the prior fulfilment of their primary responsibilities to undertake the work of popular education. (*Cheers*). The grant-in-aid system is suited and suited very well to secondary education. Under secondary education I include all institutions intermediate between the primary schools and the University Colleges. I have no hesitation in including also under secondary education all Colleges that teach up to the standard of the F. A. or Previous Examinations of the Indian Universities. Here also there are two qualifying principles—(1) superior institutions of the secondary grade must be maintained to serve as a model for the aided institutions; these institutions would answer to the Lyceum and the Gymnasium of the Continent; (2) in backward communities and districts the full responsibility for secondary education must be retained by the State. These are the qualifications required to be borne in mind in interpreting the grant-in-aid system of the Despatch of 1854. As a matter of fact the inapplicability of the grant-in-aid system to elementary instruction was soon seen by the Directors and was corrected in the Code of 1859, which ordered that the means of such instruction should be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government Officers" and that the means for the diffusion of such education should be found by the levy of educational rates, if expedient. (*See Paragraphs 50, 51 and 52.*)

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**Resolution VIII.**  
 Deprecates diminution of grants for Higher Education and advocates increased expenditure on Education generally, and an inquiry into the industrial condition of the country with a view to promote Technical Education.

3rd Day.

Resolution  
VIII.

Deprecates  
diminution  
of grants for  
Higher Edu-  
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The inapplicability of the grant-in-aid system to the University Colleges of higher standing (I do not include the second grade Colleges) has been established above by the most cogent considerations, but this is a point which remains to be embodied in our educational Code. The full and undivided responsibility of Government for the maintenance of an adequate number of such centralised bodies must be provided for by legislation. We want a fresh revision of the Code of 1854 to enforce action in favour of University education such as the revision of 1859 did in favour of elementary education.

But, gentlemen, whatever the defects of the Despatch of 1854, it never denied the responsibility of Government for undertaking any grade or kind of education, high or low. It sets out with the declaration that the education of the Indian people is to be undertaken as "a sacred duty" as a means of "conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge," (*hear hear*), and if it introduced grants-in-aid they were intended to be not the sole or sufficient machinery but only an auxiliary one. But what shall we say of the present policy which denies not merely sole responsibility as regards University and secondary education, but would not even go so far as the grant-in-aid system, of a policy, which, not content with withdrawing from higher education, would paralyse it by placing it under the ban, as regards municipal and local aid, in the name of the education of the masses! (*Shame*). The Despatch of 1854, gentlemen, speaks not of the entire withdrawal of Government, but of partial withdrawal by the introduction of grants-in-aid when expedient. Again, the Despatch of 1854 does not stand in the way of municipal aid or aid of local bodies to secondary or higher schools. Indeed para 62 speaks of the future possible transfer of many of the existing institutions to the management of local bodies under the control of and *aided by the State*, and it has been subsequently held that municipalities and local boards come under the definition of local bodies. Neither does the Despatch of 1859 in providing that the funds for the extension of elementary instruction may be drawn from local cesses if expedient, forbid the employment of the funds of bodies like municipalities and local boards on secondary education. Gentlemen, this question of the duties and responsibilities of Government under the Codes of 1854 and 1859, in the matter of making an adequate provision for all grades and kinds of education came up before the Education Commission of 1882-84. Here are the recommendations of the Bengal Provincial Committee:

"We cannot close this report without adding to the recommendations therein put forward an expression of our deliberate opinion that, independently of any efforts which the people may hereafter make for the promotion of education in various directions, increased assistance on the part of Government is necessary, if education in Bengal is to progress at a rate corresponding to the advancing requirements of the country. For the spread and improvement of primary education, for a due increase in the machinery of inspection, for an enhanced provision of scholarships to enable boys to advance to higher stages of instruction, for a far wider spread of University Education, for a more liberal scale of grants-in-aid and for the promotion of education among girls,—for all these objects, more liberal assignments are urgently demanded, if the requirements of the time are to be met, and if a comparison with European standards is to be justified. The amount of any further grants that may be made by Government for the promotion of these objects depends, of course, upon financial and political considerations with which we have no concern; we have merely to express our opinion as to the need that seems to us to exist for an increased allotment. We have no means of knowing accurately what proportion of the State revenue is devoted to education of different classes in European countries and in America; but we have grounds for believing that the educational allotments in these countries are framed on a far more liberal scale than in Bengal. (*Hear, hear*). And we cannot refrain from expressing an earnest hope that means may be found either from Provincial revenues or from additional Imperial assignments, for meeting in a more adequate manner the necessities of this Province." (*Cheers*).

After this wise and weighty expression of opinion, I shall not need to make any further observation on this aspect of the question. With regard to the Commission on technical

education prayed for in the resolution I have to move, I have already, gentlemen, explained my views on the question. Briefly put, special or technical education is of three grades, corresponding to the three grades of general education: (1) primary grade, comprising schools of handicraft and mechanical industry introduced by a course of elementary general instruction; (2) secondary grade, comprising among others agricultural, industrial and commercial schools, and led up to by a course of secondary general education; and (3) University or facultative grade, comprising the Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Technology, and Agricultural Chemistry, &c., and working through colleges, academies, polytechniques or technological institutes and other institutions. The subject is of vast importance, and the best organization of a system of technical instruction suited to the economic needs of India can only be settled by the labours of a Commission of experts. (*Hear, hear.*) The urgency of such a Commission cannot be gainsaid. Remember, gentlemen, that in India about 87 per cent. of the population depend for subsistence upon agricultural labour and the produce of the soil, only 13 per cent. being given to industrial and manufacturing pursuits; and that as established by statistical economy, the greater the percentage of agricultural labourers in any old and populous community, the deeper the poverty. (*Hear, hear.*) Remember also the fact of the growing sterility of the soil in India, where throughout vast tracts, from 300 to 500 souls on the average live on the produce direct and indirect of a square mile, including both cultivated and uncultivated areas; and that the only way of staving off sterility and starvation is to relieve the pressure on the soil by means of the industrial and commercial development of the country. (*Cheers.*)

With these words I beg to move the resolution entrusted to me, which runs thus:—

*That this Congress is of opinion, that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, i. e., the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country. (Cheers.)*

BABU HERAMBA CHUNDR A MAITRA, (*Calcutta, No. 179, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was said by an eminent Englishman that in order that a cause might prosper, it must be opposed by the *Times*. Similarly, I think it might almost be said that in order that a political principle may be proved to be sound, it must be violated by the Government of India and upheld by the National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) At the time when the dispute between England and America on the question of taxation was at its height, it was said by Edmund Burke, the greatest of political philosophers, that the American people felt the pulse of their freedom in this: if in the matter of taxation they were free, they considered themselves free; if in that they enjoyed no freedom, then they thought themselves bondsmen. In judging of the enlightenment of a Government, we must feel its pulse in its educational policy. (*Hear, hear.*) If there it is going right, then its heart is sound; if there it is going wrong, there is disease and rottenness in the heart. (*Hear, hear.*) Applying this test to the proceedings and policy of the Government of India in the matter of Education, we see from indisputable facts and figures that, however liberal the Government may be in its professions, in its actions it is utterly illiberal. I will here refer to certain figures which I have noted down. In the year 1890, while the total expenditure of the Government of India came up to 82½ crores, its expenditure on education came up only to 76 lakhs or 1¼ per cent.—not even one per cent. of the whole, and in the same year the military expenditure was 20½ crores, or 25 per cent. of the whole. (*Shame, shame.*) Now let us go back to the year 1885. In that year, while the total expenditure was 71 crores 36 lakhs, the expenditure on education was only 79 lakhs or 1½ per cent. of the total. But what is the state of things in England? The Government profess to rule us according to English ideas and principles, but I undertake to show that they withhold English principles and sentiments from us when they like, and apply them when they are grievously burden-

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## Resolution VIII.

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some and oppressive to us. (*Hear, hear*). When they talk of the excise revenue, they say—"Oh! the incidence of the taxation in England is much greater than in India, and you ought to be satisfied,"—forgetting that we are a sober people, and that an ounce of liquor in this country means infinitely more shame and wickedness than a gallon in England. But in education they do not compare the state of things here with that in England. We find that in 1891, in the United Kingdom, out of a total expenditure of 89½ millions sterling, 6½ millions was devoted to education, that is to say, in their own country they spend 7 per cent. of the whole on education. But when they come to our country, they spend not more than 1 per cent. of the revenues in the diffusion of knowledge. (*Shame, shame*). I have already referred to the figures of 1885 and 1890. In the revised estimate of 1891, and in the Budget of 1892 also they give us 1 per cent. of the total expenditure for education. So that in this respect, we are indeed living in paradise, for the fruit of the tree of knowledge is forbidden fruit to us. (*Hear, hear*.) Why is it that in the matter of education the Government of India adopts a policy so different from the course followed in England? Does truth become untruth, justice become injustice when it comes to this country? In this age of Congress and Conferences, I would suggest a Conference of scientists and psychologists sitting together to discuss whether the eternal verities, abstract notions, the moral principles which are our birthrights as the children of a most righteous God,—whether even these undergo climatic variations.

With regard to the relation between primary and high education, I will not waste your time by trying to prove that, though the Government says it is necessary to reduce the expenditure on high education in order to promote primary education, there is really no hostility between the two, but primary education must advance in proportion as high education is advanced. (*Cheers*.)

I must draw your attention to the proportion of military expenditure to the expenditure on education in this country. The former comes up to 25 per cent. and the latter to only 1 per cent. of the total expenditure. In 1891, we find from the revised estimate for that year, out of a total of 82½ crores, 21 crores 41 lakhs were spent on the maintenance of the army and on defensive military works. In the Budget for 1892, out of a total of 85 crores, 21 crores 84 lakhs or nearly 22 crores are allotted to military expenditure. In the face of these facts, what becomes of the glorious prophecy of Victor Hugo, that the pen will kill the sword, and intellectual controversies will banish sword and bloodshed from the earth? As far as we are concerned, we see that the sword is killing the pen, and that military barbarism is going to extinguish culture and refinement. (*Loud cheers*). There never was a bridal day more glorious in its dawn and more vernal in its melodies, than that which witnesses the marriage of the human mind with knowledge,—the marriage of man, made after the image of God, with light, the eldest child of God according to the Hebrew legend. Woe unto the Government which effects a divorce between them, and woe unto the people that silently acquiesces in such a divorce! (*Cheers*.) With these words, I commend the resolution to you, appealing to you to see that its spirit is followed. (*Loud cheers*.)

MR. K. V. JOSHI, (*Nagpur, No. 145, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support this Resolution. We wish to know why high education is so much at a discount with the Government of India. It is a surprise to us that the Government of India should be acting as they have been acting in the matter of high education. Is it right for the Government of India to say that they shall not allow us to enjoy the blessings of high education? That is the question. Gentlemen, because we are poor, Government should not withdraw its aid from high education but should increase it. (*Cheers*). What progress can you expect of a people who are only half educated? I submit that the claims of high education should not be sacrificed to those of primary education, any more than the manager of a mill should be sacrificed to the claims of the mill hands. The manager must be there before the great engines can be worked properly. (*Hear, hear*). Therefore I submit that the claims of high education should never be subordinated to those of primary education.

There is another point to which I desire to call attention, and that is that only a few years ago, Government expressed its opinion that education should be so regulated as to fit the educated for the pursuit of commercial and industrial undertakings. We ask the Government to carry out that policy, but that cannot be well done without the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the industries and trades of the country. Hence we ask for the appointment of such a Commission. The rebellion of the belly is worse than all other rebellions; and therefore we beseech the Government not to curtail the expenditure upon education, but to increase it, and thereby to fit the people better to earn their living. (*Cheers*).

There is one thing more. We must show the Government how this can be done. Where are the funds to come from? With regard to that, I need only say that where there is a will there is a way. (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

[The President's gong having been here sounded, the speaker, in obedience thereto, stopped speaking.]

BABU HARI PRASAD CHATTERJEE, (*Krishnagore, No. 196, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support this resolution, and I support it most heartily on behalf of the community I represent. (*Cheers*).

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

BABU BAIKUNTH NATH SEN, (*Moorshidabad, No. 210, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have to propose runs as follows :—

*That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service, should be greatly reduced, and that measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress, again, most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and that speedily, on the reforms, then and now, so earnestly advocated.*

With a new face, but with a face little powdered, you must have noticed that the main question involved in this proposition is the question of the fixity and permanence of the Government demand upon land. Now in the fifth Congress I had occasion to move, and in the sixth Congress to second a resolution on this very subject, and what I had to say on it, I have already said. I need not take up your time now, because time is very valuable at the present moment, and repeating those arguments will be only wasting time. This much only shall I say, that in referring to the millions of deaths from starvation, we appeal most earnestly to the humanity of our rulers, and entreat them to adopt measures which will prevent these deaths, or at any rate reduce their number. (*Cheers*). We suggest that the Government should reduce the burden of taxation. We also suggest that a certain fund should be set apart to establish banks for the benefit of the agricultural classes, and that fixity and permanence should be given to the land revenue demand in places where it is not so fixed; and we appeal to the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to allow the existing sad state of things to go on any longer, but to insist upon the reforms we advocate being speedily carried out. And I hope that our appeal will not go in vain. (*Cheers*.) With these remarks I place the resolution confidently before you for your acceptance. (*Cheers*).

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Resolution VIII.  
Deprecates diminution of grants for Higher Education and advocates increased expenditure on Education generally, and an inquiry into the industrial condition of the country with a view to promote Technical Education.

Resolution IX.  
Grievous distress amongst the people of India. Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent Settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

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Resolution  
IX.Grievous  
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Banks.MR. PETER PAUL PILLAY,—(*Madras, No. 9, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN—

In seconding the resolution that has been just read to you I have to make this observation that the agricultural classes of the country, at least as far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, are in great poverty and wretchedness. Those that are well acquainted with their condition will not deny the truth. But certain people would not believe that so much poverty and semi-starvation prevails among the agricultural population. I shall therefore lay before you certain figures which will incontrovertibly prove that the ryot population in the Madras Presidency are deeply sunk in indebtedness, poverty and wretchedness. (*Hear, hear.*) The figures are taken from the Administration Reports of the Department presided over by a gentleman who lately wrote a flattering memorandum to establish that the ryot is materially prospering since forty years.

According to last year's rent roll, the number of ryots, single puttadars, and joint puttadars, is 32,50,000. For these ryots the total number of sales and mortgages of immovable property for the past 10 years, from 1882-1883 to 1891-1892, is 44,95,432. The average for 10 years is thus about 4,50,000. (*Hear, hear.*) Besides the ryots in Government villages, there are ryots or tenants in zamindari and proprietary villages which cover one fifth of the area of the whole Presidency. Immoveable property includes house property the transfer of which by sale or mortgage forms a very small percentage of the proportion of sales and mortgages. Taking all these into consideration, the number of sales and mortgages of immovable property will form not less than 10 per cent. of the number of ryots on an average during the last 10 years. (*Hear, hear.*) The number of sales and mortgages is steadily increasing by leaps and bounds. In the year 1882-1883 there were 3,14,948 sales and mortgages; but in 1891-1892 there were no less than 6,08,907 sales and mortgages. (*Hear, hear.*) Confining myself to the Tinnevely district to which I belong, and which contains 2,68,000 ryots, I find that there were no less than 74,087 sales and mortgages last year. Considering all circumstances, the number of mortgages and sales is about 25 per cent. of the number of ryots. (*Hear, hear.*) During the last year there were no less than 39,83,067 notices of demand. Notices of distraint or attachment numbered 1,82,940, and the number of defaulters was 1,61,871. The figures of sales and mortgages and the coercive measures adopted for recovering land revenue, clearly show that the people are driven to the hardship of selling and mortgaging their immovable property. (*Hear, hear.*)

There are several causes that contribute to the growing poverty of the agricultural population. The conditions and circumstances under which the operations of agriculture have to be carried on are growing hard. Even the different influences that work the social revolution resulting in the disturbance of the labor market of the country, are highly injurious to the agricultural prosperity of the land. The excellent resolution of the Poona Industrial Conference that caste should be protected as an industrial institution correctly represents the state of things. By various influences that work at the destruction of the fabric of Indian society labour is disturbed, and the country is losing valuable hardy and skilled labourers whose loss cannot easily be supplied under the present circumstances of Indian society. (*Hear, hear.*) From this cause alone, let alone others for the moment, I fear that Indian agriculture is fast sinking like that of Spain. In addition to this the ryots' difficulty is increasing owing to the rigorous working of the Forest Laws, which are obstructive and injurious to the very materials necessary for agriculture. (*Hear, hear.*) I spoke about this last year.

The rigour of the Government in collecting revenue is also increasing. Twenty or thirty years ago the Collectors of revenue had the patience to wait for the close of the *Fasli* year before they resorted to coercive measures, as the land for which the tax might be due is the best security for the arrears. But since the passing of Act II of 1864, the rigour has increased. Whether the ryot is prepared at the time or not, the collection is cleared for every instalment of the *kistbunds*. If the instalment be not paid within three days after demand, the ryots' property is attached and sold, and the ryot is obliged to sell and mortgage his property, movable or immovable, in order to meet the demand. (*Cries*

of 'shame.') It is a virtue on the part of the Government to observe strict punctuality in the demand of the land revenue. But it is a misfortune to the ryot to be unable to equally exercise the virtue of punctuality in responding to the demand. (*Hear, hear*). I know of instances where even wealthy and respectable land-holders, being unprepared at the nick of time, were unnecessarily subjected to coercive measures by distraint and attachment by low-paid *ameens*. (*Shame.*) A little courtesy in such cases will spare a lot of unnecessary pain of mind and mortification without causing the loss of a single pie to the State. (*Hear, hear.*)

However, as I have said, there is increasing hardship in the growing demand of the land revenue. All the direct and indirect taxation which the ryot has to pay is a direct charge upon the income derived from his land. (*Hear, hear*). The land revenue is increasing as a general rule by periodical settlements. The village and local cesses too are direct enhancements of the land revenue by  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (*Hear, hear*). There is nothing practically to check the settlement officer in enhancing the revenue upon land arbitrarily. This keeps the ryot population in great distress and uneasiness, which prevent the agricultural classes from improving their lands. (*Hear, hear.*) When the land has undergone improvement at great cost and labor, towards which the State has contributed nothing, it is an unreasonable and cruel hardship to saddle the enterprise of a diligent ryot with increased assessment. (*Cheers*). But when high or enhanced assessment is fixed for lands that have not been improved, but have, on the contrary, deteriorated, it becomes a gross absurdity and monstrous injustice. (*Cheers.*) Yet such an absurd and unjust procedure is a very common incident in these periodical settlements. (*Shame.*) The decisions of the Settlement Officer are practically final and unappealable. Such being the case, the system is naturally productive of corruption among the Subordinate Officers of Settlement departments, who are entrusted with enormous but practically irresponsible power. (*Hear, hear.*) The Settlement departments are absolutely independent of District Revenue Officers whose local knowledge is not taken into account.

One necessary incident to lands that are not permanently settled is that they are subject to a remission of taxes in bad seasons, which may be due to either insufficiency of rain water or to its excess. Only on extraordinary occasions is any remission given for dry lands, but remissions are given ordinarily for wet lands. When the crops fail remission of taxes for failure of crops is nothing but just. Before 1860 the actually cultivated area only was taxed and the uncultivated portion was untaxed, whether the want of cultivation was owing to the negligence of the ryot or not. The ryot consulted his convenience to cultivate a portion or the whole of his puttah lands. There was no pressure put on the ryot this way, and by allowing a portion of his land to lie fallow, the land was not exhausted and the cattle had some grazing over such lands. (*Hear, hear*). But since 1860 all lands are indiscriminately assessed whether cultivated or not. When a plot of land lies uncultivated the burden of proof to show that the want of cultivation was not owing to the neglect of the ryot lies with him. This is very difficult to prove. As a matter of course all uncultivated puttah lands are taxed in ordinary seasons. Then certain rules regarding the granting of remissions are open to serious objection. According to the Madras Revenue Board standing orders, remission is to be given, when an entire Revenue field is left waste, and when the crops on the entire area have totally failed, and not in portions only of the fields, provided that the excess or deficiency of water has not been occasioned by any neglect of the persons to whom the land belongs, or is not due to the neglect on the part of the ryots concerned to carry out the customary repairs to the irrigation work which forms the source of supply. If any supply of water is received during the year, though the lands may have been irrigated entirely by well water, the full compounded rate will be charged for double crop lands and single wet rate for single crop lands. When no supply of water is received the dry rate is leviable. For remission and for water supply, every thing depends upon the *ex parte*, irresponsible, and generally untrustworthy village accountants. Prohibitory assessments are levied often arbitrarily and upon *ex parte* representations. When nature is unkind to the

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Resolution IX.

Grievous distress amongst the people of India.

Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent Settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.



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ryot, it is only humane and just that the ryots should be exempted from taxation for lands that could not possibly be cultivated in bad seasons and yield large revenue in good seasons. (*Hear, hear*). So many excuses or pretexts are invented to refuse remission. On my way here I heard of an extraordinary instance of the whole District of Sholapore being granted a remission of the magnificent sum of Rs. 23 only last year, when there was a serious drought there, (*shame, shame*), and when the Government found it necessary to open relief works at a large cost for the relief of the sufferers. There is no reason whatever for the rigorous recovery of local cesses on lands, as roads are for the benefit of all classes and particularly for the benefit of trade, which must be taxed always to make up the deficiency during seasons of drought.

Whether in the proposed reform for the permanent settlement of the land revenue there would be room for remission I cannot say, but one thing is certain that small landholders will feel it a great hardship if there be no remission during bad seasons, as they cannot be expected to store the superfluity of the years of plenty for years of scarcity and famine while they are paying land revenue uniformly for good seasons and bad seasons. (*Hear, hear*). The land revenue administration as far as it affects the ryotwari landholders, is conducted in such a way as to be productive of great indebtedness, poverty and ruin, leading to increase of ruinous litigation, the inevitable consequence of abnormal transfers of immoveable property, and to crimes, to which the poor people would resort when fair means of living fail, and to great dissatisfaction throughout the land. (*Hear, hear*.)

With these remarks I would second the resolution praying for reforms in the Land Revenue administration which are so urgently needed. (*Cheers*.)

MR. HARI MAHADEO PUNDIT, (*Nagpore, No. 144, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I come to support this resolution which deals with the important subject of a permanent settlement, but as time is very short and the importance of the subject is patent to all, I shall not take up more than three minutes in supporting the resolution. The question is a simple one. A layman can understand it; the agriculturists understand it, and not only do they understand it but they feel the hardships of the present system bitterly to their cost. (*Hear, hear*). And it will be wasting your time and my energies if I were to attempt to enlighten you by entering into a detailed history of the subject. I have only to say one word on behalf of the Central Provinces which are being crushed by the effects of temporary settlements. (*Hear, hear*.) The duration of the settlements has come down there from 30 years to 20 years, from 20 years to 15 years, and from 15 years to 12 years, and God only knows whether it will not come down to 3 years, and perhaps to a few months; though representations have been made on behalf of the dumb millions, those Provinces being inhabited mainly by the aboriginal tribes, yet the Government has turned a deaf ear to those representations. (*Shame, shame*). And, gentlemen, while on this resolution, I may be allowed to express my regret that at the Nagpore Congress, owing perhaps to the modesty of the delegates of the Provinces, this subject was not given that prominence which it deserved but was placed in what is called the 'Omnibus' Resolution. Gentlemen, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces observed that as the subject was placed in an omnibus Resolution, the Congress did not consider it to be of great importance. But as the subject has now been given a prominent place, I hope the Chief Commissioner will recognise that the Congress considers the subject to be of first rate importance, and I hope he will endeavour to secure to us the boon that we pray for. (*Cheers*.) I have only to add that I thank you heartily on behalf of the people of the Central Provinces for emphasising the necessity and importance of this reform. (*Cheers*.)

MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE, (*Bombay, No. 40, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution. I am here to speak in reference to the Bombay Land Administration. It has been often asserted by different Revenue authorities that the Bombay Land revenue administration is the best of its kind in India. But you will see that the enhancements which have of late been laid upon land on our side

have in a great many parts of that Presidency amounted to a confiscation of private property. (*Hear, hear*). In the Rutnagiri district, there is a class of landholders not in the good books of the Government, and the Government tried to remove them from their lands; but having failed to do so they resorted to putting such heavy assessments on their holdings that these holders must be out of pocket to the amount of about 1,000 per annum. (*Shame, shame*). In another part of the same Presidency, the Government has adopted 33 per cent. as the standard of increase which might safely be put upon land assessments, and no one knows how this percentage has been arrived at. But what we do know is that this 33 per cent. is not always stuck to. And it is notorious that in fixing this standard they have not taken into calculation the increased cost of cultivation. Where certain revenue officers were questioned the reply they gave was that no inquiries had been yet entered upon and that the increased cost of cultivation was a thing which need not be taken into consideration. (*Shame.*)

The Bombay system has done mischief in another respect. Though the Government profess not to tax improvements made by the people in their own lands, in every enhancement we find that indirectly improvements and other things are included in the assessment. All these circumstances have effected more injury in Bombay than they have done in any other part of India, and we on our side would be very glad to get the benefit of this proposition if the Government be pleased to adopt it. (*Cheers*). It has been said that if the Government gave up its power of increasing assessments, they will lose their revenue. But as has been suggested, if the Government were now to take twenty years' assessment, and secure the people against any assessment for the future, the money which would now come in would be sufficient to compensate the Government against any loss of the kind that is apprehended. With these observations I support the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

MUNSHI SADAR-UD-DIN AHMAD,—(*Allahabad, No. 430, in list*).—Supported the resolution in Urdu. He said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is extremely appropriate to pass a resolution praying for a permanent settlement of the land revenue at a meeting of the Congress at Allahabad, because Allahabad is a district, where owing to the excessive assessment of land made by a *merciful* officer,—whose sacred name I dare not utter without performing my ablutions, but for whom I pray God, he may be protected from Captain Hearsy's attacks,—(*laughter*)—many villages have been ruined or have passed into the hands of the money-lenders. Well, gentlemen, this is not the first time that we are considering this question of a permanent settlement of the Land Revenue. At two previous sessions of the Congress, the question has been very fully discussed, and it has been shown by the most cogent of arguments that the well-being of the people, on which depends the prosperity of the Government, (*hear, hear,*) demands that the system of a Permanent Settlement should be extended to those parts of the country where it is not at present in force. The Government itself has long laid it down that whenever in any *Mahal* (parish) eighty per cent. of the whole culturable area has been brought under cultivation, the land revenue of that *mahal* should be settled permanently. In support of this view of mine, I would refer you to the despatches No. 14, dated July 9th, 1862, and No. 11, dated the 24th March, 1865, from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council; to the Rules of settlement, prepared by a member of the Viceregal Council and published under date January 22nd, 1865, to Circular No. 24, dated 27th November, 1867, and Circular No. 10, dated 26th July, 1865, of the Board of Revenue of these Provinces, issued in compliance with the orders of the Government of India, dated 19th June, 1865, and the despatch of the Secretary of State, No. 11, of 24th March, 1865. Many more official authorities might be cited in support of the same view. And it is a matter of surprise and regret to us, that notwithstanding these explicit declarations of the opinion of Government regarding the desirability of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue, wherever eighty per cent. of the whole culturable area has been brought under cultivation, the system of permanent settlement is not yet extended to those places which fulfill the above condition. (*Cheers.*) I can find no plausible reason for this, except it may be that an insignificant part of some of the *Mahals* (parishes) remains still uncultivated. If that be the only reason, I do not hesitate to say that it is clearly unjust not to settle the land revenue permanently of places which virtually fulfill

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Resolution IX.

Grievous distress amongst the people of India. Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

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 Resolution IX.  
 Grievous distress amongst the people of India. Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks:

the above requirements. Really, if this is the only reason for withholding the benefits of a permanent settlement from the people, the officers of Government seem to me to be acting as wisely as would a dentist who would refuse to affix a new set of teeth until all the old ones have dropped out. (*Hear, hear*). Of what benefit would a permanent settlement be to the people when the land has been thoroughly deteriorated under the mischievous influences of temporary settlements. (*Cheers*.) The increasing poverty of the agricultural population, which is in no small measure due to this system of temporary settlements, under which the assessments of the revenue are being always increased, should induce the Government to extend the system of Permanent Settlement without any further unnecessary delay. (*Cheers*).

[The speaker closed his speech with a few pathetic verses composed by him in memory of the late Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath in Urdu, but he has not supplied us with a copy or an English translation of them, and hence they are not published here.]

MR. BISHAN NARAYAN DAR, (*Lucknow, No. 532 in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has just now been proposed. The resolution is composed of two parts. The first part emphasises the question of the poverty of India, and the second part suggests certain remedies for that poverty. Now in regard to this part of the resolution which deals with military expenditure, much has been said in former years, and a good deal has been said on the subject to-day also by Mr. Wacha. But I think that before we talk of the remedies, we have to contend with the assertion made by the Government organs that India is not a poor country and therefore needs no remedies. This is not a bare assertion. I will draw your attention to a very important State paper, and by referring to that you will see that the Government in its wisdom has come to the conclusion that whatever we do or do not in regard to this poverty question, we are all wrong; that India has improved in trade, in manufactures and in the condition of the masses. At least we are told by Sir John Strachey that the present Government of India does not take half as much land revenue from the people as was taken by former rulers. I say that before we go to the remedies for the evil, it is necessary to combat the assertions of those who support the Government view that India is not poor. (*Hear, hear*).

India is an agricultural country, and in order to judge of the prosperity of India, it is of the utmost importance to see what the material condition of the agricultural classes is. I hold in my hand a report of some official enquiries which were held in the year 1888 by the Government of India into the material condition of the masses. The Report is a report issued by the Local Government upon the enquiry to which I have alluded. It will be observed that in all matters of the utmost vital importance to the well being of this country Government carries on things secretly, under the cover of darkness and without the light of public opinion. (*Shame*). This is the way of the Government. Wherever there is any important matter, anything regarding the condition of society or the public, Government manages it secretly and privately. The very results of the inquiry are kept concealed and hermetically sealed. (*Shame*). This Report while discussing the question of the poverty of the agricultural classes and of the masses, generally divides them into four classes. First, the agriculturists having a right of occupancy in the land and holding over five acres. Eight agriculturists of this class were examined by Mr. Cadell, seven of whom were found to have been living for some months upon only one meal a day. The second refers to agriculturists, who having the right of occupancy were holding less than five acres. In regard to them the Report says that the majority of them go on for months and years on one meal a day only; and the Report adds, with great satisfaction, that the people do not mind it. (*Cries of "shame"*). The third class were agricultural laborers. Now in regard to them the Report is almost unanimous in saying that the condition of these labourers is far from being what it should be and that a considerable majority of them live for months and months upon one meal a day. Now when these starved and emaciated people came before these Magistrates and Collectors, when they saw them, they described them as "thin but happy"—(*shame, shame*)—"thin but decent-looking and humorous." (*Laughter*.) Thus the Report is not lacking in humour. I think the time has long past in India when the story of Nero fiddling when Rome was burning should be re-

peated. (*Hear, hear.*) Here you have English officials who have all the sympathies and affections of men, writing in this way! The man's thinness means that he was pining away, and it has no humorous side about it. I think it was Mr. Irwin who himself got so much disgusted with this official cynicism that he said that being thin and happy was a paradox to him. Unless thinness was the result of some medicines or low diet, it would be a paradox to me also to believe that men looking like these were also happy. In regard to the fourth class, the outside artisan class, it is said that upon the whole they do not suffer from insufficiency of food. These are results stated after an inquiry instituted by the Local Government under the orders of the Government of India; and they bear out the melancholy dictum of Sir W. W. Hunter that forty millions of the people are constantly living upon the verge of starvation.

I must submit to you the opinions of one or two officials. Mr. Harrington, Commissioner of the capital of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, admits the woful poverty of the people, and in regard to the question whether it is true or not that a considerable portion of the population of India suffer from an insufficiency of food, he says :—

“The assertion that the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food is perfectly true as regards a varying but always considerable proportion of the population, for a considerable part of the year in the greater part of India.” (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. Irwin, another high authority on the subject and not altogether free from the bias of official optimism, says in his “*Garden of India.*” “The great evil of rural Oudh is, as has been already observed, the insufficiency of the produce of the soil to maintain the population in comfort, after defraying their rent and the cost of cultivation. While this is so, of what use is it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to any thing but direct action on the sources of the evil. While the millions suffer from chronic hunger, it would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by ornamental legislation or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want.” (*Hear, hear.*)

Now in the face of these opinions the Local Government says in its Report that there is no such habitual insufficiency of food in the case of the majority, or any considerable section of the population. (*Cries of “shame.”*) This is the conclusion to which they have come! The Government of India endorses the statement, the Secretary of State probably says ditto, and the Blue book is left to moulder upon the shelf. (*Shame, shame.*)

This is the question before you. Whatever remedy is proposed, whether a reduction of military expenditure or something else, unless you succeed in convincing the English people of the serious character of the problem pressing upon us, unless you succeed in impressing upon them the necessity of finding some satisfactory solution of it, all your resolutions are in vain. This is a resolution which may well be called the people's resolution. (*Cheers.*)

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

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR,—(*Satara, No. 69, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Having considered all the above questions, I think it is but right and proper that your attention should be directed to the question of the laws relating to the Conservation of Forests. The Resolution which I have the honor to move is this :—

*That this Congress entirely adopts Resolution XI of the Congress of 1891, and reiterates its prayer, that having regard to the very serious discontent created, particularly in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India do investigate this matter carefully, and endeavour to mitigate the harshness of such administration, and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.*

In speaking on this subject, I feel the force of the voice of the eight thousand people who have sent me here, (*hear, hear*), urging me to press this subject on the attention of the Congress. Meetings were held, one at Belgaum, where about 6000 persons attended, and the other at Dahe where 3000 people were present; where the desire was expressed that this question should once more receive the attention of the Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) This circumstance alone will show you the gravity of the question and the necessity for this resolution.

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Resolution IX.  
Grievous distress amongst the people of India. Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

Resolution X.  
Necessity for mitigating the harshness of the practical administration of the Forest Laws.

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Resolution  
X.Necessity  
for mitiga-  
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administra-  
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Forest Laws.

On this occasion the people have been specially fortunate in having for their spokesmen the body of the Government itself. This year, in considering the reports submitted by the Forest Officers, the Government passed a resolution containing some strictures on the administration of forests by the Officers of the Department, taking them to task and calling upon them to obey the orders which had been issued by the Government really and without cavil. (*Hear, hear*). That is the wording of the last paragraph of the Resolution submitted by the Bombay Government. Here are spokesmen of the grievances suffered by the people whom the people never expected at all. With this admission of the discontent created by the Forest Administration, I think I shall not be justified in going over the same ground. We did ask the Government of India on the last occasion to investigate this matter carefully and to endeavour to mitigate the hardships which are experienced by the people by the improper administration of the Forest laws. And it is a matter of the purest gratification that unasked the Government of Bombay has taken upon itself the gracious task of enquiring into the grievances of these people. (*Cheers*.) If I were to quote to you certain facts which I have gathered from the recent Administration Report of 1891-92, they would go distinctly to prove the necessity of such an investigation by higher authority. When this Resolution was passed by the Bombay Government, the Officers of the Department were not satisfied with it as it was a very bitter pill for them to swallow, and it was taken up by the Press on behalf of the Officers concerned. While this was the attitude of the Bombay Government their Resolution was sent to the Government of India, who in their gracious appreciation of the circumstances of the country were satisfied that what the Bombay Government had placed before them was true and they stigmatised the conduct of the officers charged with the administration of the Forest laws, and at the same time expressed their regret that the matter was not investigated earlier. (*Cheers*.) Therefore in our Resolution we entirely adopt the Resolution of the Congress of 1891, and reiterate our prayer for investigation into these matters. If the grievances of the people had been removed, there would have been no necessity for further enquiry; but those grievances still exist, and therefore we call upon the Government of India to enquire into the matter. I have arranged these grievances under several heads. The first of those grievances is that during the year 1891-92, the number of cattle killed by snakes rose from 1095 to 1187, and the number killed by wild animals and snakes together amounted to 2,820. Having regard to the fact that the habitations of these poor people are begirt on all sides by Forests, it is the duty of the Government to keep the inhabitants of the Forests within their own bounds also. Then what as the number of the cattle impounded?—3,39,296 as against 3,31,491. When I remarked on the last occasion that the Government itself was sometimes helpless against its own officers, I did not think I should have to refer again to the same fact; but the Government was alive to the fact and saw that its officers were growing rather independent. And another fact is that there is a decline in the number of cattle throughout the Presidency except Sindh. The decline has taken place chiefly in Sholapore and Sattara, and the want of fodder is undoubtedly responsible for that decline. In this state of circumstances one would have expected that the Government would have allowed the Forests to be opened, just as we have heard of the Nizam's Government opening its closed Forests to cattle. (*Hear, hear*.) I will give you figures to show how the revenue is rising gradually, and especially in Sattara. In 1873 the revenue was Rs. 11,871; in 1880 it rose to something like Rs. 45,000. These are facts, and I have a number more, which will prove the necessity of strengthening the hands of a benevolent Government and the fallacy of condemning the Government for the acts of its officers. We feel the oppression not on account of the acts of the Government but of its officers. We pray the Government of India to enquire into the matter, and we also congratulate the Bombay Government in having in a straightforward manner taken their officers to task. (*Cheers*.) We hope next year to come out successfully in regard to this matter, and I hope to give you a better account next year if you are pleased to accept this Resolution. (*Cheers*.)

MR. P. KESHAVA PILLAI (*Gooty, No. 37, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—We are fully alive to the advantages of preserving forests from indiscriminate denudation, but the hardships and harassments the Act and the rules cause to the ryots and the poor may be avoided by some modification of the Act as well as the Rules. (*Hear, hear*.)

The Officers of the Special Department vie with each other in enhancing taxes on various forest produces but also in adding one after another under the taxable forest produces, thus abolishing gradually almost all the communal rights of the villagers.

Contrary to all the principles of law, that under the Forest Act if a head-load, or hand-load of firewood or other wood, were seized in any place, no matter where, it may be in the midst of a town far away from the precincts of a forest, reserved or unreserved, the presumption is that until the contrary is proved by the defendant, the seized property is forest produce. This provision in the Act has been a source of much oppression and hardship to the people, at the hand of Forest Subordinates.

The High Court of Madras so long ago as 1885 observed in their report on the administration of Criminal Justice in the Presidency as follows:—

“These facts (the increase in offences under the Abkari, Forest, Police and Salt Acts and the decrease in the number of offences under the Hackney Carriages Act and the Municipal Acts) indicate that while sanitary rules have either been less rigorously enforced or less frequently infringed, increased activity has been exhibited in the working of those special Acts—Abkari, Forest and Salt—where care is most necessary, that injudicious zeal should not be permitted to lead to prosecutions which cannot be supported or to harass the people unnecessarily.” (*Hear hear.*) So all the excesses committed by the Forest officers are attributed to zeal.

Even His Excellency the Governor of Madras seems to be actuated by zeal in this respect. While His Excellency was touring through the Cudappah District, it would appear he came across a man taking a handful or a little more of *Sunkesa* leaves from a tree, if I may so call it, for the purpose of using it as medicine; and His Excellency was pleased to order that that man should be prosecuted under the Act. (*Shame, shame.*) The man was tried and punished to pay a fine of a few Rupees for mischief. I can quote worse instances if there were time for doing it.

Well, as it is we cannot expect the Departmental officers to be more lenient or generous in the treatment of all such so-called offences when the Governor himself is of such a frame of mind. (*Hear, hear.*)

But I think that it ought to be acknowledged with thankfulness that the Government of Madras was pleased during the last year to withdraw the restriction placed on loose stones, mud, sand, &c. in unreserved forests, if we can call them forests at all. This was done on a reference made by the Honorable Mr. Grose of the Board of Revenue, whose attention was drawn to the subject by the *Hindu* of Madras. The Government was generous enough to acknowledge that the grievances complained of in the *Hindu* were not imaginary, said that certain Collectors misunderstood its intentions, ordered the immediate withdrawal of the orders of the Collectors, and directed the Board of Revenue to frame a new set of rules in consonance with the wishes of the Government. We hope it will be liberal and just enough to justify our expectations raised by the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The Government and the Board admit in the said resolution that the Revenue Inspectors, village officers and such other people are not to be trusted, and that they would feather their own nests instead of benefiting the Government if powers were invested in them to collect seigniorage in all such articles.

Knowing this as they do, why do they not exempt the necessaries of life for the ryot and the cattle, the green wood for agricultural implements, thatching grass, vegetable manure, and grass from the control of such petty officers and redress a grievous wrong, the poor ryot and the poor man are suffering from in silence and misery? (*Cheers.*)

The policy of reserving *Parumboke* lands near villages when they exceed 100 acres, and in some places even 50, is a great injury done to the cattle. The absurdity of it is that in many so-called reserved forests even shrubs do not grow. It is all then harassment and trouble to the ryot, and the starvation and deterioration of the cattle. There remains very little pasture ground unrestricted for the cattle of the ryot population. The ryots are obliged to exhaust their dry fodder such as straw, cholum, stalk, &c., in feeding

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Resolution X.

Necessity for mitigating the harshness of the practical administration of the Forest Laws.

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harshness of  
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tion of the  
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them even in good seasons, and thus it becomes difficult for them to maintain them in the times of scarcity. Of course he cannot shoot down all the cattle, other than the ploughing cattle, as generously suggested by a Forest Officer ?

The prevention of people from collecting even dried wood in the forests reserved and unreserved, without a pass, gives scope to the forest subordinates to cause annoyance and suffering to the poor, and especially the honor of poor women, who resort to these places for collecting firewood, is not at all times safe at the hands of the ruffianly and low paid class of guards and Tanadars. (*Hear, hear.*)

Even the Departmental Officers were obliged to say in their Report of 1884-85 in this wise—"Forest guards and Tanadars have been strictly warned against interfering with villagers found collecting brushwood, &c., for firewood from unreserved areas."

Further, the prohibition to remove fuel from the forests compels the ryots to make use of such useful manure as cowdung as fuel, and this coupled with the difficulty experienced in getting vegetable manure, tends to impoverish the land. The policy of reserving even cultivated and cultivable land by making forced settlements with the ryots, restricts the area of cultivation which is a danger in the face of growing poverty and increasing population. (*Cheers.*)

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

Resolution  
XI.  
Appoint-  
ment of a  
committee  
to prepare a  
petition to  
Parliament  
regarding  
the results  
of the Pub-  
lic Service  
Commission.

MR. A. NUNDY (*Agra No. 497, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have to propose runs as follows :—

*That Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, and Rai Bahadur Anunda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the lines indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.*

To

*The Hon'ble The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

*The humble petition of the President and Members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1892, Respectfully Showeth,*

(1). *That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon'ble House, the deep disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.*

(2). *That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India, in their resolution appointing the Commission, observed, "that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules, under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service." But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.*

(3). *That in respect likewise to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous exami-*

nations. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4). That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that the Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon'ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country.

And your petitioners will, as in duty bound, ever pray.

I must confess it was with a certain amount of hard feeling towards our distinguished President that I left this hall last evening. And it was for having thrust on me a duty I was unwilling to undertake—that of moving this resolution.

But I am glad now the President gave me an opportunity of standing on this platform, for I am thereby enabled to explain a matter which might otherwise give rise to misapprehension. The number of Indian Christian Delegates attending the Congress this year is very small, and the enemies of this National movement might get hold of this fact and say that so far at least as the Indian Christians are concerned their interest is diminishing and they are quietly withdrawing their support from a cause which they had at first warmly espoused. This is not so, the absence of most of the Christian Delegates is due to the fact that they are at the present moment attending a Christian Conference which is now assembled in Bombay and which meets only once in ten years. (*Hear, hear.*) I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity for asserting in emphatic terms that the Christians are still as warmly interested in the Congress movement as they at any time were, that we strongly feel that our fate is bound up with the fate of our fellow countrymen, and that we consider it a privilege to be associated with them in the common cause of agitating in a legitimate manner to remove the disabilities and grievances from which we are all suffering. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution committed to my charge is a necessary corollary to a previous resolution which has been fully discussed and unanimously passed by you—I mean the second resolution. In that resolution you have deplored the fact that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been carried out in their integrity, that the number of appointments for the Provincial Service have been reduced from 108 to 93, that the number of Judgeships have been reduced from one-third to one-fifth, and you have further recorded your opinion in that resolution that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India. It is therefore unnecessary, and indeed it would be beyond my province, to enter into the questions arising from the Report of the Public Service Commission, which have already been discussed and passed. The only point that I have to put before you is whether you think it desirable or not that we should carry our grievances with reference to the admission of the Natives of the country in to the Civil of a Petition to the British House of Commons.

A few weeks ago the late Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, in the last public function in which he took part, *i. e.*, the opening of the Benares Water-Works, volunteered a certain amount of paternal and parting advice. Even he had to concede that it was possible for the people living under the benign rule of the British Government to suffer from grievances of which they might reasonably complain. (*Hear, hear.*) But what was the advice Sir Auckland Colvin gave for the redress of these grievances? Ninety-nine out of a hundred Englishmen would have said, agitate, and agitate strongly, till you attain your object. Not so the ex-Lieutenant-Governor. He expressed a pious horror of agitation, and stigmatised in bitter terms what he called the professional agitator, but wound up by advising his hearers if they had a grievance to do what—to lay them before the District Magistrate! (*A laugh.*) Evidently Sir Auckland thought a man had only to go to the District Magistrate with his grievance and it would be immediately redressed, a curious commentary on facts as they really exist. But even he admitted the possibility of people going to a District Magistrate being disappointed, for he went on to add—'if the Magistrate fails

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ment of a  
Committee  
to prepare a  
petition to  
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lic Service  
Commission.



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Resolution  
XI.

Appoint-  
ment of a  
Committee  
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petition to  
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the results  
of the Pub-  
lic Service  
Commission.

you go to the Commissioner.' And here he thought there was almost a certainty of a speedy redress of all grievances. But still he went on—if by any mischance there was a denial of justice by that official, then as a last resource, there was an appeal to the head of the Local Government. The Lieutenant-Governor's advice ended there;—he could not conceive any remedy beyond that. He could not conceive it possible that the Lieutenant-Governor would ever fail to redress any grievance brought before him. He must have said to himself that if a ruler of a sister province, in his tender solicitude for the people under his charge, is actually engaged in redressing a grievance which never existed, and to remove which no one had ever asked, surely it could never happen that a real grievance could be brought before a Local Government without its being immediately redressed.

Well, gentlemen, our experience is unfortunately otherwise, and if I may be permitted to take the liberty of supplementing the profound utterances of a Lieutenant-Governor, I would add—'if you fail to obtain redress from a Lieutenant-Governor go to the Viceroy, and if you fail there go to the Secretary of State, and if you are disappointed there, lay your grievance by means of a petition—before the House of Commons. (*Hear, hear.*) And this is precisely what the resolution before you asks you to do. In doing so you will not only avail yourself of the only remedy now remaining to us, from which we can hope, sooner or later, to obtain a redress of our grievances in this matter, but you will also thereby be carrying out the advice of our venerable and distinguished countryman—Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, (*cheers*) who has advised us strongly to support his hands by means of a petition to the British House of Commons. With these remarks I commend the resolution for your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

BABU KALI PROSANNO KAVYAVISHARADA, (*Calcutta No. 185, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—In seconding the resolution I think the less I say the better it will be for you. Year after year this Congress has passed resolutions, and now in the present session this is only a corollary to the resolutions previously passed. Our only means of redress is to present a petition to the House of Commons, and who can prepare a better petition than those whom we propose to entrust with that duty. (*Hear, hear.*) Such a petition will tend to strengthen the hands of our illustrious country man, Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, in Parliament. Not that I am sanguine in my expectations that this petition will have the desired effect, but I fully believe that we cannot appeal in vain to that noble nation who have won renown for themselves for spending thousands of pounds out of their own pockets for the liberation of negro slavery of Africa. (*Cheers.*) It is dangerous to be a prophet, but I see the hand of Heaven laid upon the wheels of time. Despot, thy days are numbered; thy sceptre has been wrested from thy hands and given to nobler statesmen who have a higher sense of duty in conformity with the nationality to which they belong. (*Cheers.*)

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

Resolution  
XII.

Legislative  
Council for  
the Punjab.

MR. KANHAYA LALL, (*Lahore No. 615 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution, that I have to propose runs as follows:—

*That this Congress, in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and, having regard to the fact that a similar Council has been created for the United Provinces, hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.*

You have heard this resolution which asks for the creation of a Legislative Council for the Punjab, just as we have in the United Provinces of the N.-W. P. and Oudh. I must say it is with great hesitation that I propose this resolution, because I feel it is a speculation in the present state of things, the Legislative Council being filled by members nominated or selected, whatever you may call it, from the people, but not on the representative principle. People who accept seats notwithstanding their incompetency to hold such a responsible charge, do so simply to aggrandize themselves, and to add another name "honourable"—dishonourable would be more appropriate,—to their titles. So it is a speculation, because if those rules which we expect are not sanctioned for a long time to come and the Council is constituted upon the same lines as the existing Councils, then we

shall be in a worse position than we are in at present. The present machinery for enacting laws for us is to some extent a reliable one, I mean, the Supreme Legislative Council of India where able men sit. They have some regard for a sense of duty. But if people are selected from our Province without representation, then there will be the danger of harm. Some four or five years ago a Tenancy law and a Revenue law were enacted for the Punjab, and passed in the same year. It was the opinion of the Financial Commissioner and the Board of Revenue that these laws affecting important rights in property, should sweep away the prevailing local practices which were to be excluded altogether. But it was the wisdom of the Legislative Council of the Government of India which prevented their agreeing with the opinion of the Revenue authorities, and a right of appeal was left in these important cases. Therefore I say that I feel hesitation in moving this resolution. But as this Congress has by a resolution in 1885 committed itself to such a resolution and demanded a Council for the Punjab, and because there is the expectation of getting such rules by which real representation may be secured, therefore I propose this resolution. (*Hear, hear.*) I also propose it because it is not a wise thing to say that I shall not acquire property or build a house because it may be occupied by bad tenants. There may be a time when it may be occupied by a good tenant if it exist. For these reasons I commend the resolution to you for your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

MR. MURLIDHAR (*Umballa, No. 612, in list.*).—MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—There are cotton manufactures in Bombay, art industries in Poona, flour mills in Delhi, and if this legislative mill had been like all other mills, then we would not have been under the necessity of working for its reform. For this mill we would have got ordinary laborers to work. But this is not a windmill, because if it had been a windmill we would have found Don Quixotes to work it. These are found in India in large numbers, but such a mill is not to be found in England because there are no Don Quixotes there; these are only to be found in India. (*Laughter.*) If the Councillors are to sit only like dumb creatures, then I say make a statue of Liberty and simply place it upon the Legislative stage, and then you will see what a beautiful spectacle it will be. (*Laughter and cheers.*) It will be noble to look at. But as long as these illiterate and dumb people who do not understand a word of English, the language in which the proceedings are conducted, will sit mute and dumb, I do not see the least difference between these honourables and dumb statues. (*Cheers.*) It is therefore that you have called these Legislative Councils a sham. Why then do you inflict this sham upon us? Oh! but we have not even the satisfaction of having this sham in our province, and therefore we hunger for it. We hope we shall not have to wait long; that there will be a reformation, and that the time is coming when we shall have a real representation. (*Cheers.*) If I had dared to give utterance to such feelings in regard to honourable members, and if I had been a native of some Native State, then perhaps you would have found my head off my shoulders. I would have been a headless ghost, and you would not have seen my shadow. (*Laughter.*)

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

MR. D. N. BANERJEE, (*Allahabad, No. 337, in list.*).—GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I have to propose runs as follows:—

*That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgements to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the service rendered by them to India during the past year, and entirely approves and confirms the re-construction of the British Committee of the Congress which has been effected by them, as also the new arrangements which they have made in regard to their office establishment, and the journal "India;" and that this Congress also tenders its thanks to Mr. W. Digby, C. I. E., for the services which he rendered to the cause during his tenure of office as Secretary to the British Committee.*

I am exceedingly sorry for you all because I feel sure that I am bound to disappoint you. Probably you have seen me very closely associated with Babu Surendro Nath Banerjee during these days here; and probably you think that I have been able to borrow something from him of that inestimable gift which he possesses, or that he has been able

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3rd Day.  
 Resolution  
 XIII.  
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 "India."

to give me some of it. But he has done nothing of the kind. The fount of eloquence which was in our family, has descended, according to the law of primogeniture, to the eldest branch of which my dear nephew Babu Surendro Nath Banerjee is a worthy member. So pardon me, gentlemen, if I do not come up to your expectations.

But still I have some thing to say and must say in support of this resolution. It is a very simple task to rise and express our gratitude to those who have done something for our benefit ; and it was only that idea which has encouraged me to appear before you.

We have undertaken a very grave cause ; it is admitted that the ultimate success of the great undertaking depends a good deal upon the sympathy and support of the British public. (*Hear, hear*). It is therefore our duty, I think, to record our gratitude to those men who are now engaged in the British Committee of the Congress, working in England in order to interest the people of England in our behalf. (*Cheers*). Seldom do we find English gentlemen, after having retired from the service, after life-long labour, devote themselves to the cause of the people of the country without private purposes of their own to serve. But that is not the case with the distinguished gentlemen who are now upon that Committee and working there. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, I think we should be guilty of the highest ingratitude if upon an occasion like this you do not record your deep appreciation of the valuable services these gentlemen are rendering to our cause. I do not think I need single out any one out of the names which are there for any special praise, for, I think even the chief among them would be after all a chief among equals ; and with these observations I will retire with a credit of three minutes in my favor which I leave as a start on behalf of the first man who will follow me. (*Cheers*).

MR. K. B. MULICK, (*Kalna, No. 222, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The task which has been entrusted to me, you will all concede, is a most gracious and pleasing one. I am called upon to support the vote of thanks which has been proposed to be given to the British Committee. Gentlemen, you are aware that that Committee is a most important adjunct of this Congress. (*Hear, hear*). The European gentlemen who are on that Committee are your mouthpiece, and as such they discharge most important duties connected with this Congress. I have therefore very great pleasure indeed in seconding the resolution moved by my predecessor. In this connection I shall make only one remark with regard to Mr. Digby's services to the Congress. You are aware that his connection has now been severed, not because he did not like to work for you, but it has been owing to circumstances over which he had no control ; and I can assure you, gentlemen, that although his connection has been severed, he continues to take the same earnest interest in the Congress as before. (*Hear, hear*). As Secretary to the Committee he discharged his duties loyally, with spirit and zeal, not to say that he did it to the entire satisfaction of this Congress and the members of the Committee ; and it is therefore that we record this expression of our gratitude. (*Cheers*). With these few remarks I have to express my own great pleasure in being able to second this resolution. (*Cheers*).

The President here stated that the Hon'ble Sunkar Nair, of Madras, was to have moved this resolution, but through an oversight, it had been moved by another speaker. He offered an apology to Mr. Nair for the mistake, and requested him to support the resolution.

THE HON'BLE SUNKAR NAIR, (*Madras, No. 2, in list*).—who on rising was greeted with cheers, said :—GENTLEMEN, I suppose I must say something now. You are aware that agitation here in India alone is hardly sufficient for our purposes ; and that it is necessary to educate English public opinion upon the questions at issue between ourselves and our opponents. It was therefore necessary that there should be a committee of European gentlemen like the British Committee at London, to impress upon the English public and upon the House of Commons the necessity of effecting some of the reforms which we have

been advocating. And it is only meet therefore that we should return our most cordial and grateful thanks and acknowledgements to the members of the British Committee for the services they have so voluntarily and sincerely been rendering in that direction. (*Cheers*).

My predecessor Mr. Mullick has already referred to Mr. Digby's services; but there is one fact I should like to mention, and that is, the fact of Mr. Digby having resigned the Secretaryship of the Congress Committee. We all know what his labors have been, and what he has done for us. It would indeed be too much to recapitulate them here. (*Cheers*). Consequent upon his resignation we have been called upon to make other arrangements, and I have no doubt that you will agree with me in approving the recommendations which have been made to you. With these few remarks I support this resolution. (*Cheers*).

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

CAPTAIN BANON, (*Punjab, No. 609, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I have to propose for your acceptance is as follows :—

*That this Congress is thankful that the House of Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government in India, and desires, once again, to enter its protest against all State-regulated immorality in India.*

In moving this resolution it is necessary for me to say only a very few words. When the Congress passed this resolution four years ago at this very place, Allahabad, they supposed that no doubt would ever again be felt as to what view they took of this matter, and so they never troubled to re-affirm this resolution since. But we are now obliged to ask you to once more pass this resolution, for it has been said that the India Office have been hinting that as the Congress have not reaffirmed this resolution, they have since changed their opinion concerning it. Besides this, our reaffirmation of it at the present moment, will very considerably strengthen the hands of the Anti-C. D. Acts party in England, who are about to move in this matter as soon as Parliament reassembles next month. Under these circumstances we again ask you to pass this resolution unanimously. (*Cheers*).

MR. V. N. BHIDE, (*Poona, No. 85, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I gladly second the resolution which you know requires very little to be said in support of it. This is a resolution which I think we need not dwell much upon, because to do so would be to suppose that our Government and the Government in England are interested in regulating immorality, which is a thing I cannot believe. (*Hear, hear.*) But sometimes improbabilities happen, and possibly this might be one of them. I second the resolution in the hope that this is the last time we shall have to bring such a resolution before so honourable and respectable a body of delegates as are assembled here from all parts of India. (*Loud Cheers*).

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

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—In moving the next resolution one word of explanation is necessary. We have heard from friends in England that Parliament would be so busy in the ensuing Session with domestic legislation, that the Congress would not then be able to get a hearing in England. Therefore it has been considered desirable to postpone the sitting of the Congress which it was proposed to hold in England in 1893, and I consequently move the following resolution :—

*That, regard being had to the present political situation in England, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1890, for holding—all things being convenient—a Congress of not less than hundred delegates in England, in 1892, be now suspended, until after the Session of the Congress in 1893.*

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

3rd Day.

Resolution XIII.  
Thanking the British Committee and Mr. Digby. Confirming new arrangements about the office of the Committee and the Journal "India."

Resolution XIV.  
Protests against State-regulated immorality in India.

Resolution XV.  
Postponement of the English Session until after the Congress of 1893.

3rd Day.

THE PRESIDENT.—I shall now move the sixteenth resolution which runs as follows :—

Resolution  
XVI.  
Thanking  
Central Fins-  
bury, and ap-  
pointing Mr.  
Naoroji as  
India's re-  
presentative  
in the House  
of Commons.

*That this Congress most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji their member in the House of Commons; and it again puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that gentleman has rendered to this country, re-iterates its unshaken confidence in him, and looks upon him as India's representative in the House of Commons.*

I do not think it needs seconding, and feel sure you will carry it by acclamation. (Loud Cheers).

The Resolution was put and carried by acclamation.

Resolution  
XVII.  
Financial  
arrange-  
ments of the  
Congress.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—We have a permanent fund of Rs. 35,000 in the Oriental Bank, and I hope that fund will increase in the course of time. In addition to that we have a sum of Rs. 1,900 and odd also locked up in that Bank. But hopes are held out to us that we shall get 75 per cent. of our money. Sometimes it is not very easy to collect money as it is required, and therefore if you will empower the trustees to send to England not more than £500 out of these sums, it will save a great deal of trouble, and as subscriptions come in, the money will be refunded to the permanent fund, and thus your permanent fund will remain intact. With this explanation I move—

*That this Congress hereby empowers the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund—now locked up in the "New Oriental Bank Corporation, Ltd.," at present in liquidation—to send at least five hundred pounds out of it to the British Committee, to be recouped by subscriptions from the Standing Congress Committees.*

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution  
XVIII.  
Contribu-  
tions to the  
Congress  
Fund.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJI, (Calcutta, No. 188, in list.),—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been entrusted with what might be called a purely formal resolution, but nevertheless it is a resolution which, affecting as it does the highest and best interests of the Congress, because it affects its financial interests, is of the greatest importance to that body. Let me in the first place read out the words of the resolution:—

*That, regard being had to the representations received from the British Committee, this Congress is of opinion, that a sum equivalent in Rupees to two thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, be allotted for the expenses of the British Committee, for the year 1892-93; that deducting the money which has been received up to now, the balance be allotted amongst the different Standing Congress Committees, in accordance with the arrangements come to with them; and that the sum be remitted to England as soon as practicable.*

I have remarked that this is a purely business resolution, and it needs a word or two of explanation. You know perfectly well that the British Committee have reduced their expenses. I need not offer any explanation in regard to that measure of the British Committee, for it is fully explained in the admirable and lucid note which has been addressed by Sir William Wedderburn to the various Standing Committees of the Congress. Our expenses for the next year will come up to £2,800. If you have read that note which I hold in my hands, you will find that out of this £2,800, £900 represents the unrealised balance due for this year. Therefore, practically, the expenses of next year will be £1,900, or £100, less than the estimate of the British Committee. You will also have noticed, if you have read this memorandum, that this sum of £1,900 includes a very large item of £1,100 representing the expenses which have to be met for the purpose of keeping up and maintaining our journal *India*. Well, there will be a balance to our credit, as far as that item is concerned. There will be subscriptions coming forth, and I hope and trust in increasing numbers in future years. I hope and trust it will be our privilege to wipe off this item of expenditure in the not distant future as soon as *India* becomes a self-supporting journal. *India* must be maintained. It is the right hand and the organ of the Congress; it is our foundation, our right arm of strength, to fight the constitutional battle in which we are engaged at the present moment. It is not enough that we should hold a great demonstration here and there once in the course of a year; but it is necessary that we should keep

ourselves *in evidence* before the British public, because after all they are the great tribunal to whom we appeal with hope and confidence for the redress of our grievances, for the vindication of our rights, and for the vindication of that gracious Proclamation which we regard as the *Magna Charta* of our rights and privileges. (*Loud applause*).

If it is your wish, if it is your verdict that the British Committee should be maintained, it is necessary also that *India* should be maintained, and maintained in the highest state of efficiency. Well, gentlemen, if you are able to get subscribers to the tune of 5,000 copies, then the journal becomes self-supporting, and not only so, but you yourselves are relieved of a part of the expenses of the British Committee. Five thousand subscribers at the rate of six rupees a year amounts to Rupees thirty thousand per annum, and if you are able to send from this country Rupees thirty thousand as subscriptions for *India*, you will be relieved from further expenses either of *India* or for the British Committee of the National Congress. (*Hear, hear*). How many of us are here—I suppose eight or nine hundred delegates; how many are here as sympathisers and how many as visitors? Expectant *India* is looking upon the scene which is being enacted within this pavilion, and I hope and trust it will be an easy task not only to procure five thousand subscribers, but if necessary, five times five thousand. (*Loud applause*).

Why, gentlemen, in Bengal to-day I find (my friend opposite shakes his head over there) we have a vernacular journal which shall be nameless at the present moment, whose principles and precepts I for my part hold in perfect abhorrence,—that vernacular journal has a circulation as I am told of twenty thousand, and is it impossible for us, for you assembled delegates with all the vast influence which I am sure you possess over your countrymen, to secure for *India* at least as many subscribers as that nameless journal possesses at the present moment? I hope and trust therefore that efforts will be made by us on our return home to secure this circulation for *India*.

Gentlemen, you will permit me to repeat the hope I have already expressed that there will be no difficulty in raising the sum of forty thousand. Rs. 40,000 spread over a population of 280,000,000 of human beings—why, it does not come to a pie per head. Is there any difficulty in raising a sum like this amongst all this vast, *multitudinous*, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, *community*? I do not think there ought to be any difficulty whatever. It is a matter of arrangement, and partly a matter of organisation, and it is a matter of rational allotments made to the various Standing Committees. I have received an admirable report sent to me by a Bengal delegate, Babu Girja Sunkur Mozumdar, in which he makes certain suggestions in regard to the organisation of Bengal districts and sub-divisions. I commend that note to my friend Mr. Ghosal for the consideration of the Standing Committee of the Congress. It is a note well worthy to be reflected upon and given effect to; and in case effect is given to it, we will not be under the necessity of going to our Rajas and Maharajas to beg of them for donations, and they in their turn of begging of us for God's sake not to allow their names to be published in the newspapers. Therefore if it is a matter of organisation, why should we put ourselves in a position to beg for this money. In Bombay, in response to an appeal which I made, when I had the honor of addressing one of the sittings of the Congress, in the course of a couple of hours the meeting responded to that appeal in a munificent manner and a large subscription of Rs. 65,000 was voted on the spot, and half of that amount was put down there and then. Have that fervour and that enthusiasm dwindled? Are the men of 1893 different from the men of 1889? We are told by a journalist, who of course thrives and prospers in the capital of the N. W. Provinces, that ours is a discredited movement, and that our enthusiasm is on the wane! Brother delegates, I call upon you on behalf of this great Congress, I call upon you for the protection of your honor, for the protection of your own good name, to give the lie direct to our opponents (*loud applause*), to give a practical manifestation of your sincerity in a way which no Englishman can ignore. I was very much interested in reading the other day the vaticinations of another journal also published in this city; truly they are twin journalists, the Castor and Pollux of Allahabad, who seek to enlighten not only this city but the whole of the North-Western Provinces, and who seek to be the spokesmen of

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the Government of India and of the Government of the North-Western Provinces. One of the two was good enough to devote half a dozen lines, and no more than half a dozen lines, to that splendid oration which was delivered from the chair upon the opening of the Congress, and in commenting upon that speech, this journal was pleased to say that it was a "colourless speech." Very colourless indeed, when the President denounced in scathing terms the system of the administration of Criminal Justice that prevailed in Bengal! Very colourless indeed, when he condemned in emphatic language the Jury notification issued by Sir Charles Elliot? Very colourless indeed, when he pointed out the utter absence of responsibility on the part of the Government of India! Forsooth, it was a very colourless speech! And it was this veracious truthful Journalist who after having endeavoured, vainly, I hope and trust, to delude the public, proceeded to observe that it was a colourless speech in keeping with the colourless character of the Congress, and that all life and vitality had departed from this movement. Life and vitality departed from this splendid organisation, this noble Congress which has done us so much valuable service in the past and which, under God's providence, is yet destined to achieve so much more! Let it not be said, however, that we can talk by the yard but that we perform by the inch. This is the particular charge which we bring against the Government. We tell the Government and their officers that the measure of their performances falls infinitesimally short of the measure of their promises. Let that not be said against us, men of the Congress, men of the forward party, men of the progressive party. If we do talk by the yard and are liberal in our promises, then we should return home to act and not to fall asleep like *Kumbhkarno* of old. Bear this fact in mind that if you wish to succeed with Englishmen, you must show that you are in earnest, and the measure of your earnestness will be judged by the measure of your sacrifices. I call upon you, brother delegates, once again to put your hands into your pockets, to unloose your purse strings, to devote your time to the service of the Congress, and to silence the calumnies which are scattered broadcast against us, by practically demonstrating the fervour of your enthusiasm. Show to the world, show to every body, friends and foes alike, that the enthusiasm which inspired us in the early days of the Congress has not abated. If you are true to the principles of this noble institution, if we are firm and loyal in our attachment to the standard of the Congress, then I am perfectly certain that we shall establish our claims to that measure of political rights and liberties which are identified with the name of the Congress and which are identified with the political regeneration of the multitudinous inhabitants of this great Empire. (*Loud applause*). Once again I ask you to come forward, and by your personal sacrifices to show your devotion to the Congress, and to silence the calumnies of its enemies and to make the Congress the great success, which, under the providence of God, it is destined to be in the history of this vast Empire. (*Loud and continued applause*).

SWAMI ALA RAM, (*Allahabad, No. 386, in list*).—BROTHER DELEGATES,—In the first instance, I must give ten thousand thanks to the citizens of Allahabad, inasmuch as they have surpassed the past seven Congresses in the amount of work they have accomplished this year. I mean that the last Congresses received the invaluable help of the indefatigable Mr. Hume, and some of them had no inconsiderable amount of encouragement from the presence of Members of Parliament, so that their promoters used to be inspired with hope and confidence in a special manner. In this, the Eighth National Congress however, neither Mr. Hume nor any member of Parliament is present; and the Joint General Secretary of the Congress, the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath, has also most unfortunately disappeared from the scene. Such being the case, the residents of Allahabad were not free from misgivings as to its success. But as time rolled on, they girded up their loins with such enthusiastic devotion to the sacred national cause, that they forgot even their food and drink, and made the present Congress outshine its predecessors. (*Cheers*). Subscriptions too, be it said to the credit of the donors, have been liberally contributed.

Now I must address myself to the resolution in hand. I have the greatest pleasure in seconding it. The Indian National Congress is a garden the produce of which 30 crores of the people of India will enjoy to the permanent stability of the British rule for all time to come. (*Cheers*). The British Congress Committee is a fountain built for the purpose of keeping the Congress garden fresh and green (*hear, hear*); and it is the duty of the people

of India to see that the streams of subscription continue to flow freely and uninterruptedly, so that the Congress garden may not suffer from want of proper nourishment. (*Cheers*). What is now needed for this purpose is to raise a fund of £2,800, which, I think, is equivalent to Rs. 45,000 and if this amount is realised once for all, there will not be the necessity of repeating similar appeals year after year. Efforts should be made without delay. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee is, in my opinion, the proper person to undertake the task. Money is the most essential requisite. Nothing can be achieved without it. A poet has truly observed:—A mother curses her child who has no pice, a father regards his penniless son as a plague; being without a pice, a person is ignored by his friends; without it, a brother and a sister are no relations; a nephew in need is looked upon as a stranger; “who are you?” says a sister to her own brother in straits; the mother-in-law wishes her daughter to be released from the conjugal ties of an impecunious husband, and the father-in-law disowns an indigent son-in-law; a wife regards her poor husband as dead to her and thinks him to be a burden on her neck”. (*Laughter and Cheers*). So you see that the question of funds should receive the first consideration. In a word, for the success of the Congress movement you must effectually set in motion the British Congress Committee water-works by your supplies. The people of India are about 30 crores in number, and if every one pays a pice, it will amount to lacs. (*Cheers*).

A certain sage has said:—“There are four sharers of our wealth—(1). Religion, (2). thieves, (3). the King, and (4). the fire. If not diverted to religion, it will eventually fall to the lot of the other three. The Indian National Congress is a sacred cause; it is a grand religion by which 30 crores of the people of India are to be benefited; and the wealth of men who neglect their duty towards this religion, will surely prove a curse to them. (*Cheers*). For this reason, you should subscribe heartily for the protection and promotion of the Congress religion. I must now conclude by calling on you to say three times “*Congress ki jay.*” (May the Congress be victorious.) (*Loud applause*).

The appeal was heartily responded to. As the President got up to put the Resolution to the vote, notes, silver and copper coins and promises to pay began to pour in thick and fast from every quarter. For the next half of an hour, the Secretaries on the President's table were busy receiving money and recording names of subscribers to *India* and the Congress Fund. But it had already got late, lights had to be brought in, and some business had still to be gone through before the Congress could dissolve, and the work of collection had therefore to be stopped. When later on the money came to be counted and the promises classified, it was found that Rs. 906-15-3 had been paid in cash, Rs. 12,515 promised, and 925 new subscribers registered for *India*, making a total contribution of over Rs. 18,000 in support of the Congress Cause.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—You know that when our lamented friend Pandit Ajoodhia Nath died, it was put upon me to take his place as Joint General Secretary, and I submitted. But it was with the greatest possible difficulty that I was able to carry on the work. In the first place my health is not what it used to be; and in the second place, I have to make frequent visits to England to look after the education of my children. It became necessary for me to go to England in July last and I remained there for some time, and asked permission to place my duties in the hands of Babu Surendra Nath Banerji. He was overwhelmed with work, and it was only his devotion to the Congress cause and his great friendship to me, which induced him to accept the duty. But, gentlemen, we must not work our willing horses too much, we are willing and ready enough to do all that we can, but you must put somebody else in his place, and I don't think you will differ with me when I propose to insert the name of Mr. Anunda Charlu as Joint General Secretary. (*Cheers*). It took a great deal of time to persuade him to accept the office, but I was at him and he could not refuse. The resolution which I have to move is this:—

*That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be the General Secretary, and appoints Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, to be the Joint-General Secretary of the Congress for the ensuing year.*

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried by acclamation.

3rd Day.

Resolution  
XVIII.  
Contributions to the  
Congress  
Fund.

Resolution  
XIX.  
Re-election  
of the General  
Secretary. Appoint-  
ment of a  
Joint General  
Secretary.



3rd Day.

Resolution  
XIX.

MR. ANUNDA CHARLU,—(*Madras, No. 1, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—I have submitted to your wish in the full belief that I shall have your valuable assistance—active assistance from every one of you, so as to lighten the labours which I have undertaken at the earnest request of our worthy and learned President. (*Cheers*).

Resolution  
XX.

The Ninth  
Congress  
to be held  
at Amritsar.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—I now move—

*That the Ninth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas, 1893, as may be determined upon, at Amritsar. (Cheers).*

MR. KANHAIYA LAL,—(*Amritsar, No. 615, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—After the Congress which was held in 1888, we expressed the desire that the following meeting of the Congress should be held at Lahore. I am glad that we are in a position again to do so, and we now invite the Congress to meet at Amritsar, because we consider it very necessary that they should do so. (*Cheers*). It is a feeble heart that does not beat well and the circulation from which does not go to the extremities. Our Congress has not got a weak heart and its circulation should therefore reach the extremities. We want the help and succour of our brethren in Bengal in matters of education and politics, so that we may have the same high sense of duty which they possess. We invite our brethren in Madras to put us in the way of properly organising practical subjects; and we invite gentlemen from Bombay to give us lessons in political economy so that we may thoroughly utilise our means and our resources; and for these purposes we invite you all to the city of Amritsar, which means the 'Lake of immortality'; as every one individually wants immortality, so the Congress collectively wants immortality, and after the Congress has been held in Amritsar in the Punjab, it will, I hope, gain immortality, not only because the name "Amritsar" denotes immortality, but because it is also the frontier province of India. (*Cheers*).

The Resolution was carried by acclamation and with ringing cheers.

Resolution  
XXI.

Thanking  
H. H. the  
Maharaja  
of Dar-  
bhanga.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—I now move—

*That this Congress hereby tenders its best thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, for having so kindly lent his Castle and grounds for the holding of this Congress.*

The motion was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution  
XXII.

Appoint-  
ment of a  
Trustee.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—The Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund were the two Joint Secretaries, the three Standing Counsel and the late Pandit Ajoodhya Nath. At his death the remaining Trustees asked Pandit Bishumbher Nath to take the vacant place. Gentlemen, I don't think we could have made a better selection, and I ask you therefore to confirm the action of the Trustees. I therefore move—

*That this Congress confirms the appointment of Pandit Bishambar Nath, in place of the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath, as one of the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund.*

The motion was put and carried by unanimously.

The  
President's  
concluding  
address.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—My attention has been called to an omission in my address in opening this Congress, namely, that I did not refer to the death of the Revd. R. C. Bose. I fully intended to refer to it. I think the same feeling of regret must be felt by us at his loss as a member of the Congress as must be felt by us individually at the loss of a friend, and I shall include his name in the print of my speech, if it is ever printed. (*Cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT.—The last duty which I have to perform is a very pleasant one. It is on your behalf to tender our best thanks to the Reception Committee at Allahabad for the great trouble they have taken on our behalf, and I will ask special thanks to be given to Pandit Bishambar Nath (*cheers*) who was in such a state of health that I thought he would not be able to open these Congress proceedings; but the spirit of the Congress upon him is such that he left a sick-bed and came here. He is a man of advanced years and he is not a Bengalee. But I wish he had been, because we should have been proud to call

him our countryman. But as he happens not to be a Bengalee, I can only say that when a gentleman of his position, of his age and his infirmities, leaves his sick-bed and comes here not only on the first day but day after day, it is wicked to say that we have no life in us. (*Loud Cheers.*) Let us again give three cheers for Pandit Bishambhar Nath. (*Three hearty cheers were here given for Pandit Bishambhar Nath.*)

Next after him who have worked heart and soul for the sake of this Congress are the gentlemen whose names I shall mention as they have been given to me, not intending by reading one name before another to convey any idea that that gentleman deserves more credit than his fellow. Those names are : Raja Rampal Sinh (*cheers*), Lala Ram Charan Das (*cheers*), Babu Charoo Chandra Mitter (*cheers*), Mr. J. Ghosal (*cheers*), Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (*cheers*), Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave (*cheers*), Munshi Madhava Prasad (*cheers*), Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. (*Cheers*).

Now, gentlemen, in this country, try as we may, it is not possible to get on without the assistance of English gentlemen. Mr. Hume is not here but his spirit is here. (*Loud cheers*). But on the Reception Committee, there has been a gentleman who was Mr. Hume's co-adjutor for many years, and who has worked in almost every Congress for us. His energy, his devotion and love of this work are well known to you. I need hardly mention the name of Captain Banon. (*Three cheers were given for Captain Banon*). He has helped us with true English determination, and we have to tender him also our most heartfelt thanks. (*Cheers*).

THE HON'BLE SANKARA NAIR, (*Madras, No. 2, in list*) then moved a vote of thanks to the President.—The motion was carried by acclamation, and three hearty cheers were given for MR. W. C. BONNERJEE.

THE PRESIDENT.—I thank you, gentlemen, for the way in which my name has been received ; and now only one thing more. Before we separate, let us unite in giving three deafening cheers for Her Most Gracious Majesty the QUEEN-EMPRESS VICTORIA.

Loud and enthusiastic cheers were given for Her Majesty, and repeated again and again, and then the assembly dissolved rather late in the evening.

3rd day.  
—  
The  
President  
concludin  
address.

Vote of  
thanks to  
the Presi-  
dent  
—  
Cheers for  
Her Majesty  
the Queen-  
Empress.



# APPENDIX I.

## LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

# EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Madras.	Madras.	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnava.	Vakil, High Court, Madras, Fellow, M. University, Joint Genl. Secy., I. N. Congress.	Public Meeting of the Sabha held on 19th December, 1892.
2	"	"	"	The Hon'ble C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Member, Legislative Council, Madras.	do.
3	"	"	"	Mr. S. Viraswamy Iyengar.	Hindu Brahmin, Vishnavite.	Landholder. ...	do.
4	"	"	"	" K. Natraju Iyer, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher, Aryan High School.	do.
5	"	"	Madras, Triplicane.	" M. Viraraghava Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnava.	Managing Proprietor and Joint Editor "Hindu," Secretary, Standing Congress Committee.	do.
6	"	"	"	" Viraraghava Chary, S.	do.	Merchant, Triplicane ...	Public Meeting on 4th December, 1892.
7	"	"	"	" Viraraghava Chariar, S.	do.	P. W. D. Contractor ...	do.
8	"	"	"	" Krishnamachary, G....	do.	Merchant, Triplicane ...	do.
9	"	"	"	" Peter Paul Pillay, ...	Vellalu Protestant.	Agent, Landowners' Association, Madras.	do.
10	"	"	Shivaganga Madura District.	" Narayan Swamy Iyer, S.M.	Brahmin.	Assistant Master, Raja's High School, Shivaganga.	Public Meeting at Shivaganga on 27th November, 1892, and Public Meeting at Dindigal on 19th December, 1892.
11	"	"	Kuvanpuch (N. Arcot.)	" Narasimha Chary, T.	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnava.	2nd Grade Pleader, Ranipet...	Public Meeting on 22nd December, 1892.
12	"	"	Chingleput	" Raghuram Row, D.	do.	First Grade Pleader. ...	Public Meeting on 16th December, 1892.
13	"	"	N. Vizagapatam.	" Rao Sahib J. Vizianarasinha Raju.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Landholder, Vizianagram ...	Public Meeting at Vizianagram held on 22nd November, 1892.
14	"	"	Parvatipur and the Parvatipur Mahajana Sabha.	" P. Venkat Rau Pantulu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Parvatipur, Vizagapatam District.	Elected at a Public Meeting on 21st November, 1892.
15	"	"	"	" Venkat Jagannadha Shastri.	do.	First Grade Pleader, Northern Circles, Member, Taluq Board, Parvatipur, Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Parvatipur.	do.
16	"	"	Palghat.	" K. A. Vythinatha Iyer Avergal, B.A.	do.	Teacher, Brennen College, Tellicherry.	Public Meeting on 18th December, 1892.
17	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. Viraraghava Iyer Avergal.	do.	Landlord and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
18	"	"	Rajamahendri Literary Association.	Mr. Ch. Venkatramayah.	do.	Pleader. ...	Association's Meeting on 20th December, 1892.

Number,	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
19	Madras.	Madras.	Salem.	Mr. P. S. V. Chettiar ...	Hindu Shaiva Vaishya.	Mirasidar and Merchant, Jalakantapara. ...	Public Meeting on 24th December, 1892.
20	"	"	"	" J. Nagalinga Chettiar.	do.	do.	do.
21	"	"	"	" C. Venkatachariar. ...	Hindu Vaishnava Brahmin.	Landholder and Member, District Board, Salem.	do.
22	"	"	"	" C. Vijiaraghavachariar, B.A.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
23	"	"	"	" Venkata Row. ...	Hindu Brahmin Shaiva.	Money-lender and Merchant, ...	Public Meeting on 19th December, 1892.
24	"	"	"	" M. Ponnusami Chettiar.	Hindu, Shaiva Vysya.	Shroff, Shivapet, Salem. ...	Public Meeting on 24th December, 1892.
25	"	"	"	" Md. Abdul Qadir Sahib.	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Mirasidar and Merchant. ...	do.
26	"	"	"	" Ramaswami Chettiar.	Hindu Shaiva Vaishya.	Merchant. ...	do.
27	"	"	"	" V. Vyathi Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader. ...	do.
28	"	"	Arni (Chittoor.)	" D. V. Narsinhachary, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin Vaishnava.	Contractor and Landholder,	Public Meeting held on 11th December, 1892.
29	"	"	Guntur Town and Tax Payers Association, Guntur.	" S. Ramuswamy Chetty.	Hindu Vaishnava Vaishya.	Merchant and Assistant Secretary, Taxpayers' Association.	Public Meeting on 21st November, 1892.
30	"	"	Chittoor.	" Damal Willivalum Rajagopal Chariar.	Brahmin, Vaishnava.	First Grade Pleader, Chittoor, North Arcot, and Landholder.	Public Meeting on 24th November, 1892.
31	"	"	Bellary (Town and District.)	" C. Annamalai Mudaliar, Graduate of the College of Agriculture.	Hindu, Shaiva Vithalo.	Agent of Messrs. A. Subhapaty Mudaliar and Co., Merchants and Landholders at Bellary.	Public Meeting on 11th December, 1892.
32	"	"	"	" C. S. Krishnaswamy Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin Shaiva.	Landholder.	do.
33	"	"	Wallajah-nuggur, Town.	" P. Seshachella Pillai.	Hindu Karnama Caste.	Contractor, Wallajahnuggur.	Public Meeting of Wallajahnuggur Association on 20th December, 1892.
34	"	"	Vijivada Sabha.	" Devaguptam S e s h a Chalapati Row.	Hindu Brahmin.	Commission agent and Merchant and Editor " Krishna News ", Anglo-vernacular fortnightly, and Vernacular Secretary Vijivada Sabha.	Public Meeting under the auspices of the Vijivadasabha on 23rd November, 1892. Public Meeting at Rajmandry on 4th December, 1892.
35	"	"	"	" Juhuri Subharayudu Garu.	Hindu Vaishya.	Merchant and Contractor.	Public Meeting under the auspices of the Vijivadasabha on 23rd November, 1892.
36	"	"	Nellore.	" P. Balakrishna Pillai.	Hindu Karnama Caste.	Contractor, Nellore.	Public meeting held on 23rd December, 1892.
37	"	"	Gooty People's Association, Anantpur.	" Rao Saheb P. Kesava Pillai.	Hindu Karnama.	Pleader, Gooty.	Public meeting held at Anantpur Town on 16th December, 1892.
38	Govt. of India.	"	Secundra-bad.	Lala Dharama Chandra.	Jain Hindu.	Photographer Artist.	Public Meeting on 14th December, 1892.
39	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. D. E. Wacha. ...	Parsee Zoroastrian	Mill Agent, Journalist, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Secretary, Presidency Association, &c.	General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 15th December, 1892.
40	"	"	"	" Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum, Bombay.	Do., and General Meeting of Nasik Sarvajanic Sabha held on 4th December, 1892.
41	"	"	"	Dr S. W. Kane. ...	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	General Meeting held at Ratnagiri on 7th December, 1892.
42	"	"	"	Mr. Jagmohan Das Vandravandas.	Hindu.	Merchant ...	General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 15th December, 1892. do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
43	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Ranchordas Vallabhi.	Brahmin.	Merchant ... ..	General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 15th December, 1892.
44	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Vaman Bhat B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court. ...	do.
45	"	"	"	" Purushottama Parasharama Khare, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Thakurdwar, Bombay.	do.
46	"	"	"	" Gangadhara S. Gokhale, L.C.E.	do.	Architect and Engineer, Apollo Street, Bombay.	do.
47	"	"	"	" T. T. Muzumdar.	Nagar Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, High Court, Bombay.	do.
48	"	"	"	" Chunni Lal Lallubhai Parekh.	Hindu Vajshya.	Merchant. ... ..	do.
49	"	"	"	" Chiman Lal H. Satavoid, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Girgam, Back Road.	do.
50	"	"	"	" Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh, B.A., B.Sc., M. D.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Fellow, Bombay University, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Girgam, Bombay.	Public Meeting Ahmedabad held on 19th December, 1892, and Public Meeting at Ankleswara held on 17th December, 1892.
51	"	"	"	" Paramananda Jiwan-Das. ...	do.	High Court Vakil; Vice-President Taluqa Local Board; Municipal Commissioner.	At a General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 15th December, 1892.
52	"	"	"	Munshi Sheikh Husein Sheikh Chand.	Mahomedan.	Islam Missionary, David Sassoon's Silk Mill, Bombay.	do.
53	"	"	"	Dr. John de Cunha.	Christian Portuguese.	Medical Practitioner, Bombay.	At a Special Public Meeting of the Association on 21st December, 1892.
54	"	"	"	Mr. L. DeSouza, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	do.
55	"	"	Mohad.	" Mahadeo Bhikaji Oke.	Brahmin.	Taluqa Mohad, Colaba, District Bombay.	Public Meeting held at Mohad on 22nd December, 1892.
56	"	"	Dapoli (Ratnagiri District.)	Rao Sahib Dhondo Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Vice-President Taluqa Local Board, Dapoli; Municipal Commissioner, Khot; Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Ratnagiri.	Public Meeting held at Dapoli on 20th November, 1892.
57	"	"	"	Mr. Makund Waman Barve.	do.	Inamdar, Dapoli, District Ratnagiri.	do.
58	"	"	Bassein.	" Hari Laxman Patel. ...	do.	Pleader, Bassein, Bombay. ...	Public Meeting held at Bassein on 4th December, 1892.
59	"	"	Chiploon.	" Wasudeo Gopal Chitale.	do.	Pleader, Indore. ...	Do., and General Meeting of the Chiploon Association held on 1st November, 1892.
60	"	Sindh.	Sindh Sabha.	" Pesumal Zokeiram. ...	Hindu Lodhana.	Pleader, Sukkur, in Shikaba District.	Elected by Sindh Sabha on 17th December, 1892.
61	"	Ahmednagar.	Ahmednagar.	" Balwant Bhau Nagarkar.	Brahmin.	Editor of "Culture," a religious and social monthly, and Brahma Preacher, Bombay, Tardeo Road.	Public Meeting of the inhabitants held at Ahmadnagar on 10th December, 1892.
62	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Wasudeo Joshi.	do.	Vakil, Ahmadnagar. ...	do.
63	"	Sholapur	Sholapur.	" Dinkar Ballal Chakradeo.	do.	Pleader and landholder, Sholapur.	At a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Association on 18th October, 1892.
64	"	"	"	" P. L. Nagpurkar	do.	Pleader, Sholapur. ...	do.
65	"	Bhusawal.	Jalgaon.	Rao Sahib Sitaram Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Pleader, Member of the District Local Board and also of Jalgaon Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at Jalgaon on 20th November, 1892.
66	"	"	"	Mr. Abaji Ragho Mahalas.	do.	Subordinate Government Pleader and Chairman, Jalgaon Municipality.	do.
67	"	Satara.	Satara.	" Dattatreya Balawant Parasnis.	Brahmin.	Editor and Proprietor "Maharashtra Kokilo"	Public Meeting at Satara on 20th November, 1892, Public Meeting at Wai on 27th November, 1892, and Public Meeting at Borgaon on 5th December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
68	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Rao Sahib Ramchandra Krishna Kothawale.	Brahmin.	Inamdar and landholder, Member of the District Local Board, Satara, and Chairman, Municipal Committee, Wai.	Public Meeting at Borgaon on 5th December, 1892. Public Meeting at Wai on 27th November, 1892.
69	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Panduranga Karandikar.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Satara...	do.
70	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Balawanta Shridhara Sahasrabudhe.	do.	District Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner, Satara.	do.
71	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Ganesh Pandurang Apte.	do.	Inamdar, Vice-President District Board and Municipality, Satara.	do.
72	"	Belgaum.	Belgaum.	Mr. Sadasiva Balkrishna Bhate.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Member District Local Board; Joint Secretary District Association, Belgaum.	General Meeting held at Belgaum on 18th December, 1892.
73	"	"	"	" Bhim Rao Ramjee Guthkar.	do.	Pleader.	do.
74	"	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	" Ramchandra Baladev Apte.	do.	Member of A. V. School Committee, Ichalkaranji, in charge of I. N. Congress Hall of Ichalkaranji, Member of Poona Industrial Conference.	Public Meeting held at Ichalkaranji on 14th December, 1892.
75	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Ballal alias Baba Sahib Ranade.	do.	President, Sarvajanik Sabha, Ichalkaranji.	do.
76	"	Deccan.	Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.	" Krishnaji Sakharam Joshi.	do.	Pleader, Karandwar State. ...	General Meeting of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha held on 6th December, 1892.
77	"	"	"	" Naro Bhaskar Deodhar.	do.	Pensioned Deputy Educational Inspector, Member Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Member Local Board, Taluka Sirur.	Do. and Public Meeting held at Poona on 20th November, 1892.
78	"	"	"	" Ranganatha Bapuji Melay.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Sowkar, Poona.	do.
79	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Laxman Athavale.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Joint Secretary Deccan Standing Congress Com., Sowkar, Inamdar, Narayan Peth, Poona.	do.
80	"	"	"	" Raghunath Narayan Pandit.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Sowkar, Kesava Peth, Poona.	do.
81	"	"	"	" Vinayak Narayana Apte.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Merchant Shanwarpath, Poona.	do.
82	"	"	"	" Gopala Krishna Gokhale, B. A.	do.	Professor, Fergusson College; Superintendent New English School, Hon. Secretary and Member, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Editor of the "Quarterly Journal" of the Sabha.	do.
83	"	"	"	" Shivarama Hari Sathe.	do.	Member and Hon. Secretary Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and Editor "Nyayashraya," Mehoonpoora, Poona.	do.
84	"	"	"	" Raghunatha Daji Nagarkar.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Municipal Commissioner, District Pleader, Budhwar Peth, Poona.	do.
85	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwara Bhide.	do.	Pensioned First Class Sub-Judge; Chairman, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Sadashiwa Peth, Poona.	do.
86	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Kesava Limaye.	do.	District Pleader, Sadashiwa Peth, Poona.	Public Meeting held at Poona, 20th November, 1892.
87	"	"	"	" Madhusudan Wasudeo Athalye.	do.	Landholder, Poona ...	do.
88	"	"	"	" Raghunatha Ramachandra Agasti.	do.	Pensioned Sub-Engineer, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Arbitration Court; Kalewaver, Poona.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
89	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Wamana Balakrishna Ranade.	Brahmin.	Member, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha; Member, Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha, Editor of "Dnyan Chakshu," Poona.	Public Meeting at Poona on 20th November, 1892, and General Meeting of the Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha on 4th December, 1892.
90	"	"	"	" Mahadeva Rajarama Bodas, M. A.	do.	Editor of the "Maharatta," English Paper.	Public Meeting held at Poona on 30th November, 1892.
91	"	"	"	" Keshava Rao Chiman Rao Dhole.	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Banker; member, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.	do.
92	"	"	"	Shrimant Narhar Balakrishna Paranjpe.	do.	Banker; Proprietor of Fatoor Ginning Press and Secretary and Treasurer Basatkot Spinning and Weaving Co.	do.
93	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Govinda Natu.	do.	Pleader and Secretary, Deccan Standing Congress Committee, Sadashiva Peth, Poona.	do.
94	"	"	"	" Narayana Bapuji Kanitakar.	do.	District Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and joint administrator, Chinchwada Sansuttar.	do.
95	"	"	"	Shrimant Narhar Rao Trimbaka Rajmukhikara, B. A.	do.	Inamdar and Sirdar; Proprietor of "Nyayashray" Shanwar Peth, Poona.	do.
96	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi.	do.	Municipal Commissioner; Editor, "Industrial Review"; Secretary, Industrial Conference, Mehoopura, Poona.	do.
97	"	"	Poona Arbitration Court.	Mr. Vinayaka Sadashiva Yerawadikar.	do.	District Pleader, Kasba Petta, Poona.	General Meeting of the Arbitration Court held on 12th December, 1892.
98	"	"	Sarvajanik Sabha, Nasik.	" Krishna Rao Jayrama Gupte.	Parbhoo.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Malegaun, zilla Nasik.	General Meeting of the Sabha held on 4th December, 1892.
99	"	"	"	" Vajjanatha Jijai Ratnaprekhe.	Brahmin.	Contractor, Taluka Nandgaon, zilla Nasik.	do.
100	"	"	"	" Trimbaka Sadashiva Gokhale.	do.	Pensioned Government Servant, Malegaun, zilla Nasik.	do.
101	"	"	"	" Janardan Raghu Nath Nimkar.	do.	District Pleader, Member of Nasik Taluka Local Board.	do.
102	"	"	"	" Vishwa Nath Bapuji Pande.	do.	Private Clerk, Srinar, Zilla Nasik.	do.
103	"	"	"	" Anant Raoji Kawle.	do.	Municipal Commissioner of Srinar, Member of Taluka Local Board and Nasik District Local Board; Srinar, zilla Nasik.	do.
104	"	"	"	" Balwant Ganesh Navale.	Hindu Shimpi.	Municipal Commissioner, Srinar, Vakil Srinar, District Nasik.	do.
105	"	"	"	" Gangadhar Narsingha Ketkar.	Brahmin.	District Pleader, elected member of the Nasik District and Taluka Local Board.	do.
106	"	"	"	" Tukarama Hanmant Patel Morare.	Mahratta.	Farmer, Contractor, Mhasrol, Taluka Nasik, District Nasik.	do.
107	"	"	Dhulia.	" Vinayak Narayana Paranjpe, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Money-lender, Chalisgaon.	Public Meeting presided over by Rao Bahadur G. R. Garud.
108	"	"	Dharwar.	" Ramachandra Trimbaka Kirtane, B.A., LL. B.	Do.	Pleader, Dharwar.	Public Meeting held, on 11th December, 1892.
109	"	"	"	" Jivan Rao Hanwant Rao Betigiri, B.A., LL. B.	Do.	Pleader and landed proprietor.	do.
110	"	"	Hubli (Dharwar District).	" T. Swaminath Iyer.	Do.	Railway servant; Locomotive Department, S. M. Ry., Hubli.	do.
111	"	"	Gayana Samaj, Poona.	" Purushottama Ganesh alias Anna Ghorpare.	Do.	Professor of Music, Mehoopura, Poona.	General Meeting of Gayana Samaj held at Poona, 20th November, 1892.
112	"	"	Bhimthudi.	Rao Saheb Bhikaji Ananda Rao Deshpande.	Brahmin.	Pleader of the District Court, Poona, Inamdar; Chairman of the Baramati Municipality and Member of Local Board, Bhimthudi.	At a Public Meeting held at Baramati, 5th December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
113	Bombay.	Deccan.	Rui (Kolhapur.)	Mr. Kashi Nath Ranga Nath Joshi.	Brahmin.	Land-holder, Rui, Kolhapur District.	At a Public Meeting held at Rui, 25th December, 1892.
114	"	"	"	" Appaji Vishnu Kulkarni.	do.	Land-holder, Rui, Kolhapur District.	do.
115	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Dadaji Kulkarni.	do.	do.	do.
116	Hyderabad Assigned Districts.	Berar.	Amraoti.	" Keshav Balwant Deshpande.	Marhatta Brahmin.	Land-holder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
117	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Narayn Jog.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
118	"	"	"	" Moreshwar Bapuji Marathe.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
119	"	"	"	" Ranganath Narsinha Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, and Land-holder.	Do. and General Meeting of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha on 6th November, 1892.
120	"	"	"	" Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Malguzar, Vice-chairman Municipal Committee and Chairman District Board.	At a Public Meeting at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
121	"	"	"	" Panduranga Govinda.	do.	Vakil, High Court, and Land-holder.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, and a Public Meeting at Akola on 11th December, 1892.
122	"	"	"	" Vinayaka Savlaram Oak.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
123	"	"	Ellichpur	" Bapu Mahadeo Pandse.	do.	District Court Pleader ...	Public Meeting held at Ellichpore on 13th November, 1892.
124	"	"	"	" Gangadhara Narayana Jagdail.	do.	do.	do.
125	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Krishna Dange.	Hindu Krishna Pakshi	do.	do.
126	"	"	"	" Shripat Mahadeo Keskar.	Hindu Brahman.	District Court Pleader and Land-holder.	do.
127	"	"	Akola	" V. R. Mudholkar ...	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Editor, "Vaidarbha," Akola.	Public Meeting at Akola, 11th December, 1892.
128	"	"	"	" Ramachandra Vishnu Mahajana.	do.	Agriculturist and Banker ...	do.
129	"	"	"	" Ram Rao Gopal Deshpande.	do.	Deshpande and Land-holder.	do.
130	"	"	"	" Rama Rao Jagirdar ...	do.	Jagirdar of Babulgaon ...	do.
131	"	"	"	" Shankara Govinda ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
132	"	"	Mangrul Pir Taluq.	" Ram Krishna Balirama Kiday.	do.	Savakarkarniya ...	Public Meeting held on 21st November, 1892.
133	"	"	Berar Sarvajanik Sabha.	" Lakshmana Atmaram Mahajana.	do.	Merchant, Money-lender, and Vice-President, District Board, Bassein.	At a General Meeting of the Sabha held on 5th November, 1892.
134	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Dev Rao Vinayak.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Land-lord and Municipal Commissioner.	Do. and at a Public Meeting of the Akola people at Akola, held on 11th December, 1892.
135	"	"	"	Mr. Kondo Balaji Purekar.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	At a General Meeting of the Sabha held on 5th November, 1892, and Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
136	"	"	Malkapur Taluq	" Vasudeo Balaji Pimpalikar.	do.	Pleader, Malkapur ...	At a Public Meeting held at Malkapur on 24th December, 1892.
137	"	"	"	" Sampat Rao Parwata Rao Deshmukh.	Hindu Marhatta.	Land-lord ...	do.
138	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Jabalpore.	" Ram Gulam Avasthi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher, Mission School, Jabalpur, Editor of "Shubhachintaka," a weekly Anglo-Hindi paper.	At a Public Meeting held at Jabalpore on 17th December, 1892.
139	"	"	Nagpore.	" Bhagiratha Prasada, B.A.	Hindu.	Professor of Mathematics, Hislop College, Nagpur; Municipal Commissioner, Nagpur, Secretary, Total Abstinence Association and President of Young Men's Association; Secretary, Reception Committee, 7th Indian National Congress, and Secretary, C. P. Standing Congress Committee, Nagpur.	At a Public Meeting held in the City School, Nagpore, on 20th November, 1892. At a Public Meeting held at Damoh on 22nd December, 1892.



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140	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Mahadeva Sakharam.	Goldsmith.	Contractor, Cash and Pay Office, B. N. K., Nagpur.	At a Public Meeting held in the City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892.
141	"	"	"	" C. Narain Swamy Nayadu.	Hindu, Madrasi Kshatriya.	Pleader, Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur; Chairman, Reception Committee, 7th Indian National Congress, Nagpur; Municipal Commissioner and President, Nagpur Municipal Board; Secretary, District Board, Nagpur; President Theosophical Society, Nagpur, &c.	do.
142	"	"	"	" C. S. Nayadu, B.A., (Cantab.)	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Nagpur ...	do.
143	"	"	"	" C. V. Nayadu.	do.	Do.	do.
144	"	"	"	" Hari Mahadeva Pandit.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Editor, "Deshasevaka," an Anglo-Marathi weekly.	Public Meeting at Ichalkaranji on 14th December, 1892.
145	"	"	"	" Kesava Vinayak Joshi, B.A.	Brahmin.	Head Master, City Aided School, Nagpur.	Public Meeting held at the City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892.
146	"	"	Raipur.	" Kedarnath Bagchi, M.A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, Raipur ...	General Meeting held at Raipur on 27th November, 1892.
147	"	"	"	Pandit Nandalal ...	Gujrati Brahmin.	Sanyasi, Raipur ...	do.
148	"	"	"	Mr. Gajaram Ragho Bagchi.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Raipur ...	do.
149	"	"	"	" Govind Prasad Dube.	Hindustani Brahmin.	Do.	do.
150	"	"	Bilaspur.	" Nagendranatha De.	Bengali Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Hon. Magistrate and Municipal Secretary, Bilaspur.	Public Meeting held at Bilaspur on 17th November, 1892.
151	"	"	"	" Thakur Bisal Singha.	Rajput.	Zamindar, Akalta, Bilaspur.	do.
152	"	"	"	" Sheikh Qhwaja Bukhsh.	Mahomedan Sunni.	Agent to the Zamindar of Safa, Bilaspur.	do.
153	"	"	"	Pandit Nandal Tiwari.	Hindustani Brahmin.	Mukhtar of Champa, Zamindar, Bilaspur.	do.
154	"	"	Sagor Hita-Sabha.	" Damodara Rao Shrikhande.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Damoh ...	By a General Meeting of the Hita Sabha, Sagor, held on 20th November, 1892. Public Meeting held at Damoh on 22nd December, 1892.
155	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Ganesa Vaidya.	do.	Pleader, Sagor ...	By a General Meeting of the Hita Sabha, Sagor, held on 20th November, 1892.
156	"	"	Harda.	" Balawant Kashinath Agnihotri.	Arya Vaidic Maharashtra Brahmin.	Malguzar, Harda ...	Public Meeting held at Harda on 8th November, 1892.
157	"	"	"	" Govinda Rao Narayan Paroolkara.	do.	do.	do.
158	"	"	"	" Krishna Rao Narayana Rogay.	do.	Jagiradar, Harda ...	do.
159	"	"	"	" Vishnu Damodar Quidarkar.	do.	Banker, Harda ...	do.
160	"	"	Hoshangabad.	" Raoji Govinda Khirwarkar.	do.	Pleader, Harda ...	do.
161	"	"	Raj Nandgaon.	Pandit Shankara Prasad.	Hindustani Brahmin.	Pleader, Raj Nandgaon ...	Public Meeting held at Raj Nandgaon on 8th November, 1892.
162	"	"	"	Swami Brahmanand Saraswati.	Hindu Sanyasi.	Hindu Preacher, Raj Nandgaon.	do. on 21st December 1892.
163	"	"	"	Pandit Shrinivas Rao Modak.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Raj Nandgaon ...	Do. on 8th November, 1892.
164	"	"	"	Mr. V. Sarangpani Mudaliar.	Madrasi Tailanga.	Municipal Commissioner, Manager, "Balram Press," Proprietor of "Raj Nandgaon Gazette" and General Contractor, Raj Nandgaon.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
165	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Chhindwara.	Mr. Prabhakara Sridhara Raday.	Brahmin.	Land-owner, Chhindwara ...	By a Public Meeting held at Chhindwara on 20th November, 1892.
166	"	"	"	" Mathuraprasada.	Kayastha.	Pleader and Land-owner, Chhindwara.	do.
167	"	"	"	" Vinayak Rao Ganesha Wazalwara.	Maharashtra Brahman.	do.	do.
168	"	"	Wardha.	" Keshava Rao Mahadeva Kawlay.	do.	Malguzar, Banker and Pleader, Wardha.	By a Public Meeting held at Wardha on 27th November, 1892.
169	"	"	"	" Laxman Govinda Des-kara.	do.	do.	do.
170	"	"	"	" Narayana Shripat Patel.	Hindu Kunbi.	Malguzar and Cultivator of Mouza Takli, Tahsil Wardha.	do.
171	"	"	District Association, Wardha.	" Balkrishna Panduranga Kalyani.	Hindu Brahman.	Malguzar and Cultivator, Wardha.	At a General Meeting of the Wardha District Association held on 16th November, 1892.
172	"	"	"	" Ganpata Rao Kashinath Meghay.	Hindu Kunbi.	Malguzar and Banker of Tukli, Tahsil Wardha.	do.
173	"	"	"	" Balirama Chanaji ...	do.	Malguzar and Cultivator Takli, Tahsil Wardha.	do.
174	"	"	Balaghat.	" Sham Rao Keshav Mazumdar.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Municipal Commissioner for the town of Burha, Landholder, Malguzar, Balaghat.	By a Public Meeting held at Balaghat on 20th November, 1892.
175	"	"	"	" Moreswara Jagannatha.	do.	Municipal Commissioner for the town of Burha, and Malguzar, Balaghat.	do.
176	"	"	"	" Narayana Krishna Kelkar.	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Secretary for the Town of Burha; Pleader, Balaghat.	do.
177	"	"	Burhanpur.	" Raghunath Rao Balkrishna Bhide.	do.	Manager, "Arya Baibhava" Press, Burhanpur.	By a Public Meeting held at Burhanpur on 10th December, 1892.
178	Bengal.	Calcutta.	The Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, 6, Park Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on 22nd December, 1892.
179	"	"	"	Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Professor, City College, Calcutta.	do.
180	"	"	"	" Khitendra Nath Tagore.	Bengali Brahmin.	Zamindar, 6, Dwarka Nath Tagore's lane, Calcutta.	do.
181	"	"	"	" Amoy Nath Bose ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Private service, 13, College Square, Calcutta.	do.
182	"	"	"	" Tarak Nath Palit, B. L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Bechoo Chatterjee's Street, Calcutta.	do.
183	"	"	"	" Nalin Behari Sircar,	do.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner and Port Commissioner, 21, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	do.
184	"	"	"	" Monmotho Mohan Bose.	do.	Assistant Professor, Physical Science, Metropolitan Institution, 38, Mukhtaram Babu's Street, Calcutta.	do.
185	"	"	The Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Pandit Kali Prasanna Kavyabisharad.	Hindu.	Editor, "Cosmopolitan" and Proprietor "Secular Press," Bhowanipur.	At a Meeting of the Division held on the 8th December, 1892.
186	"	"	"	Babu Basanto Kumar Bose, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
187	"	"	British Indian Association.	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Zamindar, Merchant, Vice-President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta.	At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association, and at a Committee Meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, and at a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall on the 22nd December, 1892.

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188	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Indian Association, Calcutta.	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, B. A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Principal, Ripon College, Hon. Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Chairman, North Barackpore Municipality and Editor, "Bengalee."	At a meeting of the Committee held on the 4th of November, 1892.
189	"	"	"	Rai Jotindra Nath Choudhry, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, and Hon. Magistrate Barahnagar, (24 Parganahs)	do.
190	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, B. A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Superintendent, City College and Editor, "Sanjibani."	do.
191	"	"	"	" Hem Chandra Rai, M. A., B. L.	Hindu, Bengali Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, 24 Parganahs.	do.
192	"	"	"	Dr. Mohini Mohan Bose, M. D., L. R. C. P.	Bengali, Brahmo.	Zamindar, Hon. Magistrate, Physician and Surgeon 64/1 Mechooa Bazar Street, Calcutta.	do.
193	"	"	24, Parganahs, Barahnagar.	Babu Haridas Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar, Barahnagar (District, 24 Parganahs.)	At a meeting held on the 4th December, 1892, at Barahnagar.
194	"	"	"	" Mohit Chandra Bose, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Barahnagar, (24 Parganahs.)	Do.
195	"	"	Krishnagar (Dt. Nuddea.)	" Tarapada Banerjee, B. L.	Bengali Brahmin	Vakil, Judge's Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Nuddea	At a public meeting held on the 1st December 1892.
196	"	"	"	" Hari Prasad Chatterjee, B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Nuddea	Do.
197	"	"	Chakdah (District Nuddea.)	" Akshoy Kumar Mitra.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vice-chairman, Municipality, Taluqdar, Chakdah (District Nuddea.)	At a public meeting held at Chakdah Bazar on the 13th November, 1892.
198	"	"	Khulna.	" Jadab Chandra Das.	Hindu Barui.	Pleader, Land-holder, Khulna.	At a public meeting held at the Khulna Town Hall on the 3rd of December, 1892.
199	"	"	"	" Beni Bhushan Ray, B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Honorary Secretary, Khulna Loan Office, and Secretary, Khulna Trading Company, Limited.	Do.
200	"	"	Jessore Branch Committee.	" Kaligopal Mazoomdar	Do.	Taluqdar, Jessore	At a meeting of the Jessore Branch Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1892.
201	"	"	Midnapur.	Mr. K. B. Dutt	Bengali Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Midnapur.	At a Public Meeting at Midnapur held on the 27th of November, 1892.
202	"	"	"	Babu Jotindra Nath Mallick.	Hindu Tamli.	Zamindar	do.
203	"	"	"	" Upendra Narayan Pal.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Dharinda, (District Midnapur).	do.
204	"	"	"	" Nava Kumar Mitra.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Member of the Local and the District Boards, Midnapur.	do.
205	"	"	Bally.	Rai Avinash Chandra Banerjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Hardware Merchant, Honorary Magistrate, Chairman Bally Municipality, Secretary Bally Sadharani Sabha, 7 Raja Udmant's Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held on the 26th November, 1892.
206	"	"	Serampur (District Hughly).	Babu Hari Mohan Gosain, B. A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Head Master, Serampur Union Institution.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th of November, 1892.
207	"	"	"	Mrs. A. S. West.	European Christian.	Land-holder, Serampur,	At a Public Meeting held on the 13th November, 1892.

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208	Bengla.	Calcutta.	Hughly Chinsurah and Chandernagore.	Babu Keshav Chandra Sadhu.	Bengali Hindu.	Trader, Rai Bagan, British Chandernagore.	At a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah on the 11th December, 1892.
209	"	"	"	" Romesh Chandra Mandal.	Bengali Hindu Subarna-banik.	Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Kamarpara Road, Chinsurah.	do.
210	"	"	Murshidabad.	" Baikuntha Nath Sen B.A., B.L.	Bengali Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, Chairman, Barhampur Municipality, President, Murshidabad Association, Honorary Magistrate and Zamindar.	At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 4th December, 1892.
211	"	"	"	" Brojendra Nath Seal, M.A.	Bengali Brahmo (Sadharan).	Principal, Barhampur College, Bengal.	do.
212	"	"	"	" Mohendra Nath Mukerjee.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
213	"	"	"	" Gourballabh Sen, M.A. B.L.	Bengali Kayastha Hindu	Pleader and Zamindar	do.
214	"	"	"	" Nafardas Roy ...	Bengali Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, and Honorary Secretary, Murshidabad Association.	do.
215	"	"	"	" Hemendra Nath Sen, B.A., B.L.	Bengali Hindu Baidya.	Pleader	do.
216	"	"	"	Kumar Umesh Chandra Roy.	Bengali Brahman.	Zamindar	At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 12th December, 1892.
217	"	"	"	Babu Harasankar Bhattacharya.	do.	Pleader, Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
218	"	"	"	" Dinabandhu Sanjal.	do.	Retired Deputy Collector	do.
219	"	"	Bankura.	" Ramanand Chatterjee, M.A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Professor, City College, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the inhabitants held on the 4th December, 1892.
220	"	"	Birbhum.	" Dhan Kanto Ghose, M.A. B.L.	Bengali Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Zamindar, and late Chairman, Soory Municipality.	At a Meeting held at Soory on the 22nd November, 1892.
221	"	"	Kalna.	" Jogondro Nath Sen.	Hindu Vaidya.	Land-holder and Physician, Kalna.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th of November, 1892.
222	"	"	"	Mr. K. B. Mallick ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Journalist	do.
223	"	"	Comilla.	Babu Charu Chandra Mitra, B.A. B.L.	Hindu Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Land-holder, Tipperah.	At a Public Meeting of the People's Association, Comilla, held on the 4th December, 1892.
224	"	"	Tipperah.	" Hardayal Nag ...	Bengali Hindu.	Pleader, Land-holder, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Chandpur, Tipperah.	At a Public Meeting at Chandpur held on the 4th December, 1892.
225	"	"	Assam, Gauhati.	" Bholanath Baruah ...	Assamese Hindu Kayastha.	Merchant, Gauhati	At a Meeting of the Assamese Residents of Calcutta held on the 12th December, 1892.
226	"	"	"	" Lakshmi Nath Bezbarua, B.A.	Assamese Hindu Brahman.	Editor of "Janoki," 18, Savaram Basak's lane, Calcutta.	do.
227	"	"	Dibrugarh, Assam.	" Radhanath Chankakoti.	Assamese Brahman.	Proprietor "Radhanath" Printing Press. Secretary, Upper Assam Association, Municipal Commissioner and Member Local Board, Dibrugarh, Assam.	At a Public Meeting of the Upper Assam Association held on 7th December, 1892, at Dibrugarh.
228	"	Mymensing.	Mymensing.	" Revati Mohan Guha, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Mymensing.	At a Meeting held on the 3rd December, 1892.
229	"	"	"	" Kailash Chandra Nag.	Hindu.	Taluqdar, Sherpur town, Mymensing, Chairman, Sherpur Town Municipality.	do.
230	"	"	"	" Anath Bandhu Guha, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Taluqdar, Member of the District Board, Honorary Magistrate, Secretary, Mymensing Association.	do.
231	"	"	"	" Srinath Rai, B.L. ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Mymensing Association.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
232	Bengal.	Mymensing.	Kishoregunj, District Mymensing.	Babu Rajani Kanta Rai.	Hindu Kayastha.	Talukdar, Post Office Jaraitola, Kishoregunj, Mymensing.	At a meeting held on the 27th November, 1892, at Kishoregunj.
233	"	"	Tangail.	" Prasonno Kumar Bose.	Hindu Brahma.	Talukdar, Alisakandar ...	At a meeting of the inhabitants of Tangail residing at Calcutta held on the 25th December, 1892.
234	"	Pubna.	Pubna.	" Mahendra Narain Chakravarti, B.A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Pubna, and Land-holder.	At a public meeting held on the 6th November, 1892, at the local Town Hall.
235	"	"	"	" Jnyana Gobind Chakravarti, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Pubna, and Honorary Magistrate, Independent Bench, Pubna.	At a public meeting held on the 6th November, 1892, at the local Town Hall.
236	"	"	"	" Mohini Mohun Lahiri, M. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader Judge's Court, Pubna, and Land-holder.	At a public meeting held on the 6th November, 1892, at the local Town Hall.
237	"	Dacca.	Munshigunj.	" Kishori Mohun Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar and Member, Local Board, Munshigunj, Dacca.	At a public meeting held at Munshigunj, on 9th December, 1892.
238	"	"	"	" Jagat Chandra Roy.	Do.	Pleader and Member, Local Board, Munshigunj. (Dacca).	Do.
239	"	"	Dacca.	" Sarat Chandra Bose, B. L.	Bengali Brahma.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Secretary, Dacca Congress Committee.	At a meeting held on 19th December, 1892.
240	"	Furridpore.	Furridpore Suddur Division.	Mr. Girja Shankar Mozumdar, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zamindar and Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	By the Furridpur Suhrid Sabha; on the 4th December, 1892, and at a public meeting held on the 21st November at Goalundo.
241	"	"	"	" Ambica Charan Mozumdar, M. A., B. L.	do.	Zamindar and Pleader, District Court, Furridpore.	At a public meeting held at Furridpore, on the 4th December, at Manickdaha on the 11th December, and at Madaripur, on the 29th November, 1892.
242	"	"	"	" Amrita Lal Roy Chaudhary.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	do.
243	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Chatterjee, M. A., B. L.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Mymensingh.	At a public meeting held at Furridpur, 4th December, and at Madaripur, on 29th December, 1892.
244	"	"	"	" Prithis Chandra Roy Chaudhury.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Olapore, District Furridpore, Sub-Division Gopalgunj.	At a public meeting held at Furridpore, on the 4th December, and at Tangail on the 22nd November, 1892.
245	"	Dinajpur.	Dinajpur.	Babu Madhava Chandra Chatterji, M. A., B. L.	Bengali Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman of the Dinajpur Municipality.	At a public meeting held on the 14th November, 1892.
246	"	"	"	" Umesh Chandra Khasnavis.	Bengali Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtar, Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Dinajpur.	do.
247	"	Rungpore.	Rungpore.	" Satish Kamal Sen, B. A., B. L.	Baidya Hindu.	Pleader, District Court, Rungpore.	do., and on the 14th December, 1892.
248	"	Barisal.	Backergunge.	" Harakanta Sen ...	Bengali Hindu Vaidya.	Assistant Secretary, Barisal Peoples' Association, Secretary Loan Office, Barisal.	At a general meeting of the residents of Backergunge, held on the 27th November, 1892, and at a meeting of the Peoples' Association held on the 22nd December, 1892.
249	"	Chota-Nagpur.	Hazaribagh Giridhi Sub-Division.	Munshi Khublal Peshkar.	Hindu, Kayastha.	Peshkar, Palgunj Raj Estate, (Giridhi.)	At a public meeting held on 19th December, 1892.
250	"	"	"	Munshi Davi Churn Lal.	"	Pleader, Giridhi ...	do.

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251	Bengal.	Chota Nagpore	Hazaribagh Sudder Sub-Division.	Babu Hanuman Prasad	Hindu Kayastha.	Government Pensioner, Honorary Magistrate, Hazaribagh.	At a public meeting held at Hazaribagh, on the 26th November, 1892.
252	"	"	"	Mirza Imdad Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Hazaribagh ...	do.
253	"	"	Hazaribagh.	Babu Narendra Nath Mukerjee.	Bengali Hindu, Brahman.	Landholder, Hazaribagh ...	At a Committee meeting of the Hazaribagh Association, held on 23rd December, 1892.
254	"	"	Lohardonga.	" Parbhu Narain ...	Hindu Bihari Kaystha.	Mukhtar and Zamindar Ranchi.	At a public meeting held at Ranchi, on 15th November, 1892.
255	"	"	"	" Radha Gobind Chaudhari, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Bengali Vaidya.	Pleader " "	do.
256	"	Behar.	Patna.	Moulv Bosharat Hosain.	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Bankipur ...	At a General Meeting held at Patna on the 25th November, 1892.
257	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Hamid, B.A., B.L.	do.	Zamindar, Pleader, Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Hon. Magistrate, and Member, Local Board.	do.
258	"	"	"	Babu Udit Singh ...	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar, Sultangunj, Patna City.	do.
259	"	"	"	" Guru Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Municipal Commissioner, Zamindar, Secretary, Behar Land-holder's Association and Editor, "Behar Herald."	do.
260	"	"	"	" Bisheswar Singh ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Pleader, Hon. Magistrate, Bankipur, and Member, Local Board.	do.
261	"	"	"	" Gadadhar Prasad ...	Hindu Behari Kayastha.	Pleader, Zamindar, Chairman, Local Board, Member, District Board, and President 5th Kayastha Conference.	do.
262	"	"	"	" Purnendu Narayn Singh, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar and Pleader, and Secretary, Patna Ratepayer's Association.	do.
263	"	"	"	" Mahabir Sahay, B.A., B. L.	Hindu Behari Kayastha.	Vakil High Court, Calcutta, and Zamindar.	do.
264	"	"	"	" Saligram Singh, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, and Vakil High Court, 119, Ripon Street, Calcutta.	Do; & by the British Indian Association on the 22nd December, 1892, and the Indian Association on the 4th November, 1892.
265	"	"	Bankipur.	" Bhagwat Prasad Singh.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	At a meeting held at Patna on the 25th November, 1892.
266	"	"	Darbhanga	Babu Durga Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Darbhanga ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 4th December, 1892, at Darbhanga.
267	"	"	"	" Bhavani Dhar Palit, B.A.	Bengalee Kayastha.	Head Master, E. B. School, Darbhanga.	do.
268	"	"	"	" Mewalal Saha ...	Hindu Banyan.	Merchant, Darbhanga ...	do.
269	"	"	"	" Ameer Singh ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Proprietor "Hari Prakash Press," Benares.	do.
270	"	"	Gaya.	" Nand Kishore Lall, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil and Zamindar, Gaya ..	At a Public Meeting held at Gaya on 15th December, 1892.
271	"	"	"	Hakim Syed Altaf Hosain.	Mahomedan Sayyed	Hakim (Medical Practitioner) 1st Road, Gaya.	do.
272	"	Mozaffarpur.	Mozaffarpur.	Babu Shorashi Charan Mitra, B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Mozaffarpur ..	At a Public Meeting held in Mozaffarpur on the 27th November, 1892.
273	"	"	"	" Rameshwara Narayan Mehta.	Kshatriya.	Hon. Magistrate, Zamindar and Banker, Nandipati Road, Mozaffarpur.	do.
274	"	"	"	Syed Afzal Hosein ...	Mahomedan.	Mokhtar, Mozaffarpur ...	do.

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275	Bengal.	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur.	Mr. S. C. Mookerjee ...	Bengalee Brahmin.	Barrister-at-law. 6, Park Street, Calcutta.	At a public meeting held on the 23rd November, 1892.
276	"	"	"	Babu Siva Shanker Sahay	Hindu Behari Kayastha.	Pleader, Bhagalpur ...	do.
277	"	"	"	" Hira Jha, B. A.	Brahmin.	Cultivator ...	do.
278	"	"	"	" Srimohan Thakur ...	do.	Zamindar, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, and Local Board, Hon. Magistrate, Bhagalpur.	do.
279	"	"	"	" Rashbehari Mandal	Hindu Behari Gope.	Zamindar, Hon. Magistrate, Member District Board.	do.
280	"	"	Purneah.	" Jogendra Nath Mookerjee, M. A., B. L.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Municipal Commissioner, Purneah.	At a public meeting held on the 30th November, 1892.
281	"	"	"	" Kamikha Nath Ghose, L. M. S.	Bengali Satgope.	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner, and Hon. Magistrate, Purneah.	do.
282	"	"	"	" Parbutty Churn Das, B. A., B. L.	Brahmo, Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Purneah, Member of the District Board and Land-holder.	do.
283	N.-W.P.	Benares.	Benares.	The Hon'ble Babu Ramkali Chaudhri.	Bengali Brahman.	Member, Legislative Council, N.-W. P. and Oudh; Municipal Commissioner, Hon. Magistrate and Retired Judge, Small Cause Court, Benares.	At a public meeting held at Benares, on 23rd October, 1892.
284	"	"	"	Pandit Uma Shankar Dube.	Hindustani Brahman.	Pensioner, Benares ...	do.
285	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Rao ...	Dakshini Brahman.	Zamindar, Benares ...	do.
286	"	"	"	Pandit Narain Shastri ...	do.	Acharya in Sanskrit Grammar, late Officiating Professor of Sankhya Philosophy in the Benares College.	do.
287	"	"	"	Babu Mokshadadas Mitra.	Bengali Kayastha.	Zamindar, Benares ...	do.
288	"	"	"	" Upendranath Basu, B. A., LL. B.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Benares...	do.
289	"	"	"	" Nilratan Banerji ...	Bengali Brahman.	Zamindar, Kodai Chowki, Benares.	do.
290	"	"	"	Munshi Shaunkar Lal ...	Gujrati Nagar Brahman.	Rais, Zamindar, Hon. Treasurer, Union Club, Benares.	do.
291	"	"	"	Babu Chintamani Mukerji, B. A.	Bengali Brahman.	School Master, Benares ...	do.
292	"	"	"	" Annada Charan Datta, B. A.	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader, Benares ...	do.
293	"	"	"	Babu Narsingh Das ...	Hindu.	Vakil, Benares ...	do.
294	"	"	Sujan Samaj, Benares.	" Satish Chander Muzumdar.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Benares.	At a general meeting of the Sujan Samaj, Benares, held on 17th December, 1892.
295	"	"	"	Pandit Chhannu Lal Joshi	Brahman.	Pleader, Benares ...	do.
296	"	"	"	Goswami Janga Bahadur Puri.	Hindu Gosain.	Zamindar and Banker, Benares	do. and public meeting at Nagpur held in City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892.
297	"	"	"	Goswami Ramacharan Puri.	do.	do. ...	At a general meeting of the Sujan Samaj, Benares, held on 17th December, 1892.
298	"	"	"	Babu Mathura Das ...	Gujrati Baniya.	Banker, Allahabad ...	do.
299	"	"	Ghazipur.	" Bholanath Ray, B. A., B. L.	Brahman.	Zamindar, Pleader High Court, Member and Secretary Municipal Board, Ghazipur.	At a public meeting held at Ghazipur, on 13th November, 1892.
300	"	"	"	" Damri Rai ...	do.	Zamindar and Pleader, Ghazipur.	do.
301	"	"	"	" Kuber Nath ...	Kayastha.	do. ...	do.
302	"	"	"	" Khudi Rai ...	Bhuinhar Brahman.	do. ...	do.
303	"	"	"	Munshi Udit Narain Lal	Hindustani Kayastha.	do. ...	do.

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304	N. W. P.	Benares.	Ghazipur.	Babu Shrinath Deva ...	Hindustani Brahman.	Zamindar, Ghazipur ...	Public meeting held at Ghazipur, on 13th November, 1892.
305	"	"	"	Babu Govind Narain Singh.	do.	Talukdar, Ghazipur ...	do.
306	"	"	"	Moulvi M. Usman Khan	Mahomedan.	Zamindar and Pleader, Ghazipur.	do.
307	"	"	"	Babu Bishwanath Singh	Hindustani Brahman.	Zamindar, Ghazipur ...	do.
308	"	"	"	Munshi Aditya Prasad ...	Hindustani Kayastha.	Zamindar and Pleader, Ghazipur.	do.
309	"	"	Azamgarh.	Babu Mukteshwar Ray...	Bhuinhar Brahman.	Pleader, Member, Municipal Board, and Secretary Standing Congress Committee, Azamgarh.	Public meeting held at Azamgarh, on 4th December, 1892.
310	"	"	"	" Brij Bihari Lal ...	Sunar.	Pleader, Azamgarh ...	do.
311	"	"	"	" Sunder Das ...	Agarwala Baniya.	General Merchant and Zamindar.	do.
312	"	"	"	" Gouri Shankar Singh	Hindu.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Zamindar.	do.
313	"	"	"	Munshi Basudeo Sahai ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Teacher, Church Mission High School.	do.
314	"	"	"	Moulvi Muhammad Zainul-Abdin.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Member, District Board.	do.
315	"	"	"	Mirza Muhammad Naim.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and zamindar ...	do.
316	"	"	Gorakhpur.	Thakur Ghumai Ram ...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Public meeting held at Gorakhpur, on 5th December, 1892.
317	"	"	"	Pandit Bindeshwari Prasad.	Brahman.	Pleader and zamindar ...	do.
318	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Sree Ram ...	Hindu Khatri.	Zamindar, Banker, Pleader, Member, Municipal and District Boards, and Secretary, Arya Samaj.	Public meeting held at Mirzapur on 25th December, 1892.
319	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeo Prasad Sinha.	Hindu Brahman.	Rais, Zamindar, p a r g a n a Kerait.	do.
320	"	"	"	Setha Laduram Poddar,	Hindustani Marwari	Banker ...	do.
321	"	"	"	Babu Badrinath Setha ...	Hindustani Kshatriya.	Stone-contractor and Honorary Secretary, Saraswat Kshatriya Hit Karini Sabha.	do.
322	"	"	"	" Jadu Nath Sinha ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar and Banker, Gopiganj, pargana Bhadohi.	do.
323	"	"	"	" Nanhu Lal ...	Hindu Khatri.	S e r v i c e, President Arya Samaja.	do.
324	"	"	"	" Kedarnath Bhatta-charji, B. A.	Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
325	"	"	"	Chowdhari Wasudeva Sharma.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	do.
326	"	"	"	P a n d i t Ghansham Sharma.	do.	Panditai ...	do.
327	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Prakash Sharma.	do.	Preacher ...	do.
328	"	"	"	Babu Kedarnath Muzumdar.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
329	"	"	"	Babu Beni Prasad ...	Bhargava.	Honorary Magistrate, Merchant, Zamindar, and Member, Municipal and District Boards.	do.
330	"	"	"	Chowdhari Badri Narain Sharma.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	do.
331	"	"	"	Setha Bihari Lal ...	Agarwala Marwari.	Banker ...	do.
332	"	"	Ballia.	Babu Yamuna Prasad ...	Mahajan Kandu.	Mahajani, Ballia ...	By a public meeting held at Ballia, on 2nd December, 1892.



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333	N.-W.P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Bishumbhar Nath	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, President, Vakils' Association, Fellow, Allahabad University, and Chairman, Reception Committee of the 8th I. N. Congress, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathshala on 29th October, 1892.
334	"	"	"	Raja Rampal Singh ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Taluqdar of Rampore, Oudh, Honorary Magistrate, Member, District Board; Vice-President, Reception Committee.	do.
335	"	"	"	Pandit Sundar Lal, B.A.	Hindu Gujrati Nagar Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Fellow, Allahabad University, and Member of the Council of Law Reporting, N.-W. P., Allahabad.	do.
336	"	"	"	Lala Ram Charan Das, Rai Bahadur.	Hindu Khatri.	Banker, Land-holder, Honorary Magistrate, Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad, and Member, Reception Committee.	do.
337	"	"	"	Mr. D. Banerji ...	Hindu Brahman.	Barrister-at-Law, Canning Road, Allahabad.	do.
338	"	"	"	Mr. T. P. Crowley ...	European Christian.	Of the firm of Messrs. Crowley and Co. Mechanical Engineers and Contractors, Member, Municipal Board.	do.
339	"	"	"	Pandit Moti Lal Nehru...	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Secretary, Reception Committee, Elgin Road, Allahabad.	do.
340	"	"	"	Pandit Baldev Ram Dave.	Gujrati Nagar Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W.P., Allahabad.	do.
341	"	"	"	Babu Charoo Chandra Mitter.	Hindu Bengali Kayastha.	Zamin-dar, Municipal Commissioner, Hon. Secretary, Reception Committee, Mitrasram, Lowther Road, Allahabad.	do.
342	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshmi Narayan Vyasa.	Hindu Brahman.	Vaidya, President, Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	do.
343	"	"	"	Munshi Madhava Prasad,	Hindu Kayesth.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Magistrate.	do.
344	"	"	"	Munshi Jwala Prasad ...	do.	Vakil High Court, N.-W. P.	do.
345	"	"	"	Munshi Kashi Prasad ...	do.	Vakil High Court, and Secretary Hindu Samaj, Moothegunge, Allahabad.	do.
346	"	"	"	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil High Court, N.-W. P., Hon. Secretary Reception Committee, Allahabad.	do.
347	"	"	"	Babu Parbati Charan Chatterji, C.E.	Bengali Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Kidgunge, Allahabad.	do.
348	"	"	"	Munshi Roshan Lal ...	Arya Samajist.	Barrister-at-Law, Stanley Road, Allahabad.	do.
349	"	"	"	Babu Khetara Mohan Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Tradesman, Allahabad ...	do.
350	"	"	"	Babu Preonath Chatterji.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad,	do.
351	"	"	"	Munshi Mathura Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Allahabad ...	do.
352	"	"	"	Babu Abinash Chandra Banerji, L.M.S.	Bengali Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad.	do.

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353	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Babu Dattee Lal, B. A. ...	Hindu Khatri.	Vakil, High Court, Mahajanitola, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, on 29th October, 1892.
354	"	"	"	Babu Lal Behari Lal ...	do.	Trader, Guzrati Mohullah, Allahabad.	do.
355	"	"	"	Lala Sheo Churan Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Jain.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
356	"	"	"	Lala Badri Prasad ...	Hindu Agarwala.	Pleader Jouhuritola, Allahabad.	do.
357	"	"	"	Lala Ram Lal Jouhuri ...	do.	Mahajan, Jouhuritola, Allahabad.	do.
358	"	"	"	Mr. M. Corbett ...	European Christian.	Merchant, Municipal, Commissioner, Canning Road, Allahabad.	do.
359	"	"	"	Lala Kanhya Lal ...	Hindu Agarwala.	Mahajan, Mirganj, Allahabad.	do.
360	"	"	"	Munshi Mahesh Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Allahabad ...	do.
361	"	"	"	Lala Ganesh Das ...	Hindu Marwarree.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner, Katra, Allahabad.	do.
362	"	"	"	Pandit Govind Rao Goray	Hindu Brahman.	Pensioner, Daraganj, Allahabad.	do.
363	"	"	"	Munshi Sheombhar Lal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Allahabad ...	do.
364	"	"	"	Babu Raghubar Dyal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
365	"	"	"	Pandit Jay Krishna Vyas	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
366	"	"	"	B. Tinkuri Mukerji, L. M. S.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad.	do.
367	"	"	"	Pandit Jagannath Sarma.	do.	Vaid, Editor, Prayag Samachar, Allahabad.	do.
368	"	"	"	Babu Beni Madhub Rai Chaudhri.	do.	Zamindar, Kidganj, Allahabad.	do.
369	"	"	"	Pandit Beni Madhub Bhattacharji.	do.	Government Pensioner, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Daraganj, Allahabad.	do.
370	"	"	"	Pandit Deoki Nandan Tiwari.	do.	Proprietor, Rampataka, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
371	"	"	"	Lala Ramdhan Lal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtar, Allahabad ...	do.
372	"	"	"	Babu Nitai Charan Mitra.	do.	Druggist, Johnstonganj Road, Allahabad.	do.
373	"	"	"	B. Govind Chandra Basu, M. B.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Ranikimandi, Allahabad.	do.
374	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Banerjee, B. A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
375	"	"	"	" Rajaram Bhargava	Hindu.	Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Allahabad.	do.
376	"	"	"	" Mahesh Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Karelabagh Road, Allahabad.	do.
377	"	"	"	Lala Bhawani Prasad ...	Hindu Khatri.	Banker, Allahabad ...	do.
378	"	"	"	" Brij Mohan Lal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
379	"	"	"	Pundit Kedar Nath Choubay.	Hindu Brahman.	Vaidya, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
380	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Bhutta	do.	Editor, "Hindi Pradip," Allahabad.	do.
381	"	"	"	Babu Shama Churan Mukerji.	do.	Pleader and Mill-owner, Karbala, Allahabad.	do.
382	"	"	"	Syed Abdul Raof ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Elgin Road, Allahabad.	do.
383	"	"	"	Dr. S. P. Roy, M. B. ... M. R. C. S.	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Analyst, Muthiganj, Allahabad.	Do. and at a Public Meeting of the Rajshahi Association held on 3rd December, 1892.
384	"	"	"	Mr. Fatch Chand ...	Jain.	Barrister-at-Law, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathshala Allahabad on 29th October, 1892.
385	"	"	"	Lala Mohan Lal ...	Hindu Khatri.	Contractor, Allahabad ...	do.
386	"	"	"	Swami Alaram ...	Hindu.	Preacher, Allahabad ...	do.
387	"	"	"	Pundit Shivaram Panday	Hindu Brahman.	Vaidya, Mahajanitola, Allahabad.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
388	N.-W.P.	Allahabad,	Allahabad.	Lala Baboo Lal ...	Hindu Khatri.	Banker, Allahabad ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, on 29th October, 1892.
389	"	"	"	Pandit Brij Mohun Doo-bay.	Hindu Brahman.	Trader, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	
390	"	"	"	Mr. Madan Mohun Pragwal.	do.	Pragwal, Allahabad, ...	At a Public Meeting held, at Tej Pal Gokul Das' Dharamsala, Allahabad, on 20th December, 1892.
391	"	"	"	Mr. Amritakrishna Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Medical Practitioner, Landholder, Calcutta, Allahabad.	
392	"	"	"	Lala Mewa Lal ...	Hindu	Banker & Zemindar, Mootheegunge, Allahabad.	Do. and at a General Meeting of the Metropolitan Union held on 17th December, 1892.
393	"	"	"	Babu Hari Mohun Roy B. A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	
394	"	"	"	Lala Ganesh Prashad ...	Hindu Agarwala	Banker and Zemindar, Allahabad.	do.
395	"	"	"	Mr. Ajodhia P r a s h a d Pragwal.	Hindu Brahman.	Pragwal, Allahabad ...	do.
396	"	"	"	" Behary Lal Pragwal ...	do.	do.	do.
397	"	"	"	" Brij Nath Pachbhaja ...	do.	do.	do.
398	"	"	"	" Sitaldeen Panday ...	do.	do.	do.
399	"	"	"	" Sitaram Pragwal ...	do.	do.	do.
400	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerjee.	do.	Pleader, Kidgunge, Allahabad.	do.
401	"	"	"	Pandit Luchmi Narain Choubay.	do.	Trader, Allahabad ...	do.
402	"	"	"	" Sree Gobind Choubay.	do.	Contractor, do. ...	do.
403	"	"	"	Babu Jagadish Narain ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar, do. ...	At a Public Meeting held in Gunga Das ka Chouk on 6th December, 1892.
404	"	"	"	Lala Madari Lal ...	Khatri.	Zemindar, Gangadas ka Chauk	
405	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Prasad Kapur.	do.	Banker, Allahabad ...	do.
406	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Narayan Proha.	Brahman.	Prohitai, Allahabad ...	do.
407	"	"	"	Lala Govind Prasad ...	Khatri.	Trader Allahabad ...	do.
408	"	"	"	" Choonilal ...	do.	Banker & Zamindar, Allahabad.	do.
409	"	"	"	" Durga Prasad ...	do.	Merchant, Allahabad ...	do.
410	"	"	"	Chaube Gobind Deo ...	Brahman.	" "	do.
411	"	"	Allahabad. Hindu Samaj.	Babu Vaidya Nath Das...	Agarwala Bania.	Banker ...	At a General Meeting of the Samaj held on 27th December, 1892.
412	"	"	"	" Hem Chandra Chatterjee.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, Allahabad ...	
413	"	"	"	" Nityaranjan Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder, Allahabad ...	do.
414	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur Niranjan Mukerjee.	do.	do.	do.
415	"	"	"	Pandit Sarju Prasad ...	do.	Teacher, Divinity School, Allahabad.	do.
416	"	"	"	Mr. Oudh Behari Lal, M.A.	Hindu Kayesth.	Teacher, Allahabad ...	do.
417	"	"	"	Pandit Brij Nath ...	Hindu Brahman.	Preacher, Allahabad ...	do.
418	"	"	"	Swami Purushottama Gir.	do.	Hindu Ascetic ...	do.
419	"	"	"	Pandit Sheo Ram Chundra Tewary.	Hindu	Mahajan, Allahabad ...	do.
420	"	"	Allahabad.	Hakim Mahomed Hossein	Mahomedan Sunni.	Zamindar, Allahabad ...	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 24th December, 1892.
421	"	"	"	Syad Meerjan ...	do. Shia.	do.	
422	"	"	"	Meer Akhtar Hossein ...	do.	do.	do.
423	"	"	"	Hakim Mahomed Anwar.	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
424	"	"	"	Mirza Kulb Ali Beg ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
425	"	"	"	Moulvi Ameer Ali ...	do.	do.	do.
426	"	"	"	Meer Anwar Hossain ...	do.	do.	do.
427	"	"	"	Mirza Tufel Ali Beg ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
428	"	"	"	Hafiz Kurimbux ...	do.	do.	do.
429	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagwan Das, B.A....	Hindu.	Head Master, Colonelgunge School, Allahabad	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
430	N.-W.P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Munshi Sadruddin ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Patshala on 29th October, 1892.
431	"	"	Kara.	Mir Mohammed Taqi ...	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Zamindar, Kara ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kara, on 17th December, 1892.
432	"	"	"	Mir Munauwar Ali ...	do.	do.	do.
433	"	"	Ujahini.	Mir Mahomed Hadi ...	do.	Zamindar, Ujahini ...	At a Public Meeting held on 22nd December, 1892.
434	"	"	"	Sheikh Abdul Rahman ...	do.	do.	do.
435	"	"	Manjhanpur.	Syad Tawangar Ali ...	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Zamindar, Manjhanpur ...	At a Public Meeting held in Manjhanpur on 19th December, 1892.
436	"	"	"	Syad Mubaraq Husain ...	do.	Zamindar, do.	do.
437	"	"	"	Syad Ahmed Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
438	"	"	"	Syad Karim Buksh ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
439	"	"	Karari.	Syad Ikbal Husain ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Karari ...	At a Public Meeting held at Karari, on 31st December, 1892.
440	"	"	"	Syad Zafar Husain ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
441	"	"	"	Syad Ibni Husain ...	do.	do.	do.
442	"	"	"	Syad Fida Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
443	"	"	"	Syad Munawar Ali ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
444	"	"	"	Syad Fyaz Husain ...	do.	do.	do.
445	"	"	"	Syad Nadir Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
446	"	"	Sohila.	Syad Amir Husain ...	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Zamindar, Sohila ...	At a Public Meeting held on 20th December, 1892.
447	"	"	"	Syad Shamshad Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
448	"	"	"	Mir Aulad Husain ...	do. do.	do.	do.
449	"	"	"	Mir Nazim Husain ...	do. do.	do.	do.
450	"	"	Kanihar.	Mir Ghulam Mahomed ...	Mahomedan Shia.	Zamindar, Kanihar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kanihar on 21st December, 1892.
451	"	"	Cawnpore.	Pundit Munna Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Agent of the Firm of Gobind-Prasad and Co., Cawnpore.	At a Public Meeting held on 22nd December, 1892.
452	"	"	"	Lala Govind Prasad Mihrottra.	Khuttree.	Merchant and Contractor, Cawnpore.	do.
453	"	"	"	Maharaj Doorgaprasad Bajpai.	Brahman.	Zamindar and Rais, Cawnpore.	do.
454	"	"	"	Hakim Asgar Hossain ...	Mahomedan.	Physician, Cawnpore ...	do.
455	"	"	"	Babu Manmath Nath Mukerji, B. A., B. L.	Bengali. Brahman.	Vakeel, High Court, Cawnpore.	do.
456	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Dayal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleaser, Cawnpore ...	do.
457	"	"	"	Aga Abdul Qasim Shirazi.	Mahomedan.	Arab Horse dealer ...	do.
458	"	"	"	Mr. Sidh Gopal Misra ...	Brahman.	Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	do.
459	"	"	"	Lala Gopi Nath ...	Khuttree.	Export and Import Agent ...	do.
460	"	"	"	Babu Nabin Chundra Bose.	Bengali Kayasth.	Pleaser, Cawnpore ...	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 11th December, 1892.
461	"	"	"	Rai Devi Prasad, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayasth.	Vakeel, High Court, and Zamindar, Cawnpore.	do.
462	"	"	"	Babu Sheo Narain ...	Arya Samajist.	Banker and Member, Municipal Board, Cawnpore.	do.
463	"	"	"	Babu Srish Chandra Gupta.	Bengali Vaidya.	Merchant ...	do.
464	"	"	"	Mr. Janki Nath ...	Arya Samajist.	Zamindar, Cawnpore ...	do.
465	"	"	"	Lala Ram Dhun ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Zamindar, ,, ...	do.
466	"	"	"	Lala Narayan Das ...	do.	Merchant, ,, ...	do.
467	"	"	"	Lala Debi Das ...	Hindu Khuttree.	,, ,, ...	do.
468	"	"	"	Lala Chundika Prasad ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Cloth Merchant, Cawnpore ...	do.
469	"	"	"	Lala Madan Chand Khunna.	do.	Merchant and Contractor ...	do.
470	"	"	"	Babu Trailokya Nath Banerji.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleaser and Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
471	N.-W.P.	Allahabad.	Cawnpore.	Babu Gopal Chandra Banerji.	Bengali Brahman.	Chemist, Manager of the Kaisar Soap Manufacturing Company, Cawnpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 11th December, 1892.
472	"	"	"	Pandit Hriday Narayan Koul.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader, Joint Secretary, Reform Association and Divisional Congress Committee, Cawnpore.	do.
473	"	"	"	Pandit Pirthi Nath ...	do.	Pleader, Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee, Reform Association, and Temperance Association, and Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.	do.
474	"	"	"	Babu Bansidhar ...	Arya Samajist.	Banker and Zemindar ...	do.
475	"	"	"	Pandit Janki Nath ...	Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader ...	do.
476	"	"	"	Bhai Hurnam Singh Varma.	Punjabi Khatri.	Late Government Military Sowar, Proprietor of the "Cawnpore Gazette."	do.
477	"	"	"	Lala Kedarnath Kerya ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Merchant ...	do.
478	"	"	"	Lala Suntokh Chand Bhandari.	Jain.	Banker and Merchant ...	do.
479	"	"	Farrukhabad.	Pandit Gopal Rao Hari...	Arya, Maharashtra Brahman.	Secretary, Vedic Samaj and Divisional Congress Committee, Farrukhabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Farrukhabad on 20th November, 1892.
480	"	"	"	Chowbay Harsevak Lal...	Brahman.	Vakil and Zamindar ...	do.
481	"	"	"	Mr. S. P. Mukerji ...	Bengali Brahman.	Service, Camp Fatehgarh ...	do.
482	"	"	"	Mr. Sarup Narain ...	Kayastha.	Pleader, Farrukhabad ...	do.
483	"	"	"	Seth Mina Mall ...	Buneah.	Merchant, do. ...	do.
484	"	"	"	Mahomed Yakub Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, do. ...	do.
485	"	"	"	Mr. Akbar Hossein ...	do.	do. ...	do.
486	"	"	"	" Hifazat Hossein ...	do.	" and Member of the District Board, Farrukhabad.	do.
487	"	"	Banda.	Lala Raghubar Dayal ...	Hindu Kayasth.	Legal Practitioner and Secretary Kayasth Sabha.	At a Public Meeting held on 6th November, 1892.
488	"	"	"	Munshi Mata Prasad ...	Kayasth.	Legal Practitioner and Zamindar and President, Kayasth Sabha, Banda.	do.
489	"	"	Jhansi.	Babu Shiva Pada Ghosh.	Bengali Kayasth.	Pleader, Jhansi ...	At a Public Meeting held at Jhansi on 10th November, 1892.
490	"	"	"	" Kali Prasanna Biswas.	Bengali Vaishya.	Medical Practitioner, Progressive Medical Hall, Jhansi.	do.
491	"	"	"	" Basant Kumar Sanyal.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, Jhansi ...	do.
492	"	"	"	Pandit Prag Das ...	Arya Brahman.	do.	do.
493	"	"	"	Mr. Kesho Das, B. A. ...	Hindu.	Pleader and Zamindar, Jhansi.	do.
494	"	"	Agra.	Pandit Mohan Krishna Dar.	Hindu Kashmiri Brahman.	Trader, Agra ...	At a public meeting held at Agra on the 15th November, 1892.
495	"	"	"	Mr. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B. A.	Hindu Madras Brahman.	Professor of Mathematics, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
496	"	"	"	Mr. N. B. Wadekar ...	Hindu Brahman.	Merchant, Agra ...	do.
497	"	"	"	Mr. A. Nundy ...	Christian.	Barrister-at-Law, Agra ...	do.
498	"	"	"	Pandit Jagannath ...	Hindu Kashmiri.	Rais and Pleader, Agra ...	do.
499	"	"	"	Pandit Tulsiram Misra, M. A.	Hindu Brahman.	Professor, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
500	"	"	"	Lala Dwarka Das ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Agra.	do.
501	"	"	"	Pandit Kamta Prasad ...	Kashmiri Brahman.	Rais and Pleader, Agra ...	do.
502	"	"	"	Babu Kedarnath, B.A., B. L.	Hindu Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, Agra ...	do.
503	"	"	Muttra.	Pandit Radha Charan Goswami.	Brahman.	Priest, Radharaman Street, Brindaban, District Muttra.	At a Public Meeting held at Muttra on 17th November, 1892.
504	"	"	"	Mr. Chote Lal ...	Hindu Kayasth.	Municipal Commissioner and Member of Kayasth Samaj, Pleader, Holigate, Muttra.	do.
505	"	"	"	Babu Jagannath Prasad...	Bhargava.	Pleader, Merchant and Member, Municipal Board, Ghiki mandi, Muttra.	Do. and at a meeting of the Vaishnav Dharma-pracharak Sabha on 3rd December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
506	N.-W.P.	Allahabad.	Muttra.	Kuar Hukam Singh ...	Jat.	Resaldar of Angai, Member of the Local Board and General Treasurer of the Jat Sabha of India.	At a Public Meeting held at Muttra on 17th November, 1892.
507	"	"	"	Mr. Radhe Lal Sharma...	Arya Brahmin.	Vedic Upadeshak ...	do.
508	"	"	Aligarh.	Babu Kishori Lal ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Pleader and Zamindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Aligarh on 18th December, 1892.
509	"	"	"	Thakur Kalyan Singh ...	Hindu, Rajput.	do.	do.
510	"	"	"	Hafiz Abdul Rahim ...	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
511	"	"	"	Babu Ram Narayan ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Zamindar and Banker ...	do.
512	"	"	"	M. Mahomed Mustajaba-ul-Ja Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Aligarh ...	do.
513	"	"	"	Pandit Udai Ram ...	Brahmin.	Service, Aligarh ...	do.
514	"	"	"	M. Mahomed Amanat Ulla Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Aligarh ...	do.
515	"	"	"	Syad Mushtak Ali ...	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
516	"	"	"	Sheikh Mushtak Ali ...	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
517	"	"	"	Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan.	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Aligarh ...	do.
518	"	"	"	M. Muhammad Zafar Ali Khan	do.	Pleader, Aligarh ...	do.
519	"	"	"	M. Umrao Khan ...	do.	Zamindar, Aligarh ...	do.
520	"	"	Meerut.	Babu Prahlad Singh ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, and Zamindar, Meerut.	At a Public Meeting held at Meerut on 16th December, 1892.
521	"	"	"	Lala Baburam ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Pleader, Meerut ...	do.
522	"	"	"	Babu Hira Lal ...	do.	do.	do.
523	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Prasad, M.A.	Hindu Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Meerut.	do.
524	"	"	"	Lala Ghansayam Das ...	Vaishya. Agrawal.	Pleader and Zamindar, Meerut.	do.
525	"	"	"	Babu Abhayapada Bose, B. A.	Bengali, Kayasth.	Budhana Gate, Meerut City...	do.
526	"	"	"	Babu Dindayal ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
527	"	"	Saharanpur.	Mr. Madan Mohan Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu, Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, Saharanpur.	At a Public Meeting held at Saharanpur on 17th December, 1892.
528	"	"	Dehra Dun	Pandit Anunda Narain ...	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on 18th December, 1892, at Dehra Dun.
529	"	"	"	Captain A. W. Harsey.	European Christian.	Retired list, H. M. S. ...	do.
530	"	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Babu Bansilal Singh ...	Hindu Khatri.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
531	"	"	"	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma.	do.	Editor and Proprietor of the "Advocate" and the "Hindustani," Lucknow.	do.
532	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow ...	do.
533	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow ...	do.
534	"	"	"	Prince Mirza Faraidon Qadir Bahadur, of the Royal Family of Delhi.	Mahomedan.	Wasiqadar, Lucknow. ...	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Muhammadi held at Lucknow on 23rd December, 1892.
535	"	"	"	Prince Yunus Qadr Bahadur, of the Royal Family of Delhi.	do.	do.	do.
536	"	"	"	Nawab Zaighamuddaula Bahadur.	Mahomedan.	Rais and Wasiqadar, Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
537	"	"	"	Pandit Lachman Prasad	Brahman.	Brahmo Missionary, Lucknow,	do.
538	"	"	"	Pandit Jagat Narain ...	Brahman.	Pleader, Lucknow ...	do.
539	"	"	"	Babu Bhuban Mohon Rai,	Hindu, do.	Merchant, Aminabad, Lucknow.	do.
540	"	"	"	Hakim Syed Husain Jafar.	Mahomedan.	Editor "Jubilee Paper," Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
541	"	"	"	Pandit Shyam Narain Musladan.	Kashmiri Brahman	Land-holder and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.

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542	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lucknow.	M. Abdul Basir Hazur ...	Mahomedan.	Service, Lucknow	Public Meeting, 9th December, 1892.
543	"	"	"	Nawab Hashmat Hussain.	do.	Wasiqadar, Lucknow.	do
544	"	"	"	Babu Kedarnath. ...	Hindu	Vakil, Lucknow	do
545	"	"	"	Babu Bipin Behari Bose, M. A. ...	Kshatriya Bengali Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, and Secretary, Rifah-i-am-Association, Lucknow.	At a Meeting of the Association held on 3rd December, 1892.
546	"	"	"	Rai Suraj Narain Bahadur, B.A.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
547	"	"	Lucknow. Anjuman-i-Muhammadi.	Syed Kazim Hussein ...	Mahomedan.	Service, Lucknow.	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Muhammadi held at Lucknow 23rd December, 1892.
548	"	"	"	Nawab Muhammad Hasan.	do.	Govt. Pensioner, Lucknow ...	do
549	"	"	"	Syed Ashiq Hossein ...	do.	Secretary, Anjuman-i-Muhammadi Mansurbag, Lucknow and Editor of the "Qaul."	do
550	"	"	"	Mirza Muhammad Husein,	do.	Service, Lucknow	do
551	"	"	"	Maulvi Syed Murtaza Husein.	do.	do.	do
552	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Mumammad Khan.	do.	Late President Anjuman-i-Muhammadi. Govt. Pensionholder and Wasiqadar, Lucknow.	do
553	"	"	"	Maulvi Faqarud-din ...	do.	Merchant, Lucknow.	do
554	"	"	"	M. Muhammad Taqi Khan.	do.	Head Munshi, C. M. School, Lucknow.	do
555	"	"	"	Mirza Raza Husein.	do.	Merchant, Lucknow	do
556	"	"	"	Baqur Mirza Sahib ...	do.	Wasiqadar, Lucknow.	do
557	"	"	"	M. Aga Syed Ali Khan,	do.	do.	do
558	"	"	"	M. Aga Ahmed Ali Khan.	do.	do.	do
559	"	"	"	M. Baqar Mirza Khan.	do.	do.	do
560	"	"	"	M. Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan.	do.	do.	do
561	"	"	"	Syed Husein <i>alias</i> Syed.	do.	Service, Lucknow.	do
562	"	"	"	Syed Muhammad Naqi ...	do.	do.	do
563	"	"	"	Syed Muhammad Mehdi.	do.	Pensioner, Lucknow	do
564	"	"	"	Mirza Aga Husain Sahib.	do.	Nawab and Rais, Lucknow	do
565	"	"	"	M. Aga Sajjad Ali Khan.	do.	Wasiqadar, Lucknow	do
566	"	"	"	Aga Muhammad Husein Sahib.	do.	Service, Lucknow	do
567	"	"	"	Syed Baqar Ali Khan ...	do.	do.	do
568	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Ramanuja Chary ...	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Member District Board, Chingleput.	At a Public Meeting.
569	N.-W.P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Sitapur.	Babu Pitam Rai ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Sitapur, Municipal Commissioner, Hon-Magistrate and Zamindar, Sitapur.	At a Public Meeting held on 9th December, 1892.
570	"	"	"	Babu Chail Behari Lal, B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, Sitapur	do.
571	"	"	"	Munshi Murli Dhar ...	do.	Pleader and Zamindar, Sitapur.	do.
572	"	"	"	Babu Sitaram Thetha ...	Hindu	Banker, Sitapur.	do.
573	"	"	Fyzabad.	Babu Baldeo Prasad ...	Kshatriya. Hindu Kshatriya.	Vakil and Honorary Secretary to the Municipal Board, Fyzabad.	At a Public Meeting of the residents of Fyzabad and Ajudhia held at Fyzabad, on 20th November, 1892.
574	"	"	"	Babu Ram Saran Das, M.A., F.A.U.	Hindu Kayastha.	Secretary and Manager of the Oudh Commercial Bank, Limited; Zamindar, and Honorary Magistrate, Fyzabad.	do
575	"	"	"	Munshi Ali Hussein ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Vakil and Secretary District Board, Fyzabad	do.
576	"	"	"	" Imtiaz Ali, B. A. ...	do.	Vakil, Fyzabad.	do.
577	"	"	"	Babu Gokul Chand ...	Hindu Kshatriya	Vakil, Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate and Chairman of the Municipal Board, Fyzabad.	do.
578	"	"	"	Pandit Radha Kishen ...	Hindu Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil and Zamindar, Fyzabad.	do.
579	"	"	"	Munshi Sarfaraz Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar and Rais, Fyzabad.	do.
580	"	"	"	" Balak Ram ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil and Land-holder, Fyzabad.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
581	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Sultanpur.	Babu Shambhunath ...	Hindu.	Vakil, Sultanpur ...	At a Public Meeting held on 10th December, 1892.
582	"	"	Partabgarh	Munshi Ramchandra, M.A.	Hindu. Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Partabgarh.	At a Public Meeting held at Partabgarh on 4th December, 1892.
583	"	"	"	Pandit Kirpa Shankar ...	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	Pleader Partabgarh ...	do.
584	"	"	"	Pandit Balraj Sahai Upadhia.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Zamindar, Partabgarh.	do.
585	"	"	Bahraich	Pandit Sitala Prasad Misra.	do.	Vakil, Bahraich ...	At a Public Meeting of the residents of Bahraich held on 19th December, 1892.
586	"	"	"	Munshi Jugul Kishore ...	Hindu Kayastha.	do	do.
587	"	"	Kalakankar	Pandit Bisheswar Dayal Sukul	Hindu. Brahman	Pleader, land-holder and banker, Kalakankar.	At a Public Meeting held at Kalakankar on 27th December, 1892.
588	"	"	"	P. Sital Prasad Upadhyay,	do.	Landholder and Joint Manager of the "Hindustan" Kalakankar.	do.
589	"	"	"	Thakur Basant Singha ...	Hindu Khsatriya.	Land holder, Kalakankar ...	do.
590	"	Rohilkhand.	Shahjahanpur.	Babu Baikunth Nath Sirkar.	Hindu	Pleader, Shahjahanpur ...	At a Public Meeting held at Shahjahanpur on 20th December, 1892.
591	"	"	"	Munshi Bakhtawar Singh,	Arya Agarwal.	Editor and Proprietor of "Arya Darpan."	do.
592	"	"	"	Lala Saligram Sheth ...	Hindu Kahatry	Zeminder, Banker ...	do.
593	"	"	"	Babu Radha Krishna ...	Hindu.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
594	"	"	Bareilly.	Mr. Ram Sarup, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu, Khatri	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P., Bareilly.	At a public meeting held at Bareilly on 9th December 1892.
595	"	"	"	Babu Preonath Banerji.	Hindu Brahman	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Bareilly.	do.
596	"	"	"	Lala Kalka Prasad ...	Hindu. Kayasth	Pleader, Bareilly. ...	do.
597	"	"	"	Lala Janki Prasad, M.A.	do	do.	do.
598	"	"	Almora.	Pundit Jwaladatta Joshi.	Brahman	Vakil, High Court, Almora...	do.
599	"	"	"	Pundit Badridatta Joshi, LL. B.	Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Almora ...	At a Public Meeting held at Almora on 10th November, 1892.
600	"	"	"	Pandit Kamalapati Joshi.	do.	Pleader, Dt. Court, Almora...	do.
601	"	"	"	Sheikh Manulla ...	Mahomedan.	Trader and Merchant, Almora.	do.
602	"	"	Moradabad.	Babu Narendra Chandra Bose, B. L.	Hindu Kayasth	Vakil, High Court, and Zamindar, Moradabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Moradabad on 17th December, 1892.
603	"	"	"	Babu Sundar Lal ...	Hindu Kayasth	Pleader, Moradabad ...	do.
604	"	"	"	Babu Brijnandan Prasad, M.A., LL. B.	Hindu, Khatri	Vakil, High Court, Moradabad.	do.
605	"	"	"	M. Mohammad Nabi Khan.	Mahomedan, Pathan.	Service. ...	do.
606	"	"	"	Sheikh Wahabuddeen ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zamindar ...	do.
607	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Lala Ram Chandra ...	Panjabi Hindu.	Proprietor, "Anglo-Sanskrit" Press.	Public Meeting held at Lahore on 4th December, 1892.
608	"	"	"	The Rev. T. Evans ...	European Christian.	Missionary and Temperance Preacher.	do.
609	"	"	"	Captain A. T. Banon ...	European.	Late Bengal Staff Corps, Zamindar Kulu-Kangra. ...	do.
610	"	"	"	Mr. N. Gupta ...	Bengali Vaidya.	Editor of the "Tribune." ...	do.
611	"	"	"	Dr. Parmanand ...	Panjabi Hindu.	Surgeon Dentist, Lahore ...	do.
612	"	"	Umballa.	Lala Murlidhar ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Pleader, Umballa ...	Public Meeting held at Umballa, 17th December, 1892.
613	"	"	"	Bhai Mahar Singh Chauhan.	Panjabi Sikh.	General Merchant, Lahore ...	Public Meeting held at Lahore on 4th December, 1892.



Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
14	Punjab.	Lahore.	Umballa.	Munshi Abdul Qadir Taib.	Muhamadan.	Manager, "Barrin Gazette."	At a Public Meeting held at Umballa on 17th December, 1892.
615	"	"	Amritsar.	Lala Kanhaiya Lal ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	Public Meeting held at Amritsar on 11th December, 1892.
616	"	"	"	Mr. Uma Shankar ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar ...	do.
617	"	"	"	Baba Narain Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader, Amritsar ...	do.
618	"	"	"	Mr. Bulaki Ram ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar ...	do.
619	"	"	"	Babu Nandkishore Kakker.	Hindu Khatri.	Head Master, Hindu High School.	do.
620	"	Delhi.	Delhi.	Lala Sultan Singh ...	Hindu.	Rais and Banker ...	Public Meeting held at Delhi on 21st December, 1892.
621	"	"	"	Moulvi Mirza Umrao Harat.	Mahomedan.	Literary pursuit, Delhi ...	do.
622	"	"	"	Mr. Balawant Singh ...	Hindu Khattree.	Medical College, Lahore ...	do.
623	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Dass ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Barrister-at-Law, Delhi. ...	do.
624	"	"	"	Lala Gokul Chand ...	Hindu Khatri.	Banker, Delhi ...	do.
625	"	"	"	Lala Girdhari Lal ...	do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, Delhi.	do.

## APPENDIX II.

1. The following statements have been drawn from the figures given in the Reports of the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. The percentages are not in all cases given in the Reports, but have been worked out :—

*Statement (A.)*

Years.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
	Number of trials with Jury?	Number of verdicts agreed to by the Sessions Judges.	Number of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges.	References disposed of under Sec. 307 Cr. P. C.	Verdicts approved of by the High Court.	Verdicts set aside by the High Court.	Percentage of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges to the whole number of verdicts.	Percentage of verdicts set aside by the High Court to total verdicts.	Percentage of verdicts which would have been set aside if all cases in which the Sessions Judges had disagreed had been referred by them to the High Court and the verdicts set aside in the same proportion as in cases referred.
1877	342	285	57	25	8	17	16.6	4.9	11.3
1878	399	352	47	25	10	15	11.8	3.7	7
1879									
1880									
1881									
1882									
1883	344	292	52	16	3	13	15.1	3.7	12.2
1884	346	263	69*	27	12	15	19.9	4.3	11
1885	348	282	66	25	4	21	18.9	6	15.9
1886	284	239	45	24	9	15	15.8	5.2	9.9
1887	339	263	76	19	10	9	22.4	2.6	10.6
1888	365	240	65	25	11	14	21.3	4.6	11.9
1889	285	235	50	13	7	6	17.5	2.1	8.1
1890	285	230	55	19	6	13	19.2	4.5	13.2
1892	290	240	50	20	10	10	17.2	3.4	8.6
Total ..	3567	2921	632	238	90	148	16.9	83.1	

( XIX )

In these years the Administration Reports do not give the number of cases of which reference was made to the High Court, and the number in which the verdicts were set aside or approved ; but give the number of persons in respect of whom the verdicts were approved or set aside. They are therefore useless for the purpose of comparison.

In 14 cases tried by the Sessions Judge of Patna neither the Sessions statements nor the records of cases shew whether the Judge agreed with the verdict or not.

*N.B.*—Average of Jury verdicts that would have been set aside in 11 years (1877, 1878 and 1883 to 1891) if reference had been made in cases of all verdicts dissented from by the Sessions Judge and the verdicts set aside in the same ratio, as in cases referred, is 11.8. Average percentage of verdicts actually set aside to the total number of verdicts in 11 years is 3.68.

## Statement—(B.)

Years.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Number of trials with assessors.	Number of appeals disposed of.*	Number of cases not appealed against.	Affirmed.	Reversed, modified and sent back.	Percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals.	Percentage of judgments affirmed or not disturbed to the total number of trials with assessors.	Percentage of judgments corrected by the High Court to the total number of trials.
1877	1087	640	447	522	118	81.5	89.1	10.9
1878	1165	635	528	533	104	83.6	91	9
1879	..	..	..	..	..	85.2	89.6	10.4
1880	..	..	..	..	..	80.4	87	13
1881	..	..	..	..	..	80.7	88.3	11.7
1882	..	..	..	..	..	82.5	89.9	10.1
1883	766	667	329	559	108	83.8	89.1	10.9
1884	1075	692	383	571	121	82.5	88.6	11.4
1885	1047	796	251	626	170	79.9	84.1	15.9
1886	1046	696	350	578	118	83	88.4	11.6
1887	1064	725	339	580	145	80	86.3	13.7
1888	1157	833	324	664	169	79.7	85.5	14.5
1889	1171	770	401	602	168	78.1	85.6	14.4
1890	1100	838	262	659	179	78.6	83.7	16.3
1891	1283	911	322	708	203	77.4	83.5	16.5
Total..	8205	3936	6602	1603	81.6	19.4	86.7	13.3

\* A few of the appeals under this column, are also appeals from the sessions trial in jury cases; but as these appeals could only be made on a point of law, or on account of a misdirection by the Judge, the result favourable or otherwise affects the merit of the decision of Sessions Judges alone—and as separate figures are not available, they may very well be taken for the purpose of comparison.

N.B.—Average percentage of judgments that would be reversed in 11 years (1877, 1878 and 1883 to 1891) if all judgment not appealed from were treated as affirmed is 13.3.

Average percentage of judgments reverse notified and sent back to the total number of appeals during the 11 years (1877, 1878 and 1884 to 1891) is 19.6.

Explanation of Statement (A):—Figures in columns 1 to 6 are from the Reports. Figures in column 7 show the percentage of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judge to the total number of verdicts of Juries. Figures in column 8 show the percentage of verdicts of Juries set aside by the High Court to the total number of verdicts. Figures in column 9 show the percentage of verdicts that would have been set aside, if all the cases in which the Sessions Judges had differed from the Jury, had been referred by them under Section 307 Cr. P. C., to the High Court, and the verdicts set aside in the same ratio as in the cases referred. It would perhaps be conceded that the cases not referred were such that if they were before the High Court there would be less chance of their being set aside. Under the present Code (Section 307 Cr. P. C.) wrong verdicts may be set aside in every instance; it is not therefore an irremediable wrong.

Explanation of Statement (A) :—Figures in columns 1, 2, 4 and 5 are from the Reports. Figures in column 3 give the difference between columns 1 and 2, and show cases in which no appeals have been preferred. The percentage in column 6 has been worked out from the figures in columns 2 and 4. In column 7 the percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges with the aid of Assessors not disturbed to the full number of trials has been worked out; the Sessions Judges being credited with result "affirmed" or "not disturbed," for cases not appealed against *plus* cases actually in appeal and affirmed by the High Court. There are doubtless cases in which no appeal against the sentence of the Sessions Judge is preferred, because the prisoner has no money or friends to take up his case before the High Court; and if appeals had been preferred in these cases the sentences would not have been affirmed: while therefore, the mode in which the percentage has been worked out in column 9 of Statement A is unfavourable to the Jury, the mode by which the percentage in column 7 of the Statement B. has been worked out is very favourable to the Sessions Judges, and they have been worked out in this way to remove all hesitation in adopting them for the purpose of comparison. The figures in column 8 shew the percentage of verdicts set aside or corrected by the High Court to the total number of trials.

The inferences are:—

First.—There is a gradual and distinct falling off in the quality of the decisions of the Sessions Judges as the following table will show.

Secondly.—The result of trials by Jury has been much better than that of trials by the Sessions Judge with the aid of Assessors.

Years.	Percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals.	Percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges not disturbed to the total number of trials.	Years.	Percentage of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judge to the whole number of verdicts.	Percentage of verdicts set aside to the total number of verdicts.	Percentage of verdicts which would have been set aside, if all the cases in which the Sessions Judge had disagreed had been referred by him to the High Court and verdicts set aside in the same ratio as in cases referred,
1877	81.5	89.1	1877	16.7	4.9	11.3
1878	83.6	91	1878	11.8	3.7	7
1879	85.2	89.6	1879	14.1	"	"
1880	80.4	87	1880	16.8	"	"
1881	80.7	88.3	1881	15.8	"	"
1882	82.5	89.9	1882	16.7	"	"
1883	83.8	89.1	1883	15.1	3.7	12.2
1884	82.5	88.6	1884	19.9	4.3	11
1885	79.9	84.1	1885	18.9	6	15.9
1886	83	88.4	1886	15.8	5.2	9.9
1887	80	86.3	1887	22.4	2.6	10.6
1888	79.7	85.5	1888	21.3	4.7	11.9
1889	78.1	85.6	1889	17.5	2.1	8.1
1890	78.6	83.7	1890	19.2	4.5	13.2
1891	77.4	83.5	1891	17.2	3.4	8.6

Comparing the two tables, it will appear that the High Court would have corrected the following percentage of total number of judgments of Sessions Judge with the aid of Assessors, if cases not appealed against were to be treated as affirmed along with the cases actually affirmed on appeal.

1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
10.9	9	10.4	13	11.7	10.1	10.9	11.4	15.9	11.6	13.7	14.5	14.4	13.2	16.5

While, if reference had been made in all cases and verdicts set aside in the same ratio as in cases referred, the High Court would have had to correct the verdict of the Juries as per following percentage to all verdicts :—

1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
11.3	7	"	"	"	"	11.8	11	15.9	9.9	10.6	11.9	8.1	16.3	8.6

That is to say the percentage of the interference of the High Court that would be needed in all Jury trials in case all disagreed verdicts have been referred to and the ratio of reversals, have been the same as in cases referred, as compared with the Sessions Judge trials with the aid of Assessors in case all cases not appealed from were to be treated as "affirmed," would be as follows.

1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
+ 4	- 2	"	"	"	"	+ 9	- 4	0	- 1.7	- 3.1	- 2.6	- 6.3	- 3.1	- 7.9

2. The following table will show the percentage of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Judge and reversed by the High Court. If it be true that native Jurors show reluctance to convict persons of murder because they are afraid of extreme sentences of death by Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges show a tendency to pass capital sentences where people should have been absolutely acquitted or sentenced in other ways. The figures of the earlier years are not available.

Years.	Total number of sentences of death by the Sessions Judges decided on reference by the High Court.	Confirmed.	Committed or set aside	Percentage of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Courts and set aside by the High Court.
1886	26	16	10	38.4
1887	39	28	11	28.2
1888	31	18	13	41.9
1889	22	11	11	50
1890	33	19	14	42.4
1891	48	32	16	33.3

## APPENDIX III.

Years.	Total number of offences under the Indian Penal Code reported as true.	Total number of offences affecting property.	Total number of other offences under the Indian Penal Code.	Total number of offences in the Jury districts.	Total number of offences in the Jury districts affecting property.	Total number of other offences under the Penal Code.	Total number of offences in the Assessor districts.	Total number of offences in the Assessor districts affecting property.	Total number of other offences under the Penal Code.	Total number of offences under Special Laws.
1890	1,36,611	68,294	68,317	34,050	14,416	19,634	102,561	53,878	48,683	75,686
1889	1,41,254	72,950	68,304	34,604	14,669	19,935	106,650	58,281	48,369	69,603
1888	1,34,746	65,757	68,989	33,703	12,781	20,920	101,043	52,876	48,067	62,502
1887	1,34,498	63,704	70,794	34,379	12,798	21,581	100,119	50,906	49,213	53,595
1886	1,40,263	67,291	72,972	37,631	15,020	22,611	102,632	52,271	50,361	53,843
1885	1,38,032	69,025	69,007	37,487	15,893	21,594	100,545	53,132	47,413	47,908
1884	1,39,139	69,852	69,287	36,858	15,913	20,945	102,281	53,939	48,342	51,876
1883	1,30,701	60,750	69,951	35,692	13,936	21,756	96,009	46,814	48,195	55,247
1882	1,33,628	59,254	74,374	36,070	13,806	22,264	97,558	45,448	52,110	51,638
1881	1,31,908	58,673	73,235	36,249	14,214	22,031	95,663	44,459	51,204	39,028
1880	1,35,557	61,415	74,147	38,396	15,315	23,083	97,161	46,102	51,059	47,539
1879	1,34,452	67,871	66,481	42,552	19,218	23,334	91,900	48,653	43,247	37,204
1878	1,39,382	70,691	68,691	43,447	18,465	24,982	95,935	52,226	43,709	33,200

## APPENDIX IV.

Years.	Total number of persons convicted for offences under the I. P. C.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for offences against property.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for offences against the public tranquility.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for other offences.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for offences in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against property in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against the public tranquillity in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for other offences in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences under the I. P. C. in Assessor Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against property in assessor Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against the public tranquillity in assessor Districts	Total number of persons convicted for other offences under the I. P. C. in Assessor Districts.
1878	68,836	30,733	6,027	32,076	21,094	8,037	1,630	11,427	47,742	22,696	4,397	20,649
1879	65,283	28,532	6,034	30,717	20,545	8,374	1,620	10,551	44,738	20,158	4,414	20,166
1880	64,043	25,012	5,902	33,129	18,985	6,878	1,579	10,528	45,058	18,134	4,323	22,601
1881	59,916	23,008	6,002	30,906	16,958	6,059	1,437	9,462	42,958	16,949	4,565	21,444
1882	60,312	23,301	5,495	31,516	17,159	5,934	1,274	9,951	43,153	17,367	4,221	21,565
1883	58,679	23,107	5,842	29,730	16,306	5,470	1,545	9,291	42,373	17,637	4,297	20,439
1884	60,093	27,003	6,039	26,951	15,629	6,220	1,444	7,965	44,464	20,883	4,595	18,086
1885	59,705	26,773	6,451	26,481	15,883	6,459	1,506	7,918	43,822	20,314	4,945	18,563
1886	58,219	24,404	6,667	27,148	15,244	6,008	1,440	7,796	42,975	18,396	5,227	19,352
1887	55,416	21,846	7,007	26,563	13,756	4,986	1,445	7,325	41,660	16,860	5,562	19,238
1888	56,731	23,063	7,257	26,411	13,811	4,663	1,311	7,837	42,920	18,400	5,946	18,574
1889	59,400	25,649	7,420	26,331	14,136	5,528	1,418	7,190	45,264	20,121	6,002	19,141
1890	57,188	23,696	8,224	25,268	14,007	5,449	1,465	7,093	43,181	18,247	6,795	18,175
1891	58,856	24,362	7,896	26,598	14,355	5,448	1,489	7,418	44,501	18,914	6,407	19,180

## APPENDIX V.

*Minute by the Honourable Sir A. Colvin and the Honourable Mr. C. P. Ilbert on the proposed permanent increase in the strength of the Indian Army.*

[From Return. East India (Army). Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 16th September, 1887.]

1. WHILST fully agreeing in the proposals of our colleagues for a better organisation of the Indian Army, we regret that we are unable, for the reasons given in this Minute, to concur in the recommendations of the Despatch which it accompanies, regarding a permanent increase in the numerical strength of that army. We have no desire to dispute the claim of our military colleagues to speak on the point with greater authority than any to which we can pretend; but we perceive that there is great divergence of opinion on the subject among military men; and we think that, in the consideration which has been now given to the subject, the obligation of the English Government to contribute towards the safety of its Indian Empire has been unduly minimised.

2. The Indian Army Commission, who were appointed by and reported to Lord Lytton's Government, who wrote with perfect knowledge of the rapidity and the direction of the Russian advance in Central Asia, and on whose recommendations are based some of the most important proposals of the Despatch, summarised as follows, in their Report of November 1879, the purposes for which the Army of India must be maintained:—

“(a) Preventing and repelling attacks, or threatened aggression, from foreign enemies beyond the border.

“(b) Making successful armed disturbance or rebellion within British India or its feudatory states impossible.

“(c) Watching and overawing the armies of Native feudatory states.” (Report Paragraph 17.)

3. It appears indisputable from the Report that, in their enumeration of these purposes, the Commission contemplated the contingency of operations beyond the frontier, not merely against Russia with Afghanistan as our ally, but against Russia assisted by Afghanistan.

They say: “The external foes which the Indian Army may have to meet on its land frontier are Russia and Afghanistan on the north-west. . . . For operations against Russia, or Afghanistan assisted by Russia, a force of two army corps, or 50,000 to 60,000 fighting men, might possibly be necessary. No one has ever suggested that the Army of India should be maintained at a strength necessary to put into the field a larger force than this.” (Report, Paragraph 17.)

4. They were of opinion that the Army of India, if properly organised, was sufficient to provide for the purposes thus enumerated, without any addition to its numerical strength.

5. They expressly made the reserve that, in making this estimate, they did not take into consideration the contingency of a permanent or lengthened military occupation of Afghanistan.

“We have not considered,” they say, “the question of the future military occupation of Afghanistan proper, or any part of it not embraced in the conditions of the Treaty of Gandamak. We are well aware that, if there is to be a permanent, or even a lengthened, military occupation of Afghanistan, it can no more be provided from the Army, or the distribution of the Army that we propose, than it could be from the Army as it now is. There can be no doubt that the duty of garrisoning Afghanistan will not be popular with the regular Native troops, and that if the occupation of the country is of any duration, constant relief of regiments will be called for, which will involve the maintenance in India of a number of regiments extra to the present establishment. We presume, therefore, that if Afghanistan is to



be occupied for any great length of time—a matter on which, as far as we know at present, no decision has been arrived at—regiments will be specially raised in India, and perhaps to some extent in Afghanistan itself for local service in that country, thus obviating the necessity for a system of constant relief from the regular Native Army.”

6. The data on which the Army Commission based their estimates have not, so far as we have been able to learn, been proved insufficient. Nor is it suggested that, in consequence of any changes which have been made since the Commission's Report was presented, the fighting power of the Indian Army is less than it then was. On the contrary our honourable military colleague, in a Minute dated 10th September 1884, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State under cover of a Despatch dated the 10th of March last, expresses himself as follows in respect of these points: “Until she (Russia) is much further consolidated on the Herat frontier, she will, I believe, make no further attempt to advance towards India ; and then her task is gigantic.” (Paragraph 45). He considered a small increase in the strength of the Army necessary, which should not exceed 10,000 in all, of whom 4,000 would be Europeans: neither was he disposed to say that this increase should take place immediately. He wrote further:—

“Thus the general result of what was effected in 1882 has been that the strength of the Native and British troops remains what it was before the changes were made ; but the Army is organised on a more economical, efficient, and useful basis, better adapted to war and the general requirements of the country, and, from the increased strength of the battalions, more in accordance with the recommendations of some of our most experienced officers. Thus, in considering the present strength of the Army, it must be prominently kept in view that the result of the changes carried into effect in 1882 did not bring about a reduction in the total strength of our fighting power in India.” (Paragraph 34).

The contingency which the Army Commission, when it submitted its Report, thought possible has now become more possible; but this furnishes no ground for believing that the precautions then recommended as sufficient, in the event of such a danger overtaking us are insufficient now. It is necessary, on the contrary, to remember that since the Commission wrote, a large scheme of strategical frontier railways has been sanctioned, and is being vigorously pushed on ; while an elaborate plan of frontier defensive works is also about to be put into execution. Apart altogether from the immediate purpose which they are expected to serve, these works will add indirectly, but not inconsiderably, to the mobility and the fighting strength of our forces.

7. The frontier fortification to which we refer cannot require, for their occupation, an increase to the India Army of 27,000 men. We fail to see why any force needed for this purpose should not be obtained in the mode contemplated by Lord Lytton's Government, that is to say by withdrawing the necessary troops from other parts of India. [See Paragraph 13 of the Despatch of 22nd. May, 1879; Blue Book on East India Army System p.3.]

8. If the above reasoning is correct, there seems to us every reason to apprehend that the increase of our forces beyond the needs enumerated by the Army Commission may prove a weapon less of defence than of aggression. The presence in India of so strong a force as is desired may even suggest the permanent occupation of some part of Afghanistan. Against the policy of extending to a point beyond Kandahar, the frontier, formal or practical, of British India, and the area which must be permanently held by British troops, weighty arguments, moral, political, and financial, have been and may still be urged. But, whatever may be the merits of such a proposal, it forms no part of the grounds on which an increase to our Army is now advocated ; and is foreign, we have every reason to believe, to the desires or intentions of our colleagues.

9. We are thus of opinion that as no circumstances have arisen which, from a military point of view, have not been already foreseen and guarded against, the proposal to increase the strength of the Army by 27,000 men should be negatived. We are further of opinion that the proposal is open to the objection that it may lead to the advocacy, and possibly to

the adoption, of projects for the extension of our present frontier. The question then narrows itself to this : Is it the duty of the Government of India to maintain and charge to Indian revenues a permanent addition to its forces, not required for India, but available for the purpose of extending and securing its dominion beyond India ?

10. We are wholly unable to admit that the Indian Government is under any obligation to maintain a standing army beyond the numbers indicated by the Army Commission, or for purposes other than those enumerated by them. They can draw on England, as in practice they always draw, should necessity arise for a temporary increase to the forces in India ; obtaining what is required, paying for it so long as it is needed, and dismissing it when the need is over.

11. Where is the line to be drawn if India admits its liability to maintain a force strong enough, not only to fulfil the purposes which have been enumerated in this Minute, but to acquire and maintain against all comers positions in Afghanistan, or elsewhere ? It is desired, apparently, to have a force for home use, and a force for exterior use. The necessary strength of the former can be measured ; but where is a measure to be found for the latter ? It has to deal with that unknown quantity, the assumed military possibilities of the Russians in Central Asia and Afghanistan. If the principle is admitted that an army is to be maintained from Indian revenues for exterior use, it is difficult to see how its numbers are to be controlled, or why we shall not presently be told that 100,000 men are as necessary as 10,000. It has been already pointed out that the existence of such a force would be no mean agent in bringing about the very risk which it is meant to obviate. A standing army which is larger than is necessary for home requirements will be a tempting, and almost an irresistible, weapon of offence beyond the border.

12. It is asked how provision is to be made for an increase of native troops should a merely temporary addition to the English force in India in the event of war be advocated. We reply that, unless our frontier is to be extended, we are unable to see the necessity for any such increase. If, on the other hand, the frontier is to be extended, the new territory acquired must, we believe, be held by the aid of local levies. Experience, it is agreed on all sides, has shown that Indians will not enlist for service beyond the frontier. It must be further remembered that a system of reserves such as it is proposed to initiate, will gradually furnish us with the power of increasing our native forces to a considerable extent.

13. It can hardly be contended that the mere establishment of a reserve necessitates, of itself, an increase in the English force, and that the latter must be proportioned, not only to the native force actually under arms, but to that force *plus* the reserve.

The Appendices to the Despatch prove how large a number of young men trained to arms annually leave the army, and are scattered about the country. These men, though unavailable for the purpose of increasing our military strength, are as much an element of danger as the proposed reserve will be. No count has been hitherto taken of their existence, we believe, in fixing the strength of British troops in India. Nor, whatever, may be urged as to English troops, can the existence of a Native reserve possibly furnish arguments for an addition to the number of our Native Army.

14. Finally, it is stated that, even were all we have urged to be admitted, we cannot depend on England for reinforcements, and that we must not risk the Indian Empire on the ability of the English Government to furnish us with troops at the moment we may happen to want them. The alternative appears to us unquestionable ; if India is to maintain troops additional to those needed for her own requirements, solely because England cannot be trusted to supply them, our military financial arrangements with the English Treasury should be so altered as to set free a sum equivalent to that required for the addition to our forces in India.

15. So far we have dealt with general considerations. The financial effect of the proposals makes the case against them, in our opinion, more cogent. It is not contended even by those who desire to add no more than 10,000 to our English and 17,000 to our Native

troops, that the total ultimate cost will be less than about 1,500,000 *l.* a year. There can be no doubt that, to meet this cost, we shall be compelled to resort to taxation of a considerable amount, and seriously to burden our finances. So far, on the other hand, as we effect our object without taxation, it can only be by charging to loans the very costly unproductive military works in which we are at present engaged, the execution of which, at least in part, we believe to form an obligatory charge upon our revenue.

16. On the subject of taxation, we desire to draw attention to paragraphs 9 to 14 of the late Viceroy's Minute of 22nd September, 1884. We agree entirely with the opinion of those who hold that, as an alien people, our best claim to the regard of the natives of the country, and therefore one of our main sources of security lies in the fact that taxation is light. We believe that this is a principle which has been admitted by all Governments foreign to their subjects, and that it has been uniformly recognised and adopted by our predecessors in the administration of British India. It seems an axiom which at the present time it is singularly incumbent on the Government of India to bear in mind. If it was important when India had no European neighbour, it becomes much more so when she has at her frontier a power whose agents will make the most of all our mistakes, and bid against us by every means at their disposal, for popularity. We are aware that it is easy to push this consideration too far, and that the Indian Government must be prepared to risk a certain unpopularity if it is convinced that the measures which it has in view, and for which the imposition of burdens is required, are of so urgent a character as to necessitate their adoption, all drawbacks notwithstanding. But we have given in this Minute our reasons for holding that in the present instance no sufficient case is made out for departing from the policy above indicated.

17. There is considerable probability of our being called upon after a term of years during which our precautions have proved uncalled for, and our taxation has appeared vexatious, to relax our precautionary measures, and of our then being tempted to pass from the extreme of precaution to the extreme of negligence.

18. We do not deny that there may be force in the contention to which we have alluded, that, if we look to England for reinforcements in the event of war, we may find the English Government incapable, when called upon, of meeting our requirements. But there is at least an equal risk that if we accept from such an apprehension burdens which do not belong to us, we shall find ourselves keeping up, at the cost of the Indian revenues, a reserve which, in the event of circumstances arising that necessitate the action of troops, for extra Indian purposes, as in the case of Egypt, Abyssinia, and the Soudan, will be drawn upon by the English Government.

19. To sum up: Regarding, for the reasons we have given, the proposed increase of the Indian Army as unnecessary, we adhere to what are described by the late Army Commission as "the principles so strongly enunciated by Lord Mayo, and reiterated by his successors, that the people of India ought not to be called upon to support or pay for one single unnecessary soldier." (Paragraph 575). We cannot admit that it is the business of the Government of India, under the apprehension that reliance cannot be placed on the Government in England, to assume more than its hitherto recognised share of the common obligation. We would not accept as a charge upon Indian revenues any single item of expenditure which should be undertaken by the Government at home.

A. COLVIN,  
C. P. ILBERT.

*Simla, 14th August, 1885.*

THE INDIAN MILITARY AND TRANS-FRONTIER EXPENDITURE QUESTION.

A Letter by W. MARTIN WOOD, Esq., (late Editor, "Times of India.")

NOTE.—*The letter, copy of which is reprinted below, was forwarded to the Managing Committee of the National Congress held at Allahabad, December 1888, with the hope of its being serviceable in the deliberations of that representative assembly.*

*Owing, probably, to the late date at which it was received it does not seem to have been duly placed before the final Sub-Committee: it is now published in order that the considerations embodied therein may receive due attention from the constituents of the Congress with a view to the suggestions it contains being dealt with by the next Congress, so far as may be deemed desirable and expedient.*

Having for the past five and twenty years been familiar with Indian affairs I may be permitted to tender my congratulations on the holding of the fourth of these National Congresses which have already done so much, and must yet do more, in securing co-operation amongst those of diverse races, creeds, and provinces of the Indian Continent, in dealing with those broad questions of public interest that concern all the Indian peoples living under the benign sway of Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress. In common with many others of your friends I have rejoiced to watch the rise and prospect of this remarkable popular movement, in which has been manifested a just appreciation of those constitutional principles that are cherished by British statesmen of all parties; also, by its managers' tact and discretion in applying those principles to the present political conditions of India. Your movement exemplifies unity in diversity. On one hand it is a sign, amongst many others, of the rapid progress made, during a comparatively short period, in the removal of race antipathies and provincial antagonisms that had long separated the several Indian peoples; on the other, by your judicious method of securing representation from each province and race, you are cherishing that principle of local management and administration so essential under the diverse, physical and climatic conditions of India, and which, in modern political phrase, is described as federal union.

2. Amidst the large number of leading and pressing questions that demand your attention, your managers do well in not attempting to deal with too many at once; and observers, such as myself, must be satisfied to leave to your choice the final selection of those subjects that you deem most pressing in order of practical importance. This choice has, on the whole, been so wisely exercised that it is with diffidence that I venture to make two or three suggestions that may prove serviceable for your forthcoming meeting. It would be manifestly unprofitable for me to repeat or revive those topics that the several Congresses have already taken in hand, and the draft programme for your forthcoming meeting is not yet before me.

3. Looking at Indian affairs from an outside and independent standpoint, it seems to me desirable that I should speak of two or three large questions which, because of their preponderant financial influence, really dominate the material condition of India and its possibilities of future progress. These may, for the present, be classed under three main heads:—

a. The rapid addition to Indian military expenditure and the increasing expensiveness of its character :

b. The Trans-frontier policy since 1875, which has been the chief cause of that increase :

c. The Financial arrangements between England and India.

4. Let us briefly review the first of these. In 1863-4 your army expenditure was only 14½ millions; and so recently as 1874-5, under Lord Northbrook, the estimate was again about the same, though the account shewed 15½ millions. Since 1876, when Quetta was first occupied, the advance in your military expenditure has been by leaps and bounds, until the Budget for the current year shews an estimate of over nineteen millions sterling. Nor is this all. The strategical railways beyond the natural boundaries of India have cost im-

mense sums (estimated in the Financial Statement of 1886-7 at twelve millions sterling) while the interest thereon and the working charges—which cannot be met by any returns those lines will yield—constitute a heavy debit against the commercial railways of India; therefore that loss on working must be reckoned as a direct addition to current military charges. Then it must be remembered that the modern palatial barracks erected during the last twenty years in every part of India have cost ten or twelve millions, the greater part of which was defrayed out of current revenues, thus adding heavily to the burdens of the people. More recently these burdens have been directly increased; that is by the decision come to in 1885—no one knows at whose advice or on whose authority—to add permanently 10,000 to the British troops on the Indian establishment as well as increasing the Native army. These changes it was estimated would add two millions sterling to your annual military expenditure; but I believe, it will be found that the cost of these charges—referred to with evident anxiety in the Financial Statement for 1886-7—amounts to nearly three millions. These increases were also in directions which specially add to the amounts of home charges, thereby enhancing the heavy “losses by exchange.”

5. It is a maxim acknowledged by our statesmen that expenditure depends on policy. In this instance the grievous addition to the unproductive outlay from Indian revenues is wholly due to the revolutionary change entered on in 1876; followed by the disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1877-80; and now sought to be perpetuated by the establishment of permanent military posts far beyond the physical boundaries of India on the West, for the maintenance of which the immensely costly railways already referred to have been constructed. You are well aware that this policy has been adopted and forced on India under cover of partisan counsels amongst certain English politicians; but this does not make it any more worthy of approval or lessen the need for its being checked and, if possible, reversed. Irrefutable arguments against this new trans-frontier policy are embodied in the series of Minutes on Central Asia placed on record in 1867-9 by Sir John Lawrence and the strong men of his Executive Council; those arguments were afterwards confirmed by Lord Lawrence and other truly Conservative Anglo-Indian statesmen in 1878-9, when raising their protest against the Afghan War of that period, which was contrived in secret, entered upon suddenly with scarcely a pretence of public justification, and in flagrant defiance of those constitutional restraints prescribed in Sections 55 and 56 of the Government of India Act of 1858. For convenience of reference I may remind you that a permanent record of the protests against, and exposure of the unsoundness of the new frontier policy is contained in the volume, issued by Lord Lawrence and his co-adjutors, entitled *Causes of the Afghan War* (Chatto and Windus, 1879). The results of this fatal departure from the better traditions of Anglo-Indian statesmanship have been traced out, and applied to an elucidation of the present adverse financial condition of India, in a pamphlet by Mr. John Da Costa (copy of which I send) entitled *The Financial Situation in India as exposed in the Budget Statements of 1886-7*. (P. S. King and Sons, 1887).

6. The question then arises, what can be done by your Congresses in regard to this subject? The first condition is that its magnitude should be realised. It seems to me that it would be well, through some carefully selected committee, to ascertain and sum up the amount of the enormous burden that has been thrust on India by this new trans-frontier policy since 1876. Such computation should include the cost of the invasion and annexation of Upper Burmah; also the continuous addition to that cost entailed by the egregious political error of destroying the Native dynasty of Mandalay. If I do not dwell on the question of Burmah it is because that is fresh in your minds, and does not require for its elucidation that retrospective research which is needed for replacing the Western-Frontier question on its right basis. Then having placed before yourselves and the public the monstrous cost of these departures from the settled policy of Lord Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook, the way will be open to you to proceed to such protest and remonstrance as may seem expedient.

7. In connection with these subjects I desire to draw your attention to certain broad considerations that may be overlooked or postponed amidst the current topics of detail

that necessarily occupy the foreground of your programme and to which you are already committed. These considerations may be thus enumerated:—

*a.* The financial position of India dominates all its other material conditions.

*b.* The pressure caused by the absorption of your resources, consequent on the fatal error of thrusting military outposts beyond the natural boundaries of India, transcends in its cramping and distressing effects, all other financial and fiscal mistakes put together.

*c.* That error, with its concomitant military extravagance, is one of executive policy, and no reform in administration nor in the Local Legislative Councils will avail to obtain either reversal of that erroneous policy or security against repetitions of similar sacrifices of India's true interests.

*d.* By appealing in respect of the paramount financial peril of India, first, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State as the one directly responsible authority, and next, to the High Court of Parliament, your Congress will effectually convince independent English politicians of the capacity of your people to understand and deal with those large questions of policy, on the right solution of which depends the present and future welfare of the masses of your people.

8. The subject of the financial relations between India and the British Treasury is one that demands closer and more continuous attention than it has yet received from your leaders—with one or two notable exceptions who are so conspicuous that they need not here be named. It is not practicable in this communication to do more than indicate the course of investigation and effort required in this direction. From the very beginning of British sway over India the whole cost of maintaining that control has been thrust on the weaker power and the dependent country. By her possession of India this United Kingdom has derived power, prestige, and an incalculable amount of pecuniary profit. Yet every shilling of administrative and military expenditure incurred in maintaining the connection between the two countries has been sustained by India. It is high time that something was done to revise this unequal relation, the onesided terms of which have been settled and maintained by the stronger party alone. Your Congress can scarcely do less than ask for some remission or redress of this hard bargain. For instance, your people have had no say in the transactions that have gone to make up your public debt of nearly 200 millions, (besides the railway debt.) Why should not an Imperial guarantee of that debt be granted? This would involve no outlay by the British taxpayer, who is really ultimately responsible, while such a course would be an immense relief to India. Then, why should not the cost of the home Indian administration be borne by the British Treasury; as that of the Colonies always has been—as also the whole of the military and naval charges incurred in acquiring our Colonial Empire? There are cogent reasons, also, why the home military charges now debited to India should be sustained, or, at least, shared by our Treasury. Most obvious arguments of political justice indicate that something should be done in this direction; and the financial relief that would be thereby afforded to India would also result in real advantage to England itself by improving the material condition of your people. But the political gain would be still greater. One of the chief causes of the comparative neglect of Indian interests in Parliament is due to the feeling, unconfessed but always present, that the British taxpayer has no direct interest in the economical administration of your finances. If only a moderate proportion of the Indian home charges were defrayed by England, say a couple of millions per annum, this would secure for your country an effective representation in our Parliamentary proceedings. If your Congress were to formulate and put forward an appeal to this effect, it would meet with response from several of our fair-minded politicians, in both parties, who are sincerely desirous of doing justice to your people.

9. In thus venturing to make these few suggestions—which pressure on my time prevents being put into more complete shape—I do not, by any means, forget those other subjects that are already engaging your attention; but the topics to which I have briefly

referred comprise, as you will perceive, some that are of the *greatest relative importance*. They pertain to a class of questions which have been too much left to be dealt with by executive authorities who are virtually irresponsible, but who really control all the fortunes of India. As British subjects, you are also British *citizens* in the true constitutional meaning of that term. As such you have the obvious right of making your voice heard in the Executive Councils of the Empire. Trusting that this high patriotic function will be performed by the forthcoming Congress in the spirit of moderation and intelligent loyalty manifested in the proceedings of its predecessors.

I am, Gentlemen,  
Your sincere well-wisher,  
W. MARTIN WOOD.

*West Kensington,*  
*November 23rd, 1888.*

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# APPENDIX VI.

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## SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS.

PASSED AT THE

### FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH AND SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

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#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

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##### RESOLUTION I.

**Resolved**—That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.

##### RESOLUTION II.

**Resolved**—That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms.

##### RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities

##### RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, "be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such



intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years.

**RESOLUTION V.**

**Resolved**—That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increases in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and, regard being had to the revenues of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.

**RESOLUTION VI.**

**Resolved**—That in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be met, by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the re-imposition of the Customs duties; and, secondly, by the extension of the license-tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And, further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt.

**RESOLUTION VII.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah, and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of the country as is Ceylon.

**RESOLUTION VIII.**

**Resolved**—That the resolutions passed by this Congress be communicated to the Political Associations in each province, and that these Associations be requested, with the help of similar bodies and other agencies, within their respective provinces, to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions.

**RESOLUTION IX.**

**Resolved**—That the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in Calcutta and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December, 1886, and the next succeeding days.

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**RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.**

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**RESOLUTION I.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy years of rule over the great British Empire.

**RESOLUTION II.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will, prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

## RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress do, emphatically, re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

## RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions :—

- (1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. \* Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Council to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
- (2.)—The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the Community and all great interests are adequately represented.
- (3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their Membership.
- (5.)—All persons resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.
- (6.)—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.
- (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month

and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

#### RESOLUTION V.

**Resolved**—That this Congress do invite all Public Bodies and all Associations throughout the Country, humbly and earnestly, to entreat His Excellency the Viceroy to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the appointment of a Commission, to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of Representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolutions III. of the past, and IV. of the present year's Congress.

#### RESOLUTION VI.

**Resolved**—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin\* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

*Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay).	Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (Patna).
„ S. Subramania Iyer (Madras).	Pundit Prannath (Lucknow).
„ Peary Mohun Mookerjee (Calcutta).	Munshi Kashipershad (Allahabad).
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras).	Nawab Reza Ali Khan (Lucknow).
Babu Motilal Ghose (Calcutta).	Mr. Hamid Ali (Lucknow).
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta).	Lala Kanhyalal (Amritsar).
„ Gungapershad Varma (Lucknow).	Rao Sahib Gangadhar Rao Madhav Chitnavis (Nagpur).
„ Ramkali Chaudhuri (Benares).	Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (Bombay).

#### RESOLUTION VII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress approves and adopts the report\* submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI.

#### RESOLUTION VIII.

**Resolved**—That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

#### \*REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honor to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday:—

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the Simultaneous Examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the Classified lists be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, nor, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
- 6.—That Simultaneous Examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.
- 8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.

These Resolutions, it is hoped, cover the main principles which underlie the questions set by the Public Service Commission. For a more detailed consideration there was no time.

(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI,  
President of the Committee.

30th December, 1886.

**RESOLUTION IX.**

**Resolved**—That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

**RESOLUTION X.**

**Resolved**—That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions.

**RESOLUTION XI.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

**RESOLUTION XII.**

**Resolved**—That, in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government effectively in any crisis.

**RESOLUTION XIII.**

**Resolved**—That Standing Congress Committees be constituted at all important centres.

**RESOLUTION XIV.**

**Resolved**—That the Third Indian National Congress assemble at Madras on the 27th of December, 1887.

**RESOLUTION XV.**

**Resolved**—That, copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble requests that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

**Resolved**—That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally enumerated\*) to consider what rules, if any, may now be use-

\* Messrs. Namjoshi, Chandravaker, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoore Badshaw Sahib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Banerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Banerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhur, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Norendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Govind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, C. Vigiya Raghava Chariar, Govind Buksh, Karandikar.

fully framed in regard of the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report

thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

RESOLUTION II.

**Resolved**—That this Congress re-affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III. of the Congress of 1885, and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform.

RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress once again places on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and declares that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation, without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That, in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to; that the Military Service in its higher grades should be practically opened to the natives of this country; and that the Government of India should establish Military Colleges in this country, whereat the natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army.

RESOLUTION V.

**Resolved**—That, in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared, therefor, are capable of rendering to Great Britain, in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress once again earnestly appeals to the Government to authorize (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting,) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government, effectively, in any crisis.

RESOLUTION VI.

**Resolved**—That, as the administration of the Income-Tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, the loss of revenue thus involved being made good, and further financial difficulties, if any, met by reductions in the existing public expenditure, or, should this prove impossible, by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods.

**RESOLUTION VII.**

**Resolved**—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in regard to utilizing such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively, than at present, the skill and talents of the people of the country.

**RESOLUTION VIII.**

**Resolved**—That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which the present Arms' Act (XI of 1878) causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Government be moved so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV., and, if necessary, other portions of the said Act, as shall enable all persons to possess and wear arms, unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals or members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf) for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published.

**RESOLUTION IX.**

**Resolved**—That the rules drafted by the Committee appointed under Resolution I. stand over for consideration till next Congress, but that, in the meantime, copies be circulated to all Standing Congress Committees, with the request that they will, during the coming year, act in accordance with these rules, so far as this may seem to them possible and desirable, and report thereon to the next Congress, with such further suggestions as to them may seem meet.

**RESOLUTION X.**

**Resolved**—That the Fourth Indian National Congress assemble at Allahabad on the 26th December, 1888.

**RESOLUTION XI.**

**Resolved**—That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble request that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

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**RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.**

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**RESOLUTION I.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations, and of the existing Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III. of the Congress of 1885 and 1886, and Resolution II. of the Congress of 1887 (a tentative scheme for which expansion and reform was suggested in Resolution IV. of the Congress of 1886); and further urges that a Legislative Council (of the same character as those which have been suggested for Provinces where Legislative Councils already exist) be established for the Punjab.

**RESOLUTION II.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress, while appreciating the concessions proposed in the Report of the Public Service Commission, yet feels it necessary to put distinctly on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress, having read and considered Resolution XI. of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“ That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of the executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity ; and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay ; even though this should, in some provinces, involve some extra expenditure ”—

and Resolution III. of the Congress of 1887, to the same effect, does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress, having read and considered Resolution VIII. of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“ That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force ”—

Resolution IX. of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“ That, in opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and the powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn ”—

and Resolution X. of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“ That in the opinion of this Congress, a provision similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court) should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ”—

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That, as it is the general belief of the people of this country that the existing system of police administration in India is highly unsatisfactory in itself and oppressive to them, the Government be respectfully urged to appoint a commission, consisting of official and non-official members, to investigate the entire question as speedily as possible.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That this Congress having read and considered Resolution IV. of the Congress of 1887, to wit—

“ That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian Subjects, the Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to ; that the Military services in the higher grades should be practically opened to the natives of this country ; and that the Government should establish Military Colleges in the country whereat the natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a Military career as officers of the Indian Army.”

Resolution XII. of the Congress of 1886, and Resolution V. of the Congress of 1887, to wit—

“ That in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, the Congress once again earnestly appeals to the Government to authorize (under such rules and restrictions as to it may seem fitting), a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government effectually in any crisis ;”

and Resolution VIII. of the Congress of 1887, to wit—

“That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which the present Arms Act (XI of 1878) causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Government be moved so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV., and, if necessary, other portions of the said Act, as shall enable all persons to possess and wear Arms unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals, or members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India, (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf), for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published ;”

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

#### RESOLUTION VII.

**Resolved**—That, having regard to the fact that a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants has taken place under the systems of Abkari and Excise now prevailing in India, the Government be respectfully urged to adopt some such improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety.

#### RESOLUTION VIII.

**Resolved**—That, as the administration of the Income-Tax, specially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000.

#### RESOLUTION IX.

**Resolved**—That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical, in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the Educational Institutions of all kinds now existing.

#### RESOLUTION X.

**Resolved**—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed commission, to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

#### RESOLUTION XI.

**Resolved**—That the foregoing Resolutions be submitted for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy, and for transmission by him to Her Majesty's Government, with the humble request of this Congress that the reforms suggested in the said Resolutions (based as most of these are on Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of 1858) may now be effected ; and that should it be deemed necessary first to institute any enquiry into any of the matters forming the subjects of these resolutions, such enquiry may be made, as speedily as possible, by a Parliamentary Committee.

#### RESOLUTION XII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object.



**RESOLUTION XIII.**

**Resolved**—That no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subject Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates as a body object, unanimously or nearly unanimously; and that if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that all the Hindu or all the Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are unanimously, or nearly unanimously, opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped; provided that this rule shall refer only to subjects in regard to which the Congress has not already definitely pronounced an opinion.

**RESOLUTION XIV.**

**Resolved**—That the question of the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue Demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective circles, to the Congress of 1889.

**RESOLUTION XV.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire.

**RESOLUTION XVI.**

**Resolved**—That the Fifth Indian National Congress do assemble in the Bombay Presidency (either at Bombay itself or at Poona, as may be settled hereafter) on the 26th of December, 1889.

**RESOLUTION XVII.**

**Resolved**—That Mr. A. O. Hume be re-appointed General Secretary for the ensuing year.

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**RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.**

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**RESOLUTION I.**

**Resolved**—That an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., on behalf of this Congress here assembled, and that Messrs. Adam, Pherozshah Mehta, and W. C. Bonnerjee are appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address.

**RESOLUTION II.**

**Resolved**—That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P., with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons :—

**SCHEME.**

- (1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

- (2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units, for electoral purposes.
- (3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.
- (4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
- (5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total populations of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
- (6) All elections to be by ballot.

### RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury ;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused person, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, where at the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;
- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;
- (i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light *ad valorem* import duties ;
- (j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.

### RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons ; and, while fully appreciating what has

been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

#### RESOLUTION V.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India, and in England, of all examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

#### RESOLUTION VI.

**Resolved**—That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships, that the Arms Act (XI of 1878), as at present administered, entails, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

#### RESOLUTION VII.

**Resolved**—That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.

#### RESOLUTION VIII.

**Resolved**—That, in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

#### RESOLUTION IX.

**Resolved**—That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India, before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion; and further authorizes the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

## RESOLUTION X.

**Resolved**—That, in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.

## RESOLUTION XI.

**Resolved**—That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the question, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the councils, embodied in Resolution II.), of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming—

- (a) a Voter ;
- (b) a Representative ;
- (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council ; and
- (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council ;

and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., for the purpose of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

## RESOLUTION XII.

**Resolved**—That Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., be re-elected General Secretary of the National Congress for the ensuing years.

## RESOLUTION XIII.

**Resolved**—

- (a) That in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle : the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.
- (b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs and printing ; and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.
- (c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress, which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.
- (d) That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M. P., J. E. Ellis, M. P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary for the service which they are rendering to India.
- (e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard,\* Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.
- (f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their res-

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\* By some oversight, this gentleman's name was omitted, when the Resolution was read to the Congress ; the error has been rectified with the consent of the several Standing Congress Committees.

pective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three, and the balance in six months.

**RESOLUTION XIV.**

**Resolved**—That the Sixth Indian National Congress do assemble at some City in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December, 1890.

**RESOLUTION XV.**

**Resolved**—That the Fifth Indian National Congress hereby tenders its heart-felt thanks to its President, Sir William Wedderburn, as well for his ready sacrifice of personal and political considerations involved by his journey from England to India, as for that courtesy, impartiality and never-failing sympathy which, characteristics of his long and honourable career as an official of this country, have marked his control of the proceedings of this assembly.

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**RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS.**

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**RESOLUTION I.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled “ an Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861,” approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law; and further that its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation, thereto, in due course.

**RESOLUTION II.**

**Resolved**—That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such

rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;

- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed-commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;
- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country ;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India ;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

### RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorizes its President to sign a Petition, in the name and on behalf of this Congress, for presentation to the House of Commons, in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

### RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That, while recognizing the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on Spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on *all* Provincial Administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras. 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para. 103, *viz.*—

“That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.”

RESOLUTION V.

**Resolved**—That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

RESOLUTION VI.

**Resolved**—That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago.

RESOLUTION VII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows :—

THE CONGRESS.

“The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a circular to all secretaries, and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited :”

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy :—

BELVEDERE, 26th December, 1890.

“DEAR SIR,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

“To

J. GHOSAL Esq.,  
Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.”

Yours faithfully,

P. C. LYON,

Private Secretary.

authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquire, most respectfully, whether His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VIII.

**Resolved**—That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M. P., Mr. J. Ellis, M. P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which

they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress ; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C. I. E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

**RESOLUTION IX.**

**Resolved**—That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers, proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

**RESOLUTION X.**

**Resolved**—That the Seventh Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1891, at either Madras or Nagpore, as may be hereafter settled, in consultation between the Madras, Central Provinces and Berar Committees, and the Joint General Secretary.

**RESOLUTION XI.**

**Resolved**—That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient, in 1892, and that the several Standing Congress Committees be directed to report, at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles.

**RESOLUTION XII.**

**Resolved**—That of the Funds now in the Joint General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed in fixed deposits, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

**RESOLUTION XIII.**

**Resolved**—That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee.

**RESOLUTION XIV.**

**Resolved**—That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

**RESOLUTION XV.**

**Resolved**—That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjee, Dadabhai Naorojee, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.



## RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SEVENTH CONGRESS.

### RESOLUTION I.

**Resolved**—That a Committee be appointed to consider and report, on or before the morning of the 30th instant, whether, or not, it is advisable to discontinue the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and, if not, under what regulations, as to numbers of delegates, localities for assemblage, and the like, future Congresses shall be held. The Committee to be composed as follows :—

#### EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS :

The President.  
 The Chairman of the Reception Committee.  
 The General Secretary.  
 The Joint General Secretary.  
 The Standing Counsels to the Congress.

#### ORDINARY MEMBERS :

Messrs. Surendranath Bannerjee.	Messrs. Murlidhar.
Viraraghava Chariar.	Mudholkar.
Hafiz Abdul Raheem.	Deo Rao Vinayak.
Gangapersad Varma	Gopal Rao Bhide.
Pringle Kennedy.	Bipin Krishna Bose.
Guruprasad Sen.	Dajee Abajee Khare.
D. E. Watcha.	Madan Mohan Malaviya.
M. B. Namjoshi.	Saligram Singh.
Hamid Ali Khan.	Sankara Nair.
Vishnu Moreswar Bhide.	

### RESOLUTION II.

**Resolved**—That this Congress re-affirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, *viz.*, that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose good will towards India it gratefully recognizes, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform.

### RESOLUTION III.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses affirms—

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that, in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

- (a) the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances, of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II;

- (b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former ; and to
- (c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

that the cost of the administration be greatly reduced ; in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops like those of the Hon. E. I. Company, for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths ; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance and Store Departments ; and in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff ; and that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible ; and to establish agricultural banks.

That this Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms.

#### RESOLUTION IV.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that, to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian public opinion and encourage and qualify the Indians to defend their homes and their Government—

- (a) by so modifying the rules under the Arms Act, as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial Jurisdiction in which they are issued ;
- (b) by establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as *commissioned or non-commissioned* officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army ;
- (c) by organising, throughout the more warlike races of the Empire, a system of militia service ; and
- (d) by authorizing and stimulating a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

RESOLUTION V.

**Resolved**—That as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, declares it to be essential that all examinations for any and all of the Civil Branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be also held simultaneously in India.

RESOLUTION VI.

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

- (a) the reduction of the salt tax, by at least the amount of its latest enhancement ;
- (b) the raising of the income tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 ;
- (c) persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the excise policy enunciated in paras. 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch, published in the *Gazette of India*, of March 1st, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages.

RESOLUTION VII.

**Resolved**—That having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects, of the Judicial and Police Administration, this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- (a) the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;
- (b) the extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury ;
- (c) the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries ;
- (d) the introduction, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police.

RESOLUTION VIII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

## RESOLUTION IX.

*Read the following telegram from General Booth:—*

“May I be allowed to commend, to the attention of the Congress, the claims of the millions of India's starving poor and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country, in such an organised and befriended manner, as will enable them to gain, for themselves, those necessities of a healthy existence which, in their present circumstances, are denied; praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind.”

**Resolved**—That the following telegram be despatched in reply to General Booth:—

“The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in same field, and we have to thank you that your army too is now engaged in the good work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions, be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren.”

## RESOLUTION X.

*Read the Report of the Committee appointed, under Resolution (I), which runs as follows:—*

“Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them and have also consulted, informally, various members of the Subjects Committee and other delegates. They are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and that future Congresses should be held under the same regulations as heretofore.”

**Resolved**—That the Annual Sessions of the Congress in India continue to be held until all necessary reforms have been secured.

## RESOLUTION XI.

**Resolved**—That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India be most respectfully, but earnestly, entreated to investigate this carefully, and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

## RESOLUTION XII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn, and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved.

RESOLUTION XIII.

**Resolved**—That this Congress puts on record an expression of the gratitude felt, throughout India, for the signal services rendered by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh to that country's cause, and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engendered; and that a copy of this Resolution, signed by the President, be transmitted through the British Committee for presentation to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner,

RESOLUTION XIV.

**Resolved**—That this Congress, hereby, puts formally on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the great services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has rendered, during more than a quarter of a century, to the cause of India; that it expresses its unshaken confidence in him and its earnest hope that he may prove successful, at the coming elections, in his candidature for Central Finsbury, and, at the same time, tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most cordial acknowledgments to all in England, whether in Central Finsbury or elsewhere, who have aided, or may aid him, to win a seat in the House of Commons.

RESOLUTION XV.

**Resolved**—That in view of the General Election now impending in England, and in accordance with the recommendation of our British Committee, the provisional arrangements, set on foot in pursuance of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890, for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than 100 Delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election.

RESOLUTION XVI.

**Resolved**—That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's office and establishment, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged in Committee for the year 1892.

RESOLUTION XVII.

**Resolved**—That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhianath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

**Resolved**—That the Eighth Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1892, at Allahabad.