REPORT

OF

THE NINTH

Indian National Congress,

HELD AT

LAHORE,

On the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December,

1893.

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SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

NINTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT LAHORE, ON THE 27TH, 28TH, 29TH, AND 30TH, DECEMBER, 1893.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress while tendering its most sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal spirit in which he has endeavoured to give effect to the Indian Councils' Act of 1892, regrets to have to put on record the facts, that alike in the Rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments, notably in that of the Government of Bombay, material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to the spirit of this act, and, that the Punjab, one of the most important Provinces in the Empire, is still denied the right to be represented, either in the Viceroy's or in any Local Council.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That this Congress, in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885 and other subsequent Congresses, 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 III.

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 Rupees;

(*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 a wide-spread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of public medical education and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil medical service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That this Congress desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That this Congress having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all

classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a Committee (one half at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress having considered the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders and Practices in Indian Cantonments with regard to prostitution and contagious disease, hereby endorses their conclusions :

1. That the system and incidental practice described in that report and the statutory rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888 ; and

2. That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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.

And humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India and in certain hilly tracts in the Punjab, 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 X.

Resolved—That this Congress having on many previous occasions urged on the Government of India, the necessity for giving, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, wherever this has not already been conceded, desires now to reiterate emphatically this recommendation and to call attention to the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of the

survey and other cesses) and with the terms of the sanads of the permanently settled estates in Madras, and deeming such tampering with solemn public pledges, no matter under what pretences, a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose, in all possible legitimate ways, any and all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges for a permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements, laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India, and approved by the Secretary of State.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that it is 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 those branches *i. e.* the technical,) of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country; and, looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community, strongly recommends, that in all classes of Government or Municipal Schools and Colleges, all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and relations and remitted wholly in the case of very poor students; and, focussing the universal opinion of the Indian Community that undue stress is being laid at present upon mere mental development, this Congress earnestly recommends that henceforth, in all grades and classes of Schools and colleges, at least equal attention should be devoted to the physical development of the students.

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—That this Congress regrets to notice that the Secretary of State for India in his recent despatch to the Government of India has enunciated the doctrine that occasions may arise in which it may be the duty of the Executive Government to criticise Judicial errors, the Congress being of opinion that such criticism is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the independence of Judicial tribunals.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That this Congress places on record its deep regret at the recent hasty legislation of the Government of India closing the Indian mints against the private coinage of silver, whereby the people of this country have been subjected to further indirect taxation of a burdensome and indefinite character, and some of the most important trades and industries, notably the Mill industry, have been seriously disorganized and injured.

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Exchange Compensation Allowance granted to the undomiciled European and Eurasian *employés* of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of Rupees, and to the Banks, to the extent of £138,000, at a time when the financial situation of the country is far from satisfactory and the country is threatened with additional taxation.

RESOLUTION XVI.

Resolved—That the Government of India be moved, once for all, to put a stop, by new and express legislation, (the existing provisions of the Penal Code having proved inoperative) to the existing oppressive system of forced labor (known as *Begar*) and forced contributions of supplies (known as *Rasad*) which, despite numerous Resolutions of the Government of India, are still prevalent throughout India.

RESOLUTION XVII.

Resolved—That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interest of the administration of Justice in that Province.

RESOLUTION XIX.

Resolved—That this Congress tenders its best thanks to the Electors of Central Finsbury, both for their kindly sympathy in its objects and for having so generously accorded to it the valuable services of their honoured member Mr. Naoroji, who is destined, the Congress hopes, long to represent both Central Finsbury and India in the British House of Parliament.

RESOLUTION XX.

Resolved—That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress Publication, "India," and that the several circles do contribute as arranged either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1894.

RESOLUTION XXI.

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.

RESOLUTION XXII.

Resolved—That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XXIII.

Resolved—That the Tenth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas Day 1894, as may be later determined upon, at Madras.

LAHORE,
December 31st, 1893.

DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Ninth Indian National Congress.

DETAILED

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NINTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

LAHORE,

On the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th of December, 1893.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

First Day.

FOR THE ASSEMBLAGE of the NINTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, a very spacious and beautiful octagonal Pavilion was erected in the Capital of the Punjab on a large piece of ground in the vicinity of the Lahore Railway Station. The Union Jack floating at its top, visible from a great distance, and numerous flags and buntings of various devices made up a grand and imposing spectacle. The inside of the Pavilion was tastefully decorated and provided room for 4,000 seats. On each of the four days over which the sittings of the Congress extended, nearly all the chairs were occupied by the Delegates and Visitors. The attendance on the first day was so large that the late arrivals had to content themselves with standing room. The grounds, laid out with gravelled walks and beds of flower, looked like a well-kept garden picturesquely dotted over with neat little structures for the accommodation of the different Congress offices and a temporary Post and Telegraph Office.

This being the first meeting of the National Congress in the Punjab a very large number of applications for Visitor's Tickets were received long before the day fixed for the first sitting. Tickets for firstclass seats at Rs. 50 each were eagerly purchased, not a single one remaining unsold.

The first sitting of the Congress commenced at 2 P.M. on Wednesday, the 27th December, 1893, when Sirdar Dayal Sing Majithia, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, whose duty it was to open the proceedings by welcoming the delegates and calling upon them to elect their President said :—

"I am in so much pain that I am sorry I shall have to deny myself the pleasure of addressing you this afternoon. I am suffering much from rheumatic pains and cannot stand; so with your permission I will ask Mr. Harkishen Lal to read my address."

Mr. Harkishen Lal immediately took up his place on the tribune at the rear of the President's seat and read out the following address on behalf of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

First Day.

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW-DELEGATES,—It has fallen to me on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Ninth Indian National Congress to accord a cordial welcome to the delegates of the Ninth Indian National Congress to the capital of our Province and in doing so I cannot help feeling an overpowering sense of glory and pride such as I have never before experienced in my life. It is our peculiar good fortune to live under a Government which, by the spread of liberal education and the annihilation of distances, has made it practicable for us—the inhabitants of the remote parts of this vast empire—to meet every year at different centres to discuss those great problems so intimately connected with the advancement and prosperity of our fatherland. We have a glorious past of course of which we need not be proud, and we clearly see the prospect of a hopeful future before us under the benign influence of British rule and I think most of us present here believe that the kingdom of heaven is not behind but before. The darkness that enshrouded the land for so many centuries has begun to be dispelled, and the streaks are already visible above the horizon that herald the approach of a glorious dawn. A hundred years ago when Lord Cornwallis was laying the foundations of the empire on a solid basis the country, as a whole, was still in a state of disorder and anarchy. Two generations later witnessed the advent of that illustrious nobleman, Lord William Bentinck, who first sowed the seeds which fell fast on the fertile soil and germinated vigorously, and watered by the generous hand of Lord Hallifax, and warmed by the establishment of universities sprouted forth into luxuriant growth. The crisis that followed in 1857 enveloped the empire in momentary gloom, but this speedily passed away and the car of progress began once more to glide smoothly and rapidly along, propelled by the genial force imparted by that great statesman who in a moment of imminent peril, safely guided the vessel of State to her moorings—the immortal Canning. A generation later appeared on the scene that liberal-minded ruler, that candid friend, that cordial sympathiser, that suppressor of wrong and supporter of the weak and the down-trodden, the best and the most illustrious of Viceroys, the righteous Ripon to whom we owe the amalgam that united the scattered units of the Indian nation and stimulated those national sentiments and aspirations of which the Indian National Congress is the direct outcome. The National Congress—the greatest glory of the British rule in this country—thus started, has had its sittings at the principal centres of Indian intelligence and progress. But this is its first session in this Province and it rouses our deepest emotions and stirs up our innermost feelings to be able to give it a hearty greeting and to have an opportunity to show the rites of hospitality to those who at considerable personal risk and sacrifice have undertaken distant journeys and assembled under this roof for furthering the cause of their country. This is the second attempt that has been made towards holding the Congress in the Punjab. The first attempt was made at Allahabad in 1888 when the delegates from this Province offered to invite the next Congress to Lahore but that attempt was infructuous because some of our leaders having recently had experience of the opposition that the Congress had met in the North-Western Provinces entertained apprehensions of greater and more serious difficulties being thrown in our way in this Province. We are glad, however, to ~~say that no~~ such apprehensions have visited us on the present occasion. We now live under the strong regime of a wise and dispassionate ruler who as an ex-Judge of one of the highest tribunals in this country takes a judicious view of questions, and does not allow himself to be carried away by executive impulses or administrative theories. It gives us much pleasure to express our sense of obligation to Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick personally in spite of the resolution of the Punjab Government on the now famous circular letter of our Director of Public Instruction, for his fair attitude towards the Congress, to tender our thanks to local officials who taking their cue from their Chief have offered no opposition but have rather treated us with courtesy during the time that preparations were going on for the Congress. Comparison is odious and I shall, therefore, avoid it as far as possible but all those who were present at Allahabad

in 1888 and heard the speech of the late lamented Pandit Ajudhia Nath in his capacity of President of the Reception Committee will be able to form a contrast in their minds as to the circumstances under which the fourth Congress was held and the ninth Congress has now assembled here. The fact that this is a frontier and younger province only lends additional vigour to the contrast and reflects greater credit on the head of the local administration. It has been asserted that the Congress is a Babu-movement and the martial races of India have no sympathy with it. This great assembly is a living refutation of all assertions of that description. The Congress has already had two sittings at Allahabad and on each occasion the hearty and active adherence which the people of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh have shown to the cause speaks for itself. It is true that the Congress has never been held here previous to this occasion but it was not because the people of this Province did not feel any interest in this National Movement and appreciated it duly but on account of the apprehended difficulties I have alluded to before. It is impossible and quite unnatural that in the midst of the general national reawakening the Punjab alone should lie steeped in torpor. The east gave light to the west in old antiquity but the light so given has come back reflected in greater brightness and its revivifying influence is felt from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. To suppose that the Punjab has held aloof from the Congress is absurd. Is it possible that those credited with possessing most fire in their blood should be the least susceptible to this influence ?

No, the wand of the magician has touched our eyes. The history and literature of England have permeated our minds, the great heritage of our western Aryan brethren has descended on us collaterally as it were, and we are allowed at times, grudgingly it may be, to have a share in it. We happily live under a constitution whose watchword is freedom and whose main pillar is toleration. We look back complacently on our past history and glory in it. Can we then in the midst of this national upheaval remain quiescent and indifferent ? The same generous causes that are at work elsewhere have been operating here also and any difference in the results hitherto obtained is attributable mainly to the fact that these causes reached here last in point of time. We may naturally be somewhat behind the other provinces in the race of progress but we are not idle and if we be true to the traditions with which our past records are replete we should try hard to make up our deficiencies and take our proper place in the march of national advancement.

It would be superfluous now to meet the stale old charge of disloyalty and sedition brought against the Congress. It has been discussed threadbare and the Congress has come triumphant out of the discussion. The highest authority in the land—the head of the Government of India—has been pleased to characterize the Congress as a "perfectly legitimate" movement "representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced liberal party." No endeavour was spared to traduce the Congressmen, to call them by all manner of harsh and disreputable names, to attribute to them selfish and other motives, to misrepresent their aims and objects, and to discredit them before the public in India and in England. But we are happy to be able to say that not only have the Congressmen survived all the desperate endeavours of their opponents but have actually grown so influential that when a short time ago an attempt was made to get up an anti-Congress demonstration in one of the important cities of this province not far from the capital, the all-powerful district officer actually discouraged the attempt on the ground that such a demonstration even though backed by all the official influence of that place would prove perfectly abortive and quite inadequate for the purpose of stemming the tide of educated public opinion in favour of the national movement. The district officer was right. The hand of the clock cannot be put back. The country has been advancing rapidly under the banner which floats and flutters in the air proudly from Peshawar to Calcutta. The arbiter of the destiny of nations has not placed the people

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of this vast country under the *ægis* of British rule for no purpose. The ancient mother of art and science, of religion and philosophy, rent and torn by internal dissension and trampled under the oppressor's relentless foot was to be rescued from her woful fate, and lo! a body of obscure merchants was sent out to trade in the East, and how this magnificent empire was built up subsequently is known to the readers of history. But these merchants from the far West were only the means to an end. Flushed with success, exultant man often arrogates to himself what he could have never dreamt to accomplish without the help of the Almighty, the causer of causes. "There is a divinity that shapes our ends." It is this divinity that shaped the ends of the body of obscure merchants, instilled patience and wisdom in their breast, expanded their views, enabled them to overcome their older and more powerful competitors, diverted their attention from commerce to conquest, taught them to form a mature organization out of raw materials, inspired them with the principles of righteous toleration and led them along the career of splendid achievements which are now the wonder and admiration of the whole civilized world. Verily there is a deeper meaning in all this than that a handful of Englishmen should grow rich at the expense and miseries of the countless millions that inhabit this woe-worn land. England's mission in India would remain unfulfilled if she failed to raise a once great but now fallen country from her present degraded position, to place her on the path of moral, material and political advancement and prosperity.

It is this mission which the Indian National Congress calls upon England to perform. It is for this that we are knocking at her door. Happily for both England and India the genius of the English people is eminently fitted for the performance of this mission. Their views and sympathies are as liberal as their possessions are world-wide and it is therefore that they have been able to establish an Empire over which the sun never sets. In the economy of providence there is always a fitness of things, an adaptation of means to ends; and if at this moment England heads the great powers of the world it is because she has eminently deserved her exalted position. And that position she will continue to occupy and to maintain as long as she does not descend from her high moral pedestal, and governs the people committed to her care by providence not in the interests of the rulers but of the ruled. For ourselves we are fully sensible of the numerous boons we have received at her hands and our hearts overflow with gratitude. Those who call us ungrateful either do not understand us or misrepresent us. The Indian mind still connects Royalty with Divinity and considers it a meritorious act to have a sight of the royal person. It has not yet been divested of the notion that the king is the vicegerent of God on earth, not that law is superior even to a king. This makes Indians the most loyal and law-abiding people on the face of earth. What the Congress contends is not that the country should be transferred from English to Indian nands, no,—not the change of hands, for it would be entirely suicidal, but that the people should be governed on those broad and liberal principles which have been held by eminent British statesmen and administrators themselves to be most conducive to the interests of the both the rulers and the subjects.

The constitution of all civilized Governments allows appeal to the highest authorities. British India is no exception to this rule. The laws in force here permit appeal in almost every branch of administration. The judgment of an inferior officer is open to examination by his superior. Why should then the exercise of this privilege in matters constitutional be looked on with any disfavour at all? The Congress has been called seditious and disloyal—not because it aims at overturning the foundations of British rule in India, for it is patent that its attempts are, on the contrary, directed towards consolidating those foundations—but because it petitions for the rights of the people guaranteed by repeated declaration of the highest authorities, and proposes in case of

ill success in this country to lay their case before Her Majesty's Government in England, before the British Parliament and before the British nation, the ultimate Courts of appeal in whose probity and sense of justice and fairplay they have unbounded confidence. To do this effectually the Congress has to discuss questions vitally connected with the well-being of the Indian people and to lay their grievances before the bar of English public opinion which otherwise cannot know, or understand those grievances, or grant any redress. Is there anything wrong or unnatural in this procedure ?

It is the law of supply and demand which is a recognized principle in political economy. It is said that it is demand that brings in the supply. Man is so constituted that want is natural to him. When the want is felt the supply comes. Providence thus meets all demands. Even the man of religion has said that there can be no supply without demand. Did not the greatest teacher, the prince of prophets, say "ask and it shall be given unto you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you ?" Of course that is the law of prayer and inspiration in the world of spirit but the same interpreted in the language of flesh means the law of demand and supply. Now, gentlemen, imagine if it is not the law of our Anglo-Indian opponents, the utterances of their acknowledged saviour ? Is it not strange that they should object to our following the footsteps of their own great master ? Is it not unwise and impolitic as well as unchristian of them to oppose the behaviour which "the beloved son of God" commands us to adopt ? Besides this there is a common saying that "the mother does not give milk till the child weeps." What wrong are we doing ? Where is our crime ? We are simply knocking at the door of the great British and Christian nation. We are crying for milk, say even for water before mother England. Is it improper on her part to give us a suckle ? The hungry and thirsty children and her gate, the people of India, the weeping children of mother England, expect nourishment from that great English nation ? We might be alien in race and creed, in manners and customs, ideas and thoughts, but without asking, seeking and knocking hard at the door of our paternal Government we cannot find redress. We should be foremost to admit that in times past, before we could lisp, we received precious gifts from the hands of the Government, which we still possess and enjoy, but now that we have learnt to articulate it, we are not precluded from praying for better gifts beneficial alike to ourselves and our rulers and also essential for the good government of the country.

The Congress has passed eight years of its existence but what are eight years in the life of a nation ? Yet within this brief period it has succeeded in obtaining a few concessions which we highly prize, and these concessions should open the eyes of the wary and suspicious amongst us and encourage us all to persevere in the cause we have taken up for the amelioration of the condition of our country. These concessions prove the generosity of which the British nation is capable and they establish the consolation that if we apply to it for succour in our need, our appeal will not be futile or abortive. Let us then keep steadily the object we have in view, work strenuously in "faith, hope and charity," perfect our organization, strive with all our might to lift our nation from the despondency in which it is immersed and respectfully but firmly approach our rulers for the great good that it is always in their power to confer on us. And let us trust that our rulers will not misunderstand our utterances, nor misjudge our actions but will be considerate and charitable towards us. Give us our just rights, concede our reasonable demands, govern us on principles of equity and good conscience and strengthen the foundations of the empire by broadbasing it upon the people's will.

The distinguished President of the first and eighth Congresses in his inaugural address at Allahabad last year declared that the second cycle of the Congress began under his presidency. It is a happy coincidence that the second Congress of the second cycle

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should have been proposed to be held under the leadership of the same illustrious countryman of ours who guided the deliberations of the second Congress of the first cycle. I shall not anticipate your proceedings but nevertheless I cannot help congratulating ourselves on having in our midst one who has devoted all the talents and energies of a lifetime, with a supreme singleness of purpose, to promoting our cause, and who, by dint of ability, indomitable courage and perseverance, has forced his way to the highest deliberative assembly in the British empire, the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. I am referring, I need scarcely tell you, to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who has inaugurated a new era in Indian political life and whose name now is a household word throughout the length and breadth of this land.

Those who assert that he does not represent the people of India in the House of Commons err greivously. The glorious receptions he has been accorded since his landing at Bombay should suffice to remove their error. All India with one heart accepts his representation, and hopes that immeasurable good will flow from it at no distant date. We must heartily congratulate ourselves on having also in our midst him who first directed our aims and aspirations, guided and controlled our counsels, cheered us in our difficulties, spent large sums of money, abandoned rest and comfort to promote our tottering cause and laid the foundation stone of that grand fabric which now proudly rears its lofty head—I mean our kind, noble, and affectionate friend Mr. Hume, the Father of the Indian National Congress. He has undertaken a long voyage to benefit us, to call us to our sense of duty, to rouse our flagging zeal, to stir up our drooping spirits, to encourage us with his presence and we are particularly fortunate in having the advantage of his guidance, advice and active co-operation at this the first session of the Congress in this province. May he and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji both be spared long to work on behalf of suffering humanity in general and this country in particular !

The business before us this session is fairly large and I have carefully refrained from touching upon any of the subjects included in it for fear of needlessly encroaching upon your time. Before, however, I conclude, I must ask you to conceive the joy, because it is beyond all power of expression, which fills my heart at the sight of this great assembly—an assembly consisting of the cream of the Indian community. And I accord you once more a most hearty and cordial welcome to our old historic city.

When the address was over Sirdar Dayal Singh requested the delegates to elect a President and to proceed with the business before them.

Election of President.

Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu Proposes Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P.

Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu, (*Mrdras, No. 838, in list.*) said :—Brother Delegates, for presiding over your deliberations I have been privileged to have the honour of proposing one, who has achieved a foremost place in the ranks of our worthiest men, (*Hear, hear.*) one, who is the embodiment of all that resolute perseverance can make, who is distinguished for unselfish devotion to the public cause, *(applause.)* and one, who, at the same time, is a model of winning simplicity and kindliness of manner; one who has been accepted by all classes and creeds in this land as a matchless leader; one who has been careering to this city amid ovations unexampled for enthusiasm and their universality; *(applause.)* one whom we never need, under any circumstances, consent to exchange for five millions even of Chesneys; one who has immortalised himself by his good works and one who has shed the greatest lustre upon the family and the country to which he belongs—I mean Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. *(Loud and prolonged applause.)*

Moulvie Mohurrem Ali Chiste Seconds.

Moulvie Mohurrem Ali chiste, (*Lahore, No. 266, in list.*) in seconding the motion in Urdu said :

"Gentlemen,—I feel myself proud in seconding the proposal of my Madrasi brother.

I think, it is a proposal laid before you only in a formal manner, otherwise there was no necessity of proposing and seconding a Resolution which has been already passed by the unanimous voice of our countrymen long before the present Session of the Congress. (*Cheers.*) The enthusiastic welcome which you all have given him in the capital of the Punjab, the thundering cheers with which you have received him in this hall, and the successive applause you have given to the proposal of the first speaker, clearly shows the esteem and love which the "Grand old man of India" possesses among all sects of the Indian community. (*Cheers.*)

"Gentlemen, you all know that I am a true and orthodox Mahomedan (*Cheers*) and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is a Parsi, but, still, I shall be wanting in my duty if I do not bear testimony to the great regard and esteem which this distinguished Indian statesman possesses even among my co-religionists for his genius, tact, zeal, perseverence, high statesman-like character and for his devotion to the cause of India. (*Cheers.*) In religious matters we of course differ, and I am so much devoted to the cause of my religion that it is my hearty desire that true Islam may extend from one end of the world to the other, and then extend its greatest blessing *i. e.* to remove the different nationalities of the world and unite them all in one tie of brotherhood. But, still, there is nothing in our sacred religion which prevents us from uniting with the non-Moslem element of the world, from showing sympathy to and working in harmony with the followers of other religions and at least from taking part with our other countrymen in those worldly matters in which we have a common-cause and in which we are equally interested. (*Cheers.*) It is my hearty desire that not only the different sects in India should become united in worldly matters, but also that all the subjects of Her Majesty may join together as one nation under the British flag to improve the prosperity of all of them and to loyally defend the British Crown. (*Cheers.*) There ought to be no term like a "native subject" or a "European subject" but there ought to be the only one term of "Kaisri Riyaya" for all Her Majesty's subjects. (*Cheers.*) If we all throw away our nonsensical prejudices and show our sympathies towards each other, not only by words but also by deeds, there is every probability of this hope being fulfilled. The regard shown by our countrymen to the philanthropic Englishmen who have shown brotherly affection towards India, is a clear proof of the theory that Indians are second to none in showing gratitude and affection, if anybody cares for them. There is now present among us one Englishman, and I challenge anybody to tell me the name of any Indian who is more respected by our countrymen than that gentleman—I mean Mr. Hume. (*Loud cheers.*) It clearly shows that no religious differences are allowed to create differences in respect of worldly and national matters which are proposed for the welfare of mankind in general. We always think that we are honoring ourselves in honoring a philanthropic man. (*Cheers.*) It is therefore that I have been requested by my friends, and, especially, by the Mahomedan delegates present here, to formally second the proposal. With these words, gentlemen, I second the proposal for electing Mr. Naoroji as President of the Ninth Indian National Congress. (*Loud cheers.*)

The motion was then put to the Assembly by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji declared duly elected president of the Ninth Indian National Congress.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., who was received with a perfect storm of cheers and applause, the whole assembly rising to its feet, then took the chair. The newly elected President in addressing the Congress said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I need not say how deeply I feel the honour you have done me by electing me

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a second time to preside over your deliberations. I thank you sincerely for this honour. In the performance of the onerous duties of this high position I shall need your great indulgence and support, and I have no doubt that I shall receive them. (*Applause.*)

PLEASURE OF PRESIDING AT THE FIRST CONGRESS IN PUNJAB.

I am much pleased that I have the privilege of presiding at the very first Congress held in Punjab, as I had at Calcutta in 1886. I have taken, as you may be aware, some interest in the material condition of Punjab. In my first letter to the Secretary of State for India in 1880 on the material condition of India I took Punjab for my illustration, and worked out in detail its total annual income and the absolute wants of its common labourer. As to the loyalty of the Punjabis—Hindus, Sikhs, or Muhammadans—it has proved true through the most fiery ordeal on a most trying and critical occasion. (*applause.*)

PECULIAR FEATURES OF THIS CONGRESS.

The occasion of this session of the Congress in Punjab has been a most happy coincidence. On Punjab rests a double responsibility—one external and one internal. If ever that hated threatened invasion of the Russians comes on, Punjab will have to bear the first brunt of the battle, and contented under British rule, as I hope India will be, Punjab will fight to her last man in loyalty and patriotism—loyalty to the British power, and patriotism to protect the hearths and homes of her beloved country of India. (*Loud applause.*)

INTERNAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The internal responsibility which at present rests upon the Punjabis and other warrior races of India is this. I have always understood and believed that manliness was associated with love of justice, generosity and intellect. So our British tutors have always taught us and have always claimed for themselves such character. And I cannot understand how any one could or should deny to your and other manly races of India the same characteristics of human nature. But yet we are gravely told that on the contrary the manliness of these races of India is associated with meanness, unpatriotic selfishness, and inferiority of intellect, and that therefore, like the dog in the manger, you and the other warrior races will be mean enough to oppose the resolution about Simultaneous Examinations, and unpatriotic and selfish enough to prevent the general progress of all India. ("*shame.*")

Can offence and insult to a people, and that people admitted to be a manly people, go any further? Look at the numbers of Punjabis studying in England. Now this happy coincidence of this meeting in Punjab: you, considering every son of India as an Indian and a compatriot, have invited me—not a Punjabi, not a Muhammadan, nor a Sikh—from a distance of thousands of miles to enjoy the honour of presiding over this Congress, and with this gathering from all parts of India as the guests of the Punjabis, you conclusively, once for all and for ever, set the matter at rest that the Punjabis with all other Indians do earnestly desire the Simultaneous Examinations as the only method in which justice can be done to all the people of India, as this Congress has repeatedly resolved. And, moreover, Punjab has the credit of holding the very first public meeting in favour of the Resolution passed by the House of Commons for Simultaneous Examinations. (*cheers.*)

THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

When I use the words English or British, I mean all the peoples of the United Kingdom.

MR. JUSTICE TELANG.

It is our melancholy duty to record the loss of one of our greatest patriots, Justice

Kasinath Trimbak Telang. It is a heavy loss to India; you all know what a high place he held in our estimation for his great ability, learning, eloquence, sound judgment, wise counsel and leadership. I have known him and worked with him for many years, and I have not known any one more earnest and devoted to the cause of our country's welfare. He was one of the most active founders of this Congress, and was its first hard-working Secretary in Bombay. From the very first he had taken a warm interest and active part in our work, and even after he became a Judge his sound advice was always at our disposal.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. RANADE.

I am glad Mr. Mahadhev Govind Ranade is appointed in his place. (*cheers.*) It does much credit indeed to Lord Harris for the selection, and I am sure Mr. Ranade will prove himself worthy of the post. I have known him long, and his ability and learning are well known. *(applause.)* His sound judgment and earnest work in various ways have done valuable services to the cause of India. *(applause.)*

I am also much pleased that an Indian, Mr. Pramada Charan Bannerji, succeeds Mr. Justice Mahmud at Allahabad. (*cheers.*)

THANKS TO LORD KIMBERLEY.

I feel thankful to the Local Governments and the Indian Government for such appointments, and to Lord Kimberley for his sanction of them, among which I may include also the decision about the Sanscrit Chair at Madras. (*applause.*) I feel the more thankful to Lord Kimberley, for I am afraid, and I hope I may be wrong, that there has been a tendency of not only not loyally carrying out the rule about situations of Rs. 200 and upwards to be given to Indians, but that even such posts as have been already given to them are being snatched away from their hands. Lord Kimberley's firmness in not allowing this is therefore so much the more worthy of praise and our thankfulness.

Lord Kimberley also took prompt action to prevent the retrograde step in connection with the Jury system in Bengal for which Mr. Paul and other friends interested themselves in Parliament; and also to prevent the retrograde interference with the Chairmanship of Municipalities, at the instance of our British Committee in London. I do hope that in the same spirit Lord Kimberley will consider our representations about the extension of the Jury system.

MESSAGE OF GOODWILL FROM CENTRAL FINSBURY.

Before proceeding further, let me perform the gratifying task of communicating to you a message of sympathy and goodwill which I have brought for you from Central Finsbury. (*Loud applause and three cheers for the electors of Central Finsbury.*) On learning that I had accepted your invitation to preside, the Council of the Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association passed a Resolution, which I have now the pleasure of placing before you, signed by Mr. Joseph Walton, the Chairman, and forwarded to me by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. M. H. Griffith, one of my best friends and supporters :—

The Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association send a Greeting to the forthcoming Indian National Congress.

The Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association, in view of Mr. Naoroji's visit to India at the end of November next, have passed the following Resolution :—

"1. That the General Council of the Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association desire to record their high appreciation of the admirable and most

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exemplary manner in which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has performed his duties as representative of this constituency in the House of Commons, and, learning that he is, in the course of a few months, to visit India to preside over the Ninth Session of the Indian National Congress, request him to communicate to that body an expression of their full sympathy alike with all the efforts of that Congress for the welfare of India, and with the Resolution which has been recently passed by the House of Commons (in the adoption of which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been so largely instrumental) in favour of holding Simultaneous Examinations in India and in Britain of candidates for all the Indian Civil Services; and further express the earnest hope that full effect will, as speedily as possible, be given by the Government to this measure of justice which has been already too long delayed. *(applause.)*

"2. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

"(Signed) JOSEPH WALTON,
"*Chairman of Meeting.*"

The Resolution has been sent to Mr. Naoroji with an accompanying letter, which says:

"Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association,
"20, St. John Street Road, Clerkenwell,
London, E.C.

"DEAR SIR,—I have been directed to forward to you the enclosed copy of Resolution passed at the last meeting of the Council of this Association.

"Joining in the hope of my colleagues that the result of our efforts may be of material and lasting good, and wishing you a fruitful journey, with a speedy return to us, the constituents you so worthily represent in Parliament,

"I am, yours faithfully,
"R. M. H. GRIFFITHS,
"*Honorary Secretary.*

"The Honourable DADABHAI NAOROJI, M. P.,
"House of Commons, Westminster.
"*August 7th*, 1893."

HAS THE CONGRESS JUSTIFIED ITS EXISTENCE?
THE BRIGHT SIDE OF BRITISH RULE.

It has been my good fortune and happy privilege of being present at the first Session in 1885 with about eighty delegates. Eight years have since passed away; and we meet to-day for the ninth time. The first question which naturally now arises is—Has the Congress justified its existence? Has it borne any good fruit? I say that it has done both. But it is more. Its existence is also the justification and the best proof of the bright side of the British Rule. *(cheers.)* If any proof were wanted that British Rule has not been altogether without good results, the British people may well point with pride and satisfaction to the unique phenomenon of this Congress as the result of the beneficent part of their work in this country. *(applause.)*

ITS JUSTIFICATION.

Dealing with its own justification of itself, we may look back to the Resolutions which were formulated at its first session and see what has been accomplished therefrom.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The Legislative Councils have been reformed, if not even to the moderate extent and in the manner in which we desired, still some advance has been made in their

constitution and mode of work. Representation, though small and very imperfect, is, even as it is, a vital step for our future progress and for the consolidation of British Power. The right of interpellation will enable us, with much advantage and relief to Government itself, to ask some explanations directly and immediately without having to wait for the circuitous process of questions in the House of Commons.

REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS.

These small reforms in the Legislative Councils have, by their operation, indirectly brought out prominently, and undeniably proved, the truly representative character of our Congress. Most of those who have found admission as representatives are members of this Congress. (*cheers.*) In the Viceroy's Council we have the Hon. Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta, (*applause.*) the Hon. the Maharaja of Durbhanga, and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, and in the Provincial Councils the Hon. Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Bannerjea, Lalmohun Ghose, Maharaja Jagadindranath Roy (of Bengal), the Hon. Messrs. Rangia Naidu, Kalyansundram Iyer, Vashyam Iynger (of Madras), Hon. Messrs. P. M. Mehta and Chimunlal H. Setalvad (of Bombay), and the Hon. Raja Rampal Singh and the Hon. Charu Chunder Mitter (of Allahabad). In the late Hon. Mir Humayun Jah, C.I.E., of Madras, we have lost one of our most distinguished representatives and staunch supporters. Hon. Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, High Court, Bombay (Bombay Legislative Council), elected by District Local Boards of Southern Division.

ELECTORS' NATIONAL FEELING.

It has also proved to us the gratifying and encouraging feature that the Electors have made no differences of creed, but have voted on the only right principle of fitness and of common Indian nationality and welfare. (*Hear, hear.*)

THE EDUCATED ARE THE NATURAL LEADERS.

The fact is, and it stands to reason, that the thinking portion and the educated, whether in English or in their own learning, of all classes and creeds, in their common nationality as Indians, are naturally becoming the leaders of the people. Those Indians, specially, who have received a good English education, have the double advantage of knowing their own countrymen as well as understanding and appreciating the merits of British men and British rule, with the result, as Sir Bartle Frere has well put it: "And now wherever I go I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able co-adjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the Natives of India, among the ranks of the educated Natives." (*applause.*)

Or as the Government of India has said: "To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of the British power is abhorent." (*Hear, hear.*)

Government of India's Despatch, dated 8th June, 1880, to Secretary of State for India.

And as Lord Dufferin, as Viceroy of India, has said in his Jubilee Speech: "We are surrounded on all sides by Native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit." (*applause.*)

It would be the height of unwisdom, after themselves creating this great new force, "which is rapidly increasing" as "the best exponents and co-adjutors," as "abhoring the subversion of the British power," and from whose "hearty, loyal and honest co-operation the greatest benefit can arise," that the Ruling authorities should drive this force into opposition instead of drawing it to their own side by taking it into confidence and

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thereby strengthening their own foundation. This Congress represents the Aristocracy of intellect and the New Political Life, created by themselves, which is at present deeply grateful to its Creator. Common sense tells you—have it with you, instead of against you.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS—ASSURANCE BY THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

With regard to your other most important Resolution, to hold examinations simultaneously both in India and England for all the Civil Services, it would not have become a practical fact by the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June last had it not been to a large extent for your persevering but constitutional demand for it made with moderation during all the years of your existence. (*applause.*) I am glad that in the last Budget debate the Under-Secretary of State for India has given us this assurance.

"It may be in the recollection of the House that, in my official capacity, it was my duty earlier in the Session to oppose a Resolution in favour of Simultaneous Examinations, but the House of Commons thought differently from the Government. That once done, I need hardly say that there is no disposition on the part of the Secretary of State for India or myself to attempt to thwart or defeat the effect of the vote of the House of Commons on that resolution. (*Hear, hear and applause.*)

Debates. Vol. XVII., 1893, p. 1835.

We all cannot but feel thankful to the Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, and the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. George Russell, for this satisfactory assurance.

CIVIL, MEDICAL AND ENGINEERING SERVICES.

I may just remark here in passing that I am not able to understand why the higher Civil and Educational Medical Services are handed over to Military Medical Officers, instead of there being a separate Civil Medical Service, dealt with by Simultaneous Examinations in India and England, as we expect to have for the other Civil Services. I also may ask why some higher Civil Engineering posts are given to Military Engineers.

BRITISH INTEREST IN INDIAN AFFAIRS, AND DESIRE TO DO JUSTICE.

One thing more I may say: Your efforts have succeeded not only in creating an interest in Indian affairs, but also a desire among the people of the United Kingdom to promote our true welfare. (*Hear, hear.*) Had you achieved in the course of the past eight years only this much and no more, you would have amply justified your existence. (*cheers.*) You have proved two things—that you are moderate and reasonable in what you ask, and that the British people are willing to grant what is shown to be reasonable.

PAST RESOLUTIONS ADVANCING.

It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the subject of your justification further than this; that all the Resolutions you have formulated have more or less advanced; that they are receiving attentive consideration is testified by the continuous discussions that have been going on in the press and on the platform both here and in England. In England itself many a cause, great or small, has to agitate long before making an impression. What struggles have there been in Parliament itself and out of Parliament for the Corn Laws, Slavery Laws, Factory Laws, Parliamentary Reforms, and many others, in short, in every important Legislation? We must keep courage, persevere, and "never say die." (*Loud applause.*)

RETURN OF AN INDIAN TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

One more result, though not the least, of your labours, I shall briefly touch upon. The effect which your labours produced on the minds of the people of the United Kingdom has helped largely an Indian to find his way into the Great Imperial Parliament, and in confirmation of this, I need not go further than remind you of the generous action of Central Finsbury and the words of the Resolution of the Council of its United Liberal and Radical Association which I have already placed before you. (*applause.*)

FIRST ATTEMPT BY THE HON. MR. LAL MOHAN GHOSE

As you are all aware, though it was long my wish, my friend the Hon. Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose made the first attempt, and twice contested Deptford, with no little chances of success, but adverse circumstances proved too strong for him. We owe a debt of gratitude to Deptford, and also to Holborn, which gave me the first lift, and in my contest there, though a forlorn hope, the Liberal electors exerted their utmost, and gave me a very satisfactory poll. (*cheers.*)

FRIENDS IN UNITED KINGDOM.

My mind also turns to those good friends of India—Bright, Fawcett, Bradlaugh and others, (*applause*)—who pioneered for us, prepared for the coming of this result, and helped us when we were helpless.

RECEPTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

This naturally would make you desire and lead me to say a few words about the character of the reception given to the Indian Member in the House of Commons. It was everything that could be desired. (*cheers.*) The welcome was general from all sides, as the interest in Indian affairs has been much increasing, and there is a desire to do justice to India. (*Renewed cheering.*) Mr. Gladstone on two occasions not only expressed his satisfaction to me at finding an Indian in the House, but expressed also a strong wish to see several more.

INDIAN QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The attendance on Indian questions has been good, and what is still better, the interest in the Indian debates has been earnest, and with a desire to understand and judge rightly. India has indeed fared well this Session, notwithstanding its other unprecedentedly heavy work.

THE FRIENDS IN THE HOUSE.

Thankful as we are to many Members of all sides, I am bound to express our special thanks to the Irish, Labour and Radical Members. (*Loud cheers.*) I heard from Mr. Davitt, two days before my departure, "Don't forget to tell your colleagues at the Congress that every one of Ireland's Home Rule Members in Parliament is at your back in the cause of the Indian People," (*Prolonged cheering.*) All our friends who had been working for us before are not only as zealous and staunch as ever, but more active and earnest. I cannot do better than to record in this place with thankfulness the names of all those Members from all parties who voted for the Resolution of 2nd June last in favour of Simultaneous Examinations in England and India for all the Indian Civil Services.

As the ballot fell to Mr. Herbert Paul, (*Three cheers for Mr. Paul.*) he, as you are aware, moved the Resolution, and you know also how well and ably he advocated the cause, and has ever since kept up a watchful interest in and eye on it. I may mention here that I had sent a whip or notice to every Member of the House of Commons for this debate.

First Day.

2nd June 1893.

The President's Inaugural Address.

11h. 55m. B. M.

Numb. III.

Supply,—Order for Committee read ;

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair :"—

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "all open Competitive Examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such Examinations in both Countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit :—(*Mr. Paul :*)—

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—

The House *divided* : Ayes 76, Noes 84.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Arch, Joseph
Baker, John
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, John (Wexford, S.)
Beith, Gilbert
Bennet, Joseph
Birrell, Augustine
Bodkin, Matthias M.
Bright, Jacob (Manchester)
Burnie, Robert John Dickson
Burns, John
Byles, William Pollard
Caine, William Sproston
Cameron, Charles
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Clough, Walter Owen
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, William
Curran, Thomas B. (Kilkenny)
Dalziel, James Henry
Dodd, Cyril Joseph Settle
Donelan, Captain A.
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Everett, Robert Lacey
Farquharson, Dr. R. (Aberd'sh)
Fenwick, Charles (Northumb.)
Field, William (Dublin)
Finucane, John
Flynn, James Christopher
Frye, Fred. C. (Kensington, N.)
Gane, Lawrence
Gibney, James
Hardie, J. Keir (West Ham, S.)
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Hogan, James Francis
Holden, Angus (Yorkshire)
Holden, Isaac (Keighley)
Holland, William H.
Hunter, William Alexander
Jordan, Jeremiah
Keah, John Seymour
Kennedy, Patrick James
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfred (Cumb'lnd)
Leese, Joseph Francis
Leng, John
Lennox, Rt. Hon. Lord W. C. G.
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
McGregor, Dr. Donald
M'Cartan, Michael
M'Carthy, Justin
M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim)
M'Laren, Walter S. B. (Cheshire)
Maden, John Henry
Morton, Alpheus C. (Peterboro')
Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)
O'Keeffe, Francis Arthur
Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)
Pease, Henry Fell (Yorks, N. R.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pryce-Jones, Sir Pryce
Richardson, Joseph
Robinson, Thomas (Gloucester)
Schwann, Charles E.

Sexton, Thomas
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, William Rawson (Halifax)
Smith, Harry (Falkirk)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Snape, Thomas
Spicer, Albert
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tanner, Charles Kearns
Tuite, James
Wallace, J. Stewart (Limehouse)
Wason, Eugene
Webb, Alfred
Wedderburn, Sir William
Wilson, John (Lanark)

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Paul and Mr. Naoroji.

OUR POSITION IN THE HOUSE.

The Indian Parliamentary Committee.

I may say here a few words about the progress we are making in our Parliamentary position. By the exertions of Sir William Wedderburn, (*applause.*) Mr. Caine, (*applause.*) and other friends, an Indian Parliamentary Committee has been formed, of which Sir William Wedderburn is the Chairman and Mr. Herbert Roberts is the Secretary. (*applause.*) The Committee is not yet fully formed. It will, we hope, be a larger General Committee of our supporters with a small Executive Committee, like other similar Committees that exist in the House for other causes. I give the names of the Members now fully enrolled in this Committee :—

Mr. Jacob Bright
„ Caine
„ John E. Ellis
Dr. W. A. Hunter
Mr. Illingworth
Sir Wilfred Lawson
Mr. Walter B. McLaren
„ Swift MacNeill
„ Dadabhai Naoroji
Mr. H. Paul
Sir Joseph Pease
Mr. T. H. Roberts
„ R. T. Reid
„ Samuel Smith
„ C. E. Schwann
„ Eugene Wason
„ Webb
Sir W. Wedderburn

Besides these, there are a large number of Members (exclusive of the 70 or 80 Irish Members already referred to) whom we count as supporters and hope to see fully enrolled Members on our Indian Parliamentary Committee before long.

GOD-SPEED AND WISHING SUCCESS TO ME.

On the eve of my departure, the committee invited me to a private dinner at the House, and gave me a hearty God-speed and wishes of success, with an expression of their earnest desire to see justice done to India. (*applause.*)

THANKS TO MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Before leaving this subject of Parliament, let me offer to Mr. George Russell, the Under-Secretary of State for India, my sincere thanks for his sympathetic and cordial treatment of me in all I had to do with him, and for his personal good feeling and kindness towards me. (*applause.*)

MUCH FUTURE WORK TO DO.

With all that has been done by the Congress, we have only begun our work. We have yet much and very much more work to do till that political, moral and material condition is attained by us which will raise us really to the level of our British fellow-citizens in prosperity and political elevation, and thereby consolidate the British power on the imperishable foundation of justice, mutual benefit and the contentment and loyalty of the people.

First Day.

The President's Inaugural Address.

FUTURE HOPEFUL.

The reason why I have dwelt upon our past life is that it shows that our future is promising and hopeful, that our faith in the instinctive love of justice and fair play of the people of the United Kingdom is not misplaced, and that if we are true to ourselves and learn from the British character the self-sacrifice and perseverance which the British so largely possess, we need never despair of obtaining every justice and reform which we may reasonably claim as our birthrights as British citizens. (*cheers.*)

OUR FUTURE WORK.

What then is to be our future work? We have yet to surmount much prejudice, prepossessions, and misapprehension of our true, material and political condition. But our course is clear and straight before us. On the one hand we need not despair or quarrel with those who are against us; we should on the other hand go on steadily, perseveringly and moderately with the representation of our grievances and just rights.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

In connection with the question of our Legislative Councils we have yet very much work before us. Not only are the present rules unsatisfactory even for the fulfilment of the present Act itself as interpreted in the House by Mr. Gladstone, not only have we yet to obtain the full "living representation" of the people of India in these Councils, but also much further extension of their present extremely restricted powers which render the Councils almost a mere name. By the Act of 1861 (19), without the permission of the Governor General no member can introduce any measure (which virtually amounts to exclusion) about matters affecting the public debt or public revenues or for imposing any charge on such revenue, or the discipline and maintenance of any part of Her Majesty's Military or Naval forces. This means that, as far as the spending of our money is concerned, the Legislative Council is simply as if it did not exist at all. (*Cries of "shame, shame."*) No motion can be made by any member unless such motion be for leave to introduce some measure or have reference to some measure actually introduced thereunto. Thus there is no opportunity of calling any Department or Government to account for their acts (sec. 52). All things which shall be done by the Secretary of State shall have the same force and validity as if this Act (1861) had not been passed. Here is full arbitrary power. By the Act (1892, sec. 52) no member shall have power to submit or propose any resolution or to divide the Council in respect of any such financial discussion, or the answer to any question asked under the authority of this Act or the rules made under this Act. Such is the poor character of the extent of concession made to discuss finances or to put questions. Rules made under this Act (1892) shall not be subject to alteration or amendment at meetings for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations. Also (Act 1861, sec. 22) the Secretary of State for India can by an Act of Parliament raise any money in the United Kingdom for the Government of India, and thus pile up any amount of burden on the Indian taxpayer, without his having a word to say upon it. We are to all intents and purposes under an arbitrary rule, and are just only about at the threshold of a true Legislative Council.

THE BUDGET DISCUSSION.

Amongst the most important work of the Councils is the Budget. What is the condition of the Budget debate both here and in England? The House of Commons devotes week after week for supply of the English Budget, when every item of expenditure is discussed or may be altered; and not only that, but the conduct of the department during the year is brought under review, which becomes an important check to any arbitrary, unjust or illegal action. But what is the Indian Budget debate or procedure? Here the Financial Statement is made by the Finance Minister. Then a week

or so after, a few speeches are made to no practical effect, no practical motion or resolution, and the whole thing is over. ("*Shame.*") Somewhat similar is the fate of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, with the advantage of proposing any amendments and, at least, of having one amendment with practical effect of a division or vote. But there is also the important advantage of bringing in any Indian measure or motion in the course of the Session in accordance with the rules and orders of the House like any other measure or motion. I felt thankful that at the last Budget debate, though there was the usual additional agony of the last day of the Session, yet there was not also the agony of scanty attendance, thanks to the increasing interest in the House in Indian matters and to the friends of India. *(applause.)* In both places no practical check on any waste, extravagant or unnecessary expenditure. I am not at present discussing the merits of such Councils and restriction of powers, but that such matters will require your attention and consideration, that even in this one matter of Legislative Councils you have yet to secure Mr. Gladstone's "real living representative voice of the people" being heard upon every detail of the Government of British India. (*Hear, hear.*)

DIRECT INDIAN REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

There is, however, another important matter—I mean the direct representation from India in the Imperial Parliament. (*applause.*) As all our Imperial questions and relations between India and the United Kingdom, all amendments of Parliamentary Acts already passed and existing, or all important Acts that may be and can be only passed hereafter in Parliament, and all our ultimate appeals can be settled in Parliament alone, it is of extreme importance that there should be some reasonable direct representation from India in the House of Commons, and the representatives may be Indians or Europeans as long as they are the choice directly of Indian Constituencies, just as you have delegates to this Congress of Indians or Europeans.

Central Finsbury has been generous to us; other constituencies may also extend to us such generous consideration and help, but it is not fair that we should be left to depend upon the generosity of English Constituencies. (*Hear, hear.*) Under present circumstances we have a right to have direct representation. I hope the time is not very distant when we may successfully appeal to Parliament to grant us the true status of British political citizenship. (*Cheers.*) I do not overlook that several matters will have to be considered, and I am not at present placing before you a cut-and-dry scheme. My only object is to draw your attention to this vital subject.

POVERTY OF INDIA.—WANT OF CALM JUDGMENT AMONG ANGLO-INDIANS.

But the greatest question before you, the question of all questions, is the Poverty of India. (*Hear, hear.*) This will be, I am much afraid, the great future trouble both of the Indian people and of the British Rulers. It is the rock ahead. In this matter we are labouring under one great disadvantage. This poverty we attribute to the system, and not to the officials who administer that system. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) But, unfortunately for us, for themselves and the British people, the officials (with clear-sighted exceptions of course) make the matter personal, and do not consider impartially and with calmness of judgment this all-important subject. The present Duke of Devonshire has well put this state of the official mind, which is peculiarly applicable in connection with this subject. He said: "The Anglo-Indian, whatever may be his merits, and no doubt they are just, is not a person who is distinguished by an exceptionally calm judgment.

Speech, H. of C., 23rd August 1883.

THE PERSONAL VIEW HE TAKES OF THE QUESTION OF POVERTY WARPS HIS JUDGMENT.

Mr. Gladstone also lately, in the Opium debate, remarked :—"That it was a sad thing to say, but unquestionably it happens not infrequently in human affairs, that those

who ought from their situation to know the most and the best, yet from prejudice and prepossessions knew the least and the worst." (*Hear, hear.*)

This has been our misfortune with officials. But there have been and are some thoughtful officials who know the truth, like Lord Lawrence and others in the past, and in the present times like the latest Finance Ministers, Lord Cromer, Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour, who have perceived and stated the terrible truth that British India is extremely poor. Among other officials, several have testified to the sad fact, in "Confidential Reports," which Government do not publish—and this after a hundred years of the work of these officials under the present unnatural system. The system being unnatural, were the officials the very angels themselves, or as many Gladstones, they cannot prevent the evils of the system and cannot do much good. When Mr. Bayley and I moved for a Royal Commission of Inquiry, it was said that I had not produced evidence of poverty. It was not so; but it is difficult to make those see who would not see. (*Laughter and applause.*) To every member of the House I had previously sent my papers of all necessary evidence on the annual income and absolute wants of the people of India. I do not know whether any of those who opposed us had taken the trouble to read this, and it was unfair to expect that in making out a *prima facie* case for our motion, I should reiterate, with the unnecessary waste of some hours of the precious time of the House, all the evidence already in their hands.

RETURNS WANTED.

You remember my papers on the Poverty of India, and I have asked for Returns to bring up information to date, so that a fair comparison of the present with the past may enable the House to come to a correct judgment. I am sorry the Government of India refuses to make a return of a Note prepared so late as 1881 by Sir David Barbour, upon which the then Finance Minister (Lord Cromer) based his statement in his speech in 1882 about the extreme poverty of the mass of the people. I do not see why the Government of India should refuse. The Note, I am told, is an important document. Government for its own sake should be ready to give it. In 1880, the present Duke of Devonshire, then Secretary of State for India, readily gave me some statistics and information prepared by Mr. F. Danvers, though I did not know of their existence. This enabled me to point out some errors and to explain some points which had been misunderstood. Such information is extremely necessary, not merely for the sake of the exceedingly poor masses of the people, but for the very stability of the British power itself.

The question of the Poverty of India should be fully raised, grappled with and settled. The Government ought to deal boldly and broadly with it. Let there be a return in detail, correctly calculated, made every year of the *total* annual income of *all* British India, per head of population, and of the requirements of a labourer to live in working health, and not as a starved beast of burden. Unless such complete and accurate information is given every year in detail, it is idle and useless to make mere unfounded assertions that India is prospering.

THE AVERAGE INCOME OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE MUCH SMALLER THAN RS. 27.

It must also be remembered that Lord Cromer's annual average of not more than Rs. 27 per head is for the whole population, including the rich and all classes, and not what the great mass of the population can or do actually get. Out of the total annual income of British India all that portion must be deducted which belongs to European Planters, Manufacturers and Mineowners, and not to the people of British India, excepting the poor wages they receive, to drudge to give away their own country's wealth, to the benefit of a foreign people. Another portion is enjoyed in and carried out from the

country on a far larger share per head by many who are not the children of the soil—official and non-official. Then the upper and middle classes of the Indians themselves receive much more than their average share. The great mass of the poor people therefore have a much lower average than even the wretched "not more than Rs. 27" per head.

MY CALCULATION.

You know that I had calculated the average of the income as being Rs. 20 per head per annum, and when Lord Cromer's statement of Rs. 27 appeared, I requested him to give me his calculations but he refused. However, Rs. 20 or "not more than Rs. 27"—how wretched is the condition of a country of such income, after a hundred years of the most costly administration, and can such a thing last? (*cries of "no, no".*)

SIR JOHN SHORE'S PREDICTION IN 1787.

It is remarkable that there is no phase of the Indian problem which clear-headed and fair-minded Anglo-Indians have not already seen and indicated. More than a hundred years ago, in 1787, Sir John Shore wrote these remarkable, far-seeing, and prophetic words :—

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

(Parl. Ret. 377 of 1812.)

PREDICTION CONFIRMED BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN 1886 AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

And these words of prophecy are true to the present day. I pass over what has been said by other European Officials at different times during the hundred years. I come to 1886, and here is a curious and complete response after a hundred years by the Secretary of State for India. In a despatch (26th January, 1886) to the Treasury, he makes a significant admission about the consequences of the character of the Government of the foreign rule of Britain. He says :—

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

What a strange confirmation, fulfilment and explanation of the very reason of the prophecy of a hundred years ago, and admission *now* that because the character of the present government is such that "*it is in the hands of the foreigners who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army,*" the consequence of it is a "*political danger,*" the real magnitude of which is "*of the most serious order.*"

Need I, after this declaration even, despair that some of our Anglo-Indian friends would not take a lesson from the Secretary of State and understand the evil of the system under which India is suffering? Have I ever said anything clearer or stronger than

this despatch has done? It gives my whole fear of the future perils to the people of India, and political danger to the British Power, in a nutshell. This shows that some of our Anglo-Indian authorities have not been, nor are, so dull and blind as not to have seen before or see now the whole peril of the position, and the unnatural and suicidal system of administration.

FIGURES QUOTED WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING THEM, AND INCORRECT CALCULATIONS OF AVERAGES.

Yes, figures are quoted by some of what they call "increase of trade," "balance of trade in favour of India," "increase of industry," "hoarding of treasure in British India," etc., etc.; but our misfortune is that these people, with bias and prejudices and prepossessions, and apparently having not very clear ideas of the principles, processes, and details of commercial and banking operations and transactions, and of the perturbations of what Sir John Shore called "the evils of a distant foreign dominion," are not able to understand and read aright these facts and figures of the commercial and economic conditions of British India. These people do not realise or seem to understand that what are called "the trade returns of British India" are misleading, and are *not* the trade returns of *British India*. A good portion of both the imports and exports of both merchandise and treasure belong to the Native States and to countries beyond the borders, and not to British India. A separate return must be made of the imports and exports of the non-British territories, so that a correct account of the true trade of British India may be given by itself—and then there should be some statement of the exports which are not trade exports at all, but only political and private European remittances; and then only will it be seen how wretched this British Indian true trade is, and how fallacious and misleading the present returns are. A return is made every year called "The Material and Moral Progress of India." But that part regarding "Material Progress" to which I am confining my observations is very imperfect and misleading. As I have already said, nothing short of a return every year of the average annual income per head of population of British India, and of the absolute necessaries of life for a healthy labourer, in detailed calculation can give any correct idea of the progress or otherwise of the material condition of the people of British India. I ask for "detailed calculation" in the returns, because some of the officials seem to have rather vague notions of the Arithmetic of Averages, and though the foundation figures may be correct, they bring out results far from truth. I have pointed out this with instances in my papers. I have communicated with the Secretary of State for India, and he has communicated with the Governments in India. But I do not know how far this correction has been attended to by those who calculate averages.

A NATURAL SYSTEM WOULD BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES.

What is grievous is that the present unnatural system, as predicted by Sir John Shore, is destructive to us, with a partial benefit to the United Kingdom with our curse upon it. But were a natural system to prevail, the commercial and industrial benefits aided by perfect free trade that exists between India and the United Kingdom, will be to both countries of an extent of which we can at present form no conception. Englishmen

HANKER AFTER NEW MARKETS.

But here is an inexhaustible market of 221,000,000 of their own civilized fellow-citizens with some 66,000,000 more of the people of the Native States, and what a great trade would arise with such an enormous market, and the United Kingdom would not for a long time hear any thing about her "unemployed." It is only some people of the United Kingdom of the higher classes that at present draw all the benefit from India. The great mass of the people do not derive that benefit from the connection with India which

they ought to get with benefit to both countries. On the other hand, it is with the Native States that there is some comparatively decent trade. With British India, as compared with its population, the trade of the United Kingdom is wretched indeed after a century of a very costly administration paid for by the poverty-stricken ryots.

BETTER TO TRADE WITH THAN HOLD PEOPLE AS SLAVES.

Truly has Macaulay said emphatically: "To trade with civilised man is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages; that would indeed be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency which would keep a hundred millions (now really 221,000,000) of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves." Should this doting wisdom continue?

MY VIEWS ON POVERTY RIDICULED AT FIRST.

It is impossible for me to explain in this address all the misapprehensions. I have already explained my views as fully as possible in my papers. These views were at first ridiculed and pooh-poohed till the highest financial authorities, the latest Finance Ministers themselves, admitted the extreme poverty of India. Lord Cromer summed up the situation in these remarkable words in 1882: "It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year." "In England the average income per year per head of population was £33; in France it was £23; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £4 a head." Comment is unnecessary. Let us and the Government

NOT LIVE IN A FOOL'S PARADISE.

Or time may bring disasters to both when it is too late to stop them. This poverty is the greatest danger both to us and the rulers. In what shapes and varieties of forms the disease of poverty may attack the body-politic, and bring out and aggravate other evils, it is difficult to tell or foresee, but that there is danger of "most serious order," as the Secretary of State declares, nobody can deny.

BRITAIN MAY DEFY HALF A DOZEN RUSSIAS.

Were the people of British India allowed to enjoy the fruits of their own labour and resources, and were fair relations established between the British and Indian peoples, with India contented and prosperous, Britain may defy half a dozen Russias. *(Loud cheers.)* Indians will then fight to the last man and to the last rupee for their share, as patriots and not as mercenaries. The rulers will have only to stamp their foot, and millions will spring up to defend the British power and their own hearths and homes. *(Renewed Cheering.)*

THE DESIRE OF THE CONGRESS TO SUPPORT GOVERNMENT.

We, the Congress, are only desirous of supporting Government, and having this important matter of poverty grappled with and settled, we are anxious to prevent "the Political danger" of the "most serious order," declared to exist by the Secretary of State himself. We desire that the British connection should endure for a long time to come for the sake of our material and political elevation among the civilised nations of the world. It is no pleasure or profit to us to complain unnecessarily or wantonly about this poverty.

NOT ENEMIES OF BRITISH RULE.

Were we enemies of British rule, our best course would be, not to cry out, but remain silent, and let the mischief take its course till it ends in disaster as it must. But we do not want that disaster, and we therefore cry out, both for our own sake and for the sake of the rulers. *This evil of poverty must be boldly faced and remedied.*

First Day.

The President's Inangural Address.

This is the question to which we shall have to devote our best energies. We have, no doubt, to contend against many difficulties, but they must be surmounted for everybody's sake.

THE UNITED KINGDOM SHOULD SHARE IN THE EXPENDITURE OF THE EUROPEAN SERVICES.

The next subject to which I desire to draw your attention is this. We have a large costly European Army and European Civil Services. It is not to be supposed that in these remarks I accept the necessity for them. I take at present the situation as it is. I now submit to the calm consideration of the British people and Government these questions. Is all this European service entirely for the sole benefit of India? Has the United Kingdom no interest or benefit in it? Does not the greatness of, and the greatest benefit to, the United Kingdom arise from its connection with India? Should not the cost of such greatness and great benefits be shared by the United Kingdom in proportion of its means and benefit? Are not these European services especially imposed upon us on the clearly admitted and declared ground of maintaining the British power? Let us see what our rulers themselves say.

Lord Beaconsfield said:—

"We had to decide what was the best step to counteract the efforts Russia was then making, for though war had not been declared, her movements had commenced in Central Asia, and the struggle has commenced which was to decide for ever which power should possess the great gates of India, and that the real question at issue was whether England should possess the gates of her own great Empire in India, and whether the time had not arrived when we could no longer delay that the problem should be solved and in a manner as it has been solved by Her Majesty's Government."

Hansard, Vol. 250, p. 1094. 25th February, 1880

Again he says:—

"We resolved that the time has come when this country should acquire the complete command and possession of the gates of the Indian Empire. Let me at least believe that the Peers of England are still determined to uphold not only the Empire but the honour of this country."

Can any words be more emphatic to show the vast and most vital stakes, honour and interests of the United Kingdom?

Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, tells us:—

"We are resolutely determined to maintain our supremacy over our Indian Empire . . . . that among other things," he says, "that supremacy rests upon the maintenance of our European Civil Service," that "we rest also upon the magnificent European Force which we maintain in that country."

Times, 13th June, 1893. Mans'n House Dinner to Lord Roberts.

This again is another emphatic declaration of the vast stakes and interest of the United Kingdom for which the European Services are maintained entirely at our expense.

I shall give one more authority only:—

See what a man like Lord Roberts, the symbol of physical force admits. He says to the London Chamber of Commerce: "I rejoice to learn that you recognise how indissolubly the prosperity of the United Kingdom is bound up with the retention of that vast Eastern Empire," and again he says at Glasgow: "That the retention of our Eastern Empire is essential to the greatness and prosperity of the United Kingdom." Now, I ask again, that with all such deep, vast and great interests, and the greatness

Times, 25 May, 1893. Dinner by the London Chamber of Commerce.

Times, 29th July, 1893.

and prosperity of the United Kingdom, essentially depending on the Eastern Empire, and indissolubly bound up with it, is it reasonable, is it just and fair, is it British that *all* the cost of such greatness, glory, and prosperity of the United Kingdom should be entirely, to the last farthing, thrown upon the wretched Indians, as if the only relations existing between the United Kingdom and India were not of mutual benefit, but of mere masters and slaves as Macaulay pointed out to be deprecated. (*Applause and cries of "no, no".*)

THE PRESENT NAVY REQUIRED FOR THE VERY EXISTENCE OF BRITAIN.

As for the navy, the *Times* regards and it is generally admitted that the very existence of Britain itself depends upon the command of the sea. The *Times* says: "They will never forgive the Minister or the Ministry that leaves them weaker at sea than any possible combination of France and another power."

By a telegram I read at Aden I found Mr. Gladstone "re-affirmed the necessity of British supremacy."

For any war vessels that may be stationed in India for the protection of the interests of both, the expenditure may be fairly shared.

RELATIONS WITH IRELAND COMPARED.

In the Bill for the better Government of Ireland there are provisions by which Ireland is required to pay a certain share of the Imperial expenditure according to its means, and when necessary to pay a similar share of any extraordinary expenditure, Ireland having all its resources at its own command. Now see how vastly different is our position. Not only will Ireland have all her internal services, Irish or under Irish rules, causing no foreign drain from her, but she will also, as she has always enjoyed, continue to enjoy her share in all the gain and glory of the British Empire. Irishmen can be Viceroys, Governors, and have any of the appointments in the military or civil services of the Empire, with the additional advantage of a large number of members in Parliament. The Indians, on the other hand, have not only no such share at all in the gains and glory of the British Empire, but are excluded even from the Services of their own country, with the consequences of an exhausting foreign drain, of the deplorable evils foretold by Sir John Shore and subjected to the imposition of every farthing of the expenditure. Nor has India any votes in Parliament. And we have now the additional misfortune that the British Cabinet, since the transfer to the Crown, is no longer the independent tribunal to judge between us and the Indian authorities, and this adds heavily to our difficulties for obtaining justice and redress, except so far as the sense of justice of the non-official members of the Parliament helps us.

MISAPPREHENSION ABOUT THE BURDEN OF EXPENDITURE—UNITED KINGDOM HAS SPENT NOTHING.

There is a strange general misapprehension among the people of the United Kingdom. They do not seem to know that they have not spent a single shilling either in the formation of the British Indian Empire or in its maintenance, and that, as far as I know, every farthing is taken from the Indians, with the only exception in my knowledge that Mr. Gladstone with his sense of justice allowed £5,000,000 towards the last Afghan War, which, without having any voice in it, cost India £21,000,000. (*Loud cries of "Shame."*) I cannot blame the people of the United Kingdom generally for this mistake, when even well-informed papers give utterances to this most unfortunate fallacy. As for instance a paper like the *Statist*, in the extract which my friend Mr. Dinshaw. E. Wacha gave you last year, says: "Whatever may happen, we must defend India to our last shilling and

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our last man," while the fact is that they have not spent even their first shilling or any shilling at all, (*Laughter.*) but on the contrary derived benefits in various ways from India of millions on millions every year. ("*Shame*".) Nor have the fighters in creating and maintaining the British Indian Empire been only the British soldier to "the last man." Indian soldiers have done the main work, and if India can be made prosperous and contented as it can be by true statesmanship, the Indian soldier will be ready to fight to "the last man" to defend British power. (*Loud cheers.*)

Britain in fact cannot send to India "to its last man." The very idea is absurd; on the contrary she can draw from India for her European purpose an inexhaustible strength.

Again, the *Statist* says :—" We are at this moment spending large sums of money in preparing against a Russian attack." Not a farthing of the British money? Every farthing of these "large sums," and which are crushing us, is "imposed" upon the people of British India. Such misleading statements are often made in the English press to our great injury. ("*Shame.*")

APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND PARLIAMENT FOR JUST RELATIONS.

I repeat, then, that we must submit to the just consideration of the British people and parliament whether it is just and right that they should not pay a fair share, according to their stakes and means, towards all such expenditure as is incurred for the benefit of both India and the United Kingdom, such expenditure, and the respective share of each, being settled on a peace footing, any extraordinary expenditure against any foreign invasion being also further fairly shared.

WEAKNESS FROM EUROPEAN SERVICES.

Before closing this subject, I may just remark that while leaving necessarily the highest offices of power and control, such as Viceroys and Governors to Europeans, I regard the enormous European Services as a great political and imperial weakness, in critical political times to the British power, as well as the cause, as the present Duke of Devonshire pointed out, of the insufficiency of an efficient administration of the country; and also the main cause of the evils feretold by Sir John Shore, and admitted by the Secretary of State for India, after a hundred years, as a political danger of "a most serious order"; and of the poverty of India.

ADMITTED UNFAIRNESS OF SOME HOME CHARGES.

I would not say much upon the next subject, as you have had only lately the highest testimonies of two Viceroys and three Secretaries of State for India—of Lord Northbrook and Lord Ripon, and of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cross, and Lord Kimberley. You remember the debate raised by Lord Northbrook in the House of Lords a few months ago that the Home Military Charges were unfair and unjust, and all the authorities I have named endorsed the complaint. But even the heads of the Indian authorities are so much in terror of the Treasury that Lord Kimberley said :—"The India Office has no particular desire that the question should be re-opened and discussed anew, for bitter experience has taught the department that the re-opening of a question of this kind generally results in the imposition of additional charges." Is this one other disadvantage of the transfer to the Crown? Lord Kimberley hit the nail on the head why India was so unfairly treated (and the same may be applied to such other treatment of India by the Indian authorities themselves) when he said :—"The reasons why proposals that must throw fresh burdens on the Government of India are so frequently made in the House of Commons is that those who make them know that their own pockets will not

suffer in the desire to make things agreeable and comfortable. *(Laughter.)* The taxpayers of the country exercise no check upon such proposals, and the consequence is that charges are sometimes imposed upon the Government of India which that Government thinks unjust and unnecessary." It must be borne in mind that charges "imposed on the Government of India" means the suffering party is the poor tax-payer of India.

The Duke of Argyll characterises these charges as "unjust and illegal tribute to England." But mark the words of Lord Cross :—"I am certain that in the course of a few years the Indian people will force us to do them justice." This is just the feature "to be forced to do justice" which I always deplore. We desire that all necessary reforms and acts of justice should be spontaneous on the part of Britain, in good grace and in good time as gifts claiming our gratitude, and not to wait till "*forced*," with loss of grace from the giver and the loss of gratitude from the receiver. *(Hear, hear.)*

I offer my thanks to Lord Northbrook and other Lords for that debate, though yet barren of any result. But we may fairly hope that such debate must sooner or later produce good results. It is like a good seed sown and will fructify.

SOME SMALLER ITEMS OF COMPLAINT.

Here are some smaller items: The cost of the India Office Building of about half a million, of the Royal Engineering College of £134,000, and of other buildings is all cast on India. The cost of the Colonial Office Building, £100,000, is paid from the British Exchequer. The India Office Establishment, etc., about £230,000 a year, is all imposed on India, while the £41000 of the Colonial Office and £168,000 for Colonial Services are paid from the British Exchequer. The Public Debt of India (excluding Railway and Productive Works) is incurred in creating and preserving the British power, but all our cries to give us at least the benefit of a British guarantee have been in vain, with the curious suicidal effort of showing to the world that the British Government itself has no confidence in the stability of its own power in India. *(Hear, hear.)*

INCREASE OF BURDENS ALREADY TOO MUCH IN 1870.

In 1870 Mr. Gladstone declared India to be "too much burdened," when the Annual Expenditure was £39,000,000; and what expression can be used now when, with an extremely poor income, the burden now is nearly 75 per cent. heavier, or Rx 68,000,000 this year.

OTHER SUBJECTS OF THE CONGRESS.

Passing on to other subjects, I hope the separation of Executive and Judicial functions will receive attention as its necessity has been recognised. We have to persevere for this as well as for other parts of our programme, bearing in mind one great difficulty we have to contend with. Unfortunately the Indian authorities when they determine to do or not to do a thing under the notion of preserving prestige and strength, as if any false prestige can be a strength, disregard even Resolutions or Acts of Parliament itself, and resort to every device to carry their own point or view. *(Loud cries of "Shame.")* We cannot expect Parliament to watch Indian affairs from day to day, and therein lies the impunity and immunity of the Indian Administration.

THE STATUTORY SERVICE.

I shall refer to only two instances: First, the case of the misleadingly called "The Statutory Service," and what in reality was created out of, and as a part and parcel of, the Covenanted Civil Service. I can speak with some authority, for I was the very proposer of the Memorial of the East India Association to Sir Stafford Northcote which resulted in the Clause of the Act of 1870. But the Indian authorities would not have it.

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They moved heaven and earth to thwart it; it is a long and a sad story for the good name of Britain, and they never rested till they made the Statute a dead letter, though it still stands on the Statute Book of the Imperial Parliament. ("*Shame.*") However, I hearwith pleasure, and I hope it is true, that a disposition has arisen, for which I understand Lord Kimberley is to be thanked, to redress this glaring and unfortunate wrong—unfortunate for British prestige, for British honour and British good faith, and I do hope that the Government would do this redress ungrudgingly, with good grace, completeness and generosity. This instance illustrates another unfortunate phase of the Administration.

CONTRAST OF THE FOREST SERVICE FOR EUROPEANS.

The Forest Department is recruited by examinations in England and by selection in India. Such selection is not based upon a Resolution or Act of Parliament, but upon the will of the authorities and consisting of Europeans. The Government of India in Resolution No. 18 F, of 29th July, 1891, have described them as untrained and uncovenanted officers, who have been unconditionally appointed in past years, and yet they are ordered in the regular Indian Forest Service; while those Native Civilians, created and backed by an Act of Parliament, as distinctly belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service, are excluded from that Civil Service to which the Act distinctly appointed them. Can such difference of treatment of Europeans and Indians preserve British prestige for honour and justice, and would it increase or diminish the existing attachment of the Indians to British rule?

THE CANTONMENT ACT.

The second instance was the practical disregard of the Resolution of the House of Commons about the State regulation of vice. But in this case there were vigilant watchers like Mrs. Butler, Mr. Stansfeld, M. P., Mr. Stuart, M. P., and others, and they did not allow the Resolution to become a dead letter. In this case also I am glad to find that the Indian authorities now mean to give loyal effect to the Resolution, and well may they do so, for the sake of the British good name, fame, and prestige for morality of every kind upon which mainly British strength and influence rest.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

On the Currency Question I need not dwell much. My views are known to you. Now that the Sherman Law is repealed by the United States, we may hope to see a settled condition in time. No amount of currency jugglery or devices in this country could have any influence (except that of creating troubles in the country itself, as has happened) on the loss in the remittances to England for Home Charges, which must be paid in gold, and will fluctuate with the rise or fall of gold in the United Kingdom. As if this crushing loss was not enough for the wretched taxpayers, further burdens were laid to make things agreeable and comfortable with other people's money, as Lord Kimberley would say, of high exchange to the European officials, and the further most unwarranted payment of £138,000 to the banks, with whose transactions in profits or loss the taxpayer has no connection whatever. ("*Shame, shame.*") Some strange precedents are made in this matter to silence opposition and to support banks at the expense of the taxpayers, which will lead to serious troubles in the future. Should not the millowners and other concerns also claim compensation for the dislocation of their industry or transactions by the currency action of the Government, as Government itself admits to have caused such dislocation? Would the British Exchequer have paid any such money to the British banks? Such a thing would never have been thought of. The utmost that is done in any crisis is allowing the Bank of England to issue more notes under strong restrictions. Had the banks made profits instead of loss, would they have handed them to the taxpayer? Then it would have been called the reward of shrewdness, foresight, enterprise, etc., etc.

The whole currency troubles from which India is suffering, and which are so peculiar to India and so deplorable to the Indian taxpayer, and from which no other silver-using country suffers, is one of the best illustrations and object lessons, and proof of the soundness of Sir John Shore's prophecy about the evil consequences of the present unnatural system of a remote foreign dominion, or as the Secretary of State called the danger of "a most serious order."

ADDITIONAL TAXATION.

The currency muddle will necessitate new taxation. The usual easy and unchecked resource of putting off the evil day by borrowing is already resorted to, and in the spirit of keeping things agreeable and comfortable to those who have votes in Parliament, there is danger of increase in the salt tax. I do hope that Government will have some moral courage and some mercy upon the wretched taxpayer, and reduce even the salt tax by reimposing the cotton duties. Not that by this means India will be saved a pie from the addition of burdens, but that a little better able shoulders will have to bear them, or, as Lord Salisbury once coolly put it, that as India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where there was at least sufficient blood, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it.

THE RELATIONS WITH NATIVE STATES.

Another subject of our future work to which I need only touch now is the relations of the Government with the Native States. There is much unnecessary irritation and dissatisfaction where there ought to be the pleasantest harmony with much greater devoted loyalty than what even now really exists. And it is also a great mistake for a foreign power not to draw the military capacity and spirit of the country to their own side by giving it a fair career and interest in their own service. Make the military races feel it to their advantage and interest to be loyal to the British rule instead of keeping them alienated from the Government.

RESOLUTIONS TO BE DISCUSSED WITH MODERATION.

I need not say more upon our future work, as various Resolutions of importance will be placed before you for your consideration, and I am sure you will deliberate with that moderation and fairness for which you have already distinguished yourselves and acquired just credit, and for which I offer you my hearty congratulations. You recognise, I have no doubt, that at every turn you have yet serious questions to grapple with and much work to do

GOOD FEELING AMONG ALL MY COUNTRYMEN.

Anyone who has watched my public career must have seen that my main underlying principle and the desire of my heart is to promote, as far as I can, good fellow-feeling among all my countrymen. (*Loud applause.*) And I have no doubt that all the educated and thinking men and all true friends of our own country will continue to do all that lies in their power to bring about stronger and stronger friendly ties of common nationality, fellow-feeling, and due deference to each other's views and feelings amongst the whole people of our country.

Government must be firm and just in case of any unfortunate differences; as far as Government are concerned, their duty is clearly to put down with a strong hand any lawlessness or disturbance of the peace, no matter who the parties concerned may be. They can only stand, as they ought, on the only sure and right foundation of even-handed justice to all, and cannot allow anyone to take the law into his own hands; the only wise policy is to adhere to their declared policy of strict neutrality and equal protection and justice to all creeds. (*Hear, hear.*)

CORDIAL CONFERENCES BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS.

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I was much pleased to read in the papers that cordial conferences had been held between Muhammadans and Hindus in various places to devise means to prevent any deplorable occurrences happening in the future.

CORDIAL NATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES.

Looking back to the past as my own personal experience of my life, and as far back as I know of earlier days, at least on my side of India, I feel a congratulation that all associations and societies of members of all creeds have worked together in harmony and union, without any consideration of class or creed in all matters concerning our common national public and political interests. No doubt, latterly, even in such common matters, differences of views have arisen and will arise, but such differences of views, when genuine, are healthy, just as is the case in the United Kingdom itself with its two political parties. (*Hear, hear.*)

THE HARMONY IN THE CONGRESS.

What makes me still more gratified and look forward hopefully in the future is that our Congress has not only worked so far in the union and concord of all classes and creeds, but has taken care to provide that such harmony should continue in the future. As early as in the Congress at Allahabad of 1888 you passed this Resolution (XIII):—

> "That no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subject Commitee, or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Muhammadan 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 Muhammadan 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."

As I have already said, the highest wish of my heart is that all the people of India should regard and treat each other as fellow-countrymen, with fellow-feeling for the good of all. (*Applause.*)

INTERESTS OF ALL INDIANS ARE IDENTICAL.

We may, I am convinced, rest fully assured that whatever political or national benefit we may acquire will in one or other way benefit all classes, (*Hear, hear.*) the benefit of each taking various forms. The interests of us all are the same. We are all in the same boat. We must sink or swim together. Government cannot but treat us all alike. It is unreasonable for us to expect from them, and unjust and unwise for them to show, any undue favour to any particular class or community. The only solid foundation for them is justice and impartiality, and the only just demand from us also can only be justice and impartiality. (*Loud applause.*)

PROSPEROUS COUNTRY IS GOOD FOR ALL.

If the country is prosperous, then if one gets scope in one walk of life, another will have in another walk of life. As our Indian saying goes: "If there is water in the well it will come to the cistern." If we have the well of prosperity we shall be able to draw each our share from it. But if the well is dry we must all go without any at all.

MORAL FORCE THE TRUE BASIS OF BRITISH STRENGTH IN INDIA.

A word for the basis upon which the strength of British power stands. Britain can hold India, or any one country can hold another, by moral force only. You can build up an empire by arms or ephemeral brute physical force, but you can preserve it by the eternal moral forces only. Brute force will, some time or other, break down; righteousness alone is everlasting. (*Cheers*). Well and truly has Lord Ripon said "that the British power and influence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon the valour of our soldiers or the reputation of our arms." (*Applause.*) Mr. Gladstone says: "It is the predominance of that moral force for which I heartily pray in the deliberations of this House and the conduct of our whole public policy, for I am convinced that upon that predominance depends that which should be the first object of all our desires, as it is of all our daily official prayers, namely, that union of heart and sentiment which constitutes the truest basis of strength at home, and therefore both of strength and good fame throughout the civilised world." (*Applause.*)

Debates, 9th August, 1892, p. 1892.

And here is a remarkable instance cited by Mr. Gladstone of a people of a different race becoming attached even to the much despised Turkish rule. How much more will the people of India, if contented and prosperous, become attached to the rule of such a people as the British? Referring to Lebanon, Mr. Gladstone said: "Owing to the wise efforts of Lord Dufferin and others about thirty years ago local management was established, since which the province has become contented and attached to the Turkish empire."

Lord Roberts, the apostle of British strong arm to maintain British power, and though much imbued with many of the prejudices against the progress of the Indians, as a true soldier admits without hesitation what he considers as the only solid foundation upon which British strength must for ever rest. He says: "But however efficient and well equipped the army of India may be, were it indeed absolute perfection and were its numbers considerably more than they are at present, our greatest strength must ever rest on the firm base of a united and contented India."

Truer and more statesmanlike words could not be uttered. Permit me to give one more extract. Mr. Gladstone, referring to Irish Home Rule, said: "There can be no nobler spectacle than that which we think is now drawing upon us, the spectacle of a nation deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break, not through terror and not in haste, but under the sole influence of duty and honour, determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an evil tradition, and determined in that way at once to pay a debt of justice and to consult by a bold, wise, and good act its own interests and its own honour."

Am I at all unreasonable in hoping that such noble statesmanship, honour, and good faith of the British people will, in fulness of time, also extend to India similar justice? I shall hope as long as I live.

INDIANS ABOVE EVERYTHING.

Let us always remember that we are all children of our mother country. Indeed, I have never worked in any other spirit than that I am an Indian, (*cheers.*) and owe duty to my country and all any countrymen. Whether I am a Hindu, a Muhammadan, a Parsi, a Christian, or any other creed, I am above all an Indian. Our country is India; our nationality is Indian. (*Loud cheers.*)

OUR DUTY.

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The question for us, especially a body like this, who have received the blessings of education, is: How are we to perform our duty to our country? Certainly no one requires to be taught that no great cause or object can ever be accomplished without great sacrifices—personal and pecuniary. We can never succeed with the British people by mere declamations. We must show that we believe in the justice of our cause by our earnestness and self-sacrifice. (*Hear, hear.*)

SELF-SACRIFICE—EXAMPLE OF BRITISH PEOPLE.

I desire now to impress upon my countrymen with all the earnestness I am capable of to prepare themselves for sacrifices. We observe every day what sacrifices the British people make for attaining any object, great or small, and how persistently they stick to it; and among the lessons which we are learning from them let us learn this particular one, with the double advantage and effect of showing that Indians have public spirit and love of their country, and also proving that they are earnest in what they are asking. (*applause.*)

WORK WILL GO ON INCREASING—NECESSITY OF PERFECT ORGANISATION.

Our work for the amelioration of our country and for obtaining all the rights and benefits of British citizenship will go on increasing, and it is absolutely necessary that our organisation, both here and in the United Kingdom, should be much improved and made complete. Without good organisation no important work can be successfully done; and that means much pecuniary and personal sacrifice. We must remember the Congress meets once a year. The general secretaries and the Standing Committees have to carry out the details and inform the circles of the work and resolutions of the Congress.

THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES WILL DO THEIR PROVINCIAL WORK.

But the most important and national work formulated by the Congress has to be done with watchfulness, day after day, in London by your British Committee. (*cheers.*) And, further, by your Resolution XII. of the seventh Session, you "urged them (the Committee) to widen henceforth

"THE SPHERE OF THEIR USEFULNESS

by interesting themselves not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress, but in all Indian matters submitted to them and properly vouched for in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved," (*Renewed cheering.*)

Fancy what this means. Why, it is another India Office! You have put all India's every-day work upon the shoulders of the Committee. It becomes exceedingly necessary for efficient and good work to have some paid person or persons to devote time to study the merits of all the representations which pour in with every mail, or by telegrams, before any action can be taken on them. It is in the United Kingdom that all our great fights are to be fought, all our national and imperial questions are to be settled, and it is to our British Committee in London that we have to look for the performance of all this responsible and arduous work, with the unfortunate feature that we have to contend against many adverse influences, prepossessions and misunderstandings. We have to make the British people unlearn a good deal.

MANY BRITISH FRIENDS AND ANGLO-INDIANS WILLING TO WORK.

On the other hand, we have this hopeful feature also—that we have not only many British friends, but also Anglo-Indians, who, in the true spirit of justice and of the

gratitude to the country to which they owe their past career and future provision, appreciate the duty they owe to India, and are desirous to help us, and to preserve the British Empire by the only certain means of justice, the honour and righteousness of the British people, and by the contentment and prosperity of India.

THE FRIENDS WHO ARE NOW WORKING.

You know well how much we owe to the present English members of our Committee, Sir William Wedderburn, (*Three cheers for Sir William Wedderburn.*) Mr. Hume, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Adam, Mr. Schwann, M. P., and Mr. McLaren, M. P. If we want all such help at the fountain head of power and without which we cannot do much good, we must take care to supply them always, promptly and accurately, all necessary sinews of war. (*Hear, hear and applause.*)

"INDIA."

Then there is the journal "INDIA," without which our work will not be half as efficient as with it. It is an absolute necessity as an instrument and part of the organisation. Every possible effort must be made to give it the widest circulation possible both here and in the United Kingdom. I wish it could be made weekly instead of monthly.

With proper effort ten thousand copies should be easily disposed of here as a beginning, and we *must* do this.

MY THANKS.

This is the first opportunity I have of meeting you after the Congress of 1886, over which I had the honour to preside at Calcutta. Let me now thank you personally for your constant remembrance of me, for your unceasing encouragement, and for your two most kind and gratifying Resolutions passed at the last two Sessions as representatives of every class and creed, and almost wholly consisting of Hindu and Muhammadan delegates, and each delegate being elected by and representative of the whole mixed community of the place he represents, on the basis of common interest and nationality. I must beg your indulgence to record those Resolutions in this address. The first Resolution (XIV) passed by the Seventh Congress in 1891, while I was a candidate, is this :—

"Resolved, that this Congress hereby puts formally on record its high esteem 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, and it expresses its unshaken confidence in him, and its earnest hope that he may prove successful at the coming election, 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."

I need not say how right earnestly Central Finsbury listened to your appeal and fulfilled your hope, for which we owe them our most unstinted thanks, and to all those who helped in or out of Central Finsbury. (*Loud applause.*)

I may here once more express my hearty thanks to many ladies and gentlemen who worked hard for my election. After I was elected, you passed the second Resolution (XVI.) in the last Session. I may point here to the significant incident that in that Congress there was, I think, only one Parsi delegate, and he even not the delegate of Parsis, but of all classes of the people. This Resolution was :—

"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 esteem 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."

Let me also now take this opportunity, on Indian soil, to tender my most heartfelt thanks for the telegrams, letters, and addresses of congratulation which I received from all parts and classes of India—literally I may say from the prince to the peasant, from members of all creeds, from Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Parsis, from Ceylon, from the High Priest of Budhists, and Budhists, and other residents from the Cape, British Guiana, Australia, and in short from every part of the British Empire where there were Indian residents. Ladies and Gentlemen, put aside my personality and let me join in your rejoicings as an Indian in the great event in Indian annals of an Indian finding his way in the Imperial Parliament. (*Loud and Prolonged Cheering.*)

And lastly, beginning from the distant Western Gate of India, where the Indian residents of Aden, of all creeds, gave me a most hearty reception; then the great portal of India, the dear old City of my birth, gave me a most magnificent welcome with its never-ceasing kindness towards me, Poona doing her best to vie with Bombay, and through Punjab so splendidly; and this series of welcome now ending in your extra-ordinary one which I am utterly unable to describe. Is there any reward more grand and more gratifying than the esteem, the joy with my joy, the sorrow with my sorrow, and above all the "unshaken confidence" of my fellow-countrymen and country-women of our grand, old, beloved country.

CONGRATULATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I may refer to an incident which, as it is satisfactory, is also very significant of the real desire of the British people to do justice to India. The congratulations on my election from all parts of the United Kingdom also were as hearty and warm as we could desire, and expressing satisfaction that an Indian would be able to voice the wants and aspirations of India in the House of Commons.

I can assure the Congress that, as I hope and wish, if you will pay an early visit to the United Kingdom and hold a Session there, you will obtain a kind and warm reception from its peoples. And you will, by such direct and personal appeal to the British Nation, accomplish a vast amount of good. (*Hear, hear.*)

OUR FATE AND OUR FUTURE.

Our fate and our future are in our own hands. If we are true to ourselves and to our country and make all the necessary sacrifices for our elevation and amelioration, I, for one have not the shadow of a doubt that in dealing with such justice-loving, fair-minded people as the British, we may rest fully assured that we shall not work in vain. It is this conviction which has supported me against all difficulties. I have never faltered in my faith in the British character and have always believed that the time will come when the sentiments of the British Nation and our Gracious Sovereign proclaimed to us in our Great Charter of the Proclamation of 1858 will be realised, (*applause*) viz., "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our best reward." And let us join in the prayer that followed this hopeful declaration of our Sovereign: "May the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

First Day.

The President's Inaugural Address.

My last prayer and exhortation to the Congress and to all my countrymen is—Go on united and earnest, in concord and harmony, with moderation, with loyalty to the British rule and patriotism towards our country, and success is sure to attend our efforts for our just demands, and the day I hope is not distant when the World will see the noblest spectacle of a great nation like the British holding out the hand of true fellow-citizenship and of justice to the vast mass of humanity of this great and ancient land of India with benefits and blessings to the human race. (*Loud and Prolonged Cheering.*)

Syed Nazir Hussain Nazim, Persian Poet, (*Lahore, No. 268, in list*) read an Urdu poem specially composed in honour of the occasion. The poet was applauded several times while reading the poem.

Election of a Subjects Committee.

The President: The next business I have to do, is to call upon you to appoint your Subjets Committee.'

Mr. Hume, (*Calcutta, No. 1, in list*): It is my duty to read out the names of the gentlemen proposed, but as I have been suffering from inflamation of the lungs I must ask Mr. Mudholkar to perform that duty.

The following are the names of the Delegates proposed to serve on the Subjects Committee:—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE. (Includes the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Orissa, Assam, Sylhet, and Cachar.)	1	The Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerji	...	No. 8,	(Calcutta.)
	2	Kali Charan Banerji, Esq.	...	„ 10,	do.
	3	J. Ghosal, Esq.	...	„ 5,	do.
	4	Rev. C. N. Banerji	...	„ 11,	do.
	5	Dr. Jagadish Chandra Lahiri.		„ 9,	do.
	6	Pundit Kali Prasanna Kavya-bisharad	...	„ 12,	do.
	7	Dr. Mohini Mohun Bose	...	„ 6,	do.
	8	Babu Benode Behary Bose	...	„ 4,	do.
	9	Rai Jotindra Nath Chaudhury.		„ 7,	do.
	10	Babu Upendra Nath Sen	...	„ 13,	do.
	11	„ Prafulla Chandra Ghose.		„ 14,	(24-Perghanas.)
	12	„ Baikuntha Nath Sen	...	„ 16,	(Murshidabad.)
	13	„ Moti Lal Banerji	...	„ 17,	do.
	14	„ Ramani Mohun Mullik	...	„ 23,	(Nuddea.)
	15	„ Ambica Charan Moitra	...	„ 26,	do.
	16	„ Veni Bhusan Roy	...	„ 28,	(Khulna.)
	17	„ Akshoy Kumar Mitra	...	„ 27,	(Jessore.)
	18	„ Krishna Kumar Mitra	...	„ 29,	(Mymensingh.)
	19	„ Prasanna Kumar Bose	...	„ 30,	do.
	20	„ Dina Nath Biswas	...	„ 31,	do.
DACCA CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Dacca.)	1	Babu Jagat Chandra Roy	...	„ 32,	(Dacca.)
	2	„ Sarat Chandra Bose	...	„ 33,	do.
	3	„ Sarat Chunder Gupta	...	„ 34,	do.
FURRIDPORE CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Furridpore.)	1	Babu Ambica Charan Mozoomdar.		„ 35,	(Furridpore.)
	2	„ Prithvis Chandra Roy Chaudhury.	...	„ 36,	do.
	3	„ Gora Chand Das	...	„ 37,	do.

First Day.

Election of a Subjects Committee.

BARISAL CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Barisal.)	1	BABU NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS ...	No. 38,	(Barisal.)
RUNGPORE CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Rungpore.)	1	BABU RAM KUMAR BOSE ...	„ 39,	(Rungpore.)
PUBNA CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Pubna.)	1	BABU MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRAVARTY. ...	„ 40,	(Pubna.)
	2	„ MOHENDRA NARAIN CHAKRAVARTY. ...	„ 41,	do.
JALPAIGURI CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Jalpaiguri.)	1	BABU UMAGATI ROY ...	„ 42,	(Jalpaiguri.)
RAMPORE BEAULEAH CIRCLE. (Includes the District of Rajshahye.)	1	DR. AKSHOY KUMAR BHADURI ...	„ 43,	(Rampore Beauleah.)
	2	BABU RAMA PRASAD MULLIK ...	„ 44,	(Maldah.)
BHAGALPORE CIRCLE. (Includes the entire Bhagalpore Division.)	1	BABU JOGENDRA NATH MUKERJEE.	„ 45,	(Purneah.)
	2	„ PARVATI CHARAN DAS ...	„ 46,	do.
	3	„ UGRA MOHUN THAKOOR ...	„ 47,	(Bhagalpore.)
CHOTA NAGPUR CIRCLE. (includes the entire Chota Nagpur Division.)	1	RAI JADU NATH MUKERJEE ...	„ 49,	(Hazaribagh.)
	2	MUNSHI MATHURA PRASAD ...	„ 53,	(Giridih.)
	3	BABU SAKTI KANTA BHATTACHARYYA.	„ 54,	do.
BEHAR CIRCLE. (includes the Patna Division, except the Mozufferpur District.)	1	BABU GURU PRASAD SEN ...	„ 57,	(Bankipore.)
	2	RADHIKA PRASAD GHOSE, ESQ. ...	„ 59,	(Chupra.)
BENARES CIRCLE. (includes the Benares Division.)	1	BABU JAGAT NARAIN SINHA ...	„ 60,	(Benares.)
	2	PUNDIT SRINATH DEVA ...	„ 62,	do.
	3	BABU SRIRAM ...	„ 67,	(Mirzapur.)
	4	„ BENI PRASAD ...	„ 69,	do.
	5	ALFRED NUNDY, ESQ. ...	„ 169,	(Gorakhpur.)
N. W. PCES CIRCLE. (includes whole N. W. Pces. except the Benares Division.)	1	HON'BLE RAJA RAMPAL SING ...	„ 70,	(Allahabad.)
	2	„ CHAROO CHUNDRA MITRA.	„ 71,	do.
	3	PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA.	„ 73,	do.
	4	„ SUNDER LAL ...	„ 75,	do.
	5	„ PRITHVI NATH ...	„ 93,	(Cawnpore.)
	6	BABU KEDAR NATH ...	„ 101,	(Agra.)
	7	CHOWBEY DAMMI LAL ...	„ 113,	(Mainpuri.)
	8	HAFIZ MAHOMED ABDUR RAHIM.	„ 128,	(Aligarh.)
	9	BABU JYOTI PRASAD ...	„ 138,	(Shaharanpur.)
	10	PUNDIT RAM PRASAD ...	„ 143,	(Meerut.)
	11	MUNSHI BHAKTAWAR SINGH ...	„ 153,	(Shajehanpur.)

First Day.

Election of a Subjects Committee.

OUDH CIRCLE. (Includes the entire Province of Oudh.)	1	BABU BANSI LAL SINGH ...	No. 173,	(Lucknow.)
	2	MUNSHI GUNGA PRASAD VARMA.	„ 175,	do.
	3	MR. MAHOMED NASIM ...	„ 179,	do.
	4	MR. HAMID ALI KHAN ...	„ 181,	do.
	5	BABU GOKUL CHAND ...	„ 188,	(Fyzabad.)
DELHI CIRCLE. (Includes the Delhi Division.)	1	ABUL AL MONSUR ...	„ 193,	(Delhi.)
	2	BABU KEDAR NATH ...	„ 198,	do.
	3	LALA GIRDHARI LAL ...	„ 200,	do.
	4	BABU PYARI LAL ...	„ 204,	do.
	5	LALA GIRDHARI LAL ...	„ 218,	do.
PUNJAB CIRCLE. (Includes the whole Punjab except the Delhi Division.)	1	E. C. JASSAWALA, ESQ. ...	„ 227,	(Lahore,)
	2	LALA HARKISHEN LAL, B.A. ...	„ 228,	do.
	3	BABU JOGENDRA CHUNDER BOSE.	„ 231,	do.
	4	LALA MADAN GOPAL, M.A. ...	„ 232,	do.
	5	„ DHANPAT RAI, B.A., L.L.B. ...	„ 235,	do.
	6	„ LAJPAT RAI ...	„ 237,	do.
	7	BAKSHI JAISHI RAM ...	„ 243,	do.
	8	LALA LAL CHAND ...	„ 247,	do.
	9	„ SADANAND ...	„ 253,	do.
	10	MUNSHI NABI BUKSH KHAN ...	„ 264,	do.
	11	MOULVIE MOHURREM ALI CHISTE.	„ 266,	do.
	12	MIR NISARALI SHOHRAT ...	„ 267,	do.
	13	SYED NAZIR HUSSAIN NAZIM ...	„ 268,	do.
	14	MOULVIE WALLIULLAH ...	„ 272,	do.
	15	MUNSHI GOLAM MAHOMED ...	„ 273,	do.
	16	LALA DHARAMDAS SURI ...	„ 275,	do.
	17	„ GANPAT RAI ...	„ 278,	do.
	18	CHARLES GOLOKNATH, ESQ. ...	„ 280,	do.
	19	RAI BAHADUR P. C. CHATTERJEE.	„ 283,	do.
	20	LALA BALMUKUND ...	„ 298,	do.
	21	DR. PARMANAND ...	„ 302,	do.
	22	K. P. ROY, ESQ. ...	„ 304,	do.
	23	LALA SANGAM LAL ...	„ 313,	do.
	24	LALA CHETAN ANAND ...	„ 360,	(Mooltan.)
	25	„ HARBHAGWAN DAS ...	„ 374,	(Jhelum.)
	26	SIRDIR GAJJAN SINGH ...	„ 392,	(Ludhiana.)
	27	LALA JIVAN KISHEN ...	„ 410,	(Gujranwalla.)
	28	PUNDIT SHEO NARAIN ...	„ 441,	(Jullundur.)
	29	RAIZADA BHAGAT RAM ...	„ 442,	do.
	30	LALA HANSRAJ SEWHNEY ...	„ 452,	(Shahpur Bhera.)
	31	SIRDIR CHANDA SINGH BHIND ...	„ 502,	(Ferozepur.)
	32	SHEIKH UMAR BUKSH ...	„ 522,	(Hoshiarpur.)
	33	„ NABI BUKSH ...	„ 568,	(Gurdaspur.)
	34	LALA DWARKA DAS ...	„ 589,	(Umballa.)
	35	„ MURLIDHAR ...	„ 591,	do.
	36	„ KANAHYE LAL ...	„ 636,	(Amritsar.)
SINDH CIRCLE. (Includes the entire province of Sindh.)	1	SHIVANDAS NOOMAL, ESQ. ...	„ 674,	(Kurrachee.)
	2	TAHILRAM KHEM CHAND, ESQ. ...	„ 675,	do.
	3	HIRANAND KHEM SINGH, ESQ. ...	„ 696,	do.

First Day.

Election of a Subjects Committee.

SINDH CIRCLE.— *(contd.)*	4	MUTHRADAS RAM CHAND, ESQ. ...	No. 697,	(Kurrachee.)
	5	HEMATSINGH GAJSINGH ADVANI, ESQ. ...	„ 700,	(Shikarpur.)
	6	R. B. PESUMAL ZOKIRAM, ESQ. ...	„ 718,	(Sukkur.)
AHMEDABAD CIRCLE. (Includes the Ahmedabad District, Cutch and Kattiwar, Rajcot.)	1	RUNCHHODLAL VANDRAWANDAS PATWARI, ESQ. ...	„ 722,	(Ahmedabad.)
	2	SETH PURSHOTTAMBHAI MAGHANBAI HATTISING ...	„ 728,	do.
SURAT CIRCLE. (Includes Surat and Broach.)	1	HARDEORAM NANABHAI HARIDAS, ESQ. ...	„ 729,	(Surat.)
SHOLAPUR CIRCLE. (Includes only the Sholapur District.)	1	SHRIDHAR NARAYAN SATHAYE, ESQ.	No. 730,	(Sholapur.)
BELGAUM CIRCLE. (Includes only the Belgaum District.)	1	SADASIVA BALKRISHNA BHATE, ESQ.	„ 733,	(Belgaum.)
	2	HON'BLE VISHNU RAGHUNATH NATU ...	„ 734,	do.
BHUSAWAL CIRCLE. (Includes only the Bhusawal District.)	1	RAO SAHEB VITHAL GOVIND DASTANE ...	„ 736,	(Bhusawal.)
	2	ABAJI RAGHU MAHALAS, ESQ. ...	„ 737,	(Jalgaon.)
SATARA CIRCLE. (Includes only the Satara District.)	1	BALVANT SHRIDHAR SAHASRABUDHE, ESQ. ...	„ 738,	(Satara.)
	2	RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARANDIKAR, ESQ. ...	„ 741,	do.
	3	DATTATRAYA BALVANT PARAMES, ESQ. ...	„ 742,	do.
DECCAN CIRCLE. (Includes the Deccan except the Sholapur, Belgaum and Nugger Districts; and Khandesh except the Bhusawal District.)	1	KASHINATH GOVIND NATU, ESQ. ...	„ 745,	(Poona.)
	2	PROFESSOR GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE ...	„ 749,	do.
	3	RAGHUNATH DAJI NAGARKAR, ESQ.	„ 756,	do.
	4	RAO BAHADUR VISHNU MORESHWAR BHIDE ...	„ 758,	do.
	5	BALGANGADHAR TILAK, ESQ. ...	„ 760,	do.
	6	RAJARAM YESHWANT RAJE, ESQ. ...	„ 770,	(Nasik.)
ICHALKERANJI CIRCLE. (Includes the Southern Marhatta Country.)	1	DATTATRAYA GANESH TIKAKAR, ESQ. ...	„ 773,	(Ichalkeranji.)
BOMBAY CIRCLE. (Includes the Bombay island, Colaba, Thana and Ratnagiri Districts.)	1	DAJI ABAJI KHARE, ESQ. ...	„ 779,	(Bombay.)
	2	DR. K. N. BHADURJI ...	„ 780,	do.
	3	W. A. CHAMBERS, ESQ. ...	„ 781,	do.
	4	DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA, ESQ. ...	„ 782,	do.
	5	HARI SITARAM DIXIT, ESQ. ...	„ 784,	do.
	6	DR. BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA ...	„ 786,	do.
	7	DR. MORESHWAR GOPAL DESHMUKH ...	„ 790,	do.

BOMBAY CIRCLE.— *(contd.)*	8	SITARAM BALLAL JOGLEKAR, ESQ.	No. 794,	(Thana.)
BERAR CIRCLE. (Includes the whole of Berar.)	1	RAGNATH NARSING MUDHOLKAR, ESQ. ...	„ 798,	(Amraoti.)
	2	GANESH SRIKRISHNA KHAPARDE, ESQ.	„ 800,	do.
	3	RAO SAHEB DEORAO VINAYEK ...	„ 804,	do.
NAGPUR CIRCLE. (Includes the whole of the C. Pces.)	1	KESHAV VINAYEK JOSHI, ESQ. ...	„ 815,	(Nagpur.)
	2	C. V. NAIDU, ESQ, ...	„ 816,	do.
	3	DR. ADHAR SING GOUR ...	„ 817,	do.
	4	R. SRINIVASARAO NAIDU, ESQ. ...	„ 818,	do.
	5	GANPATRAO NARAYAN GOKHALE, ESQ. ...	„ 819,	do.
	6	HARI MAHADEO PUNDIT, ESQ. ...	„ 820,	do.
	7	BALIRAM NARAYAN DESHMUKH, ESQ. ...	„ 830,	(Chhindwara.)
	8	ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI, ESQ. ...	„ 834,	(Harda.)
	9	KESHAVRAO MAHADEO KOULE, ESQ.	„ 836,	(Wardha.)
MADRAS CIRCLE. (Includes the entire Madras Presidency.)	1	G. SUBRAMANIA IYER, ESQ. ...	„ 837,	(Madras.)
	2	RAI BAHADUR P. ANAND CHARLU.	„ 838,	do.
	3	PETER PAUL PILLAY, ESQ. ...	„ 839,	do.
	4	C. VENKATA CHARIAR, ESQ. ...	„ 841,	(Salem.)
	5	W. VIRASWAMY IYER, ESQ. ...	„ 843,	do.
	6	K. P. ACHHUTHA MENON, ESQ ...	„ 846,	(Palghat.)
	7	HON'BLE C. SANKARAN NAIR ...	„ 849,	(Calicut.)
	8	K. P. RAMAN MENON, ESQ. ...	„ 850,	do.
	9	C. K. RAMAN MENON; ESQ. ...	„ 851,	do.
	10	RAO BAHADUR C. JAMBULINGAM MUDALIAR ...	„ 852,	(Cuddapah.
	11	N. S. RAJARAM, ESQ. ...	„ 853,	(Tanjore.)
	12	HON'BLE N. SUBBARAO PANTULU GARU ...	„ 856,	(Rajahmundry.)
	13	O. V. JAGANNADHA SHASTRI, ESQ.	„ 860,	(Vizagapatam.)
	14	HANUMANTH GOND, ESQ. ...	„ 861,	(Bellary.)
	15	T. CHIDAMBARA ROW, ESQ. ...	„ 865,	(Kurnool.)
	16	K. V. SUBRAMANIA IYER, ESQ. ...	„ 866,	(Sivaganga.)
	17	S.M.NARAYAN SWAMY IYER, ESQ.	„ 867,	do.

The President: you have heard the names of the gentlemen proposed, read to you, do you approve of them as read?

Adopted unanimously.

The President: The Subjects Committee will meet in half an hour, at the adjoining hotel where Mr. Hume and a few of us are residing, whilst this assembly adjourns until to-morrow (Thursday) at 2 o'clock.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 28th December, 1893.

THE Delegates and Visitors assembled to-day at 2 P. M.

Second day.

The President said: Ladies and Gentlemen, we now begin our business and I have no doubt that in the arduous task of regulating our deliberations I shall have every support and indulgence from the audience. I need not waste more words, for time is precious and I now call upon Mr. R. N. Mudholkar to move the first resolution. *(Loud applause.)*

Resolution I.

Reformed and Enlarged Legislative Councils.

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar *(Berar, No. 798, in list)* who was received with applause said: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the first motion which I have the honour of submiting for your consideration runs as follows:—

"That this Congress while tendering its most sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal spirit in which he has endeavoured to give effect to the Indian Councils' Act of 1892, regrets to have to put on record the facts, that alike in the Rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments, notably in that of the Government of Bombay, material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to the spirit of this act, and, that the Punjab, one of the most important Provinces in the Empire, is still denied the right to be represented, either in the Viceroy's or in any Local Council."

Sheikh Umar Buksh, *(Lahore, No. 522, in list)* translated the motion into Urdu.

Mr. Mudholkar said: This motion, gentlemen, consists of several parts; I shall not deal with every part of it, but confine my remarks to such general considerations as are necessary and refer in special to the rules issued by the Viceroy for his own Council, and leave to others, who come after me, the consideration of the rules framed with regard to Local Councils. Gentlemen, you know that the reform and enlargement of the Legislative Councils has been always the main plank in the platform of the Congress. From the time of the first Congress this has been considered as the subject which deserved before all others a place in the forefront of matters for our consideration, and it is a matter of congratulation to be able to say that in this important matter we have obtained a measure of success. *(Applause.)* The success certainly is not as great as we wished, but there is some measure of success. The demand for the enlargement and reform of the Legislative Councils has indeed been made for many years, long before the Congress came into existence, but it has been from the time that the Congress took the subject earnestly in hand that the Government have felt themselves constrained to take the matter into consideration. *(Hear, hear.)*

In 1887 Lord Dufferin sent a despatch to the Secretary of State asking for the enlargement and reform of the Legislative Council. After his departure, and when Lord Lansdowne took the reins of Government, the subject was referred to him and he made a report similar to that of his predecessor. In three sessions of Parliament, Bills were brought in for carrying out this object, but it was only, however, last year, 1892, that an Act was passed. The Conservative Government was in almost the last year of its existence when the Bill was first placed before Parliament and it saw signs sufficient to make it careful that if it did not pass the Act, a measure of a much more liberal kind would be

enacted. They therefore passed the Act of 1892. It did not give to us exactly what we wanted or in the manner we wanted, but it gave us this much. In the Act there is permission, so to say, granted to the Viceroy to select or elect persons for nomination to his Council. By the Act there is no right of election as such granted, but in the nominations the Viceroy has to make, he is empowered to make rules with the sanction of the Secretary of State, and in making those rules a wide discretion is left to him. Last year when the Act was passed, we took this matter into consideration and this was the resolution we passed: "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." Our demand with regard to the Legislative Council was four-fold. We wanted an increase of the number of members and wanted that a portion of the members should be elected; we wanted that the budget and all financial matters should be placed before the Legislative Councils for consideration and discussion and lastly, we wanted the right of interpellation. Now the Act is merely permissive in all these matters, but though permissive it must be thankfully accepted and it must be thankfully acknowledged, that the permission which is given, is given in such a way and with such guarantees that we have every reason to look forward to a bright and happy future. Statesmen of both parties, when the Bill came on for discussion, pledged themselves that there should be a real living representation. Although the Act does not contain anything about election, the Viceroy has to frame such rules as will enable him to obtain the opinions of representative classes and communities and on those opinions he is to base his nominations. Mr. Gladstone on the side of the Liberal Party once announced views which ought to infuse hopefulness in us. The Act after it was passed was sent to India and H. E. the Viceroy had to frame rules and it is a matter of satisfaction to us that when the Viceroy announced his intention with regard to these matters, his announcement was very satisfactory. He said that the budget will be annually and regularly submitted to the Legislative Council and he also stated that the right of interpellation would be granted and he further announced that the number of members would be increased. He also announced that rules would be issued for giving a sort of a right of election. What he has done in the matter of the increase of members is this. With regard to the Viceregal Council he has announced his intention that as many as ten persons will be appointed from the non-official communities. With respect to the right of electing these persons, he has announced that four of them will be selected by the four Local Legislative Councils, one from Bengal, one from the North-west Provinces, one from Bombay and one from Madras. Each of the Legislative Councils of these Presidencies will elect a member to represent them and he shall be a non-official. Then with regard to the other provinces, which have not got any Legislative Councils, he said that though at that time he could not exactly formulate his policy he would, however, arrange so that those Provinces should be represented in a manner similar to the four Presidencies. Well, as I said, gentlemen, we have not got as many members in the Legislative Council as we wished and asked for, but there is some increase. Then again, though the right of election itself is not granted by the act there is some kind of election granted. So far we may say, good. With reference to the Local Legislative Councils, the number has also been increased. In Bengal and the North-West Provinces the

Second day.

Resolution I.

Reformed and Enlarged Legislative Councils.

maximum limit has been allowed to be reached and in Bombay and Madras also a considerable advance has been made. As to the Budget, as I have already said, H. E. the Viceroy announced that it would be annually placed before the Legislative Council, and he also said that the right of interpellation would be granted with certain restrictions. As to these points I should like to address a few remarks to you. About the Budget the rules run only to this extent, that the Annual Budget will be printed and circulated, so to say, amongst the members, and on that day on which it is to come up, such members as have any remarks to offer may then offer them. There may be some discussion but there is to be no vote. Now as I said in the beginning, we are thankful to the Viceroy for what he has done. He loyally accepted the Act with the declaration with which it was accompanied and he has not tried to take away what the Act gave us. So far we are thankful to him; but with regard to these matters, in my own opinion, and I believe in saying so I reflect the opinion of the majority of my brother delegates, His Excellency has not gone so far as he could have gone without danger to the Government. On the Budget there is to be no vote—a mere discussion followed by no expression of opinion or without ascertaining the views of those present. A mere discussion without any expression of opinion or without ascertaining the views of those present will not be of much value; it might, perhaps, enable Government to explain their own views, but it will not enable Government or the outside public, or the English public, to ascertain what were the views of the country with regard to these financial proposals. If there is one matter in regard to which we are most vitally interested, it is the financial question. (*Hear, hear.*) In the House of Commons, to which as a last resource, we have to appeal, we find the Indian Budget night is a night on which the House is almost empty. Fortunately this year it was not so but it is generally the case. The control of Indian finance is weak and if it is to be properly kept in hand then there should be effective control in India itself and that control cannot be exercised if in the Viceregal or in the Local Legislative Councils there is not to be any ascertainment of opinion. In that matter the Viceroy has not gone as far as he could. Then as to the right of interpellation the restrictions imposed are still greater. Questions are to be permitted and answers are to be given to them but after the answers are given there is to be no discussion. Now, without discussion it is useless to have any interpellation. I know that the viceroy has said that in the House of Commons interpellation is not allowed to be followed by any discussion, but then in that assembly they have got the right that we have not got in India, which is that of bringing forward motions. Here in India no motions can be brought forward, no divisions taken, or any proper ventilation of a grievance allowed and therefore with regard to this right of interpellation there could have been, with safety, a departure from the English practice to suit the Indian circumstances. These are the remarks I wish to offer on these two main points. There are other matters I should like to touch on, but in obedience to the order from the chair, I must certainly leave the platform, but before going I would only say this much, that we have made a beginning and although it is not as great as we wanted, it is still a beginning, and if the future is to be great it can only be great if we strive with might and main for it; if we strive with our heart and soul we shall get what we want, though we way have to wait for some years. In the meantime let us do our best to achieve success in what we have got.

PROFESSOR G. K. GOKHALE (*Poona, No. 749, in list*) seconded the motion and said:— MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been asked to second the resolution which has been just now put before you by Mr. Mudholkar. The instructions of the Subjects Committee to me are that I should confine myself only to the Bombay Presidency, and I will, therefore, straight way proceed to a consideration of the rules that have been framed for that Presidency. Gentlemen, in regard to these rules, I will

not say that they have been deliberately so framed as to defeat the object of the Act of 1892, but I will say this, that if the officer who drafted them had been asked to sit down with the deliberate purpose of framing a scheme to defeat that object, he could not have done better. (*Laughter and applause.*) Let me briefly explain what I mean. There are eight seats that have been thrown open to election in the Bombay Presidency. Of these, two are specifically assigned by the Government of India in their rules, namely, one to the Bombay University and one to the Bombay Municipal Corporation. This leaves six seats, and they have to be disposed of by the Bombay Government at their own discretion. It is in regard to these six seats that we have every reason to complain; for the Bombay Government have distributed them in such a manner that it will for all practical purposes have four of the seats at its own disposal. I must tell you that there are four divisions in the Bombay Presidency; there is, first of all, Sind, then the Northern Division, then the Central Division and then the Southern Division. With these four divisions I think the most natural thing for the Bombay Government to do was to assign one seat to each division, by allowing one to the Municipal and Local Boards alternately and so on, and the remaining two seats to the interests of trade and agriculture. Instead of doing that what Government has done is this. It has given two of the six seats to the European Mercantile Community, it has given one to the Sirdars of the Deccan, one to the Zemindars of Sind and only two seats go to the general public of the Presidency. In this matter Government appears to have entirely subverted the right principles of representation and put minorities above the general public, whereas what Government should always do is, first of all, to safeguard the interests of the general public and then take care of the interests of the minorities. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) I will now proceed to a more detailed consideration of the whole thing. There are three complaints we have to make. In the first place the European Mercantile community has got much more than it has a right to, whilst the Native Mercantile community of Bombay has been entirely ignored. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce gets one member and the Kurrachi Chamber gets one member. Lord Harris said in one of his speeches that a member was given to Kurrachi because the Chamber there represented trade interest to the extent of about fifteen crores, but you must remember that the Native Mercantile Community of Bombay has in its own hands trade to the extent of about 50 crores, but in spite of that fact the Native Mercantile Community has not got a single member. (*Shame.*) Then there is another complaint, and that is that the Central Division which is the most important division of the Presidency has been left absolutely unrepresented. (*Shame.*) This division is larger in area, larger in population and larger in the spread of education—generally larger in every respect, than the other three divisions of the Presidency; but in spite of this the Central Division has not been allowed a single seat. This Central Division has within its limits, Poona, Satara, and other places which are the home of the Marhatta population. With all these interests the division has not been allowed a single representative. Then it will be found if you examine Lord Harris's answers to the various memorials on the subject, that Government takes its stand upon very falacious principles. Lord Harris said he had to safe-guard the interest of a certain class, but he should have remembered that the intentions of the Legislative Act were such that the interests of the general public should be first represented because ninety-nine out of every hundred acts of legislation affect the interests of the general population. The Bombay Council passes laws like the Forest Act, Police Act, and the Abkari Act, all of which affected the interests of the general public and not of the Chamber of Commerce. (*Laughter and hear, hear.*) There was another thing that Lord Harris said in order to justify the representation he had given to the Sirdars and Zemindars and it was that these persons were supposed to be representatives of the ancient landed aristocracy, but in regard to these two classes we know that there is

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practically no education and that they are more or less under the thumb of the Political Officers and, therefore, election by these classes does not mean the samething as election by the Municipalities and Local Boards. (*Hear, hear.*) What Government say is this:—that these two classes have got representation because they represent the agricultural interest. I think a greater misrepresentation—I don't mean intentional misrepresentation—of the real state of things could not have been made by His Excellency, because if any class deserves to have its interests safeguarded, it is the peasant class and not the landlords, and the Sirdars and Zemindars represent the landlords and not peasants. The interests of the latter can only be represented through the Local Boards whose members are elected by the agriculturalists. I believe I have now pointed out the principal defects in the Bombay scheme and I cannot take more time—("*Go on*")—I must conform to the rules and stop, but in conclusion I should like to say that this expression of opinion on behalf of this Congress must show the Bombay Government and the Government of India what their failing is and I trust they will take an early opportunity to set matters right (*Loud applause.*)

PUNDIT BISHEN NARAYN DAR (*Oudh, No. 184, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN;—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution now before you. I understand that to that resolution a rider has been suggested to be added by our friends who come from the North-West and Oudh to the effect that the North West and Oudh are in the same boat so far as the regulations are concerned as Bombay and if you have no objection to the addition of that rider then I will speak upon it as forming part of the resolution.

Mr. Hume: I must call your attention to the fact that this proposal was brought before the Subjects Committee and negatived and consequently if it is to be brought forward now it must be formally moved as an amendment.

Mr. Dar: I was told that it had only just been sent up to the President and I therefore mentioned it. Now, gentlemen, we too in the N. W. and Oudh have rules and regulations which have been framed under the Councils' Act and which are not very different from those to which reference has already been made by the gentleman from Bombay. We too have similar grievances with regard to the representation which has been accorded us under the new reform, and I will just point out to you one or two things in the rules framed under the Act for the N. W. and Oudh to show you how faulty and defective they are, and how they frustrate the very object of the Councils' Act; an object which was well expressed by Mr. Gladstone when he said that it was to give real, living representation to the people of India. (*Hear, hear.*) The first question that arises with regard to the regulations for my Province is, and I think I may here speak for other provinces who have got the new franchise,—Who are the constituents who elect members now? Under these regulations it is the District Boards, Municipal Boards, the Senates of the Universities and such Associations as the Chambers of Commerce and the British Indian Association. This is the new electorate that has been formed to return members to the Legislative Councils. Now I should like to make one or two general remarks upon the character of this new electorate formed under the new rules. In the first place it seems perfectly incomprehensible on what principle of territorial arrangement these rules have been framed. In the N. W. and Oudh we have, for instance, two elective groups; one composed of the ten municipalities divided into two groups and the other of District Boards that form also two groups in themselves. Now with regard to territorial arrangement I have only to mention that Meerut is linked with Lucknow and Fyzabad is connected with another town at the Western extremity of the same Province. I cannot understand this; there may be some

solution of the problem but at present it passes my comprehension, and I am sure it passes the comprehension of most of you to explain the anomaly and the rules. (*Hear, hear.*) Then with regard to the larger representation it has been given, at any rate in our part of the country to the district boards; that is another arrangement perfectly incomprehensible to me. To go no further I will only refer to administration Reports of the Government of the N. W. to show what they think of the District Boards in their Province. In the Administration Report for 1890-91, it is stated on page 53, that to the District Officer, entrusted as he is with the extensive powers of a magistrate and collector, are turned the eyes of all residents in the district and it is not to be wondered at if the District Board in its present as in its former shape remains much of an honorary body content in a considerable measure to register the Magistrate's order and carry out such instructions as he confides to the members. I think this is enough to show that the Government themselves do not think much of the capacity for local self-government of these Distrtct Boards and I cannot understand on what principle, out of the 198 Municipal Boards, six only have not the elective principle. All the rest have it, and Municipal Boards, from their nature, are more advanced bodies representing, as they do, more advanced views of public opinion. Out of these ten only come under the franchise. Of these very District Boards, said to be incompetent bodies from the local self-government point of view, why forty-four have been selected for this purpose, is perfectly incomprehensible to me. (*Hear, hear.*) Then there is another thing. In every country where representative institutions exist, property and intelligence are amongst the principal qualifications of voters. Now here I cannot understand how it is that only a few Municipalities and a few District Boards have been arbitrarily selected for this new franchise. If, for instance, the same property be the qualification of a voter for the Legislative Council as it is for every member of your Municipal or District Boards, then I cannot understand why those possessing this qualification should not be given this right. I do not understand why out of our many District and Municipal Boards, only a certain number are selected for this purpose. Then there is another side of the question. Another name for representative Government is that it is responsible Government, a Government that is responsible to the people in whose interest it exists. Anything that weakens this principle of responsibility in the minds of those who carry on the Government should be eliminated (*Hear, hear.*) Where in the present arrangament, where in the new electorate is the feeling of responsibility located? The member of the Council may feel himself responsible to four or five gentlemen who meet together by chance and elect him and perhaps never meet again, but I cannot understand how that member can feel himself responsible to the people between whom and himself there is no real constitutional relationship. Now, gentlemen, the people are not his electors; they are not even the electors of his electors; he cannot feel himself bound by any obligation towards those whose representative he is supposed to be. Then there is another point; it is with regard to the condition of residence. It seems to me that the sixth rule of the rules and regulations framed for the N. W. is to the effect that a person can only be eligible for the Council who is a resident within one of the Municipalities whose delegates form a group and elect him. Now, this is a perfectly incomprehensible arrangement to me. The simple principle on which the condition of representation exists in every other country where representative Government exists, is that a man will be more interested in the welfare of the place in which he lives. On the same basis a man with property is supposed to be interested in the welfare of his country. A man who is returned to the Council does not come as the representative of the particular Municipality that returned him, but as the representative of his Province. I cannot understand how the same question of residence can apply to him. And if there is another man whom this group of electors, these delegates, want to elect, and if his only disqualification happens to be that he is not a resident within the Municipality whose

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delegates they are, I don't see on what principle the Government can set aside that election. Now, gentlemen, there is another point which has very often been stirred up in the N. W. P. It is with regard to the eligibility of officials for election to the Council. I am sorry that the Secretary of State, upon this matter, differed from the Government of India and over-ruled them, and omitted a rule which was certain to have been a very useful one; but perhaps he thought the officials would have, with their own good sense, refrained from thrusting themselves too much in the field and would not do anything to hamper or to retard the progress of the new reform. Evidently he did not know he had to deal with a peculiar set of men. I can only refer to the experience we have had in Lucknow at the election about which most of you may have heard. Well, in June last the election to the membership of the Legislative Council took place. There were two rival candidates; one was our esteemed friend Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, (*Applause.*) and another was a well known official, Babu Sriram. There was a difference in the party to which the latter belonged and the District Magistrate who happened to be the Chairman of the Municipal Board thought the best way to make up that difference was to persuade the Municipal Commissioners to vote for him. They voted for him and made him their delegate and from the beginning it was known he was going to vote for somebody who would be a sort of nonentity in the Council. Five delegates met, three of them were quite sure to vote for the non-official and very popular candidate as one had been elected by the Barielly Municipal Board on that condition, and he had accepted it, promising that he would vote for Hamid Ali Khan. He came to Lucknow and some official pressure having had been brought to bear on him he most reluctantly changed his mind. He came to us with tears in his eyes and said he was compelled to go against his conscience because pressure had been brought to bear on him (*Shame.*) We referred this to the Deputy Commissioner, our District Magistrate and his superior, but no notice was taken (*Shame.*) of this communication until after the election and then he, Mr. Mulock, did not answer the question as he should have done if only to vindicate his character. The result was, Mr. Khan was defeated and the other gentleman elected. This is what the Officials have done and what they certainly will do in the future, now that they have got the privilege of getting themselves elected as delegates or even contesting the seats on the Legislative Councils. I regret the decision of the Secretary of State on three grounds. First, it seems to me perfectly inconsistent that while to the Imperial Legislative Council, non-official members alone should be elected by the local Legislative Councils and that by the votes only of the non-official members, a member of the Local Legislative Council can, under the present rules, be returned by the vote of the official members also, and this is an inconsistency I cannot understand. Then it seems to me a very regrettable thing that these officials on one side, and the people on the other should be dragged from time to time into electoral contests and placed in opposite camps, for, by reason of of this, a feeling arises which ought not to be created. These are some of the prominent defects in the regulations which mar and stultify the good promises of the New Councils' Act. Let us hope that Government will soon see these defects as plainly as we do and that they will deal with us fairly and honestly and now that the magnificent boon has been conferred upon us, such as no conquering nation ever conferred on its conquered people, they will see that the boon comes to us not in any grudging spirit but as a measure of hope and a pledge of peace—something to forge new bonds of affection between the rulers and ourselves, and if I may use the words of the Irish patriot, "something which may remove the dark clouds which hitherto rested upon a noble race and dimmed the glory of a mighty empire. (*Loud applause.*)

MOULVIE MOHURREM ALI CHISTI. (*Lahore, No, 266, in list.*) supported in Urdu.*

* As there were no Reporters for the vernacular speeches and neither copies nor English translations of them have been supplied by any but one or two of the speakers, reports of most of the vernacular speeches cannot be given. It is a great pity to omit them as many of the vernacular speeches were of a superior order and a few were the best of all the speeches made at the 9th I. N. Congress.

BABOO BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN (*Bengal, No. 16, in list.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—As you know, I am a Bengal delegate and I will confine myself in supporting this resolution to Bengal only. In the first place, I thank Government and express our gratitude to them for what has been done, although undoubtedly a homeopathic dose of the elective principle of a thousandth degree has been administered to us, yet we must receive it with gratitude and good grace with the hope that better things are in store for us in the future. (*Hear, hear.*) Then, gentlemen, we must thank the Bengal Government for which it has actually done. As at present constituted, the Council consists of 20 members and of these the maximum official number is ten. Now you will no doubt hear with satisfaction that the procedure adopted and the appointments made, make the official number in the Bengal Council, nine and the non-official number eleven, so that, if the non-officials combine they can out-vote the Government. This is a good and hopeful feature and one for which we must thank the Government; but at the same time we have still the same grievances to represent and the same complaints to make as those of Bombay and N. W. P. If the rules framed by the Indian Government as well as those framed by the Bengal Government, be taken together, it will be seen that the Corporation of Calcutta has to recommend one member, the Calcutta University one, the associations of the Merchants and Manufacturers one and one to be returned by the European Tradesmen and then two are to be returned by the Municipal Corporations and two by the District Boards. These are the eight members who have to be recommended by these bodies for the acceptance of Government. The landed interest here has not been properly considered. Considering the landed interest from the quantitative as well as the qualitative point of view, it is not an interest which should have been ignored, as apparently the rules do ignore it. Although I must say there is this redeeming feature that at the present moment we have two big Zemindars in the Councils who indirectly represent the landed interest, being Zemindars themselves, namely the Maharajah of Durbhanga and the Maharajah Jagadindra Nath Roy Bahadur of Natore. It happens that the representatives of two big houses have been returned, not by anybody representing the Zemindary interests, but by other electoral bodies. The question of the principle, however, remains untouched, that the landed interest has not been recognized as a body to be entitled to recommend a member. The British Indian Association is a very strong Association in every part of the country and during the discussions about the Councils Bill in both Houses of Parliament, this Association was particularly mentioned as a fit and proper body to have the franchise and it is to be regretted that that Association or similar Associations have not been considered as qualified to recommend one member. (*Hear, hear.*) Now leaving this question, I have to offer some observations with regard to the recommendations which are to be made and have been made by the Municipal Corporations and District Boards. Now, hear what the Government has done. It is this; Municipal and District Boards are to form certain groups and they are to recommend by rotation. There are nine divisions, each division being administered and presided over by a Commissioner. The divisions are: The Presidency Division, Rajshahye, Burdwan, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Patna, Chittagong, Dacca and Bhagulpore Divisions. The question is whether from a theoretical as well as practical point of view the principle is sound. All human institutions are liable to errors. I don't say Government has done it intentionally or that Government has not done, what it has done, with the best of intentions and I will place before you what justified Government in following this procedure. My contention is that the principle is not sound. A geographical distribution of certain areas for the purpose of election is not a sound one, for the choice is limited within a certain defined space and that necessarily cannot make the choice as desirable. An expansion of the arena of choice should, I think, be preferred to diminution or contraction. In the next place, it is only a particular portion of the

community that takes an interest at the time of the so-called election. We are passing through a stage of education in such matters, and in this geographical distribution a certain portion is interested in elections and receives education and the other portion does not. I would, therefore, suggest that the District Boards as well as Municipal Corporations should be linked together and that they should be jointly allowed to elect. Now it might be said in justification of the move taken by Government that they wanted to secure a greater chance of men being returned from the Mofussil Districts. They wanted to safeguard against a monopoly, as it were, of men from more enlightened or educated divisions such as the Presidency Division. It must be supposed that that would be safeguarded against if there was a limitation to the effect that no division would be entitled to return more than one member. In that there would, I submit, be avoided one difficulty. It would minimise the difficulty of the question of residence. In Bengal there was a contest regarding the residence clause in respect of one election which had to be set aside and in his place the Maharajah of Natore was returned. If what I have suggested is accepted then there would be a true representation in the sense of representing the whole province and not a certain group of Municipalities or District Boards. The gong has gone and I cannot say much more, but I would only add with regard to the landed interest that while the Bengal European Chamber of Commerce has got one and while the British Indian Association of Oudh enjoys the same privilege, being something like a branch Association, the main Association has not been given these privileges. (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. TAHILRAM KHEMCHAND (*Sindh, No. 675, in list.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I will take you back to the Bombay Presidency so far as it concerns Sindh. Although Sindh forms part of the Presidency of Bombay it is separate in more senses than one. You have learned that two out of the eight seats have been allotted to Sindh, but you should not run away with the impression that on that account Sindh is better represented in the Council than any other part of the Presidency. Though two seats have been allotted and as regards the number of seats we have no grievance to lay before you, in the matter of distribution we are in the same boat as other Presidencies. Of the two seats, one is allotted to the Jaghirdars and Zemindars on an assessment of Rs. 1,000. They constitute the landed interest and do not represent the agricultural population or rural interest which is represented in the Local Boards of Sindh. Next, the second seat has been allotted to the Chamber of Commerce of Kurrachee which body, most of you know, is composed of only 31 houses and of these by far the greater majority of them, namely 17, are merely branches of corresponding firms in Bombay and elsewhere (*Hear, hear.*) Now what does this come to? it is practically giving a second representation to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. In justification of that seat it is urged that a member for the Chamber of Commerce would represent the trade of Sindh, as if no other member, say, a member of the city Municipality, would ever advocate the trade interest of a growing and increasing city like Kurrachee. I think an argument like this cannot possibly carry weight, because any man connected with Sindh would advocate the interest of the Port which is giving such importance to the whole of Sindh. From the distribution of the seats you will find that not only the agricultural interests are not properly represented but the urban interests are altogether ignored, and the wealth and intelligence of the city are completely unrepresented just in the same way as in other parts of the Bombay Presidency. (*Loud applause.*)

MR. KESHAV VINYEK JOSHI (*Nagpore, No. 815, in list.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—As a gentleman invited to a party would be thankful to the host, so this Congress would be thankful to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for the concession which has been made to the people of India and for the

confidence reposed in the Public of India. But as a gentleman invited to such a party would feel a peculiar discomfort if only the meals were served and no water was provided for quenching his thirst, so I say we are disappointed with the Government in the matter of Legislative Council elections. (*Laughter and applause.*) The Central Provinces, which I have been called upon to represent, have been peculiarly unfortunate. What Government promised on the one hand it took away with the other. Whilst there are over fifty Municipalities, only six are permitted the right of voting which has made it quite impossible for many men, capable and intelligent citizens, to vote in a matter which affects them most. Again, while the whole of the Central Provinces have to return only one member to the Viceroy's Council, four electoral communities have been constituted and the result has been most unfortunate. A process of elimination has been enjoined which I will explain to you. Take for example a province with four divisions. Imagine that each division is entitled to return 12 members from the district Councils and Municipal bodies together. Fancy A secures 5 votes in each of the four divisions; fancy also, that B obtains 7 votes in one of them; and that C, D, and E, obtain seven votes each in the remaining divisions. By the process of elimination A's name would be struck off in each of the four divisions because whoever happens to get the lowest number of votes in a particular division has his name struck off. B meets with a similar fate not having got any votes in 3 divisions. That being so the Government appoints one of the three, namely, C, D, or E, with the result that the gentleman who secured not more than 7 votes in the Province is returned, while the gentleman who had secured 20 votes not in one but in all the divisions, is not sent up. I would put it to you—Is this representation? (*Cries of "No, no."*) Then the next thing is that Government has added other difficulties, and one of those by reserving entirely to itself the right of sending any one it chooses irrespective of the number of votes he may have secured. A gentleman who at the last election secured 12 votes has not been returned, but a gentleman from the Nagpur Division who obtained 6 votes has been returned. I would submit with your kind permission that if there had only been one elective body Mr. A who got 20 votes would have been at once returned; the people's man would have been where he should have been and the object of real representation would have been gained. This is our situation and I will put it to you—Is this representation? I would put it simply—Is this proper treatment to a Province which has no local Legislative Council of its own? I would further ask you whether there could be found a people or a single man in the desert of Sahara who would consider that representation? if not, then I would say we are equally disappointed with those who have not the right of representation. Therefore, I heartily support the proposal of my friend Mr. Mudholkar and I also thank you very much for the patience with which you have listened to me.

SIRDIR GAJJAN SINGH (*Punjab, No. 392, in list*) supported the motion in Urdu.

RAO BAHADUR C. JAMBULINGAM MUDALIAR (*Madras, No. 852, in list.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I have also to join in the chorus of gratitude which has been raised by my predecessors for the very generous manner in which the Government of India has worked out the Indian Council's Act so far as that Government is concerned, but we in Madras have also grievances to relate and to get redressed and we pray that this Congress will pass a resolution on them. Our grievances, however, are not of so extensive a magnitude as those of our Bombay brethren, but still they are grievances and deserve your careful consideration. Coming to the subject directly, a very brief explanation of our Madras system will be necessary for the purpose of understanding our grievances. According to the Madras arrangements there are seven non-official members who are to be elected by the various bodies as prescribed by the rules of the Government of India and the Local Government. Of

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these seven members four have to be elected by the Municipalities and the District Boards of our Presidency and the remaining three members are to be elected by the various associations and public bodies and the Presidency City. The arrangement for the election of these four members by the District Boards and Municipalities is that the Presidency is divided geographically into two divisions, Northern and Southern and each division is to elect for its own Municipalities a member, and for its District Boards another member, so that we have two members elected by the 55 Municipalities of the Presidency and two members, by the 21 District Boards. We do not grumble at that arrangement, but our special concern is the manner of division. Whatever may be the reasons for irrationally dividing the parts of other Presidencies, Madras offers a convenient means of division. The Government of India in its various reasons which have been given for justifying the election by Municipalities and District Boards, states that vast areas and territories cannot be adequately represented by the few members given by the Act, and, therefore, though a territorial representation is a very desirable thing, it could not, under the present state of things, be carried out and that, therefore, the principle of representation recognized by the Government of India is a representation of class interest, the class interest being the rural interest as represented by the District Boards, the civic interests, as represented by the Municipalities, and so forth. But in our Presidency we could carry out a very complete territorial arrangement, satisfactory to all concerned. Our Presidency has just four branches or divisions which have four distinct languages and these four divisions have physical features peculiar to each; therefore the most rational division would be to divide the Presidency according to these natural features and according to these languages; for example Malabar and Cannary, they form a small part of the Presidency and are unique in themselves so far as their natural features and their laws and customs are concerned. No other parts of the Presidency sympathise with these customs, therefore, it stands to reason that these two districts and others nearly allied to them must have a member. So with the Tamil and Telegu districts a natural division should have been made. This division would carry out in a most efficient manner a proper representation for the country. Another grievance, and a very important one, is that of the representation of the Zemindars and landholders. As we are assembled in this Congress, probably there are not many Zemindars present, but it does not necessarily follow that we should not advocate their interests. The rules provide that in the Council there should be a representation of Zemindars paying a *peshka* of Rs. 20,000. Some special Legislation now going on in the Madras Legislative Council has shown unmistakably that the person who is called the representative of the Zemindars and who is nominated by the Government is no representative whatever and his position has been repudiated by every zemindar in the Presidency, and has been told in so many words that he has betrayed the interests of his class in a very suicidal manner. *(Loud applause.)*

The President then put the motion to the vote and it was unanimously adopted.

Resolution II.

Creation of a Legislative Council for the Punjab.

LALA HARBHAGWAN DAS—*(Punjab, No. 374, in list)*—moved.

That this Congress, in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885 and other subsequent Congresses, 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.

Sheikh Umar Buksh translated the motion in Urdu, as he did in all subsequent cases.

MR. BHAGWAN DAS said—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In submitting this motion for your adoption, I need not say that were it my duty simply to

convince you, delegates from other Provinces, and get your concurrence in this resolution, no argument would be necessary, because none of you from other Provinces can with any justification say that whereas you are enjoying the benefit of your Local Councils and have even obtained a share of representation in the Supreme Legislative Council, that we should be denied in the Punjab the benefit of having a local Council. There is a greater person whom we have to convince that we are in need of a local Council, than the brother Delegates and people of other Provinces, and that person is our paternal Government who holds her sons of the Punjab dearer than her sons of any other Province. And in appealing to you and putting this resolution before you, I would only ask your testimony and to give your opinion so as to assure our paternal Government that the constitution of the people of the Punjab is as strong as that of the people of other Provinces and we are quite capable of swallowing the pill of Legislative Council and will survive it as others have survived. *(Hear, hear.)* I will put before you one thing which may be said by the Government in reply to our request, and it is this. Government can very well say, while the people of the Punjab are called upon to do all the fighting work for the whole of India, therefore, in good grace the people of other Provinces should do the Legislative work for the Punjabis. *(Laughter.)* But let me assure you that the Punjabis, while continuing to do the fighting for the whole of India, can find members to do the Legislative work for themselves. *(Hear, hear.)* In this matter we require very little help from the outside members of other Provinces. I submit that lots of reasons can be adduced to show that the creation of a local Legislative Council is necessary for the Punjab and in doing so I need not repeat the reasons why local Legislative Councils are necessary for the different Provinces in such a large country as India. Such reasons might have sounded very well in 1801 or 1802 when the country was first brought under the British sway and when there were no Legislative Councils, but to repeat those arguments now would be useless. There is one thing I may submit for your consideration which is this. That if there are no reasons or causes which make it necessary that besides a Supreme Legislative Council for the whole of India there should be separate Local Legislative Councils for the N. W. Provinces, Bombay, Bengal and Madras, there are strong reasons why there should be a local Legislative Council for the Punjab. All of you know that the Punjab is practically the gateway of the whole of India, and its population consists of the remnants of every race that has from time to time invaded India and left some settlers here. These people have so affected the social customs and laws of the country that it would be a very interesting study for a specialist if he were to devote his whole life to the study of the different customs that obtain amongst the people of the Punjab. There is a distinct confession in section 5 of the Punjab Laws Act, which is in force in this country that in matters of succession, inheritance, marriage divorce and adoption and many other things the people shall be governed by the customs obtaining in the communities to which they belong. This section considered by itself shows that the Government of India practically acknowledges its ignorance of the customs and institutions of the people of the Punjab and this section makes every Judge and every Court before whom an individual case may be brought, not only a Court of Justice but really a Legislature. Therefore, we submit, that when the work of legislation for our Province is left, as it sometimes is, in the hands of an inexperienced judge imported from Europe, the result is not satisfactory. I think if a local Legislative Council is granted to us we would do its work at least as creditably, if not more creditably than the people of other provinces have done and to the satisfaction of the Government and of the people themselves. With these remarks I place the motion before you for your kind approval and acceptance.

LALA MURLIDHUR (*Punjab, No. 591, in list*) seconded the motion addressing the meeting in Urdu.

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Resolution II.

Creation of a Legislative Council for the Punjab.

SHEIKH UMAR BUKSH (*Punjab, No. 522, in list*) in supporting the motion said:—Gentlemen, I feel great pleasure in supporting this resolution. It is a resolution which the Congress has discussed from the very beginning of its existence. We repeat it at every Congress. I beg to submit that the principle involved is one recognized by the Indian Government as well as by the British Government from 1861 when the Indian Councils' Act was first passed. The principle which is involved in this resolution is the principle of local legislation. As you know every Province in this country has its local Legislative Council, but it is only the Punjab which has been deprived of this boon. Notwithstanding that the principle has been recognised I beg to submit that the Government of India has not done anything in regard to the matter. The Congress has passed several resolutions but they have not been given effect to. A promise was once made in 1882 or 1883 when Sir James Lyall was Lieutenant Governor here. The first year he came here the Indian Acssociation of this Province gave him an address in which this point was referred to and in reply the Lieutenant Governor promised that he would try his best to have local legislation for the Province as soon as possible. He remained here for 5 years but nothing was done to realize that promise. After he left the Province the present Lieutenant Governor came and a similar address was presented to him and a similar request was made. Of course I cannot say he made the same promise as was made by Sir James Lyall, but he did not retract that promise and as a successor of Sir James Lyall I think he is bound to try his best to see that that promise is carried out. (*Applause.*)

LALA THAKURDAS (*Punjab, No. 394, in list*) supported in Urdu.

MIR NISAR ALI SHOHRAT (*Punjab, No. 267, in list*) also supported in the vernacular.

LALA KANAHYE LAL (*Punjab, No. 636, in list*) signified his intention of opposing.

THE PRESIDENT:—Any one wishing to propose an amendment must send to the President a slip of paper containing the amendment, his own name and that of his seconder and the names of the Congress Circles to which they respectively belong and a similar slip should be handed to the Reporters. Do I understand, Mr. Kanahye Lal that you wish to propose an amendment or do you simply oppose the motion?

Lala Kanahye Lal having stated that he simply wished to oppose it, the President pointed out that he would attain his object by voting against the original proposition.

Lala Kanahye Lal was then allowed to address the meeting. He said:—My voice is weak but I cannot allow myself to let the opportunity pass of raising an objection to the suicidal policy which is going on with reference to this resolution. If this resolution is passed and if a Legislative Council is given here under the present circumstances without any guarantee as to representation and selection and election it would be a suicidal policy. I myself moved the resolution last year with great hesitation; now that great hesitation instead of being relaxed has assumed a stronger aspect; and now I am dead against it. I have seen a Lieutenant Governor, in whom we could confide appointing a person admittedly his friend; without any respect to the friendship of the subjects, he has sent up a man, his own friend, and no friend of the people. It might be said that he represents the Sikh community, but you might just as well say that the Golden Temple at Amritsar represents the Sikh community. As an educated man I am in favour of a forward policy, but gentlemen of my province don't support this proposal without a full consideration of the matter. If a Legislative Council is given you will find such multifarious laws and so many snares for your feet that there will be

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no guarantee which now exists in the Acts and Laws which come from Higher Tribunals and noble personages such as compose the Council of the Viceroy. Therefore, if a Council is given there is every likelihood of the nomination of inferior personages under the thumb of officials, and there will be a multiplicity of snares for your feet—so take care.

The motion was then put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT: The next resolution has been repeatedly put and is called the omnibus resolution and therefore I hope the speakers will satisfy themselves with a few remarks as all the questions have been well discussed. I will read the resolution which is a speech in itself.

The following resolution was then read.

Resolution III.

Confirmation of Resolutions previously passed *In re* Salt duty reduction, Raising the Income tax taxable minimum; Excise administration and Police reform, Arms Act modification, Military Colleges; Vountcering.

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 rupees;

(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 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;

(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

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Resolution III.

Confirmation of Resolutions previously passed *In re* Salt duty reduction, Raising the Income tax taxable minimum; Excise administration and Police reform, Arms Act modification, Military Colleges; Volunteering.

(i) The authorising and stimulating of a wide-spread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

THE HON'BLE VISHNU RAGHUNATH NATU (*Belgaum, No. 734, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I must in the first place thank the President for reading out the corrected form of the present resolution, because I consider this omnibus resolution to include our standing grievances and through a mistake of the Printer, myself and my friends have been included in those standing grievances. (*Laughter.*) I do not wish now to be a standing grievance to you, therefore I will merely touch on a few points of the resolution. This resolution contains nine propositions and that number nine coincides with our ninth session of the Congress. It shows for certain that the Government of India does not listen to our very necessary requests which are to meet the wants and wishes of the masses and the number of our ordinary standing grievances is increasing year after year although we are persistently asking Government to reduce the number. (*"Shame."*) In the first place I have to point out that the reduction of the Salt duty is a question of very great importance to the masses whose interests of all others must be at our heart. We have been promised a reduction of the Salt duty from time to time by Viceroys but it has never been carried out and I am afraid under those so-called financial difficulties under which the Government of India are now feeling awkward, it will not be very convenient for the Government to reduce the Salt tax. We must nevertheless from year to year insist on Government reducing it. It is a duty upon a necessary of life and which, if reduced, would conduce to the welfare of the masses. With regard to the Abkari Department I have simply to say it is for the elected members of Local Councils to take up the matter, as we have done in Bombay with the Abkari Policy, bringing it forward every year for discussion when we discuss the Budget. We shall dun Government until the grievance is removed. As regards these nine propositions I say they can be considered under three heads: the first set under the head of taxation; and the second set under that of the army. I think the increase in the army which is going on from year to year involves the Government in great expenditure and makes them raise the taxes. Both these sets of questions are inter-dependent and can only be solved if, as pointed out by our President, Government trusts us as very loyal subjects of Her Majesty and employs us more in the army; the expenditure will be reduced and thereby the taxation will also be reduced. The one question of the army is naturally dependent on the question of taxation and if Government takes into consideration the last three propositions and goes upon the principle laid down then surely the Government will be able to reduce the tax on salt and the income tax. With regard to the Arms Act, I come from a Province in which the Forest grievance is a great one and the rules at present are so very hard that it has become necessary for the people to place the matter before Government. Every year the number of wild beasts is increasing and the licenses every year are curtailed and if there be any wild game, as sportive officers are fond of killing it, it must be left for them and although the wild beasts kill the people they are not allowed to kill them. I will point out a concrete instance. There was a case of a man who had a license for "personal safety" and that man happened to be in a village which was close to a dense forest and when he wanted to shoot a wild animal—a tiger, the whole of the District Officers were down upon him and said that he was using the weapon against his license. (*"Shame."*) This question has to be considered in connection with the Forest policy of Government and must also be discussed every year. With regard to the police I have to say one word. There is one satisfactory thing which I cannot but mention. We have to admit what is done for us, and admit what is attempted by Government. I believe the Government of India and some Local Governments have admitted that the Police, as at present constituted, is not a proper department and

there are many defects which ought to be eliminated. In the Presidency of Bombay when there was a discussion this year on police improvement in the Province of Sindh, Lord Harris promised that he would see that a better class of men were employed in the service; but as regards the other Provinces I cannot say anything safely, but I insist on all those gentlemen who take an interest in the matter to make this a point for discussion every year before the Council and urge upon the Government to do all they can to improve the character and status of the lower grades of police. At present, we find many of the constables are simply the scum of Society. They are unfit to do their duty, and not only that but they are simply troubling and injuring and interfering with the administration of justice everywhere. Therefore in the interest of the masses, in the interest of the people and also in the interest of the Government it is necessary to raise the character of the police. With these few remarks and as the President at the outset said the speakers must confine themselves to very short speeches, I will take my seat. (*applause.*)

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (*Berar, No. 800, in list*) in seconding the motion said:—Because this proposition has been put to you every year and because you have been in the habit of seeing me here generally in connection with this proposition, I beg of you not to look upon it as a trifling or an unimportant proposition. Standing here in the Punjab as I do you will see that there is great propriety in this proposition. It really follows on the two which have gone before. In the first proposition the grievance was that there was no right conceded to the Punjab to be represented on the Councils and secondly there is a demand for a Council itself and thirdly you come to the last proposition, namely, a demand for arms. You have been told and everyone has acknowledged that the Punjab represents the manhood of the whole of your country. It has been defending us and fighting our battles against all invaders and it is likely that it may have to fight these battles again within a very short time, therefore what is more natural for these loyal people to ask for?—arms. (*applause.*) You remember that somebody told you, and it is an acknowledged fact that the Sikh warrior has been foremost in all battles. He has fought as a sepoy, now I say let him fight as an officer—as a Colonel or as a General if you please. (*applause.*) This is a very natural and a very straight and forward demand. Then if you concede this and grant them these rights you need not tell me afterwards that we cannot reduce the Salt Tax because there will be a deficiency of revenue, we cannot touch the Excise, we cannot give you more arms because we shall have to employ many more police to look after you. All these things will disappear. We have got the arms and the fighting power and we are all loyal. Therefore you can directly take away a number of the objections on the score of there being financial difficulty, or if you please, financial embarassment. They find the people loyal, equal to fighting and capable of bearing arms and they don't know what reason to assign for not granting them these arms. (*applause.*) I am as anxious as the Subjects Committee to make the speeches as short as possible, therefore I will close my remarks.

PUNDIT KALI PRASANNA KAVYABISHARAD (*Calcutta, No. 12, in list*) said:—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The omnibus is before you. You have heard the conductor and the driver and now the mule makes its appearance. (*Laughter.*) Well, he has to drag it on and it is no business of the mule to look at the passengers but you will excuse me if he casts a side-glance at one of the passengers, namely, the fundamental reform of the police administration. All of us know that we have an ill-paid and corrupt police and instances of that are too well known to be repeated. The latest glaring instance comes from Allahabad. Before the High Court a case recently came up in which a man stood sentenced to be hanged for murdering his wife but his wife afterwards made her

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appearance; the police, however did not let him go; they charged him with killing a woman under his protection who might not be his wife and after a good deal of bother the man was dismissed without further penalty. Similar cases have occurred before that and you know that full well in Bengal. The Issur Napit of Howrah case is too well known in Bengal. He was sentenced to death for the murder of his daughter but that daughter made her apparance afterwards and by that accident he had his life saved. In Allahabad a woman was imprisoned by the grace of this ill-paid and mighty police for committing the crime of abortion and while in jail the woman was found to be with child. Instances like these can be multiplied but I do not wish to multiply them. I simply wish to say that all the passengers are well known to you and I have the simple duty of dragging them on before you and I know you will pass them.

HAFEEZ MAHOMED ABDUR RAHIM (*N. W. Provinces, No. 128, in list*) supported in Urdu.

The motion was then carried unanimously.

DR. K. N. BHADURJI (*Bombay, No. 780, in list*) proposed:

Resolution IV.

Reconstruction of the Civil Medical Service in India.

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of public medical education, and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the civil medical service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from, and independent of, the Military Service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular.

DR. BHADURJI said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—My task is considerably lightened by the pointed reference made in the President's address to the subject of the resolution and the manner in which you received it. The proposition it is my privilege to submit to you is one which I am sure will readily commend itself to you, from whatever point of view it may be considered. It refers primarily to the administration of an important department of the State service, but it also embraces questions of very wide interest. There are the general questions of efficiency and economy, of the rights and privileges of the sons of the country, of higher education, of the advancement of medical and sanitary sciences, which advancements have come to be recognized as a measure—and perhaps a large measure—of the civilisation and material progress of a country. (*Hear, hear.*) Thus the subject I have the privilege to introduce to you is one which might be considered co-extensive in importance with the Civil Service question, and has interest, of not only for the medical profession, but for all workers for the good of the country and its people, and, as such, demands the anxious consideration of our Government. Government are no less concerned with it than our men of light and leading, for it is the pride and glory of the British rule that it aims not only to work the amelioration of the condition of the people of this country, but to raise the Indian nation in the scale of civilisation and intellectual and scientific advancement. Education and Western methods have been the means employed by the humane rule of our gracious sovereign for the noble purpose of carrying enlightenment to her Indian subjects to fit them to take part in the administration of the country according to British methods. And it has been over and over again declared that in every department of the State the principles of justice and equity shall have full play and merit, will enable sons of the soil to rise to high administrative offices; and later on, as the maturing influences of education began to bear fruit, and talent was capable of being reared in India

as well as in England, some of the highest offices which were formerly reserved for the competition-wallahs were opened to the best products of English education in India. Our Arts Colleges and Law Schools have furnished high grade Revenue Officers and High Court Judges, Standing Counsels and Registrars. Our Engineering Colleges have given high grade officers in the P. W. D. and Executive Engineers, and all with a purely Indian education on British methods and without any finishing touches from British Universities—events which speak to the efficiency and excellence of the institutions that have produced such material and so gloriously discharged their duty by the people and Government of the country. But it is a most lamentable fact, that though medical education on British methods and by British teachers has been growing in the country for upwards of half a century, our Medical Colleges, which cost us a third more than the sister Colleges, have not yet supplied us, with a purely Indian College career, anything better than an Assistant Surgeon on Rs. 100 —200 a month, or the ordinary general practitioner ! (*"Shame."*) Surely it cannot be that it is the poorest intellect that is drawn to our medical schools, either as pupils or as teachers, the other Colleges having produced such brilliant results. What, then, is the cause of such dwarfed growth of the products of our medical schools ? In answering this question it is necessary to remember that they are denied all fair play, and the opportunity, let alone the encouragement, which are so essential to the growth and development of talent, and that they are refused admission to all the fields for the cultivation and growth of medical science. Is not the answer to be found in the fact of the slave trade which the department of the Surgeon-General is allowed to carry on and this department having refused all emancipation to the pupils of our medical schools ? The Arts and Engineering Colleges have long enjoyed emancipation from the regrettable serfdom of the medical schools, and, strange to say, that when the Public Service Commission further enfranchised the *alumni* of the sister Colleges, the *alumni* of the Medical Colleges were not so much as even thought of by them, as if the medical service was not a public service or a service in which the public and the Government were at all interested ; and this, perhaps, because the Commission did not take within their purview the state of a bondsmen class. The Assistant Surgeons may represent their grievances individually, but like serfs they dare not do so collectively, and it is a question if their grievances ever get a hearing, for years have gone by but no response has come. But the evils of this monopoly of the Indian Medical Service are of much wider significance, and affect the people and the Government alike, and it is time they were carefully looked into. Let us study them in their different aspects for a while. The medical service of the country is both military and civil. The military medical service includes the military, which is by far the larger branch of the Indian Medical Service, which is open to all British subjects holding the ordinary practising diplomas of Great Britain by open competitive examinations held in London. Its graded salaries range according to military rank from Rs. 300 odd to Rs. 1,800 odd. Its officers, about 269 in number, are under the control of the head of the sister military service, called the Army Medical Service of the British Army, ' (ii) The military Apothecary, or the warrant military officer class recruited in India, and to which pure natives of India are admissible or not according to circumstances. The members of this class have a lower standard of preliminary education and a shorter course of professional study than is required of the Assistant Surgeon. But all the same, though they begin with a somewhat lower figure than the Assistant Surgeons, the warrant medical officers rise to twice as much as the Assistant Surgeons, and are even promoted to the uncovenanted grade and put in charge of civil stations, though they are enlisted for military purposes. The Civil Medical Service consists of three divisions : (i) the civil branch of the military Indian Medical Service, which exceeds the military branch by over a hundred members. These are supposed to be officers lent to the civil department, the Indian Medical Service being purely a military

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enlistment with a military covenant. Their salaries vary from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500 according to the civil appointments and the military rank of the incumbents. Thus in many cases the salaries are not the regular salaries attached to the post, but they represent the military rank of the incumbent. This branch of the Indian Medical Service, a military service by enlistment like the sister Army and Naval Service, has the monopoly of all high grade civil appointments connected with the science of medicine, and has the sole charge of medical education and state sanitation. (ii) The Assistant Surgeon class are open to University graduates only. They rise from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. They are in charge of civil dispensaries and hold minor appointments in hospitals. They have gone through a thoroughly British education and under British teachers, and have passed examinations "quite as stringent as those for British diplomas" (as reported to the Government of India by a special committee of Indian Medical Service men), and thus their qualifications are as high as those of most members of the Indian Medical Service, which many of our graduates have entered by open competition in England. They have often acted as Civil Surgeons to the full satisfaction of Government, as was naturally to be expected from their qualifications. But they can never be full or *pucca* Civil Surgeons. ("*Shame*") They may be Analytical Chemists and conduct the whole duties of Chemical Analyser to Government, but in spite of their long experience and approved work they are always to be under young Surgeon Captains whose knowledge and experience of Chemical Analysis is thus described by Dr. Voelcker in his official report to the Government of India. Although the Assistant Surgeons may be quite competent and qualified to hold Civil Surgeoncies and the Professorship of Chemistry, they cannot aspire to such places but must remain content with Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 a month. The salary of the Chemical Analyser to Government is Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,700 or more according to his military rank. With what ease our University graduates secure the ordinary British diplomas is known to us all, and our graduates had only to pay their passage to England to secure both the ordinary English diplomas and a commission in the Indian Medical Service. But unfortunately, for reasons not very plain, the getting of the commissions became more difficult than securing the diplomas. Alarmed at the great inrush of natives into the Indian Medical Service, at one time the authorities seriously thought of either closing the service to the natives or imposing some fresh restrictions. Is it that the standard of teaching in our medical schools has lowered, or is it that the competition has got keener? Assurance, however, is often given to the public that the teaching at our medical schools is on a level with British teaching in British schools, for here also it is done by British teachers; and complaints have often been made that the competition is less fierce than it used to be. Then there is the Uncovenanted Medical Service open to all University graduates with Indian or British degrees or diplomas. This service was specially instituted in 1867 for the encouragement and utilisation of the best products of our Indian Medical Schools and at the same time to lessen the expense of the Medical Department. It is like the Provincial Civil Service with similar rules of pay and pension, and some of the high grade appointments of the Indian Medical Service incorporated therewith. To this service Assistant Surgeons are also eligible. But, strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that whilst graduates of other faculties have been elected to high posts in the judicial and revenue branches of the public service, and High Court Judges have had no objection to colleagues of pure Indian training, and the Engineering Colleges have been giving a first-class man every year for higher service in the P. W. D., the Medical Colleges have not given even two graduates in twenty years worthy to be recommended by the Surgeon-General for admission into the Uncovenanted Medical Service—a fact which hardly reflects credit on the teaching of the Professors supplied by the Surgeon-General's Department. Is it not a fact that the Surgeon-General has not only not recommended an outsider or an Assistant Surgeon for admission to this Service, but actually opposed

such admission of high class Assistant Surgeons whose claims were urged by distinguished executive officers of Government in their districts from their personal knowledge of the meritorious work done by their Assistant Surgeons? And is it not a fact also that the only appointment held by an outsider was recently wrested from the non-official profession and slipped into the hands of an Indian Medical Service man? Such have been the predatory instincts of the monopolist department. Thus in spite of the Government having made special provision for the recognition and encouragement of the non-official profession, the monopolists have been allowed for nearly a quarter of a century to come in the way of Government carrying out their declared policy of justice and fair play to the profession in India. (*applause.*) This military service monopoly of the fields, of work in the hospitals, and *post mortem* rooms, and teaching institutions, which has a large share in the rearing of a scientific and progressive profession and the advancement of the medical sciences themselves, have resulted in an unjust keeping back and actual degradation of the profession in India. The monopoly is against all manner of work by the local profession in the local hospitals. Even honorary work by members of the local profession is again and again wrecked on the shibboleth of that indefinable and unscrutable thing called "discipline," which rides roughshod over all rules and regulations which govern the relations of professional men and professors in the West. Specialists are not believed here to know their own requirements, and have to submit, as regards the methods of their work and the conduct of their classes, to the orders of the College Principal who is reckoned here to be an universal specialist. A non-military medical officer of an institution of actually higher and longer standing as regards his professional qualifications and connection with his hospital is always to be considered junior to his military colleagues of lower professional status and of much shorter connection with the institution. But the evil influences of the monopoly of the Indian Medical Service are not without their recoil on the service itself and the institutions it is connected with. For, as Dr. Carter said, it is hardly to be expected that the body of medical officers in India (from whom the staff of Professors is drawn) can always offer a wide enough field for selection. Moreover, owing to the service rules having for their basis the providing of places for men, and not finding men for places, a shuffling of cards takes place to suit the requirements, not of the special posts, but the office requirements of the Surgeon-General's Department, and it has not been possible even for the Service men to put forth as much work in upwards of fifty years as is put forth in as many months by some of the provincial schools of Europe. It is by no means cheerful to have to reflect that with India's vast opportunities and material the only professional service paper requires a State subsidy for its subsistence and boasts of no more than 128 subscribers, when even provincial medical journals in England have been flourishing both in wealth of scientific contributions and paying subscriptions. By circumstances the service men are led to look forward to a rise more in their service than in their profession, for to be even a Surgeon-General one has to rise in the service and not in the profession, and the Surgeon-General is taken as a universal professional expert, for he is the referee of Government in all matters medical and scientific, not because of his professional work and fame, but because he wears the badge of that office into which he must tumble in his turn. It is thus that it is possible for a Surgeon-General to advise Government even in the full light of our advanced times that experimental physiology and pathology require no vivisection, a piece of information that would create laughter and surprise in a class of beginners in a British medical school! Again, the Service monopoly of the educational and the allied institutions is subversive of all principles which govern the cultivation and development of medical education and medical science. Nowhere else in the world is the selection of educationists and votaries of science confined to a graded service in which men try their hands at different subjects as they advance in their grades. Nowhere else is a doctor, even a military doctor, regarded as a potential

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professor of various medical and sister sciences. Nowhere else could be found records of such feats and transformations on lecture pulpits as that of a military doctor appearing as a Physician and Professor of Medicine in the spring months, as Professor of Midwifery and an Obstetric Physician in the summer months, as Professor of Ophthalmology and Zoology—as if every oculist was a born naturalist—in the autumn, and as an expert in lunacy in the winter months of the same year. What other medical schools in the world could boast of such *tableaux vivants* on their lecture pulpits? (*Laughter and applause.*) Where else in the world could be found schools in which not a single session passes by without a change in the several professorships? That such a state of affairs is against the very intentions of all educational institutions requires no argument to establish. What happens is that the professors before they have any time to pick up some knowledge of the subject they are "ordered" by their Surgeon-General to teach in the Colleges, suddenly receive an order to teach quite another subject! This unnatural system and its manifest evils were often protested against by the service professors themselves, but as service men they have only to obey the orders of their Surgeon-General. Only recently the Director of Public Instruction of Madras has after a careful inquiry into the system advised Government that this state of affairs must mend or end. He lays down that the appointment of Professors in the medical schools should not, as heretofore, rest with the Surgeon-General, and that selections thereto must be on the basis of merit and capacity alone, or that the Professors should be selected by the Secretary of State as for the other Colleges, and that no transfer should be allowed, in case the Professor is a service man, at the will and convenience of the Surgeon-General. Our other Colleges do not exist for any special service, but the services of specially qualified men are requisitioned straight from the Universities. Even military Germany will not sacrifice her medicial education and Colleges to the interests and conveniences of her military medical service. And where else would it be accepted that a military service for two years and a little experience of general practice as a Civil Surgeon and guarder of jail birds is a necessary training and qualification for a medical Professorship, or that such training is a touchstone wherewith to transform every military doctor into a potential Professor of everything that is taught in a Medical School, or a potential Sanitary Commissioner or Analytical Chemist? Nowhere else in the world is the imperial service of the medical profession and its sciences forced to recognise any other covenant for their cultivation and advancement than that of faithful work, nor has the covenant any limitations of caste, colour, or creed, but is open to recruits from all ranks and conditions of men, the only standard of admission being capacity and merit. Nowhere else in the world are medical men told that if they did not wear military uniform they would be excluded from the covenant of working for the advancement of the sciences and contributing to the glory and welfare of their profession. But the service monopoly of the College appointments reduces our medical schools to the status of mere trade manufactories or unions. The pupils of our medical schools are made to take leave of their *alma mater* with this silent blessing from their masters. "You were here to pick up enough knowledge to enable you to earn a livelihood as an Anglicised hakim: it is not your business to come here again. You can never be fit to take part in or continue our work as professors. Perhaps we may not mind your coming in with us provided you purchase a right to wear our uniform." Whilst in every other country the Colleges make it their pride to bring up a generation of pupils who continue the work of their masters, and masters and pupils reflect credit on, and take pride in, each other, and have common feelings and aspirations and pleasures of work for the advancement of the science, and the several *alma maters* show particular regard for their own sons, out here all these best traditions of renowned schools have been annihilated since the creation of the service monopoly. And there can be no attachment of pupils to masters who wish not to see them again except by the bedside of patients.

for consultations, and who block their every avenue of a scientific or even a high professional career. This in itself is a lamentable state of things and wants speedy mending in the interest of education and for the good name of our medical schools and the dignity of the profession in India. It is melancholy to reflect, that though our medical schools have existed for upwards of fifty years, and India has offered the widest opportunities to the privileged workers, she has no scientists of her own, and has to beg of other countries to solve her scientific questions, and can boast of no Harley-street men of her own in whose hands even our European friends could place themselves, and be thus saved the necessity of a hasty flight to the Harley-street in London, directly their ailments get above the stage of mere trifles! (*Applause*) Then there is the important question of economy.

At this point the President intimated that Dr. Bhadurjee's time allotted to him in which to bring forward his motion had expired.

THE PRESIDNT:—We must stick to the rules. There may be special occasion when an extension of the time is necessary and I think I have allowed that extension and have taken into account that this is a new proposition. (*Cries of "Go on."*)

DR. BHADURJEE:—I am sorry to be going against the rules of the Congress, but I know you will excuse me for I do so in bringing forward a new subject of which the people are ignorant. Men of light and leading have not yet thoroughly grasped the subject, and I ask you, whether are you going to vote on this matter in ignorance?

THE PRESIDENT:—The chair must be obeyed. I anticipated this and I gave you a much longer time than is properly allowed. But as the speaker pleads for a further extension and as this is a new subject I put it to the Congress whether they wish to hear Dr. Bhardurjee further. (*Cries of "Yes."*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Then you may take five minutes more.

Dr. Bhadurjee continuing said:—It is a familiar fact that a military article is a costly one, and whenever military men are borrowed for civil duty the borrowing departments have to pay them not only the regular salaries of the appointments but also their rank allowances. Look at the difference in the salaries of the College professors. In the Educational Department the grade service scale is Rs. 500 to Rs. 1, 500, the latter being the Principal's salary, and the sister Colleges have had first-rate men on such a scale without the further emoluments of private practice which the medical professors indulge in. And though the medical professors are by no means chosen on the recognised principles of educational appointments, they never begin under Rs. 700, and may rise to Rs. 1,800, or more, *i. e.* they require a third more than the professors of the other Colleges for their military rank allowances. Again, these allowances are proportionate to the rank of the officers, so that a Professorship may cost Rs. 700 or Rs. 1,200, according as the incumbent is a Captain or a Major. Thus our medical schools are costlier by a third than the sister institutions. And looked at from the point of view of Government themselves, they are still more expensive. At one of our medical schools Government have appointed a professor of the same race and the same qualifications as his military colleagues and at almost half their salary scale. The reason Government gives is that the other professors are paid at a higher rate because they are military men! Thus this non-military professor has to work on a scale of Rs. 350 to Rs. 750 side by side with his military colleagues, whose scale runs from Rs. 700 to Rs. 1,800! The laws of demand and supply will operate in regard to our medical schools as well, and

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like the sister Colleges they also may be sure of getting good men, especially with the further emoluments of private practice. Good men would gladly come out to India if they were sure of a straight road to the professorships of their special subjects. It is the circuitous route of military service and general practice and guardianship of jail birds, and what is not at all an inconsiderable factor, interest and smiles of the Surgeon-General, which deters really good men from seeking a scientific career in India. Taking the Presidency College appointments alone, the saving is some Rs. 36,000 a year. But this is only on eight appointments. There are some 361 military men in civil employ, and with many of their appointments the ratio is much higher. Even at the ratio of one-third, the saving comes to 15 lakhs on 361 appointments. The grade scale pay only of 361 of these military officers comes to over 35 lakhs. Add to this the allowances, which amount to at least 25 per cent. Thus the total saving per year is nearly 20 lakhs. The civil medical service, with a strength of 361 members, that is, a hundred more than the military requirements, has grown to be a distinct service by itself, and there can be no justification for a military detachment of military doctors being any more quartered on a medical school and civil hospitals and on the taxpayer. Time was when military doctors, they being the only exponents of Western medical science to be found in the country and at the disposal of Government, were called in by Government to start their medical schools and look after their civil medical relief work. All honour to the noble pioneers of medical education in India, members of the Indian Medical School, who helped Government in their noble and humanising work of sowing the seed of Western medical education, and they deserve our highest gratitude, for it never occurred to them to monopolise College and hospital fields as reserve pasture ground for themselves or for their service. They considered themselves men of science and medicine first and service men afterwards, and not allowing the instincts of their liberal profession and training to be swamped by any ideas of service or monopoly interest, they stoutly opposed the closing of the fields of work in medicine and the allied sciences against anybody, and pleaded for their being kept open for all comers straight through the recognised avenues of special qualification and training. If such was the necessity in 1867, when the medical schools were only 25 years in existence, how much more so now, with the rapid advance of the special sciences since 1867! It appears that the idea of scheduling these appointments originated with a Surgeon-General, and it is the Surgeon-General's Department that docked the appointments for his Service, the Indian Government not realising that such an indulgence to a military department meant total subversion of their noble intentions and policy, and little expecting that the Surgeon-General's Department would knock their Uncovenanted Medical Service into a dead letter. The Colleges were founded not for "any governmental or executive wants," said a mouthpiece of Government, but for the cultivation and diffusion of Western medical science to promote the happiness of the people of India. The monopoly of the civil medical appointments forms no article of the covenant of the Indian Medical Service, and surely the medical Colleges do not exist for quartering supernumerary military men. If England herself will not allow her army doctors to be billeted on her civil hospitals and educational institutions, will she allow such an extraordinary and unjust procedure in India? And if the War Office will not allow army doctors of the British army to be kept in civil employ, if at all, for longer than three years—for it would be against the discipline and the very intentions of the army system—will it allow the Indian Government any longer to disregard these principles in the case of the Indian army? But this "reserve" argument is really a delusion and a snare. The actual strength of the military Indian Medical Service is some 269 men, but some 361 members of what is really military service have crept into what is called the civil reserve. To have 361 reserves for 268, regulars, or to lend 361 from a capital of 268 is a novel idea indeed. The proposal aims at a natural disposition of things, and

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some suggestions have been made in my memorandum on the subject as regards the lines on which the scheme of reform may be adapted to existing circumstances. By the institution of a purely civil medical service for India medical education and the profession will rise with their enfranchisement and science will advance, and India will also take her place with other countries in scientific and medical progress, and there will be no more need of indenting on other countries for their scientists to solve Indian questions. Again the experience and knowledge that the sons of the country will gain with free and fair play to their talent will remain in the country and for the country's good. At present the Indian experience of the army doctors, who alone have every means of developing talent and gaining knowledge and experience, is lost to India, for it is all carried away from the country with the pensions in sterling. Indian experience is gained at India's expense, but not for her good. And last, but not least, England will have the satisfaction of carrying out her noble mission and policy towards India, and add to her honour and glory by raising India as a nation with a full measure of material and scientific progress in the department of medicine and sanitation which are so intimately connected with the progress of civilisation amongst the advanced people (*loud applause.*)

DR. M. M. BOSE (*Calcutta, No. 6, in list*) seconded the motion and said :—I need only add a few words to what Dr. Bhadurjee has said. I shall first take up the question of public medical education. We know that in England and other places the Professor has to devote his whole time to the subject in which he teaches. Here we find a surgeon coming from outstation duties for a year or two and then he is transferred to a surgeonship in the Districts and then he is not only called upon to perform the duties of a Professor but of surgeon to a hospital and also has to fill many other appointments. You cannot expect to produce good scientific men unless you have at the head of the institution in the professorial chair a man who devotes his whole time and energy to his work. We have got a class of Assistant Surgeons, and why not encourage them? They work for 12, 20 or 24 years and after 24 year's service they get the same pay as that upon which an Englishman begins. If we employ these men who know the social customs and manners of the people, causes of disease, and they can really do the duty more efficiently than the Surgeons who are often inexperienced people, matters will improve. For instance the Secretary of State has power to appoint Professors to the Presidency College, directly from England without any class examination. Why should not men directly from Oxford and Cambridge be imported here and placed on the teaching staff of the medical classes of the Presidency Colleges? We should not mind taking them from England if they were appointed as teachers in the medical classes. The mover has dealt with the question from various points of view and I only hope our brethren will take it up earnestly. No doubt if this is put before the English public and the Indian public we shall in time have the Indian Medical Service reconstituted. (*Applause.*)

DR. BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA (*Bombay, No. 786, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been so eloquently and lucidly proposed by my esteemed friend, Dr. Bhadurjee. He has done full justice to it. I need not, therefore, reiterate the sentiments which he has expressed to the Congress. I will, however, dwell upon two or three most important points bearing on the subject. The separation of the Military and Civil Medical Services is as important a subject as that of the Civil Service, and I trust it will receive from you the same measure of attention as the subject of the Simultaneous Examination in England and India. Apart from the fact that this separation will encourage scientific medical education for its own sake, it will also

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improve the status of the medical profession and of the subordinate medical service—I mean the class of Assistant Surgeons, who, although generally very capable men, have to rot on Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 per mensem all their life, while their compeers by spending the passage money to England and passing an ordinary examination in the Covenanted Medical Service, commence from Rs. 350 and rise to Rs. 1,500, or even to Rs. 1,800 per mensem. The Apothecary class can rise to Rs. 400 and even to Rs. 800 per mensem, and occupy the post of Honorary Surgeons and House-Surgeons; but all these are denied to the Assistant Surgeons. If this separation and reconstitution is effected, it will entirely change the present state of things. It will enable the Assistant Surgeons to rise higher in their service as regards pay, and encourage them to improve their medical and scientific knowledge. Along with this there will have to be effected a change in the appointments to the professorial chairs in the Medical College. The haphazard manner of appointing a military medical officer to any and every chair in the Medical College has been the bane of medical education and the advancement of medical science in India. These appointments must be thrown open to the best available talent either in England or here by free competition. (*Hear, hear.*) It is only by adopting this course that the best specially trained men will be available instead of confining the selection to the charmed circle of military medical men. Such men will encourage the study of the medical science in all its branches, and will ultimately create a taste for original research. But the most important advantage will be economic administration. From the recent issue of the *Quarterly Indian Army List*, it is found that the total expenditure on all the 361 appointments of military medical officers in civil employ comes to about Rs. 43 lakhs. The military medical officers like every military article are very dear, and I believe they are one-third dearer than others who do not belong to the Military Medical Service. If the reconstitution be effected with one-third of the salaries of the present scale, there would be a reduction of Rs. 12 lakhs. (*applause.*) All civil appointments carry other allowances, and on an average they come to at least one-fourth of the grade salaries, that is about eight lakhs, so that there will be a total saving of twenty-three lakhs annually. Will this not be a source of relief to the general taxpayer? The monopoly of scheduled appointments which has existed for some years past was intended by a Surgeon-General who looked more to the interest of the service men than to that of the people or the tax-payer. Its introduction was generously and strenuously opposed by men like Sir W. G. Hunter and Sir George Birdwood, but without any avail. They fought for the principle that the College and other important appointments should be thrown open to the best talent wherever available. This monopoly has grown so strong that the military medical officers consider these appointments as a preserve or as a birthright, and even the slightest encroachment on this sacred preserve is most bitterly opposed and resented. ("*Shame.*") It has given rise to a feeling of intense jealousy. I will not further take up your time, but will give you two concrete instances of this feeling of intense jealousy which prevails in the service. I have not come here with the object of airing the grievance of any individual person, but I am compelled to mention an instance to illustrate what I am striving to put before you. The eminent gentleman who addressed you just now has fallen a victim to the service jealousy. ("*Shame.*") That noble and liberal statesman, who presided over the destinies of Bombay some years ago—I mean Lord Reay (*applause.*) created a new professorship for Pharmacological research. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda was generous enough to endow a chair for the purpose of investigating native drugs, and my friend was chosen to fill that chair. He is the only native M. D. of the London University and holds excellent certificates from eminent scientists in Europe. He filled the chair with great credit to himself. But from the moment of his appointment to the moment of the urgent abolition of that chair, he was persecuted, opposed, and annoyed by that clique of the army medical men at the Grant Medical College. Another

instance is that of my distinguished friend, Dr. Deshmukh, M. D., of the Bombay University. He was an Assistant Surgeon and filled the appointment of Assistant Chemical Analyser to the Government of Bombay for thirteen years with great ability and satisfaction to the Government. But when the Chemical Analysership to the Government fell temporarily vacant, he was distinctly told that it was a scheduled appointment, and he could never hope to get it in the face of the fact that such appointments were conferred temporarily on deserving of uncovenanted servants of Government. He was disgusted with the treatment and resigned the service in despair, while a young surgeon who never knew anything of analysis was pitchforked into it. I will not further take up your time, but will heartily support the motion, and commend it to your unanimous and cordial acceptance. (*Loud applause.*)

DR. BHUGATRAM SAWHUY (*Punjab, No. 487, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—After having heard my predecessors, I don't think there is much left for me to say on the subject. I just want to add that this proposition has my entire sympathy and support, and that as far as I can judge I deem it absolutely necessary, in the interests of the medical science and of original scientific research in this country that the Civil Medical Service should be separated from the Military Medical Service and that appointments in the Civil Medical Service should be thrown open to the best talent available. At present the only service open to the natives of India educated in the Indian Medical Colleges is the subordinate Medical Service carrying poor emoluments, viz, beginning with a handsome salary of Rs. 100, and rising to Rs. 200 a month after going through the ordeal of a curriculum of 5 years with stiff examinations to pass and two septenneal examinations to qualify them for promotion. It should be remembered that an Assistant Surgeon has not only to do the main portion of the Civil Medical work but that he has generally to perform the most difficult part of it, *e.g.* the most important surgical operations and treating all sorts of medical cases and doing any kind of Medico-legal work. In fact he is expected to be almost as efficient as a specialist in any branch of Medical Science as far as the septenneal examinations are concerned. But the injustice does not stop there. Even if an Assistant Surgeon has the means and pluck to go to Europe and obtain English degrees, on his return he is treated no better than an ordinary Assistant Surgeon while a military medical man with similar qualifications has a chance of aspiring to the highest appointment in the Civil; not only that but even an apothecary with no experience whatever of the Civil Medical duties can at once be transferred from a Military Apothecary into a Civil Surgeon superseding men possessing far superior professional knowledge and great experience of the Civil Medical work. We do not at all wish ill of our Eurasian brethren of the Military Subordinate Medical Service but it will be undoubtedly more just if their prospects were improved in their own department and those of Assistant Surgeons in the Civil. The only remedy for the redress of the grievances of the Indian Medical profession including all creeds and classes *i. e.* Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Eurasians, Native Christians &c &c is to give all a fair play and no favour in filling up appointments as Civil Surgeons by holding simultaneous open competition examination in England and India while chairs in the Indian Medical Colleges should be filled up by selection from the pick of the profession in both countries instead of making them a monopoly of the Military Medical Service as is at present done. A Professor of Physiology being by a single stroke of the pen transformed into a Chemical Analyser and a Chemical Analyser into a Professor of Surgery to the great detriment of the interests of the students and discouragement of the profession generally.

The motion was carried and the Congress adjourned till one o'clock the next day, Friday.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, 29th December, 1893.

The Congress re-assembled at one o'clock on Friday afternoon.

Third day.

Cheers and Telegram to Mr. Gladstone on his birthday.

THE PRESIDENT :— The fifth resolution will be proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji of Bengal but before he proceeds with it I have to communicate to you that I have received a document signed by one hundred and twenty five gentlemen from Jullunder in favour of Simultaneous Examinations which is the subject of this resolution. Further, before we proceed with that resolution I beg to propose that we give three cheers for Mr. Gladstone on this, his birthday and I propose also that a telegram be sent from the Congress congratulating him and wishing him many more birthdays. (Three hearty cheers were then given for Mr. Gladstone by the delegates and visitors all rising from their seats). And the President was authorised to send a telegram to Mr. Gladstone as suggested by him.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji (*Calcutta, No. 8, in list*)—moved :—

Resolution V.

Indian Civil Service Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India.

That this Congress desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—In moving this resolution it is impossible not to advert for a moment or two to the great and momentous changes which have taken place within the last few months in the constitution of the Government of this country. The year 1893 will be memorable in the annals of British India, memorable in the glorious record of the undying achievements of the British people in this country. It will be remembered not for the battles that have been fought and won, not for the treaties that have been concluded, nor even for that last accession to our treaties, concluded by Sir Mortimer Durand with the Amir of Afghanistan, by which the Indian tax-payer has been burdened with a further burden of six lakhs of rupees a year. But it will be remembered as the year which witnessed the birth of representative institutions in this country, *(applause)* and the formal, the clear, the emphatic recognition, by the British House of Commons, of the principle that the natives of this country shall enjoy the same practical facilities with their European fellow-subjects, in regard to that examination which constitutes the passport to high appointments in the land of their birth *(applause)*. Nor will the year be less memorable for the reversal, at any rate the partial reversal, of that policy which had culminated in the issue of the Jury Notification. Last year about this time, in Congress assembled, we were deploring the fact that a British Government, wedded to the traditions of popular liberty, should have so far forgotten those traditions as to have issued a notification restricting the right of trial by jury. *(Shame)*. This year it is our proud privilege to be able to offer our congratulations to the Government of India on having reverted to the paths of returning wisdom and sound sense. *(applause.)* Last year we had hoped—with some it was a distant hope—that representative institutions would be established in this country. This year the enlarged Councils with their enlarged functions are an accomplished fact. (*Loud applause*). Last year in our wildest dreams, in the most rapturous moments of

prophetic inspiration, when the mind travels out of itself into the world of the unknown and the unseen, we could not anticipate that the Parliament of Great Britain would affirm the principle of Simultaneous Examinations (*Hear, hear.*) And yet the unexpected has come to pass; and to you, Sir, (here the speaker turned to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) it must be the crowning satisfaction of your life to be able to feel that you are a chosen instrument in the hands of Almighty Providence for the good of the people (*Applause*)—to know that you have by your efforts brought within measurable distance of success a question, to the satisfactory solution of which you have dedicated the energies of a life-time. I think I express the sense of this Congress, and I may add, of the educated community throughout the Empire, when I say that it is our earnest hope and our ardent prayer that you may long be spared to devote yourself to the good of your country, and to present to us the men of a younger generation that lofty ideal of public duty which we can never hope to attain to, but which we may hope to follow, at a measurable distance from you the great pattern of our race. (*Applause.*)

The resolution, with which I have been charged, records the gratitude of this Congress to the British House of Commons for its vote in connection with the question of Simultaneous Examinations. It has been said—I will assume that it has been said in ignorance—that the vocabulary of the Indian languages does not contain the word gratitude. (*Laughter.*) I am not here to discuss that question. Whether we have the word or not, the feeling is there, deep, passionate and profound. But if the word does not find a place in our vocabularies, I think I can find a rational explanation for it. The feeling is so strong and so intense that human language which is only a human contrivance, a vehicle for our thoughts and feelings, fails to give adequate expression to the deepseated sentiment of gratitude which finds a lodgement in the breast of every true-born Indian. (*Loud applause.*) However that may be, Mr. Paul and his friends are entitled to our deepest gratitude. (*Loud applause.*) There is one aspect of the question which is not to be overlooked. Not only have they done a great service to the people of India, they have done a memorable service to their own country. They have vindicated the honour of their Sovereign and our Sovereign; they have redeemed the plighted faith of the British nation, and by adding to the contentment of the people they have added to the stability of the Throne in India. (*Applause.*) For after all upon what does the permanence of British rule depend in India? Not upon its army, not upon its navy, not upon its impregnable fortresses, not upon its wonderful lines of strategic railway, wonderful alike for its strength and its expensiveness, nor even upon the subsidising of the Ameer. These are adventitious aids to power which may fail us in the sorest day of trial. (*Hear, hear.*) The permanence of British rule depends upon the contentment, the happiness, the willing allegiance of the vast and the multitudinous population (*applause*) who in the ordering of Divine Providence have been committed to the care and guardianship of the British Government in India. (*Hear, hear.*) But how can you hope to conciliate a people or win their gratitude, when you degrade them by employing them in subordinate positions, and when you show your contempt for them by breaking faith with them. ("*No, no.*") I know it is a very serious charge to bring against the Government of this country, but the words have not escaped me. I make use of them deliberately and advisedly with a full sense of my responsibility for every word I utter. I desire to arraign the Government of India before the Bar of British and Indian public opinion—before the Bar of civilised humanity in all parts of the globe; for the history of the Civil Service question is one unbroken record of broken promises. (*Applause.*) Bear with me for a few moments as I carry you through this dismal record of broken pledges. In 1853 a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat on the renewal of the Company's Charter. Mr. Hay Cameron gave evidence before that Committee. Mr. Cameron was an Anglo-Indian ex-official and he had

been a Member of the Supreme Legislative Council. Now mark the evidence which Mr. Cameron with all the weight of his official authority gave before the Committee. He said that not a single native of India had been appointed to any high office within the twenty years that had elapsed since the enactment of the Charter Act to which he might not have been appointed before the passing of that Act; in other words the Charter Act had remained a dead-letter. That was in 1853. But let us pass on to more recent times. In 1869 the Duke of Argyle, not the reactionary Conservative Duke of 1893, but the Liberal and Radical Duke of 1869, speaking from his place in Parliament as Secretary of State for India said "we have broken our promises and have not kept our engagements with the people of India." In 1875 Lord Lytton speaking as Vice-chancellor of the University of Calcutta said "The promises of the Queen remain inadequately redeemed." But Lord Lytton had something more to say about the matter in language still more emphatic. He sent a secret despatch home to which our President referred from his place in the House of Commons,—a secret despatch in which he unburdened his soul and disclosed his innermost thoughts. The secret despatch has found its way into publicity, and what do we find there? Lord Lytton says "we have cheated the people of India," *(Shame.)* "we have broken to the hope the words of promise we had uttered to the ear." Let us now proceed from opinions to facts. In 1870 a Parliamentary Statute was passed for the purpose of conferring upon natives of India some of those high appointments which had hitherto been reserved to members of the covenanted service. These appointments were to be made subject to rules to be framed by the Government of India. The Statute was passed in 1870. When were the rules passed, may I enquire? The Government of India overburdened with its multitudinous work was able to pass six rules in six years' time *(Laughter.)* and then exhausted by the effort—*(Laughter)*—it needed breathing time, and there was another pause for six years before the rules were given effect to. *(Shame.)* Then came the Public Service Commission, and here we have again an illustration of the old remark "a mountain was in labour and a mouse was produced." *(Laughter.)* The Public Service Commission recommended the abolition of the statutory service, and that part of the recommendation, I need hardly say, has been promptly given effect to. Then the Public Service Commission recommended the reduction—not in so many words but the practical effect of their recommendations came to that—of the number of high appointments hitherto open to natives of India, and finally they voted against Simultaneous Examinations, in spite of the weight of evidence to the contrary. Unsatisfactory as were the results of the labours of the Public Service Commission, the Resolution of the Government of India was still more unsatisfactory. The Public Service Commission had offered us one hundred and eight appointments, hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service, but the Government of India in the abundance of their good-will to the people reduced the number to 93. *(Laughter and cries of Shame.)* The Public Service Commission had recommended that a Divisional Commissionership and a membership of the Board of Revenue should be assigned to the Provincial service, but for reasons which we are not able to follow, the Government of India thought fit to dispense with this part of their recommendation. The other day I was having a talk with a high official who wanted to know, I quote his words, "the reason why you gentlemen are so persistent in pressing for Simultaneous Examinations." I said if he wanted me to state my views frankly, I would gladly do so. On receiving an assurance that he wished to know my views about the matter, I said "we have lost all faith in the bureaucracy in the matter of the bestowal of high offices on our countrymen. Our interests and their interests are in conflict. Whatever appointments will be given to us will have to be taken away from them; officials are after all men, not angelic creatures, emanations of the all-beauteous mind, they are swayed by influences and feelings to which all flesh is heir. We feel therefore that we should fall back on a test which shall be independent of the exercise of personal discretion on the part of the members of the bureaucracy."

In pressing for Simultaneous Examinations we take our stand upon the Proclamation of the Queen, (*Hear, hear.*) the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties. (*Applause.*) The Proclamation, the whole Proclamation, and nothing but the Proclamation, is our watch-word, our battle cry, the Gospel of our political deliverance. I have heard it said that to grant Simultaneous Examinations would be to expose the Empire to wreck and ruin. Is it not written in a book—one of the noblest in the literature of mankind, a book which in the judgment of our rulers contains the inspired writings of prophets and sages—that "Righteousness exalteth a nation?" I have yet to learn that any Government or any institution has suffered by adapting its policy to the dictates of justice and morality. Statesmanship divorced from morality is a mean, contemptible thing: it is not worth the name. Statesmanship divorced from morality is political jugglery. I hope I have not tired out your patience. (*No, no.*) You know perfectly well that the Government of India have gone against us, and the Council of the Secretary of State—the old gentlemen of the India Council—they too have gone against us. Will any one in this Congress or outside the Congress tell me what useful purpose the India Council serves? (*Cries of "none."*) It is said to be a consultative body, but it is a body which the Secretary of State need not consult at all. He may, if he chose, ignore his Council. It is the asylum, the haven of refuge for retired Anglo-Indian officials, who having by reason of their age been declared disqualified for service in India, are by reason of their age declared qualified for service in England. What is a disqualification here is a qualification in England. (*Shame.*) I am disposed to make use in this connection of the words which Milton applies to a being whose name shall not be mentioned;—"Evil be thou my good." I do not wish to enter into the various objections which have been raised against Simultaneous Examinations, but there are one or two which call for some remark. It is said that the martial races are opposed to Simultaneous Examinations (*No, no*). I see before me the representatives of the martial races, men whose brothers, relations and friends have fought, and bled in the defence of the Empire, in Burma, in the distant Soudan, and amid the defiles of Afghanistan, men who constitute the bulwark of the Empire,—I appeal to them to say whether they are in favour or against Simultaneous Examinations (*Cries of "in favour."*) I was quite prepared for that response. You have indeed given the lie direct to the allegation by holding the first public meeting in support of Simultaneous Examinations in the Capital of the Punjab; and by whom was that meeting presided over? Not by a Bengalee Babu, but by Sirdar Dyal Singh Majithia, the scion of one of the most illustrious of the Sikh houses in the Punjab. (*Cries of three cheers for Sirdir Dyal Singh.*)

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji here called for three cheers for the Hon'ble Mr. Ranade and the Maharajah of Kupurthala who entered the hall at this stage of the proceedings.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji continuing his speech said:—Let us travel from the Punjab to the North-West Provinces. You must have followed with some interest the recent elections to the Council of the North-West Provinces. And what is there so noticeable in the elections? We find that the Allahabad group of Municipalities returned my esteemed friend Babu Charoo Chunder Mitter, a Bengali gentleman, as their representative to the Legislative Council. I am perfectly convinced that even the Government itself does not attach the smallest credence to this hollow delusion. If they did, would they have appointed a Bengali gentleman to be a Judge of the High Court of the North-West Provinces in succession to Mr. Justice Syed Mahmood? It is too late to raise this question. It is a question involving racial considerations which have been set at rest by the Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen, We are further told that the successful candidates must be trained in the highest forms of English education, and that the Examination should be the test for English qualifications. I have not the slightest objection to make the examination as stiff as you like—make it as English as you

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may—but do not delude us with the hollow promise that you will place Englishmen and Indians on the same footing, as regards facilities for admission to these examinations, when you do not mean to do so, when your promises are fettered with conditions, which involve the taking away with the one hand what is conferred with the other. Then we are confronted with difficulties as to the holding of the examination in this country. We are told that a *viva voce* examination cannot be held here. The London University however have agreed to hold Simultaneous Examinations as regards their B.A., and Matriculation standard, and *viva voce* forms part of the London University Examinations. The London University are a body of experts who must have considered all the difficulties in their way, and must have been convinced that they were not insurmountable in their character. Why should the Government of India be startled out of its wits by the product of its own affrighted imagination? Let them try the experiment in an honest manner, and these obstacles and difficulties, I am convinced, will disappear. There is one of the controversialists in regard to this question whom I have purposely kept in the back ground: he is no other than General Chesney. (*Hissses.*) The Congress possesses such magnanimity that even he may be treated with some little courtesy at our hands. General Chesney was pleased to tell the House of Commons that the competitive test however suitable to English men was unsuitable to the natives of this country, and that the Indian gentlemen who have found their way by competition into the Indian Civil Service have not proved themselves to be able and efficient administrators. I want to read to you two extracts in this connection—one from the pen of Lord Macaulay who holds that the competitive test, although purely intellectual in its character, is also a moral test, and the other extract will be from the report of the Public Service Commission which bears unequivocal testimony to the efficiency as administrators of those Indian gentlemen who have made their way into the Civil Service through the open door of competition. This is what Lord Macaulay says :—"Early superiority in the Sciences and Literature generally indicates the existence of some qualities which are securities against vice—industry, selfdenial, a taste for pleasures not sensual, a laudable desire of honourable distinction, a still more laudable desire to obtain the approbation of friends and relatives. We therefore believe that the intellectual test which is about to be established will be found in practice to be the best moral test that can be devised." Then with reference to the charge against the Indian Civilians who have entered the Service through competition, the Public Service Commission make these remarks :—"The results generally when considered in connection with the positions attained by European officers of similar standing in the service appear to support the view that although on the one hand there may not have been any instances of exceptional success in the official careers of the native gentlemen who have entered the service through the English competition, on the other hand they have not fallen short of the position which Civil Servants with the same length of service ordinarily attain. The Commission is able to add its own testimony that the majority of the Native Covenanted Civilians who were examined as witnesses displayed intelligence and ability in the manner in which they gave their evidence."

I need not detain you at any further length. We are within measurable distance of success. I may say that in one sense we are in view of the promised land. The positon, however, is one that is not free from anxiety and embarrassment. The forces of the bureaucracy are arrayed against us; we are in dire conflict with them; but I have no doubts, or misgivings as to the ultimate issue of this conflict. Where have you heard of a cause, founded upon the highest justice, ennobled by the spirit of liberty, sanctified by the genius of self-sacrifice, has been worsted in the long run? In this conflict we shall be aided by the moral forces of humanity, and the sympathies of the good and the true in all parts of the civilised world will be with us. The banner which so proudly floats over this Congress, and which under God's Providence, I hope and trust, will in a

measurable distance of time become the banner of an emancipated people, promises us the victory that is in store for us. (*Loud applause.*) The past fills us with hope. Our record has been a brilliant one. Where is the Vernacular Press Act, where are our sham Councils, where is the Jury Notification? They have all disappeared before the irresistible and the triumphant advance of public opinion (*applause.*) As in the past so in the future, our hopes will be centred in the British House of Commons, the Palladium of liberty, the sanctuary of the free; and to the British Parliament we appeal for enforcing that mandate which is the product of their own spontaneous generosity—to the British Parliament we appeal for justice and liberty, to the British Parliament we appeal for admission to the rights of British citizenship, and to them we appeal to perform towards India the noblest and the most onerous duty that has yet devolved on any nation, ancient or modern, and under God's blessing we are confident that our appeal will not have fallen on heedless ears, but that it will elicit a response worthy of the greatest representative assembly that the world has yet seen. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

MR. HAMID ALI KHAN (*Oudh, No. 181, in list*) in seconding the motion said:—I suffer from two difficulties at the present moment, the first is that notice was just given to me a moment ago and I have had barely time to clear my thoughts when I was called upon to speak, and the second is that I have the pleasure of following the greatest orator of the day whose eloquence is still ringing in our ears. (*Hear, hear.*) I shall consider myself as one of the greatest orators if I do not make a fool of myself before you. (*Laughter.*) Every question as you know has two sides, but the question now engaging the attention of the Congress has only one side. Viewed from another point, it has three sides, a Mahomedan, a Hindu, and an Anglo-Indian side. To the latter it is a question of bread, pure and simple, and as they have been enjoying it the whole of their lives, it is but natural that they should look upon one who endeavours to deprive them of a portion of it as big as the eye of a fly, with anything but affection. (*Laughter.*) But there is every reason to hope that their appetite will give way to a better feeling. I have done with the Anglo-Indians, now one word as to the Hindoo side of the question before I proceed to touch the third side. If simultaneous examinations are allowed and the condition of stopping two years in England after passing is removed, such of the Hindoos as have religious scruples and object to proceed to England will not be required to go there. Then let us look to the third side of the question upon which I wish to dwell fully two minutes. When the news of the passing of simultaneous examinations by the House of Commons reached this country, our Anglo-Indian friends exhibited grave symptoms of affection towards the Mahomedans and the assertion was made that the Mahomedans were preparing a Petition to Parliament against the proposed change. I rejoice to say that the good sense of the Mahomedans has prevailed (*Hear, hear.*) They have refused to listen to the advice of the *Pioneer* and those it represents. Repeated efforts were made in the Provinces by those whose business it is to please the officials to get up a petition, but it failed, and I am sure I represent the views of the Mahomedans, at least of those in my part of the country, when I say without fear of contradiction that the majority are decidedly in favour of holding the examinations in India. As for myself I thoroughly believe that the Mahomedans will, if we succeed in getting the boon, be ever so much better off. Want of means deters many promising young Mahomedans from proceeding to England to prosecute his studies. (*Hear, hear.*) There are I believe twenty four Indian gentlemen who have passed the competetive examination in England and out of those only two are Mahomedans. If we had the simultaneous examinations in India, I am sure that the number of Mahomedans would be much greater and if we succeed in getting this boon I am sure the country will have the pleasure of seeing many Mahomedans

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coming out successful in this country. Supposing I prove to be a false prophet and the Mahomedans do not succeed then it can be safely predicted they will not be in a worse position. But I look at my watch and find the time has nearly gone. I will conclude these remarks by saying, let us one and all, the representatives of every community, creed and sect assembled is this Congress, unanimously pass this resolution of our Grand Old Man (*applause*) who enjoys the confidence and respect of the House of Commons and who commands the admiration and affection of the people to a degree which could be better imagined than described. Mr. Hume is our father and a tower of strength to the Indian Government and a monument of eternal pride and glory to the British Rule. (*Hear, hear.*)

THE HON'BLE RAJA RAMPAL SINGH (*Allahabad, No. 70, in list*) in supporting the resolution said :—After hearing the eloquent speech of my friend the Hon'ble Mr.Surendra Nath Banerji, I have resolved to adopt another method of supporting the resolution, and it is this, my eloquent friend began by praising the generous and liberal Englishmen who supported this motion, I will praise the subject itself. The righteousness of this cause is ringing in the ear of every Indian, but does not find any echo in official quarters. It travelled over land and water into the capital of Great Britain and there it touched the hearts of the liberal-minded M. Ps. of England and prepared them to fight the battle. (*Hear, hear.*) A battle was fought and the glory was theirs, but the righteousness of this cause does not rest here. It so impressed the minds of the great party that the Secretary of State through his Lieutenant stated in the Lower House that they had no intention of thwarting the Resolution. That is a proof of the righteousness of the cause in itself. I have shown you the good quality of the cause itself, I should like now to enter into the details and show you the good service it will do to this country if it is accepted by the Government; both in England and in India. Firstly, it will take away the stigma which has been cast upon Government of practically closing the doors of the Civil Service Examination to Indians. Gentlemen, you know that more than thirty years ago the privilege of passing our examination in England, or in other words of competing for the Civil Service was given us and some of our Bengali friends went there and gained success, of whom Baboo Surendranath Benerji is one. Their success frightened the Indian Government and the consequence was that obstacles began to be put in the way of any more of our countrymen getting admission into that Service by various devices, devices which are not creditable to the high officials who were their authors. One instance of that was the reduction of the age and they held out a sop by opening a new Service in this country called the Statutory Civil Service. It was intended for gentlemen of true merit and ability, but I should say unfortunately it was given to gentlemen of disproved merit and disability. (*Hear, hear and laughter.*) If examinations were held in this country it would do an immense deal of good to the people of this country because even with the increase of age it is surely not easy for our candidates to properly compete with the Engligh people in their own language. I will quote one instance to you and you will imagine what difficulties one labours under when he goes to England. I was over 25 years of age when I went to Europe for the first time and though I was accompanied by a number of my Indian servants yet I did not for sometime find it easy to get myself settled there and to manage everything smoothly. Imagine for a boy, a hobbledehoy of 15 to go to England to find everything for himself from laundresses to the landlady. How difficult for him to go and compete in this examination. (*Hear, hear and laughter.*) So, gentlemen, if this concession is granted it will induce our English friends to settle down in this country and if it fails to do that, I am sure it will be very serviceable to the Hindus, domiciled Christians, Mahomedans and every body. That is one of the blessings it will confer. Another is this that it will create a better feeling between the rulers and the ruled and you know a thing is better secured by being loved than by being feared, and by establishing these examinations in India,

Her Majesty's Government will please the people so much that they will be doubly prepared to fight against Russia and her enemies if they get this concession. It will check the draining of Indian resources to a certain extent and will stimulate higher education in India. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, whilst the Indian resources are drained away by free trade, I am a liberal, but I should like to see the protectionist policy in India especially for English goods and the English things Maharajahs have. I should have been pleased if our nobles of this country like Peter the Great went to England and learnt shipmaking and learnt to do something. (*Hear, hear.*) If a Maharajah is fond of English articles he would be quite welcome to them if he taught his workmen to make them. (*Hear, hear.*) Foreign articles of luxury are ruining our country. However, gentlemen, English Civilians have made India their happy hunting ground; they come here and return to England with our money, but were they replaced by Indians the money would remain in the country. I may now be allowed a little digression which I will finish in a couple of minutes. I belong to the Imperial Club in England. One day I was asked by a member "Rajah, which Government do you praise, English or Mahomedan ?" I said. "So far as the security of life and the security of property is concerned, so far as education is concerned, so far as the facility of communication is concerned I praise yours, but so far as the safety of the riches of India is concerned I praise the Mahomedan Government." (*Hear, hear.*) He then asked what proof I had, and I said :—"You go there and earn and return to your country to spend, but the Mahomedans when they conquered the country became Indians and if they deprived the rajah of his raj, they created a Nawab and if they pulled down a temple they put up a mosque and therefore the riches of the country remained there. But you take the resources of the country away." Don't you, gentlemen think it a shame that all these 35 years we have had the privilege of entering the Civil Service, there are only 20 Indians in it, whilst of Europeans there are between 900 and 1000. If examinations were established in this country, every one who wished to educate his children for it would give them higher education. If you aim high you are sure to hit at least low, but if you don't aim at all you don't kill. The second bell is gone and I finish. I say in conclusion, allow me to assure you, we are members of martial races, but if a man intellectually distinguishes himself, his ablities will be respected by us as well as by Her Majesty's Government irrespective of his race or nationality. (*Loud applause.*)

MUNSHI RASHAN LAL (*Allahabad, No. 78, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—At the last session of the Congress I ventured to say a few words on the subject of the injustice and injury done to India by not holding simultaneously examinations for the Indian Civil Service both in England and in India. I rejoice to find, gentlemen, that the subject has more prominently come since before the British public and Parliament. Of course we are indebted for this great benefit as for oother political advantages to our worthy Chairman (*Hear, hear.*) All our warmest thanks are also due to Mr. Paul for the sympathy he has shown by successfully moving a resolution in the House of Commons on the subject. (*Hear, hear.*) (*Three cheers were here given for Mr. Paul*) As might have been expected and anticipated this was a great surprise to the Anglo-Indian community. Of course they were bound to raise some sort of objection to it although I was unable to follow many of their arguments. With the greatest difficulty I could make out one thing. They say that if simultaneous examinations were allowed both in England and in India, the Indian Civil Service would become the monopoly of the Bengali Babu. I fail to see how this, in view of Her Most Gracious Majesty's Proclamation, could be an objection. The Proclamation is our pride and hope and you will find it says "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations and duties which bind us to all our other subjects. With the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil those duties" And it goes on further to say, "And it is our further will, so far as can be, our subjects of whatever race or creed may be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our services to the duties

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of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity fully to discharge." I say, gentlemen, if the Bengali Babus prove by their education and ability and integrity they are able to discharge those duties why should they not do so. But I am prepared to refute the objection as baseless, groundless and utterly untrue. I don't admit that the martial races of the Punjab or the people of the N.W.P. are intellectually inferior to any race in the whole world. (*Hear, hear.*) I will give you one example from Barielly College. Lal Bhedur stood first in the Calcutta University and there are many other examples that the youths of the Punjab and N.W.P. have often outshone our Bengali friends. I don't wish to make any invidious distinctions between races, but I wish to say the objection is baseless. I say if the examinations are held in this country the Bengalis will have only a fair chance with the Hindus, Mahomedans, Punjabis and N.W.P. men. Many a flower in the Punjab is born to bloom unseen and cast its scent on the desert air. The men of the Punjab will, when they have the chance, show themselves fitted by ability and integrity to act as Indian Civil Servants. They now bemoan their sad lots and feel that the mere accident of birth, being born in this land, prevents them from entering the service, whereas if they were born in England they would have every chance of coming out to rule over their own country. The law is very unjust and we cannot get it easily amended, but are we to be hopeless? The way has been cleared before us and we believe the British public and Parliament will at no distant date do us justice (*applause.*) When the rules for the Civil Service were passed, India was entirely forgotten and also Her Majesty's Proclamation. These faults will soon be removed and our just rights accorded (*Loud applause.*)

COTARI VENKATA RAMAN NAIDU (*Nagpur, No. 816, in list*) said:—After the orator of India it would be presumptuous for me to venture on any further remarks, so ably has he dealt with the resolution which he has placed before you. The time allowed by the President of this Tribunal, in his wisdom, is so short that one cannot possibly exhaust the subject either to the satisfaction of the speaker or of the hearers. However, it will suffice if I say as the supporter of this resolution on behalf of the Central Provinces, that it is very essential in the interests of the rulers and the ruled that the examinations for the highest service in the country should be held simultaneously in England and in India. Gentlemen, this is a proposition which is but just and fair and perfectly in accord with the several declarations and proclamations of Her Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India. It is a subject on which there can possibly be no two opinions and it is hardly worth while my further dilating on the subject. I hope that the motion may be carried unanimously and without a single dissentient voice (*applause.*)

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

THE PRESIDENT:—I have also to mention that a petition containing eight or nine thousand signatures has been received from the Punjab, which is to go to the House of Commons in connection with the Simultaneus Examinations.

Resolution VI.

Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

MR. KALI CHARAN BANERJI (*Calcutta, No. 10, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—The terms of the resolution I have the honour to present are these:—

That this Congress having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a Committee (one half at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own provinces with as

little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix.

Brother Delegates, it is not necessary to argue the principle of the resolution, the principle has never been challenged even by the most ardent advocate of the plurality question. We have at the present moment something like an articulate concensus all round in regard to the principle. Refuge from the demand for the practical enforcement of it has been sought in the plea that compliance with it would involve financial insolvency. It will not take you long to be satisfied that that plea is not tenable. I believe that the Department of Finance is not outside the scope of the adage that where there is a will there is a way. (*Hear, hear.*) We have had an illustration, a notable illustration, of the inclusion of the Department of Finance within the scope of this adage; we have had a notable illustration of it in those quarters in which it has been considered that justice demands compensation allowances and there financial insolvency has not been pleaded for one moment. ("*Shame.*") But further, if judicial and executive functions, combined as they are at present, for the most part have been overtaken by a certain body of officers, it is not at any rate an arithmetical improbability that if the functions were separated, and along with such separation there was a division among the officers as well, that the problem might be solved. At any rate we are not left to deal with the question on the basis of *apriori* possibilities. We have to thank an eminent member of that very body of whom as a nation we may justly be proud, an eminent member who has not laid the passion for power to sacrifice within him that feeling for the good of his country and the interests of justice. An eminent member of that very body has given a practical scheme and shows that it is possible without very much additional cost to the State to separate judicial from executive functions and in fact give effect to the resolution. That scheme has been submitted to the inspection of those who have a right to pronounce on the merits of it and, as we know, it has had the approval of the highest authorities. If the principle is acknowledged, if again we are in a position to place before Government a scheme for giving effect to the principle what means this inertia on the part of the Government to give effect to a principle which must be given effect to if justice is to be done in this country. The inertia is inexplicable in this country, and as if to move an inert Government we have had a visitation of late in our part of the country, a visitation in connection with which we have witnessed the focussing of all the evils of this combination. That visitation has been overruled by that same providence by which I believe it was permitted. But yet it is for us to move on the basis of it, so that Government may not be allowed to exalt of the inertia which characterises it in this respect. I refer to the Balladhun murder case, recently disposed of by the High Court in Calcutta. You will allow me to say that whereas the object of this resolution is to prevent in the first place anything like a league, consciously or unconsciously, being entered into between the Magistracy and the Police or the union of the prosecutor and the judge in one and the same person and thus interfere with the administration of the law, and that a young Magistrate should not possess influences of a most unwholesome type which adhere to him even when he passes out of the Executive Department, whereas it is our object to prevent the judges coming into contact with the contagion which attaches to those in the Courts of the Magistrates, I say all these evils have been focussed in this typical case of which we had a practical experience in our part of the country. Let me place before you one after the other the different evils illustrated by that case and as you consider those points you should be in a position to declare, with one voice, that there shall no longer be anything like inertia on the part of Government. (*Hear, hear.*) The case is one in which seven persons, six Manipuris and one Goorkha, were charged with the offence of docoity with murder. About one month after the occurrence, during which time the

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inference was that not Manipuris but Kukis had committed the offence, the case was taken up by an Inspector of Police and, would you believe it, the men were in the custody of the police for three months before being sent up to the Magistrate and for more than a month, after the police applied before the Magistrate for leave to detain the men as the case had not been completed and the Magistrate always granted an extension of time. (*Shame.*) It so happened that on one particular occasion the police applied for 8 days' time, and what do you fancy was the order of the Magistrate? Why, 10 days instead of 8. Nor is that all. The police managed to extract something like a confession which had to be recorded, but they did not take the men before the Magistrate.

The High Court found on this point there was time enough for the prisoners to have been sent to the Magistrate, who was to try them to record the confession. The way in which the police managed, the way in which it was possible for them to manage, to have the confessions of the prisoners recorded, was that they got two Magistrates to do it who had nothing to do, and would have nothing to do with the trial of these prisoners. They got the Magistrates to travel all the way to where the prisoners were in police custody, there to record their confessions. I have said we aim in this motion to prevent anything like a league between the Magistrates and the police. There ought to be a check on the police, but here we find that the Magistracy showed themselves obsequious to the demands of the police and as if both had one and the same object in view. Then we come to the Magistrate himself; the Magistrate who committed these prisoners to take their trial at the Sessions. Prosecutor and judge as he was, let us consider how he went about the business. When the prisoners were placed before him for trial, application was made that they should be allowed to consult their pleader. Will you believe it, that application was refused. ("*Shame.*") Then again when the witnesses for the prosecution were examined in chief, an application was made on behalf of the prisoners that they should be allowed to exercise the right of cross-examination. Will you believe it, brother delegates, that application was also refused. ("*Disgraceful*") Nor was that all. There was a witness in the box and whilst being examined he gave evidence of a certain kind. The Investigating Police Officer was there and he told the Magistrate that the witness had told a different story to him and he, the Magistrate, declared that he was a hostile witness, although there was nothing before him to determine or even to infer why he should do so beyond the whispered insinuation of the Police officer. There was no justification for this as the High Court has found. And on the basis of this whisper not only did the Magistrate declare the witness a hostile witness, but he called upon him to find bail to the extent of Rs. 200, in order that he might appear to answer a charge of perjury that might be brought against him. ("*Shame, shame*".) And so the prosecutor and judge behaved after that style. I have referred to a third evil, how the Magistrates who pass through this training when they grow to be Judges cannot get over the influence which dominates them whilst Magistrates. Consider how the Sessions Judge behaved. When before the Sessions Judge it was pointed out that a great deal of pressure—which need not be characterised—had been used on these prisoners to extort confessions from them, the judge said he could not believe tutoring because he considered the Inspector of police was incapable of tutoring. Nor was that all; some of the witnesses examined before him, had a different story to tell to that given before the Magistrate, and although when examined before the Magistrate the test of cross-examination had been denied to the prisoners, nevertheless the Sessions Judge received the depositions made before the Magistrate's Court in order to contradict the evidence given before him, a procedure with which the High Court has found fault. And to crown all there was a document in the case which, if admitted in evidence, would have destroyed the case for the prosecution and completely smashed it up. It was the dying declaration of a woman found to have been mortally wounded. The Sessions Judge would not

allow the document to be received in evidence. He said it was a statement which had been made not in the presence of the accused persons and consequently when the accused persons wanted to have the benefit of it, they were denied it. (*"Most shameful."*) An application was made on behalf of the prisoners, that the Magistrate before whom the statement was made, should be examined at the Sessions trial in order that any difficulty might be got over. "Now," says the Sessions judge, "I have read through the dying declaration and I say it is an incoherent and unreliable statement and it is no use sending for the Magistrate." For a time he passed no order but eventually refused the application. So while denying to the accused the benefit of the declaration, he, in his executive capacity, looked into the document and pronounced judgment on it, and absolutely refused to call the Magistrate, before whom the statement had been recorded. You will see how this God-given Police, Committing Magistrate, and Sessions Judge, at every stage exhibited the evils of this combination of judicial and executive functions; and if nothing else would move the Government, I say this case ought to have moved the Government, for you know that the result of the Sessions Judge's trial was that four of the prisoners were sentenced to death and three to transportation for life. If you have any consideration for these persons who passed through an ordeal which must challenge all description,—men who had this sentence of death hanging on them for such a time—if you have any sympathy for them you will pass this motion, and go to the Secretary of State and demand that the Government of India shall no longer be allowed to exhibit a culpable inertia in this matter. (*Loud applause.*)

THE HON'BLE N. SUBBARAO PANTULU GARU (*Madras, No. 856, in list*) in seconding the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—After what has so eloquently fallen from the mover of this proposition, it is hardly necessary for me to place before you any further arguments. However, it is but right in this connection that I should state that the Madras Government have initiated a scheme, though of a small and limited extent, for separating the judiciary in the lower ranks and divesting it of its executive functions. That scheme has been in work for a week or two, but I say that so long as the higher ranks of the Magistracy are not divorced from the executive functions, no substantial justice can be done to the people of the country. As an instance, I will bring to your notice a case from a district in my Province, namely, Salem. There a merchant was assessed with an income tax for the year 1892-93 and he preferred an appeal to the Deputy Collector who is also the Deputy Magistrate. That appeal was in due course rejected and he paid the tax. Sometime in November 1892, two months later, the Deputy Magistrate was deputed by Government to investigate a case against a subordinate official and one day, on the 6th February 1893, he took it into his head to summon that same merchant whose business had all been settled, to produce his account books before him (the Deputy Collector and Deputy-Magistrate) at eleven o'clock that very morning. The summons which was sent out that morning reached him at half past ten and the merchant arrived a little after twelve noon. I may here mention that in the printed summons form, the hour had been put down at 12, but had been changed to 11 for reasons best known to the Deputy Collector himself. When the merchant arrived he was asked why he had disobeyed the summons, and why he had not come at 11, o'clock as stated in the summons. He replied that the summons had only reached him at 10. 30 and he had made all haste to obey the call of the Deputy collector. A statement explanatory of his conduct was taken down and then the Deputy Magistrate went on to take a statement in connection with the conduct of the official into whose case he had been ordered to enquire. Apparently, the answers of the merchant were not satisfactory; there was something more he might have stated which would have supported the case against the official in question. A few days later, proceedings were issued by the same Deputy Magistrate and Collector, ordering the

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prosecution of the merchant for disobedience of the summons in respect of which he had already given his explanation, and the case was transferred to the Subordinate Magistrate who was divested altogether of all executive functions. He took the case in his file, entered it in his diary, gave it a number and ordered processes to be issued. But there came an oral message from the Deputy Magistrate and Collector that the case should be stopped ; so the Subordinate Magistrate scored out the entry and substituted in its place another case the number of which should properly have been 53. He changed the 53 to 45 and scored out the 45 from the records so as to make it appear that there had been no case against this merchant before. A day or two later the Deputy Magistrate and Collector issued an order that the proceedings should be stayed for the present. That order was issued sometime in February 1893 ; and up to date the proceedings have been stayed for the present and I don't know when that present will become the past. (*Laughter.*) This illustrates my contention that although there is a partial separation in the lower grades,there can be no substantial justice and good to the country until the judicial and executive functions are completely divorced. Well, we are thankful to the Government for giving us a concession in connection with the Legislative Councils, but it is with the deepest regret that we see the Government are apathetic with regard to most necessary reforms touching alike the poor and the rich and we hope and trust that this appeal to the Secretary of State will be productive of good and in due course committees will be arranged for which will submit schemes. I am sure that any additional cost with which each or any Provincial Fund might be saddled in this connection will be amply compensated by the closer attention which the Revenue officials will be able to pay to that branch and which will bring additional revenue to the Exchequer of the country. (*applause.*)

BABU AMBICA CHURN MAZOOMDAR (*Bengal, No. 35, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Although the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has prominently engaged the attention of this assembly for the last seven or eight years, its history is as old as the days of the permanent settlement. In those days the civil, the criminal and the fiscal functions were all united in the same person generally known as the Collector of the district, and it is exactly 100 years to-day that Lord Cornwallis whose administration is distinguished for the many reforms it introduced in the judicial system of this country, was the first to effect a disrupture in this tripple alliance by separating the Dewani from the *Mal Adwalats*. Gentlemen, it was Section 1 of Reg II of 1793 which introduced this great change. But although the civil powers were thus wrested away from the hands of the Collector, the Criminal functions still remained vested in him. It appears, gentlemen, that it is not we who have suddenly grown restless agitators, but it seems, our grandfathers even were ill-content with this anomalous system. For, that great Indian reformer, politician and philanthropist—that giant agitator, Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, over and over again bore testimony to the general feeling of his age. Gentlemen, my time is limited and I can only refer you to the remarkable evidence which he gave before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1831, Ram Mohun Roy did not live to see the result of this enquiry ; but you all know, how in 1833 a regulation was passed (I mean Reg IX of that year) by which Deputy Collectors and assistants were provided exclusively for revenue work, and how in 1839 the judicial and executive functions of the Magistrate-Collector were separated, the Collector's salary being fixed at Rs. 23,000 and that of the Magistrate at Rs. 12,000 a year. And seven years after, Act XV of 1843 created the class of officers known as Deputy Magistrates for relieving the District Magistrates. But alas! the eventful year 1858, among other changes, witnessed after 20 years the unhappy reunion of the judicial and the executive functions. The Collector was reinvested with Magisterial powers, and the Deputy Collectors and the Deputy Magistrates were amalgamated into what is now known as the subordinate executive service.

Since the question has been taken up by this Congress, one Viceroy at least has openly declared himself in favour of our proposal. Latterly, the subject has engaged also the attention of the British public and Parliament, chiefly through the exertions of our British Committee in London and the generous labours of Sir Richard Garth, the late Chief Justice of Bengal; and recently two successive Secretaries of State have admitted the desirability of our proposal. Lord Cross said, that he thought the subject to be so important that he was anxious to deal with it himself; and Lord Kimberley has admitted that the fusion is, to use his Lordship's own language, "contrary to right and good principle." Sometime in April last in the House of Lords, Lord Stanley of Alderley asked, "Whether in view of the unsatisfactory state of criminal administration in India, Government was prepared to effect a separation between the Judicial and the executive functions." In reply to this the Earl of Kimberley said :—"though the proposal was most desirable, yet Government was unable to entertain it, as it would require double the staff at present to do so."

What a grim mockery! with one-sixth of the entire population of the country living in a state of chronic starvation, and the most industrious people of the most fertile parts of the largest province in the empire passing through an actual famine, and an embarrassed treasury, according to Sir David Barbour, threatened with an apalling deficit of nearly two crores of rupees, Government was able to entertain the proposal for compensation allowance and with one stroke of the pen grant over 100 lakhs of rupees for the *savings* of the most *extravgantly* paid officers in the world; but alas! it was unable to entertain a proposal for the reform of its judicial administration at a probable cost of even less than one-eighth of that amount!

As to this cost, gentlemen, you are aware that various schemes have been suggested from different quarters, all of which clearly tend to shew that the proposal is quite feasible and that Lord Kimberley's assertion is based upon either misconception or misrepresentation. In May last, at the invitation of the Indian Association, I had the honour of proposing one of these schemes which I now submit to your judgment, particularly as I have been emboldened to do so on account of the support it has materially found in the scheme subsequently prepared and published by Mr. R. C. Dutt of the Indian Civil Service. Gentlemen, Messrs. Dutt and B. De, who have both clearly pointed out the feasibility of the proposal are District Magistrates of very high reputation and, as such, their opinions are entitled to very great weight. The scheme which I now beg to submit to this house is as follows:—

The primary idea involved in this question is the establishment of two parallel lines of service without any point of contact with each other; one of these lines embracing the executive, and the other the purely judicial functions of criminal administration. Any scheme that may be devised for the establishment of such a system must proceed upon a fair consideration of the strength requisite for each branch of the service, and of the nature of control and supervision necessary for its proper maintenance, regard being always had to the paramount consideration of the financial position of the State and the economic condition of the people. I propose to discuss the question under four different heads.

I.—DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS.

2. Considering the position and strength of the present combined service, it will be found that there are 47 districts in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore. These are divided into 135 executive sub-divisions, including the *sudder*. These 135 sub-divisions are manned by 434 officers in the subordinate judicial and executive service. They are classed as follows:—

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Dy. Magistrate and Dy. Collectors	294
Probationary Dy. Magistrates	20
Special Dy. Collectors	23
Sub-Deputy Magistrates and Sub-Deputy Collectors ...	97
Total ...	434

If the 23 special Deputy Collectors be taken out of this number, there remain 411 officers who are employed in the performance of the subordinate judicial and executive work in the Lower Provinces. Now, upon a proper comparison of the different kinds of work usually performed by these officers, it will be found that the amount of executive business done by them nowhere bears an even proportion to their judicial work. At the head-quarter stations two-thirds of their time are usually devoted to criminal cases, and only one-third to revenue, settlement, excise, income-tax, land registration, certificate, chowkidari, and other miscellaneous business of an executive nature. At the sub-divisions where executive work is very light, nearly three-fourths of the time of the sub-divisional officers are generally given to the disposal of criminal cases.

3. From the above it would at once appear that the practical difficulty, as far as the actual working of the proposed system is concerned, arises in dealing with the sub-divisions, where generally there is but one officer for both kinds of work. This difficulty is further enhanced from a consideration of the fact that it is not even possible to entertain another whole-time officer for most of these places. The judicial officer would no doubt find his hands fairly full, but the executive officer would not. To obviate this state of things I would first of all propose to effect a partial readjustment of executive work according to territorial limits. It may be necessary to have certain classes of these works centralized at the district head-quarters; but I do not understand why the land registration, income-tax and the certificates for each sub-division may not be, with considerable advantage, transferred to their respective sub-divisions. Such an arrangement would greatly relieve the congested head-quarters, and add vastly to the convenience of the people. This being done, it seems easy enough to have a fair distribution of officers for the two functions separately. This I shall illustrate by the following process.

4. There are, as shewn above, 135 sub-divisions *i.e.*, 47 head quarter or *sudder* and 88 rural sub-divisions. Having regard to the proportion of the works appertaining to the two functions as noticed above, 3 judicial and 2 executive officers for each of the 47 sudder sub-divisions, and 1 judicial and 1 executive officer for each of the 88 rural sub-divisions, would be a fair adequate distribution for the entire province; and it is a singular coincidence that the result would be found exactly to tally with the present strength of the subordinate service. Thus—

Judicial	47 × 3 = 141	
	88 × 1 = 88	
		229
Executive	47 × 2 = 94	
	88 × 1 = 88	
		182
Total		411

For the sake of convenience the 229 judicial officers may be designated Deputy Magistrates, and the 182 executive officers Deputy Collectors. It will be observed that the 23 special Deputy Collectors who may be required for special duties have been kept out of this calculation.

5. It may be noticed here that there was a time, when almost every important sub-division used to be manned with two officers, and it is only recently that the secret tendency of centralization, so deeply ingrained in Indian administration, has drawn more officers to the head-quarters. The effect of this narrow policy is observable in the actual outturn of work in the sub-divisions, as compared with the sudder stations. The sub-divisional officers, unable to cope with their work single-handed, manage to cut down the number of criminal institutions by summarily dismissing a large percentage of these cases under Section 203 of the Criminal Procedure Code; whereas at the head-quarters where complaints are usually received by the District Magistrate, the file is always three times as heavy as in a sub-division. When a sub-divisional magistrate is complimented in the administration report as having successfully put down crime within his jurisdiction, it has virtually no other meaning than that he has used this process of simplification more largely than usual. These *clever* officers are not certainly abler than the District Magistrates or their fellows at the head-quarters. What they really do is to discourage litigation, rather than repress crime. Hence beneath the even surface of official reports there is always an under-current of wide-spread popular discontent. Much of the abuses in our criminal administration may be traced to this source, though popular indignation is often-times mistakenly directed against either the helpless officers concerned, or the controlling Magistrate who is sometimes forced to be a party to these unseemly proceedings. A fair distribution of officers and of work would also largely improve the tone of the present criminal administration all over the country.

6. I do not pretend to maintain that, after all, it may not still be found necessary to increase the present strength of the service by the addition of a few more officers to meet the exigencies of this or that place, or the occasional necessities of the one or the other branch of the service. Such additional provisions are not at times avoidable, even under the existing system, and may not, I presume, be found too much to bear under the proposed separation. The statement of the Earl of Kimberley in reply to the question put by Lord Stanley of Alderley in the House of Lords, that it would require *double the staff* to effect a separation of the two functions is clearly based upon a misapprehension of facts. Given the total amount of consolidated work and the number of officers who conjointly perform the same, it is rather difficult to conceive how by resolving the former into its component parts, it is rendered impossible to meet the requirements of each part by a proportionate distribution of the latter without *doubling* its strength As has been already pointed out, some slight increase might be found necessary; but to say that it would necessitate an enormous increase by one-half, or even one-fourth the present number, is surely an exaggeration.

II.—ESTABLISHMENT.

7. As regards the establishment of ministerial officers, it seems hardly necessary to point out that the scheme herein proposed nearly does away with additional expenditure on this head. There is at present provision for 4 such officers to each Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, and if a separation is effected by a redistribution of the latter the establishments must necessarily go with their superior officers. No doubt some incidental and initial expenses will be required. The question of expenditure will, however, be separately considered as bearing upon the whole question.

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III.—CONTROL.

8. Now comes the rather difficult question of control and supervision. On the executive side, the collector, by which I would purpose to designate the chief executive head of a district, may no doubt, as at present, have the entire management and control of the subordinate executive branch; and the only question is how to deal with the judicial branch cut off from the present amalgamated service. Is it to be placed solely and exclusively under the Sessions Judge? Or is it to be managed by a district officer, independent of the latter and exercising functions similar to those of the present District Magistrate? The latter alternative is open to the serious objection of having the effect of practically not *separating the two* functions but of *splitting up the administration into three* parts; and the working of such a system would, in all probability, result in the creation of two instead of one autocratic functionary for each district. Much of the criminal law of the country, for obvious reasons, has a distinct tendency to relapse towards arbitrary exercise of authority, and an independent officer at the head of a number of Magisterial subordinates will necessarily become as meddlesome and obstructive, as the district magistrates are supposed to be at present. On the other hand by placing the subordinate magistrates entirely under the sessions judge, the work of that officer would be increased to an extent where it would be impossible to expect adequate supervision and proper discharge of business, without serious detriment to his other legitimate duties. Not to speak of purely administrative work incidental to every department of administration, there would be such a heavy file of appeals and references as to completely over-master a single officer, however high his abilities may be. These and other considerations induce me to reject either of the above proposals, and to suggest the following arrangement as being least open to any serious objection.

9. The judicial branch in question may be safely placed under the sessions judge with a joint-magistrate under him with the power of hearing appeals from subordinate magistrates. This officer, whether he be called an additional or an assistant or a subordinate sessions judge will occupy pretty nearly the same position under the court of sessions as the subordinate judge on the civil side now holds under the district judge. All appeals from the decisions of subordinate magistrates should be preferrable to the judge of sessions, and by him as in civil cases transferred to this additional officer for disposal. He should besides be able to assist the judge in matters of account and inspection, as also in such other business as may be delegated to him. As to original institutions at the head quarters, complaints may be received by officers, and then distributed among the several deputy magistrates according to their respective jurisdiction. More than the present district magistrate, he will also be in a position to dispose of a large number of original cases. Thus, there will be established one complete system of judicial administration, with two branches, civil and criminal, diverging from a common point, the former including the subordinate civil judge and the munsiffs, and the latter the subordinate sessions judge, and the deputy magistrates. The Collector will thenceforth be left in undisturbed control over the purely executive service, consisting of the deputy collectors, the police, the registration and other departments. He will then be in a position also to attend more properly to the growing business of the district and local boards, and to attend to sundry other works of all of which he may be now called the jack though the master of none. There seem to be another distinct advantage in this proposal. The additional officers proposed to be recruited from the rank of Joint Magistrates who in time are to succeed as District and Sessions Judges, will have a special training under this system, and are therefore likely to prove infinitely superior to those raw half-trained Joint-Magistrates, who are now unfortunately pitchforked to the very responsible position of District Judges without, however, the requisite training and experience that alone can ensure success in judicial trials, and compensate for the natural shortcomings of a foreign judge.

IV.—COST.

10. As to the additional cost involved in these charges, various suggestions have from time to time been made for the curtailment of expenses in other directions. The cost of the often-talked of exodus of Governments to the hills is an unnecessary and cruel burden on the people. The military and home charges might afford not a small field for a strong Government to secure proper economy. The disestablishment of the Indian church or a reduction thereof might also be pointed out as one of the available sources. But each and all of these suggestions involve questions of very grave difficulty. In fact some of these may be found almost impracticable under the present state of affairs. I would, therefore, confine my proposals nearer home and within the range of practical economy.

11. At the last Congress at Allahabad I had occasion to point out, though very cursorily, that over 6 *lakhs* of rupees are annually spent for mere supervision and control of the police department. It has to be noted that this large sum is absorbed simply in the pay and travelling allowances of the district and assistant superintendents of Police It was there shown that there were no less than 57 of such officers in Bengal and Behar. It would appear that the strength for the entire Presidency, including Orissa and Chota Nagpore, consisted of 50 district superintendents, 36 assistant superintendents and 15 *probationers!* By a strange irony of fate, a recent Resolution of the local Government sanctioned by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, has changed this already heavy list into one of 55 district superintendents, 29 assistant superintendents, and 8 probationers, giving a grand total of 93 officers maintained on a salary of Rs. 50,350 *per mensem.* It would thus appear that while the pay and travelling allowances of these officers together amounted in 1885 to Rs. 6,01,974, their pay alone would now amount to Rs. 6,04,200 a year. This is the order of progress and economy in our Indian administration! It is quite apparent that with the exception of a few appointments for the Hill Tracts and one or two military out-posts, the services of most of these officers could be safely dispensed with, when the present district magistrates would be left free to superintend the Police department more closely and efficiently than at present. In fact, it would be simply monstrous, after the proposed separation, to retain two heads for a simple department. There was time when probably the commissioner of the division was known also as the superintendent of the police, and the same designation might hereafter be transferred to the collector. Subsequent enquiries have only confirmed me in the opinion then expressed by me, and my present conviction is that the practical difficulty in that direction lies only in the sweeping nature of the proposal. At all events it may be found quite practicable to abolish the post of the 29 Assistant Superintendents who are merely sinecures kept only as a reserve for leave vacancies, and a considerable saving may thus be effected without prejudice to any department. These assistant superintendents, be it noted, alone cost us Rs. 1,21,000 a year, besides travelling allowances.

12. But the principle source from which the necessary fund may properly be drawn is the large surplus receipt from the judicial administration. The figures are contained in Government's own annual reports of successive years. Take, for instance, the account for 1890. It stands thus :—

Heads.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.
Civil ...	85,61,519	49,89,686
Criminal ...	13,92,088	25,97,558
Total ...	99,53,607	75,87,244

So, in that year there was a clear surplus of over 230 *lakhs* of rupees after meeting a deficit of more than 12 *lakhs* on the criminal side. Pretty nearly the same state of

things may be predicated of every year of our judicial administration. This enormous saving ought legitimately to be spent on the improvement of that administration. The people have oftentimes complained of this unjust saving, and Sir Richard Garth, C.J, once urged it as a ground for a considerable reduction in the court-fess. If the money will now be diverted to its proper channel and spent in carrying out a much-desired reform in the judicial administration of the country, the people may be expected to be satisfied with their money's worth.

13. As to the 47 new appointments required to be opened under the proposed arrangement, it must be remembered that there exist even at present several joint-magistrates in some of the largest and most important districts. Even supposing that their full number were all to be new creations, the cost of maintaining these 47 officers, taking the salary of each, at Rs. 900, (the pay of a first grade joint-magistrate) would be found to be only little over 5 *lakhs* of rupees a year. The extra deputy magistrates that may possibly be required according to the varying circumstances of some of the most criminal and the largest districts cannot be in all more than 20 in number, and these, together with their establishments, would not involve a further outlay of more than another 1½ *lakhs* a year. Surely it would not be difficult to meet a demand of 7 *lakhs* of rupees out of the sources just mentioned.

V.—HONORARY MAGISTRATES.

14. To minimise the demand for additional subordinate magistrates, I would suggest for further extension and development of the system of trial by honorary magistrates. Pleaders, as a rule, are now almost wholly excluded from participation in this branch of honorary service. I fail to perceive the logic of this exclusion, particularly in the case of those members of the profession who carry on little or no business in the subordinate criminal courts. The number of these magistrates, as well as of the benches composed of them, might therefore be largely increased. A system of promotion might also be introduced so as to invest them with higher and more extended powers as they either gain in experience, or prove their efficiency in administration. The benches already established in the mofussil are found to perform not an inconsiderable amount of work, though they usually sit only once or twice a week. If their number be increased, it would be possible to have daily sittings of these magistrates by the process of rotation. In that case a large amount of work might be disposed of by such magistrates, who would thus prove very useful and substantial adjuncts to the general administration.

From the scheme as detailed above it will appear, that with a slight redistribution of work, the proposed separation may easily be effected, and that even if the reform were to be carried out throughout the whole of the Bengal Presidency, including Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, the total additional cost would not exceed more than 6 *lakhs* of rupees at a liberal calculation.

In Madras a partial separation has already been effected by separating the subordinate judicial and the executive branches. It is gratifying to observe, that in the last administration report for Madras, the Government ungrudgingly admits, that the separation, as partially effected, has worked satisfactorily. It is satisfactory also to note, that so much has been done there at little or no additional cost. But the district head still continues to be the same there as it is in other provinces. A separation in this may be effected at a very small cost, as there are only 21 districts in that Presidency and the additional expenditure under this head cannot probably exceed two *lakhs* of rupees a year.

In Bombay the Hon'ble Pherozshah Mehta has suggested a scheme which seems to be eminently adapted to the state of the Western Presidency. Lately in the Bombay

Council he said :—Increase the number of Sub-judges and invest them with Magisterial powers, and curtail the number of Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars. He would fix the salary of the new Sub-Judges at Rs. 300/—and by working out this scheme the Hon'ble member for the Bombay University has distinctly pointed out that there would be a saving of over one lakh of rupees in that Presidency. Gentlemen, joking is no argument, and yet all the argument advanced from the side of Government against this fair proposal was but an unseemly joke used at the expense of a poor old woman! The Hon'ble Mr. Nugent said :—"The Mamlatdars were perhaps the hardest worked officers under Government and the most deserving. The present system worked very well, although they might occasionally hear of an asthmatic old lady being fined Rs. 15 for making salt." This, gentlemen, I take to be the first official note of opposition to our proposal. But how true it is that shafts at random sent often find marks the archer little meant. Yes, if the Mamlatdars are the hardest worked officers under Government, why not relieve them of their criminal duties? If they are the most deserving, why not make the best of them the additional Sub-Judges? The present system does not bring them either relief or reward. Then the Hon'ble member says *the present system worked very well.* Very well indeed! But very well for whom that is the question. Yes, it is very well for some person to be able to chase and belabour with impunity a tender boy of 11 years of age for the grave offence of saying "Good morning" to a European and then to have his complaint dismissed, because the beating did not leave any mark on his person. It is very well indeed for a Deputy Commissioner to be able to tear off documentary evidence against him from the records of a Court of Justice and enjoy greater immunity than a Duchess in England. How very well it is to have an unfortunate gentleman tried thrice over for the same alleged offence, because each time the order of discharge failed to recommend itself to the District Magistrate and then to have him ultimately convicted by a subordinate Magistrate. It is of course very well for a settlement officer to be able to go armed with gun and force open into the Zenana of a respectable Zemindar and thence drag him in illness a distance of 30 miles, and after all this to be sure to get the support and sympathies of the district and the divisional authorities. How very well it is for an Assistant Magistrate to be able to set at naught the order of a Sessions Judge for bail and keep a poor stamp vendor in jail at his own sweet pleasure; and how supremely well it is for a magistrate to have the fancy to drive quietly through the crowded streets of one of the busiest cities in the country and finding a slow moving heavy laden cart in his way, to come down and flog the unfortunate driver down to the ground and then have the poor man's complaint compromised in the court of a Subordinate Magistrate. Sir, it may be some satisfaction to you to learn that since you left us in 1887, we have made some progress in our act of proseletysing to our faith. A Magistrate of Patna has accepted the first commandment of our creed and ruled that the time for the cross-examination of witnesses for the prosecution should be always cut down to 5 minutes. May the time be not far distant when the entire propaganda of this Congress will be accepted by the services in their entirety.

But gentlemen, we are perhaps forgetting the "asthmatic old lady." Poor Aka Bhujanga was fined 15 rupees for boiling a little salt-earth for medicinal purposes! But does the Hon'ble gentleman know that the average income of an Indian hardly exceeds Rs. 20 a year? Indian salt seems to have no strength in these days; or as salt now comes from Liverpool, probably no one need now owe any obligation to the Indian tax payer.

But it is no use enumerating concrete cases of injustice and hardship arising from the fusion of these two functions. Every year such instances are increasing in amazing number. So long, however, as these cases were referrable to mere individual idioscyncracies there could not be perhaps much danger. But when Governments and administrations

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begin openly to countenance and encourage such practices, the matter necessarily wears a different aspect and becomes one of gravest apprehensions to the people; for then it becomes a part of the settled policy of the administration. From individual cases to generalizations and from generalizations to theories and principles—this is the order of all human institutions; and, gentlemen, we are at the present moment brought face to face with such a grave crisis. After numberless instances of improper interference with the judicial independence of our magistrates, we now find Governments and administrations boldly enunciating the principle in their public resolutions. The first enunciation is contained in the Government of Bengal's resolution dated the 28th November, 1891, on the Report of the Police Commission of that year which strongly recommended, that for the better administration of criminal justice, the best local legal practitioners should be engaged to advise the police and assist the Magistrates. On this the Government said:—"Sir Charles Elliot doubts if cases would be much improved by legal advice given to the Police. If advice is required the District or the Sub-divisional Magistrate is the proper person to apply to. The Lieutenant-Governor is, however, of opinion that more attention should be devoted to the prosecution of Police Cases." And again in para 10 of the resolution :—"The District Magistrates are to assist their Subordinate Magistrates by judicious advice and criticism." Here, gentlemen, probably lies the root of those astounding revelations which came to light in the well-known Backergunge case and, which subsequently formed the subject of a serious dispute between the Chief Justice and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Then, the same Government in the administration report for the last year quotes with approbation the opinion of the Commissioner of the Rajshahye Division that "no magistrate should pass any decision without consulting the District Magistrate." Again the very same Government says, "they (the magistrates) prefer to consider themselves *Judges* and to assign to the Police the functions of committing Magistrates." Yes, to the eternal glory of Indian magistrates be it ever recorded that they prefer to consider themselves as judges. So much for original trials. Then as to commitments to the Court of Sessions. Sir Charles Elliot in his resolution on the administration report for Tipperah says, "As regards sessions trials the magistrate has adopted, not unknown to me, of allowing no commitment till he is consulted and till the record is inspected by him. Mr. Macpherson practically followed this course."

Gentlemen, it is no wonder that with plain directions such as these emanating from the Government itself, the Judicial independence of subordinate magistrates should stand completely paralysed. And truly has Justice Trevelyan observed in the disgraceful case of Pullup Singh Vs. Perry—"Of course every subordinate Magistrate is liable to some extent to be influenced by observations made by the district magistrates; but the arrangements for the administration of justice in this country are responsible for the danger."

Gentlemen, how fast doth contagion spread! From Calcutta to Madras, over 900 miles across the sea, and not long ago we find there the Magistrate of Bellary issuing the following circular published in the Hindu of Sep. 6. last, which has unmistakably a strong family likeness to the circulars of the Lower Provinces. The circular says :—"The magistrates ought to support the police and they ought not to consider that their duty is to sit and hear cases as the High Court and Sessions Judges do and decide on evidence; but they should remember, that they are there for repressing crimes." Are Sessions Judges and High Courts, we ask, for encouraging crimes?

Then from Madras to the Punjab, a distance of over 1200 miles, and there we find the Cantonment Magistrate of Jullunder in forwarding two cases to Deputy Commissioner

Colonel Roberts, writing the following pleasant epistle which surpasses all comments. "My dear Roberts, in forwarding these two cases I had been particularly asked by Colonel Pennington to ask you to try the case yourself, or to send to an European Magistrate. As you will be busy packing &c. prior to going home, and the case is likely to be a long one, you would kindly transfer it to Rowe. We are very anxious that a searching enquiry be made and an exemplary punishment be given. Colonel Pennington and I have both been vilified by these men who are the cats-paws of some big men among the sudder agitators."

But, gentlemen, the climax of this ludicrous farce is probably reached in the North Western Provinces where even an Inspector of Jails can, it seems, sit in judgment over judicial officers. "The list of such criminals," writes this august functionary, "who, in my opinion, have been treated with exceptional leniency by the convicting courts, contains several instances indicating either a pussilanimity on the part of courts in dealing effectively with criminals of this class, or a deplorable indifference to the repression of crimes by omitting to award deterrent sentences. In this connection I desire to invite attention to the pertinent comments of Government contained in para 10 of the review of the Police Report for 1891, wherein it is observed that inefficient Magistrates who are habitually incapable of appreciating the relative heinousness of crime, of apportioning the punishment to the offences, or of exercising discrimination in the examination of evidence, shall not be allowed to exercise their powers unchecked." Alas! what an impertinence on the one hand and a degradation on the other! I am sure the Government which issued the original edict will itself be sorry to find, that its declarations should have led to such travesty of administration. How truly did Sir John Peter Grant writing in 1856 observe,—"The smoothness and silence with which public affairs go on when all power in all departments is centred in one train of officials cannot be regarded as good for the people, however agreeable they may be for the administration. The existing system of criminal procedure, to speak in moderate language, is not like the system of a country administered by rational beings." These, gentlemen, are not the words of any Congress man, but of an English administrator uttered 30 years before the birth of this Congress.

In the name of justice and humanity we appeal to the noble instincts of the great Anglo-Saxon race and beseech them to preserve in this country those lofty traditions of their own which are associated with the mighty progress of the world. To Whigs and Tories, to Liberals and Conservatives, to Radicals and Unionists, we appeal to all; for they are all Britons, whose ancestors in days gone by have judged kings and princes, peers and commons with evenhanded justice, and before whose august tribunal, in our own day, even the heir-apparent to the throne bows as low as the lowest subject in the realm. Such is the glory of the British constitution, and may that glory shine with undiminished splendour in the East as it is doing in the West. The most extravagant arrangements are being every year made for the maintenance of what is called "a scientific frontier", and we ask only for the establishment of a rational interior. And as loyal subjects of the crown we would remind our rulers, that the hugest structures have often-times the largest cracks, and therefore the best edifices are those which are surest at the foundations.

MR. RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARANDIKAR (*Satara, No. 741, in list*) said:—This was a subject discussed at the Bombay Provincial Conference held under the presidency of Mr. Sayani, a distinguished Mahomedan gentleman. There the scheme of the distinguished Counsel Mr. Mehta was discussed, which scheme is published in pamphlet form and has just been adverted to by the learned supporter Mr. Mazoomdar. The Conference appointed a Committee to report their opinion on the scheme and we are asked now by this motion to place the matter before the Secretary of State and ask him to request the Government of India to give their own opinion on the report that

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might be made by a Committee that may be appointed. As for myself, I am not so sanguine about the work of such a Committee, but you must know that it is necessary to move that large and cumberous machinery, the Government of India, and that cannot be better done than through the Secretary of State. (*applause.*) You will expect me, coming as I do from Bombay, to give you instances where there have been failures of jusitce or an attempt on the part of some to cause a failure of justice. Well, I may say that in the district of Satara we pull on very well, and there I may say the fault is not of the officials, but that of the system. I will quote to you an instance of a collector, who, you know, is always the District Magistrate, an assistant collector, and also that of a mamlatdar, both of whom had something to do with Magisterial functions. Under the Guardians and Wards Act, you know, it is possible for a collector to administer the property of a minor. The Collector in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him prefers a complaint to himself as District Magistrate and he, as the District Magistrate, then proceeds to take action upon it. One instance occurred in which there was likely to be an abuse of power and on the matter being brought to his notice it was dropped. I now quote the instance of an Assistant Collector who had the powers of a Magistrate and was also in charge of a taluka presided over by a mamlatdar. He was passing along a road one day when he noticed some men working in a field and he thought that they had committed an offence. He took the initiative of asking the mamlatdar to commit the accused persons to the Court of Sessions. These orders were carried out, but the Sessions Judge, who happened to be a man of sense and mature experience, discovered that there could be no law which authorised such action on the part of a Collector and therefore the case was quashed. The third case is that referred to by Mr. Mazoomdar in supporting this proposition ; there a poor old woman was fined fifteen rupees for making a little salt and this matter was reported by the Collector of the District who happened to be a man with sympathies. The High Court looked into the matter and reduced the fine. You will be able to see by these instances that it is not so much the fault of the officers as the fault of the system itself. It is the system which is to be remedied and that remedy must be sought in the aid which might be derived from asking the Secretary of State to appoint committees to enquire into the matter. The greatest obstacle is said to be the financial difficulty, but as has been pointed out, the Government would do much better if it asked the people to contribute towards the expense of removing this evil, rather than imposing additional taxation for the compensation allowance. (*applause.*) There is sufficient data for us to pass the proposition and I would heartily join in supporting it. (*Hear, hear.*)

LALA LAJPAT RAI (*Punjab, No. 237, in list.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The question involved in the resolution now before you is of such vital importance that the stronger the case we make out the better for us. After trying the Government of India and the Local Government for eight years, now we are taking our case to the Secretary of State for India and we hope to make the strongest case possible. You know that it is necessary for the peace and progress of a country that its people should have a voice in the Legislative Councils but it is much more essential for the security of life and property that the laws, when once made in those Councils, should be faithfully carried out. It is, I say, much more essential for the peace and prosperity of the country that the people should have full confidence in the courts of justice which administer justice to them. It is most essential for the peace of the country and the security of property that people should believe that the administration of justice is complete and effectual and a more dire misfortune cannot be imagined than the discontent that results from the people losing faith in the impartiality of the courts of justice. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, the evil is the greatest possible in the Punjab and therefore I will ask for your indulgence to put a concrete case before you. Here is another short case. The functions of the Government,

are not only administration but also trading. The Government has got certain traffics into its hands, the opium and liquor traffics being amongst the number; and who is the head of these traffics? who is the representative of Her Majesty in these trades in every district? It is the Deputy Commissioner of the district and do you know who is the head of the courts? it is the Deputy Commissioner himself—a trader, administrator of justice, a Revenue Collector, Forest Officer, Opium officer and what not: All these functions are embodied in one person here in the Punjab. Added to this is the difficulty that in many districts this officer is a military officer taken away from Her Majesty's army and we know what legal knowledge such an officer possesses. In one case a Colonel in charge of a district tried summarily a case whch was not triable summarily and the conviction had to be quashed by the Chief Court. In the Punjab the opium traffic is divided, for in many districts different sorts of opium are sold, and do you know what the Government does for the protection of the opium traffic? The order goes to the district officer that one particular sort of opium will be sold which the people don't like and which Government perhaps gets cheaper, and the other is to be put down. The order is communicated to the Subordinate Excise officers who take out warrants and bring people before the District Officers and they are sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, varying from one month to six months. I hold in my hands copies of several judgments in which these oppressions could be seen. In one of these cases the District Magistrate admits that a travelling *jogi* brought a few *mashas* into the district while passing through it. The District Magistrate said the man had not committed an offence but the excise must be protected and sentenced him to a month's imprisonment. One of the richest bankers in the district had his house searched and a few rupees worth of opium was found and the District Magistrate imposed the full sentence of three months' rigorous impisonment. Such cases could be multiplied by hundreds. Now let us look at the Forest Department. In some districts the Deputy Commissioner is the head of the Forest Department. Sometimes the people are starving and go to the forest and take certain berries and thus save themselves from death by starvation, but they are brought up for trespass and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, because the Forest Laws must be vigorously administered. It is these evils which are undermining the safety of the Empire and which, it is high time, should be put down both in the interest of Government and for our own safety. These are not the only cases; all those who read newspapers know the judicial vagaries that were committed in the Umballa District in the name of friendship to the agricultural class. Lots of people to whom money was due by the agricultural classes were ordered by the District Magistrate either to give full receipts to their debtors without receiving any payment or to compromise their cases according to the wishes and proposals of the debtors and for their not obeying these most unreasonable orders they were first ordered to give securities for good behaviour. When they had signed these documents the District Magistrate found that they had placed themselves entirely at his mercy and he showed them his mercy by compelling them to grant receipts to their debtors for all their dues without receiving a single pice in payment from any one of them. There are numberless cases on record where you can see that the District Magistrate in making his awards has compelled the people to file receipts or compromise their suits. These cases can be enumerated by thousands in the Punjab, because the Government in its benignity, in its beneficence thinks that the military officers alone can govern the Punjab. These things are only possible in the Punjab because unfortunately we are not sufficiently educated to have the moral courage to put our cases before the public. We are afraid of the District Magistrate, the Assistant Commissioner and the Extra Assistant Commissioner and all these cases never see the light of the day. For want of education we have not sufficient boldness to expose them. The District Magistrate is the District Judge also in many cases and in consequence civil justice suffer too. The Deputy Commissioner often writes, "in

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case of conviction a sentence of imprisonment should be awarded," and you can percieve the effect of this upon the Subordinate Magistrates whose promotion depends on the opinion of that Deputy Commissioner. There are some men who will not kill their conscience in this way but what is their fate? They are doomed: their promotion is stopped and they are put back in the list. This is the effect of their independence! It is the system I condemn and not the people who administer it. The judgments, the copies of which I hold in my hand, were written by an officer for whom I have the greatest respect but he was helpless. He had to give the accused persons different terms of imprisonment because he did not like to injure the chance of his own promotion. It is the system I condemn and it is high time that you, my brothers from the other Provinces, should come to the rescue of the Punjab. Separation to some extent has been carried out in some Province but here to no extent whatever. And this is what we call a question of principle. We are told that the greatest difficulty comes from a financial point of view, but I will show you that the taxation from justice gives a net profit to Government. From the official reports you will find that the net profit to Government from the administration of civil justice is twenty five lakhs of rupees, while the expenditure on civil justice does not exceed twelve lakhs, so that there is a net profit to Government, so far as civil justic is concerned, of over twelve lakhs. From the sale of process-serving stamps there is a net profit of two and a half lakhs. It is in the Punjab alone that the taxation on justice has reached its limit, and it is in the Punjab alone that civil refunds are levied. The Judges refuse to interfere, because the law does not allow them to interfere although the cases may be of the grossest possible injustice. I say, taking all these things into consideration, if the scheme of separation is carried into effect in the Punjab, Government will not have to incur any additional expenditure. But even if additional expenditure had to be incurred, I submit it would be better to incur it here than incur an expenditure of several crores on the frontier. If the people of the Rowalpindi, Peshawar and Kohat districts are discontented, I challenge the Government to say whether these fortresses on which they are spending so much money, will protect the interests of the country. Let these people have justice; for it is justice alone that brings home to them the potentialities of a Government. They simply know the men who administer justice to them and if these Judges do not carry out their duties honestly and properly, I challenge any Government to keep secure on its own foundations. Government undermines its own foundations by not completely separating the Judicial from the Executive. It is high time that we should remind Government that the Punjab is no longer that infant province requiring to be governed by military officers who come here without any legal training, as Deputy Commissioners and preside over courts of which they are unable to uphold the prestige. It is under these circumstances that I, from the Punjab, heartily support this resolution and appeal to the gentleman presiding over this Congress that he will specially relate the hardships of the Punjab in the House of Commons. It is there alone that we can get redress. We, Punjabis, have not the moral courage and education to come forward as we should and therefore it is that our case suffers and we appeal to you to have the case taken before the highest tribunal, namely, the British House of Commons. (*Applause.*)

SIRDIR CHANDA SING BHIND (*Punjab, No. 502, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with feelings of pride and pleasure that I rise to support the Resolution moved by our worthy friend Mr. K. N. Bamerji of Bengal. The resolution, as you have all heard, is to separate the two functions of the Judiciary and the Executive, now resting in one and the same officer, and indeed the resolution is a noble one and worthy of the consideration of this august assembly. The two functions, gentlemen, in order to be performed faithfully and conscientiously require men of two different frames of mind. The mind of one, in order to be faithful to his duties as a Judge, ought

not to remain biassed by any administrative feelings or feelings of selfish aim, in fact it ought not to feel itself subordinate to any earthly power whatever, but to that Almighty Father Who out of the same elements has made both him and the one upon whom he sits in judgment, while on the other hand, the mind of the Executive, in order to be an able administrator, a competent collector and a perfect master of management, should be quite different, with ready resources and means, not always strictly fair, whereby to please his superior officers. In fact, gentlemen, you place the Bible in the hands of the one and ask him always to be just, and arm the other with a sword and ask him always to make conquests. How can, therefore, gentlemen, one and the same person, the Bible in one hand and sword in the other, be presumed to remain faithful both to his Maker on High and to his own master and motives here in this world of selfish aims. The evils of the combination of the two functions, as shown by our national gathering, have been admitted by the Government, but the difficulty with them in effecting the separation has always been a question of money. This year, gentlemen, the Secretary of State for India seems to have found some immense treasure, buried under the ground floor of his office wherefrom he has been enabled to be so merciful to the Amir of Kabul as to increase his stipend by six lakhs of rupees a year, and from the same source perhaps, he has been enabled to become so kind a brother to his own countrymen here in charge of the destinies of 280 millions of his fellow beings, as to grant them compensation allowance from the first of April 1893. Therefore, gentlemen, you may safely entertain a fervent hope that when this prayer of ours reaches him next, it will move his merciful and paternal heart to take compassion upon the voiceless millions whose destinies the Judge on High has been pleased to place under his charge. And if under these circumstances even, he remains deaf to our humble prayers, let him know that he and we all have one day to stand before the Tribunal, in whose dock the prince and the peasant are made to stand side by side. Here perhaps, I may have spoken a little harshly; but gentlemen, you all see that I am blind, as blind as Justice is always represented to be, which makes no distinction between a king and a clown.

The evils of the combination of the two functions are, gentlemen, known more to us, the legal practitioners, than to others. During my long experience as a pleader, I have met with instances which, if told, will not fail to boil the blood of any just-minded man. Once, not long ago, a Sahukar who was coming home from his father-in-law's house with his bride, was on a moon lit night attacked and looted by two particular *badmashes*. The report of the fact was given to the police at the nearest station by the Sahukar who gave to them a full description of his two assailants. The Police at once came to the scene of occurrence and arrested a dozen youngsters of the surrounding villages including, of course, the two really guilty, perhaps already known to them as their intimate friends; but upon those two presenting their quota of the booty to the police they were released. But gentlemen, hear of the fate of the remaining ten. Eight of them were heavily fined in private by the guardians of the peace and property and protectors of life and limb—I mean the police—and the remaining two, who had been previously convicted of a similar offence were chalaned and sent before the District Magistrate, to appear before him as two sacrificial goats with a lot of concocted evidence against them. They engaged me as their pleader, the evidence for the prosecution was taken, and on argument shown to be false, the Magistrate admitted the innocence of the accused; but the District superintendent of Police who stood there as public prosecutor represented that the discharge of the two accused who were great *badmashes* in the district, would go materially to the detriment of the administration of the district. On hearing this argument there came the magisterial inspiration that a *prima facie* case had been made out against the accused, the charge was framed, alibi pleaded and proved, but as you all know, this plea is now a days always held to be an usual one and seldom

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believed to be true. The Magistrate treated both the accused with the full dose of his magisterial powers; 4 years rigorous imprisonment and 30 stripes each. Their appeal was also dismissed and now those two really innocent persons are in a felon's jail suffering the penalties for what they, in fact, never did, tasting the bitter fruits of this unnatural and highly pernicious system. This punishment alone is not sufficient for them, there is more in store for them; when they come out of the jail, that engine of oppression placed in the hands of the police, chapter VIII of the criminal procedure code 1882, that theoretically useful but practically pernicious, that well-meant but ill used law, will enable the Police to send the two victims before the District Magistrate to furnish security for good behaviour or in default to return to the quarters they so recently left, for another term of 3 years.

Again, gentlemen, this system is pernicious in many other ways. The Magistrates, who are often collectors of revenue for the Government, are always inclined to take the side of the Government, their employer, rather than to take the side of justice they are paid to administer. In administering the Opium and Excise laws specially, they shut their eyes towards justice and often convict innocent persons on the most insignificant and trifling evidence and when in such cases appeals are lodged, the cases are not infrequently argued exparte at Mess-tables by the administrators of the district and such arguments remain unrebutted by the accused or his counsel.

MR. JHIND RAM (*Punjab, No. 402, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I will tell you how justice is administered in the Punjab and you will see that this is one of the most essential reforms of the administration. In my part we have Frontier regulations for the suppression of crime in the Frontier districts. Under these regulations, a Deputy Commissioner, not a Magistrate, is empowered to sentence a man to undergo rigorous imprisonment for seven years and there is no appeal at all. My friend yesterday was complaining that there was no appeal for a sentence of one month, but I come from that part of the country where there is no appeal even in cases where a sentence of seven years is passed. There is another satisfaction, and that is, there is no botheration of trial, the rules of procedure are simple and go straight and send the accused to jail. There is no need to quote High Court authorities, neither is the accused called upon to pay for pleaders, because under the rules he has no right to be defended by Counsel. A Deputy Commissioner appoints a council of three or four persons whom he thinks fit to appoint. He can appoint any one he likes. The *Jirga* is not bound to record any evidence, it has simply to give an opinion and if the opinion is for a conviction, the Deputy Commissioner sends the accused then and there to jail. Look how simple the procedure is, no botheration of any sort. (*Laughter.*) It is provided in the regulations that the Deputy Commissioner can make over a case to the *Jirga* in which he thinks there is not sufficient evidence for a conviction. As the Deputy Commissioner is the District Officer he generally contrives to make over all cases in which he thinks there is not sufficient evidence for a conviction. He can withdraw any criminal case from the ordinary criminal tribunal before conviction is pronounced and make it over to the honorable court of *Jirga*. Look at the hardship to the accused, for before the *Jirga* he has either to clear himself or be sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. I am told that a Deputy Commissioner in one of the frontier districts has passed a standing order directing his subordinates to send over every case of murder after enquiry for his perusal. If he thinks the evidence sufficient he orders the trial to proceed, if he sees it is doubtful, it is made over for trial to the *Jirga*. So that any one who by chance gets into the clutches of the police has every opportunity afforded him of trying the healthy and bracing cliamate of a jail. In other parts of the country and in all civilised countries it is a principle of law to presume that an accused person sent up for trial should be considered

innocent until proved to be guilty, but in our part an accused is presumed to be guilty until he proves the contrary. I must now disappear or I may be made over to the *Jirga* for making these remarks. I therefore support the resolution heartily on behalf of the people of the frontier whom I represent. (*Applause.*)

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

Mr. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay, No. 782, in list,*) proposed :—

"*That this Congress having considered the report of the Parliamentary members of the India office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders and practices in Indian Cantonments with regard to prostitution and contagious diseases, hereby endorses their conclusions:—*

1. That the system and incidental practices described in that report and the Statutory rules, so far as they authorised or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888; and

2. That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation."

He said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—The Resolution which I have just read to you requires little or no recommendation from me. I am confident that it will meet with your cordial approval, represents as it does the almost unanimous sentiment of all our countrymen in different parts of the country on the subject of the odious Acts. I take it for granted that most of you, if not all, are more or less aware of the history of the C. D. Acts, and that you expect no lengthy speech from me to acquaint you with the circumstances which led in 1888 to the adoption by the House of Commons Mr. Maclaren's resolution for their immediate repeal. Suffice to say here that the objectionable and degrading system which was in vogue about the time was sanctioned and administered under certain Acts and Statutory rules scheduled to the then existing Cantonment Acts, and numerous official orders and regulations which may be said to have culminated in a Circular Memorandum issued from the Army head quarters at Simla, dated 17th June 1886, in the name of the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Roberts) and with the signature (by order) of Major General Chapman as Quarter-Master-General in India. That Circular, and certain other papers, became the following year (July 1887) the subject of questions in the House of Lords and of action by the India Office, and subsequently formed an important element in the discussion in the House of Commons on 5th June 1888 upon the Resolution which was then moved by Mr. MacLaren and passed *nem con.*

Now, gentlemen, so intensely hostile was the feeling agaist these hated Acts throughout the country that the people with one voice welcomed that Resolution as a great relief. (*Hear, hear.*) They breathed more freely in the hopeful belief that at last the first deliberative assembly in the civilised world had risen to the height of the occasion, condemned legalised vice in the terms it deserved, and interposed its supreme authority with a view to arresting the inroads which State regulated incontinence was fast making in the land—inroads which, it was seriously apprehended, might loosen those sacred bonds which had kept a simple society like that of the Indians in its almost pristine purity for ages, and preserved their national morality. I will at once give credit to the Government of India that at the time of the passing of the Resolution, it was prepared to obey the mandate of the House of Commons as conveyed to it in the Despatch of the Secretary of State for India, dated 15th October 1888. But it was soon drawn away from its righteous purpose by the deplorable phariseeism of the Military hierarchy which had determined, as was made plain by subsequent events, to defeat the object of the Resolution. A spirit of rebellion seemed to have prevailed among that hierarchy. It was thought

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that the mandate of the House was more honoured in the breach than in the observance (*Shame*). The organs of the services bellowed forth in their respective columns the same views almost in the same strain. No doubt steps were taken to amend the then existing Acts. But the new Acts and the rules and regulations which were enacted under them scandalised those who had been most instrumental and active in the House of Commons in passing Mr. MacLaren's resolution. (*Hear, hear.*) The new measure was passed in October 1889 and was called " The Cantonment Act, 1889," and on the 21st December following the draft rules which had been settled after considerable correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India were published " for the information of persons likely to be affected thereby with an intimation that they would be taken into consideration on the expiry of three months." The publication of the rules aroused the attention of various newspapers and religious organisations, both here and in England. A number of protests were submitted to the authorities, notably one by the Revd. Allen Rees, Secretary of the Weslyan Conference Social Purity Committee. This protest and others elicited a reply from Lord Cross. But correspondence still went on till, on 21st October 1891, the Government of India requested the Commander-in-Chief to cause careful inquiry to be made "whether the Military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State; and whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules (Nos. 4 and 5) is resorted to." It would be clear to you, gentlemen, from the tenor of the above extract I have quoted, that the rules of the Cantonment Act were being evaded and the evils complained of under the old system were in no way abated. In fact the Cantonment authorities winked at the rules, specially in the Punjab. But if the officials, responsible for the faithful administration of the Act were blind on purpose there were other eyes keen enough to watch their actions. (*Hear, hear.*)

You are no doubt aware of the existence in England for a number of years past of a Society consisting of many a noble lady and gentleman, called the British Committee for the abolition of State Regulation of Vice in India and throughout the British dominion," whose anxious care is to see that the national morality undergoes no deterioration or is undermined. The morality of a nation is what the chastity of its mothers makes it (*applause*). Inspired by this altruistic instinct it is doing most excellent work in this direction, specially under the indefatigable exertions of Mrs. Josephine Butler, Professor Steuart and Mr Stansfield, its three noblest and strongest pillars. (*Loud cheers.*) I regret to say that it is a reflection on us Indians that we have not yet among us such a Society for the protection of Indian women. (*Hear, hear.*) But we are a young nation and should make it a point to learn from our parents, the British, their good traits of character and establish wide among us Purity Societies of the kind described. Meanwhile we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mrs. Butler and her colleagues that they are not only watching the morals of English but of Indian women also. (*Applause.*)

Now, no sooner was the Cantonment Act of 1889 passed than the Society began obtaining through its authorised and trusty delegates all information as to the way in which the Act and the Rules were being carried out. Among them were two American ladies, Mrs. Andrew and Miss Bushnell. These went obtrusively but honestly about their mission and were able to collect a mass of unimpeachable information as regards ten Cantonments in the Upper Provinces which tended to demonstrate most conclusively that the rules were being scandalously ignored and their object ruthlessly defeated. Under the circumstances, Mr. Stansfield and other Members of Parliament made in the early part of 1893 strong representations to the Secretary of State for India that they were in possession of trustworthy information that at certain stations the Resolution of

the House of Commons had been practically disregarded, and that it was imperative a Select Committee of the House be nominated to immediately inquire into the matter.

The ultimate result of those negotiations was the appointment of a Special Commission by the Government of India to investigate into the truth of the allegations made by the two lady agents of the Purity Society and to report whether in their opinion they were correct. Having taken evidence at Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow, the Commission considered that on the whole the allegations were unfounded. The service oragns re-echoed the opinion and the two American ladies were denounced for the untrustworthiness of the information they had collected. In fact, they were roundly abused and accused of aspersing the fair character of the service consisting of officers and gentlemen! Thus a cloud of dust was raised to conceal the Truth. But Truth cried out from the bottom of the well, and with such irresistible vigour, that eventually the facts as originally communicated by the two ladies were demonstrated to be absolutely correct. The Secretary of State's Departmental Committee, which was appointed to independently investigate the matter and of which Mr. Stansfield was a member, took oral evidence of the ladies, but the most searching cross-examination failed to shake the original allegations made by them regarding the practices under the Cantonment Acts at the ten stations which they personally visited. (*Loud cheers.*) This evidence was fully supported by that of Mr. Hyslop Bell who was also deputed to visit India for the same purpose by the same Society. All the minutes of their evidence might be read in the massive Parliamentary Blue Book published about four months ago. The evidence of Mrs. Andrew and Miss Bushnell was so overpowering that Lord Roberts, who when first examined before the Departmental Committee stoutly repudiated the allegations, was obliged at the conclusion of the inquiry to offer his most unqualified apology to the two ladies which indeed was very creditable to his character for honesty as a distinguished soldier and gentleman (*applause*). You have all read that apology and it is therefore superfluous for me to quote it here. Thus, gentlemen, the net result of the investigation of the English Committee was this. It unmasked the organised official hypocrisy of those in India who had so long successfully misled the British public. We Indians, therefore, owe, I repeat, a deep debt of gratitude not only to the two ladies but to Mrs. Josephine Butler and her colleagues, male and female, for their strenuous and disinterested agitation for the removal of the objectionable practices both under the old and the new Cantonment Acts. (*Applause.*)

But, gentlemen, this evidence and the circumstances that have transpired since Lord Roberts offered his apology, lead us naturally to enquire as to the broad inference to be drawn therefrom? What lesson this incident teaches us and our rulers? I believe, gentlemen, that the evidence now collected in the Blue Book is a remarkable object lesson of the highest value to the administrators of this country. It teaches us that no implicit reliance can be placed on official statements, even when those statements are made by Special Commissions consisting of officials themselves. In the present case, it is plain, that the authorities who were concerned in the administration of the Cantonment Acts successfully humbugged (I am sorry I cannot find a more expressive word than that) Lord Roberts and the Government of India who all along had vigorously maintained their view that there was no infringement of the Acts and the rules framed under them, and that the mandate of the House of Commons was being loyally obeyed. I dare say most of you have perused the very admirable article in the last number of *India* by Professor Steuart referring to this unpleasant exposure by the two American ladies, and trenchantly commenting on the conduct of the Cantonment officers and the authorities at head quarters. The observations ought to open the eyes of the Government of India if it has not already done so. If that Government and Lord Roberts were so long kept in dense ignorance

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of the true situation as regards the Cantonment Acts, what are we to infer regarding the conduct of the Military administration generally? Is there no valid reason to doubt the extreme want of strict supervision and control over the appalling Military expenditure which is a source of such chronic embarrassment to Indian finances? (*Hear, hear.*) On the Congress platform it has been my privilege more than once to refer to this expenditure. And after a careful perusal of the Blue Book on these odious Acts, I need not say, I am strongly confirmed in my doubts as to the fallacious character of official reports generally. The object lesson taught to us by the evidence of the two ladies is therefore extremely valuable, I repeat. It teaches us that if we have hard facts to submit to Government in reference to any grievous questions connected with any branch of the Imperial or Provincial administration, it is our bounden duty to submit them without fear or hesitation For facts which may be incontrovertible can never be assailed howsoever strenuous the efforts to contradict them. (*Hear, hear.*) Year after year many of us have the opportunity to read the administration reports of the different provinces of the empire, besides many an important Blue Book on grave affairs, home and foreign; but it is more than doubtful whether these contain a correct record of facts. So far as my own impression goes, I do not hesitate to say that I make a large reservation when perusing such reports. Their chief defect seems to be that extraordinary tendency to suggest something which is opposed to fact. Official mendacity, I am afraid, is on the increase. It is a vice which so veteran a publicist as the late lamented Mr. Knight (*cheers*) deeply deplored and was not slow to denounce in withering terms. (*Hear, hear.*) We are having our annual Provincial Conferences. In my humble opinion we cannot perform a better duty towards ourselves and our rulers than that of contradicting such official information as we may have unimpeachable grounds to believe is incorrect. We should be thus performing a most useful function. We may go even further and publish our own unofficial Blue Book (or black book if you like) on the administration as a counterblast to the official and present it to Parliament. Hard facts are always appreciated by that deliberative assembly. And if our unofficial Blue Books contain incontrovertible facts you may depend on it that they will be highly valued. The good that such publications might do would be incalculable—good to ourselves and to our rulers. Let us therefore follow the excellent example of the two noble ladies (*cheers*) whose faithful version was so instrumental in scattering to the wind all the official claptrap in which the Military authorities at head quarters indulged in reference to the Cantonment Act. This is the moral which the evidence teaches us. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlenen, I will not now detain you any longer but exhort you to adopt the resolution by acclamation. Let us all earnestly hope that for the better purity of our Indian sisters of all caste and creed, we may soon witness a healthy reform in the matter. (*Loud applause.*)

THE HON'BLE CHAROO CHUNDER MITTER—(*Allahabad, No. 71, in list*) in seconding the motion said :—This subject was discussed in 1888 in the Congress at Allahabad for the first time and was again taken up by the Congress in 1892 at the same place and it has again fallen to the lot of an Allahabad delegate to second the resolution in the Punjab. But I hope that this will be the last time that we shall have to deal with a subject of such a delicate nature as this. I think the less said on the question the better and therefore without further remarks I beg to second the resolution which I hope you will carry unanimously. (*Hear, hear*).

The motion was then carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT: It was intended that the next resolution should be proposed by Mr. Seymour Keay, but unfortunatey he has been laid up these two or three days with his old complaint and is unable to attend. He had made the subject a special study. The motion will be presented by Pundit Madan Mohun Malaviya.

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Resolution VIII.

Grievous distress amongst people of India.

PUNDIT MADAN MOHUN MALAVIYA *(Allahabad, No. 73, in list)* moved.

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.

And humbly urges once more that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—It is with a heaving heart I rise to propose this motion. It is a matter of very great regret that a resolution of this character should have to be passed year after year without our having the consolation of recording that the Government had paid earnest attention to the matter. I say, it is a matter of very great regret because of all the grievances under which our people are suffering, of all the troubles that they have to undergo, this question of poverty is the greatest, and as such, one would expect that the Government would devote its attention to remedy the grievance which year after year the best intelligence of India has put forward for its consideration. Gentlemen, as I have said, it is a matter of deep regret that we should have to use the words of this resolution once more. This subject was brought to the attention of Government as early as 1885, when the first Congress met in Bombay. Again in 1886, when we met at Calcutta for the first time, the subject was, if anything, more emphatically dwelt upon and we urged Government to institute enquiries and to take steps to remedy the spread of poverty which we complained of. Though nine years have rolled by, the Government have not yet taken any step to remedy the state of affairs. All they did was to institute a hole and corner enquiry in 1888, not with a view to remedy the greivance, but to silence the complaints, if possible, by saying that the poverty complained of existed not so much in reality as in imagination and the reports published by Government and the Resolution of the 24th October, 1888, was directly meant to serve that end. But if Government make these hole and corner enquiries and evidence not sought and evidence not received, and reports and resolutions are hurled at the heads of the people, with a view to throw dust into their eyes, who is to blame if the people don't believe them, and if we complain of the cruel indifference of the Government; who is to blame if we have to appeal again and again to the Englishmen who have come to govern the country and those who have taken the responsibility of guiding our destinies in England; who is to blame if we have to appeal again and again for justice in this country? When a proposal was put forward recently in the House of Commons, asking that a Royal Commission might be appointed to enquire into the complaint, it was said by those who did not care to have such an enquiry, that the honorable gentleman who presides over this assembly, had not supplied sufficient evidence of poverty, but, as the President well remarked, you cannot make people see if they are not inclined to see. Facts and figures have been supplied both this year and in previous years which leave no room for doubt that poverty has been increasing, goes on increasing and will go on increasing, unless something is done to remedy it. If they choose to ignore all that is said to them they cannot tell us with decency that we have not given them evidence. They talk of the sense of solemn responsibility in having undertaken the task of guiding the destinies of the millions of this land. When you come to think of the small attention they bestow on Indian questions and the light-heartedness with which they deal with the most solemn questions, you begin to suspect, they do not realise their responsibility to God and man; for injustice, oppression and suffering, are going on under their rule. They have asked us to supply evidence of the poverty. Will they kindly come and see.? If they believe in God and believe they will have to render an account of their stewardship in this country, let them come out to this country once in their lives

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and go from village to village and town to town and see in what misery the people live. Let them come out and ask the people what the country was, say, before the mutiny. Where are the weavers, where are those men who lived by different industries and manufactures, and where are the manufactures which were sent to England and other European countries in very large quantities year after year? All that has become a thing of the past; every one sitting here is clothed in cloth of British make, almost every one—and wherever you go you find British manufactures and British goods staring you in the face. All that is left to the people is to drag out a miserable existence by agricultural operations and make infinitesimal profit out of the little trade left to them. In the matter of the services, in the matter of trade, our people are not enjoying one hundredth part of the profit and gain which they used to enjoy fifty years ago. How then is it possible for the country to be happy? how is it surprising that the country is not more poor than it is? There are only two kinds of evidence we can offer to our critics, one is the direct evidenc of the eyes, and we invite them to acquire that for themselves, the other is the indirect evidence supplied by the experience of those who have lived in this country and know the way in which the people live. Any such evidence I am ready to place before you, the evidence of men in the veracity and accuracy of whose statements no man dare utter a doubt. I will first call attention to what Mr. John Bright said in 1853, in the House of Commons. Speaking of India he said, "what is it that the people of India, if they spoke by my mouth, have to complain of? They would tell the House that, as a rule, throughout almost all the Presidencies, and throughout those Presidencies most which have been longest under British rule, the cultivators of the soil, the great body of the population of India, are in a condition of great impoverishment, of great dejection and of great suffering" Later on Lord Lawrence in 1864 said, "India is on the whole a very poor country. The mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence." Speaking in 1873, he again said, "The mass of the people were so miserably poor that they had barley the means of subsistence." In 1868-69 Mr. W. R. Robertson, then the head of the Agricultural Department in Madras said. "The condition of the agricultural labourer in India is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilised." Sir Auckland Colvin speaking in 1885 in connection with the License Tax Amendment Bill remarked, "The masses of the people are men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living as they do on the barest necessaries of life." In 1882 Sir Evelyn Baring said, speaking as the Finance Minister of this country, "It has been calculated that the average income per head of the population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year, and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax paying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this, is obviously impossible, and if it were possible, would be unjustifiable." Again in the discussion on the budget after repeating the above statement regarding the income of Rs. 27 per head per annum, he said: "But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the masses of the people. In England the average income per head of the population is £33, (*it is now £41*) in France it was £23, in Turkey which was the poorest country in Europe it was £4 per head. He would ask honourable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." Again if you come to 1888 you find that the Government of India admit indirectly that there was a great and increasing poverty, for what did they say in their white washing resolution? they said, "There is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth, is always in debt, does not save and has little or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons." It is unnecessary for me to multiply these quotations; any man who cares to know the real facts can read the valuable papers of our illustrious chairman and the paper issued by the Poona

Sarvajanik Sabha in which the condition of the country is graphicly and truly depicted. There was no shadow of fact in the excuse that our illustrious chairman did not supply facts, for by official papers the fact is proved that there is great poverty and that Government is doing nothing or precious little to remove that poverty or check its growth. I ask you to say by this resolution that there are fully fifty millions of the population dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation. It is a serious statement to make, yet I am emboldened to ask you to give consent to this motion, because, if anything, it does not fully express the poverty of the land; it falls short because I think the numbers are not correct, it underrates the numbers. You might ask me to give my authority for saying this. I appeal to your own experience, but if you want indirect authority there is that of Sir Charles Elliot and Sir Willian Hunter. The latter says. "The remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food," whilst Sir Charles Elliot says, "I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." Let the rulers think over those words and ask themselves what they will have to say to God when they go before Him. I accept all these statements of officials of Government and ask, why does not Government do something to remedy the evil? We say that several millions perish by starvation. It is unnecessary to tire you with many figures but I will say this to prove that statement. The loss of life by war from 1793 to 1890 in the whole world was 4,500,000, the loss of life in eight years by fever alone in India was 4,349,922. Does that not prove conclusively that several millions of our people die from sheer starvation, and are we not justified in asking our rulers to earnestly give this matter their most earnest consideration before the danger developes into a danger of serious character? (*Loud applause.*)

PUNDIT GOPINATH, (*Punjab, No. 255, in list*) seconded the motion addressing the Congress in Urdu.

BABU AMBICA CHARN MOITRA (*Bengal No. 26, in list*) in supporting the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded and I thank the members of the subjects committee for allowing me the sacred privelege of addressing the cream of our Indian society assembled at this national tribunal. The subject matter of this resolution may now be taken as admitted, as it has been proved to mathematical demonstration by eminent authorities both here and in England. The problem to be solved now is how to cope successfully with such a curse as the poverty of India. We must like a good physician feel well the national pulse and scrutinize the signs of the times and strike at the very root of the disease. The flow of the Indian money from the national exchequer to a foreign land should be stopped as far as possible; there must be retrenchment too, right round in India. The financial minister to the Government of India must make bold to scrape out all useless items of expenditures from the Indian Budget as unmercifully as the British surgeon so cleverly deals with the sloughs in a carbuncle. These are the roots of the disease. But so that we might induce the Indian Government to pay due attention to our just and legitimate prayers, we must let them know, that it is the voice of the people and not that of a microscopic minority that speaks through us. Improve the individual units in a nation and you will have a happy, contented and loyal set of people. My countrymen, we must urge on the several Governments, both local and supreme, to take a little more practical interest in the cause of mass and technical education as they are unhappily and unsuccessfully now trying to put down high education. I make bold to say that no power in the land can now check the onward march of high education in India as Providence has ordained otherwise. High and mass education are twin sisters, and they must walk on

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together along the path of progress and we will then have no discordant tune ever marring the marvellous effects of the harmonious unity as we hope one day to have here.

One point more and I have done. I should like to see the early foundation of a national industrial and commercial conference to hold its annual sittings at the Congress times and consist of delegates and others who might interest themselves in the question. I would wish such a conference, if so advised, for making arrangements, or such of its members as might so desire, to raise the necessary funds for the due develpment of the immense natural resources, and mineral resources in particular, of the country all through India, by opening up banks, arts and industrial schools and establishing factories and the like at suitable centres all through this vast country, so as to cope successfully with the unjust and almost exclusive invasion and monopoly of foreign industry which is sucking as if it were the very life blood of all India and replacing indigenous industry, thereby making many a poor family in India homeless and famished. I should like to see more of industrial and commercial life in my fellow countrymen, than I see at present, so that we might settle once for all this great problem which is a stumbling block alike to the Government and to our Indian patriots.

Let it not be supposed for a moment that I yield to any here in my loyalty to the British Raj. We are all conscious of the manifold blessings of the costly but otherwise fair and just government under which we now live. It is as just and fair as a foreign Government can be. Having regard to the present position of the country we could not possibly have a better form of foreign Government than we have now, and I for myself have great faith in the deep sense of justice which is the birthright of every true born Briton. We must go on and on with loyal agitation as the Congress has so ably carried on in the past and that too, constitutionally and with moderation and I can safely predict, the day is not far distant when all our legitimate and just prayers will undoubtedly be granted by the Government. (*Loud applause.*)

MR. MAHOMED ALI BHIMJI (*Central Provinces, No. 834, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Before I proceed further I would ask you not to cry out "louder, louder," because if you do that you damp the spirit of the speaker and he becomes slower and slower instead of louder and louder. (*Laughter.*) When a man rises to propose, second, or support a motion he generally says, "I have great pleasure," but in this instance I am sorry to say I cannot support this resolution with great pleasure. And why? Because it is a resolution referring to the poverty of India and no man has been found to feel pleasure in the poverty of his own country. (*applause.*) There is an additional reason to feel pain in the fact that it is necessary to bring forward such a resolution. I honestly tell you before Almighty God that in this world I don't believe there is any rule better than the British rule. (*Hear, hear.*) But yet under this British rule, the best of all rules, we are compelled to bring this resolution on the poverty of India. We have got laws, we have got peace, we have got police, we have got railways, tram ways, telegraphs, every thing that civilization can desire, but yet with all that the country is poverty stricken, the first and fundamental principle is wanting. The first test of good Government is that the country should be prosperous and not poverty stricken. In that first test it is our misfortune to say that the Government, owing to the peculiar system under which it is carried out, has failed and miserably failed. You may have been surprised to hear from my friend opinions expressed by high officials from 1878. If you like I will give you dates and years and the names of British officials who have said that the reason of the poverty in India is the British rule. In a paper written by our honorable president, it is most conclusively shown to exist, and if you have time to go through it, I would recommend you all to read it most thoughtfully and carefully,

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and say what conclusion you come to. It is not the men who carry out the system, but the system they have to carry out that is to be blamed. If we had not such conscientious rulers over us we would not have been able to gather the information which they supply and have done for the past hundred years and we would not have been able to say that a great many officials have been crying out against this system since 1787. It must be told to the credit of Englishmen, that although they carry out the system they do their duty, but still if the system is bad, what other results can be expected? It is our bounden duty to press our demands for a reform of the system. We have during nine long years been crying out for reform, yet our cry has not been answered and this very necessary reform is still withheld from us. A few months ago our respected President brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for an enquiry into the administration of India. That motion was defeated, but we must not be disappointed, we must go on persistently knocking at the door of the British House of Commons and we may rest assured that it will be opened to us. It is not that Government is not aware of this poverty; Government knows that poverty is prevalent in India, but they are also aware that they cannot find means to romove the poverty. There are people who say that the people themselves are to blame for the poverty. Such is not the case. Mr. John Bright in 1858, said that when a country is rich, and the people of that country are poor, there must be something fundamentally wrong in the Government of that country. If it is our misfortune to be poor, how have we become poor? It is because we have lost our industries. It is no fault of ours, we are willing to take up the industries but then the Manchester people come in and interfere and our industry is not assisted or encouraged. Therefore, the best plan is to go on knocking at the door of the House of Commons and ask for redress. I have, therefore, the melancholy pleasure of asking you to carry this resolution unanimously. *(Applause.)*

MOULVIE MOHURREM ALI CHISTI, (*Panjab, No. 266, in list*) supported in Urdu.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

MR. C. VENKATA, CHARIAR (*Madras No. 841, in list*) moved:

Resolution IX.

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

That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India and in certain hilly tracts in the Punjab, 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.

He said: This is a proposition which has been discussed by this national assembly year after year and it has been discussed from various points. Now, I shall only point out to you a few practical defects that have been experienced in the Madras Presidency. I will first request your permission to state the difficulties in obtaining the land for agricultural purposes. The practice that has been obtaining in Madras is that, if a ryot wanted land for the purpose of cultivation, he has to make his application to the Revenue officials. That application is not disposed of either by the Tahsildar, or Divisional officers and has to go to the Forest Department, that is to say, to the District Forest Officer, then the same application is forwarded to the Ranger officer who has again to send it to the Forest Guard. You will note that these Forest officers, called guards, or servants, who are paid from eight to twelve rupees a month, have the discretion of either granting or withholding land for the purposes of cultivation. Practically the power is entirely vested in these lower officials. If the land mentioned in the application adjoins a Forest Reserve, or reserved land, which in area is less than 300 acres or so, (generally more than that is set aside for the purpose of reservation) his application is rejected and the piece of land is thenceforth a Forest Reserve. So you will see that year after year

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the number of reservations has been increasing and that the quantities of waste lands valuable for cultivation are decreasing. The consequence is that, it is extremely difficult to get land for the purposes of agriculture. The next point to which I call your attention is that the immemorial rights of grazing cattle and cutting and collecting fuel have been completely ignored under the Forest rules. The Government say that although the ryots have been utilising the forests for a number of years as cattle-grazing grounds and for fuel cutting, it was a privilege and not a right and was at the sweet will and pleasure of Government and could be withdrawn at any moment. The difficulty in the matter of grazing and fodder for cattle is so great that it resulted in the death of thousands of cattle in the year of 1891-92. According to the administration report of the Forest Department of the Madras Government and in the Report of the operations of the Departments of Land records and Agriculture for 1891-92, the number of cattle dying from various diseases was given as 87,349. The number of cattle dying from snake bite and by wild animals and poisoning comes to 99,307. The deaths by poisoning come to 18, the deaths by snake bite to 1171, deaths by wild animals to 10,189. I must tell you that these numbers do not include the sheep. The death of sheep from all diseases comes to 31,448. The death of sheep by snake bite was 153, and by wild animals it came to 5,953. Again from the Forest Administration Report you will see what was the unmber of cattle decreased in 1891-92. *(Cries of "time")* As I have been warned I shall pass on to other subjects which are more important. In respect to cattle found trespassing into Forests which have been extended on both sides of the public roads, as well as on all sides of villages, the fines recovered on account of those that were impounded during the year 1890-91, amounted to Rs. 1,50,015, and the sum during 1891-92, came to Rs. 1,83,722. In respect of these cattle which trespassed upon Forests and in respect of which fines were levied under the Cattle Trespass Act, there was also a second punishment under the amended Forest Laws, but two years ago there was no such second conviction. The Forest Officers were satisfied with impounding cattle. Now the practice in our Presidency and especially in Salem, is to prosecute the owners of cattle before Magistrates; and there have been convictions and heavy fines in some cases and the third way of dealing with offenders is by taking compensation according to the will and pleasure of the Forest Officer. *(Renewed cries of "time.")*

The speaker continuing said: In conclusion I would like to read to you the following extract from a minute of the Madras Government on Forest administration: "His Excellency the Governor-in-council cannot too strongly condemn any tendency to unnecessarily harass the people of the country by the application of the penal clauses of the Forest Law and desires that the Board will issue direct orders to the Collectors of the districts above mentioned with a view to remedying the unsatisfactory state of things which appears to exist. There has been a marked increase during the year, particularly in the districts of Salem, North Arcot, Trichinopoly and North Malabar in the number of cases compounded, and the amount realised in compensation fees has almost doubled as compared with 1890-91. The Board is unable to account for this large increase owing to the want of satisfactory explanations from the Collectors concerned. It would be instructive to know whether the power of impounding has been properly exercised and the Board should obtain and submit further information on this point. It should be borne in mind that the power of compounding should not be used in cases where the evidence is not sufficiently strong to secure convictions, but is intended to meet those cases where the evidence is clear; but there are circumstances, such as the petty nature of the offence and ignorance of the law on the part of an offender, or distance of the place of offence from a Magistrate's Court, which render it inadvisable to institute a conviction. The number of cases pending disposal at the close of the year was considerably larger than at the end of the previous year but Collectors have not furnished

sufficient information under this head to enable the Board to judge how far the delay in the disposal of cases was due to the Officers of the Department and how far to the Magistracy. There is some inconsistency between the Board's statement at paragraph 40 of the Administration Report, for the increase in the number of forest offences in Kistna was due to the fact that the people were compelled to resort to injurious lopping of branches for fodder, and the statement at paragraph 50 to the effect that the ryots in Kistna were allowed as a special case to remove the leaves of certain fodder trees from the forests." (*Applause.*)

MR. K. G. NATU, (*Poona, No. 745, in list*) in seconding the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT, AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—This resolution has been repeated and the arguments on it have been reiterated from year to year, but still we must repeat it until we attain our end. Gentlemen, bad laws are instruments of oppression. When lawlessness prevails and the law does not resent it, where can we find a remedy. (*Applause.*) Here lawlessness is legalised, laws are made to prevent oppression, but what will prevent it when the laws themselves sanction that oppression? The noble lords who pass the laws scarcely know any thing about the effects which they will have upon the people for whom they are made. Our worthy President has told you of the great poverty of India, and if you take into consideration all the bad laws and their effects, you will find the spectacle of poverty more shocking than it has been hitherto. A poor man who perhaps lives on one meal a day, goes to the forest and he perhaps happens to pick up a few dry sticks. Directly he does it, the guard of the forest pounces upon the poor fellow, and sends him up for trial. (*Hear, hear.*) His trial begins and the Forest Officer is the witness, the prosecutor, the judge and every thing; he is fined and the spoil is divided between the Treasury and the Forest guard. If there is a magistrate who is inclined to take a lenient view, he is warned not to do the like of that again. Now, let us see how the Forest Laws deal with this man's cattle. There are villages in which there is no pastural land and the cattle have to exist on thorns, thistles and brambles. The cattle stray upon the forest land and the man is fined, and being impatient to get out of the clutches of the Forest guard he manages to pay the fine. But that is not sufficient. As soon as he gets down the steps of the Court house, he is called up again and told, he has paid a fine for trespass, he must now pay for the damage. With what difficulty the man pays the fine you can easily imagine. Then again you have to consider how the Forest Act deals with the trees that grow upon the lands which are undoubtedly yours and the property of no one else. But you are told they are not yours, you have to pay if you want wood, and you are astonished to find that what was once yours is no longer yours. If you cut the trees even on your own land, you have to pay for them or be punished. ("*Shame.*") In the Konkan the land has to be burnt before crops can be sown, and there the ryots are not allowed to take the material to burn their land, they must either steal or starve. One word more; the British Government is anxious to advance the interests of peasants, the marrow and bone of the country. It is not denied in any quarter that the peasant is the strength of the country. I ask, if Government is sincere in its intentions and proposals, are these the means employed which are calculated to advance the prosperity of the country?' I pause for a reply. (*Applause.*)

PUNDIT MEGHAN RAM (*Punjab, No. 556, in list*) in supporting the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have been called upon to support, has been before the Congress for many years, but the severity of the rules in force in the hilly districts of the Punjab has not, before this, attracted the attention of this Congress. It is to the severity of these rules that I rise to direct your attention for the first time. The rules, as you will see, are very arbitrary and unworthy of a civilized Government. These rules were framed by the

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Punjab Government and recieved the sanction of the Governor General-in-Council on 21st May, 1855; and by the provisions of the Punjab Laws Act IV of 1872, they acquired the force of law in the hill districts. By rule I, the civil authorities are empowered to declare any area wheresoever situated, a Reserved Forest, and the people, under rule VI, have no right to object either on the score of proprietary or manorial rights. By these rules the Government has despotically and unreasonably sanctioned the illegality of the action of the civil officers whenever they like to do so. It is a well established rule of law, that no person will be convicted under the provisions of any penal law or rule so long as guilt is not, by clear and reliable evidence, brought home to him; but in order to protect their own rights, so unlawfully obtained, or acquired, the Government in the highest amount of unwisdom and despotism has enacted rule IX which runs as follows:—

"The villagers, the owners and occupants of the land may be rendered responsible for conflagrations occurring within their bounds, whether accidental or not, or by whomsoever caused, and such owner, occupant or villager may in this case be treated as if he had been guilty of the infraction of the rules."

Now Gentlemen, supposing an owner of the land, in which a Reserved Forest is situate, is at Calcutta, and in his absence some grass, brushwood or any part of a tree takes fire he, under the wording of the rule, is as much liable to punishment, provided in Rule XII, which is a fine of Rs. 100, or in default thereof to imprisonment not exceeding three months. Will any of you who are members of the legal profession tell me after considering the law, wherein does his defence lie, for he is guilty, not for any wilful neglect, but even for an accident which is beyond his power and knowledge. Will the defenders of Government come forward to tell me, wherein the justice of these rules consist? Those who accuse the Ameer of Kabul for monopolising the trade of fruits &c. in Afghanistan, will come forward to advise the Government to repeal these rules and leave the timber trade of the country in the hands of those who according to their natural and ancient rights are the owners of the land now included in the Reserve Forests and trees growing upon it.

Gentlemen! those of you who have not been to the hills and seen the hill-men and have not learnt their customs, manners and the way of their living, do not know what the wood and grass means to these men. It is their life and the life of their cattle; their chief property and important means of subsistence. The people of the hills live in thatched houses which are built and roofed mainly by bamboos, brushwood and grass &c. They have to live in a climate where in the winter season no one can expect to protect himself against the severe cold without fire which remain burnt day and night in their rooms; but now according to the Forest Law they cannot cut trees even though they may be in their very fields under their own cultivation or situate in their compounds, without the sanction of Forest Officers. Do you know the trouble and tediousness which an ignorant hill-man, standing in a great need of wood, is required to undergo in order to obtain it? He must apply to the head of the Forest Department. His application must, according to the practice, go to the guards and other officers. If by good fortune report is made in his favour, the order will be issued to the guard in charge to allow him to cut and remove a specified tree &c. Supposing he stands in need of repairing his house which he must do every now and then, the delay which is the necessary consequence of this practice is not injurious to him alone but to all the members of his family.

Those of you who are acquainted with the customs and religious belief of the hill-men will understand that the hill-men who are in the habit of appeasing *Khetarpal* (god of field)

by offering homages, how they must now try to appeal the living god of Forests in order to attain his object easily ; but gentlemen ! the hill-men offer to the *Khetrapal* only twice in a year *i. e.* on each harvest, or on the occasion of marriage of a son, or daughter, and it is very easy to appease an invisible being if such there be, and it is very difficult to offer homage to a living god of Forests, whose assistance is required every now and then. I have forgotten to tell you that the trees, shrubs, or brushwood, growing on lands called the village commons or other joint holdings, are declared to be the property of the Government, though the land belongs to the proprietary body who are responsible for the payment of the Government revenue assessed on the whole estate. I will not detain you any longer with the details at this time, but hope to do so on some other occasion. The Forest Law in fact, in the hills of the Punjab, like the swollen limb of a camel, cannot be called sound and satisfactory and requires the special attention of our benign Government to which I request you to refer the matter for consideration and enquiry.

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The motion was unanimously adopted.

The Congress then adjourned till 12 o'clock the following day (Saturday.)

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, 30th December, 1893.

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The Congress reassembled at 12 o'clock on Saturday.

THE PRESIDENT at the outset of the proceedings said: We have to-day a long list of resolutions and unless I am very strict in the matter of the time to be allowed to each speaker, there is no chance of getting through all the business. Therefore I warn every one of the speakers, that I shall most strictly strike the first gong at etght minutes and the second at ten for proposers, and for every body else, the first gong will be sounded at four minutes, and the second at five minutes, and I hope every speaker will use his capacity to convey his speech in telegraphic language, as concise and as mathematical as possible, for I was a Professor of Mathematics and I like it.

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MR. PETER PAUL PILLAY (*Madras, No. 839, in list*) said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is exactly one hundred years since the introduction of Permanent Settlement by the East India Company in 1793. Instead of celebrating its centenary amid rejoicings and demonstrations of loyalty, we have to express our deep sorrow and alarm at the threatened national calamity in the extinction of permanent settled estates. The Resolution is in these terms.

That this Congress, having on many previous occasions urged on the Government of India the necessity for giving, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand wherever this has not already been conceded, desires now to reiterate emphatically this recommendation and to call attention to the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of the survey and other cesses) and with the terms of the sanads of the permanently settled estates in Madras, and deeming such tampering with solemn public pledges, no matter under what pretences, a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways, any and all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders.

Continuing Mr. Pillay said:—The Congress has been praying for Permanent Settlement for lands that are subject to periodical settlement. Instead of granting the request, the Government is trying to undo the Permanent Settlement for lands that have had the benefit of the Permanent Settlement. What we would construct the Government would destroy. This destructive agency must be protested against in a business-like manner. In 1793 Permanent Settlement was introduced, exactly 100 years ago. Instead of celebrating the centennial anniversary with all demonstrations of joy and loyalty, we have the mournful task of expressing alarm at the destructive agencies at work against the boon, and of disapproving the action of the Government in tampering with the settlement with all the unhappy consequences. The Government is guilty of acts of omission and commission which, if allowed to go on unchecked, would ultimately result in the extinction of the Zemindari system. For instance, in the Madras Presidency, the Zemindars' Association petitioned the Government to regulate the succession of zemindaries, as in the case of the Taluqdars of Oudh, by legislation. The Government positively refused to do so, though the legislative reform is demanded by justice and expediency. I shall read one passage from the Government order to illustrate the narrow-minded policy of the

Government. It is as follows:—"In coming to the above conclusion in regard to the requests contained in the memorial, the Government is not unmindful of the fact that, in the absence of check on alienations, the existing large estates may in process of time get broken up into smaller estates which may be purchased by persons who may look on the lands they have acquired merely as speculative investments and who may, therefore, devote their energies solely to the enhancement of their rent roll."

Here the inaction of the Government, inspite of the prayer of the zemindars, shows the complaisance with which the Government views the ruin of proprietary. It is the Government that drives the proprietary estates to sale. The same Government order contains the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, according to which the Revenue Officers are recommended to purchase them at auction sale, with all the advantages of the Government holding the anomalous position of both a seller and a buyer. This is a very convenient and summary way of extinguishing the zemindary system.

There are several instances where the Government recently purchased zemindaries. Here we have settled estates which are being unsettled in a summary way, instead of the unsettled estates, being settled according to the prayer of the Congress. There is another very serious grievance regarding the manner in which the Government violates the terms of Permanent Settlement by the Proprietary Village Service Bill, which is being pushed through with culpable haste simply on account of the retirement of the officer in charge of the Bill ten days hence. It is to be passed next Friday, the 5th January, in the face of the protest from the press, the zemindars, and all the members of the Council who love fair play and justice. This is a most disgraceful action by an official clique, supported by the supposed representative of the zemindars themselves to whose suicidal advocacy my friend, Mr. Jambulingam Moodaliar, alluded to the other day, and by a non-official member whom the Madras Government considers as its legal luminary and who has the audacity to discover efficiency and improvement inspite of the contrary having been shown by the opinions of the zemindars and others interested in the Bill.

By the Bill new cess is to be levied and the village servants are to be placed under the control of Revenue officers, except in the nominal power of appointment, subject to appeal from dissatisfied parties and to veto by the officers even without appeal. The Zemindars contend that this is a sheer violation of the terms of the Permanent Sanads which I shall read from the Regulation Book. It is as follows:—"Wherefore the British Government impressed with a deep sense of the injuries arising to the State and to its subjects from the operation of such principles has resolved to remove from its administration so fruitful a source of uncertainty and disquietude, and to grant to Zemindars and other landlords, their heirs and successors, a permanent property in their land in all time to come and to fix for ever a moderate assessment of public revenue on such lands, the amount of which shall never be liable to be increased under any circumstances." This is the solemn pledge contained in these regulations. Then again with regard to another point, there is a violation of the terms of Permanent Sanads. It is section 11, and as it is rather a long one I will read a portion of it. "Where a zemindar, or his under farmer tenants, ryots, may have cause of complaint against a Curnum for breach of his duty, such zemindar shall be free to institute a suit in the adwalut of the zillah for the purpose of bringing such Curnum to trial and punishment; but where a zemindar may deprive a Curnum of his office, without such previous regular process, the zemindar shall be liable to make such satisfaction for the injury as the adwalut of the zillah may decree."

In the original Bill the framers were candid enough to insert the clause "The terms of Sanad Milkyat Issimrar notwithstanding." We now find that clause is struck out.

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Though the justifying clause of the unjustifiable legislation is removed, the Bill is kept up. The Hon'ble mover of the Bill now boldly says that the Bill is not opposed to the terms of Permanent Sanad. What are his reasons? This cess is no violation because of the local cess being no violation, according to the Despatch to the Government of India by the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State's Despatch to the Government of India, dated 10th May, 1870, says: "In view therefore of these facts and considerations, Her Majesty's Government have now to intimate to your Excellency the conclusion to which they have come, after a careful consideration of a controversy which has now been going on for a long course of years. This conclusion is that rating or local expenditure is to be regarded—as it has hitherto been regarded, in all the Provinces of the Empire—as taxation separate and distinct from the ordinary land revenues; that the levying of such rates upon the holders of land, irrespective of the amount of their land assessment, involves no breach of faith on the part of the Government, whether as regards the holders of permanent or of temporary tenures; and that when such rates are levied at all, they ought, so far as may be possible, to be levied equally, without distinction and without exemption, upon all the holders of property accessible to the rate." Here the Government is the judge of its own action. The road-cess is a direct charge upon lands payable in good or bad seasons, whether the tenant's portion is recoverable or not, with all the permanency and rigour of permanent *perihcush*. Call it by any name you like. It is a direct and unjustifiable enhancement of land revenue contrary to the solemn pledges. The Zemindars contend that two wrongs cannot make one right. Simply because they bore patiently one violation, it is no reason that there should be another violation. With regard to the control over servants also, the proposed Bill is a violation, because the only restriction in the exercise of control was that the Rumums or Village accountants should be removed by Civil Courts. Beyond this, every kind of interference with the power of Zemindars is a violation. Though the Revenue officers consulted opposed the Bill, it is forced on the Zemindars on the pretext of improving the Police administration. The occasion for the introduction of the Bill was the complaint of certain ryotwari villagers against exaction and terrorem by the village watchers under the Village Service Act, which has been said to be a chief cause of increase of crimes. Very strongly the Government has deduced arguments for the extension of the Act to proprietary villages with all the wisdom of a quack who would poison A in order to cure the poison of B. thus poisoning both. In the original statement of Objects and Reasons, the false plea was set up that the village servants of proprietary estates are notoriously guilty of crimes. When facts were shown to the contrary, the framers struck out the false premises but retained the false conclusion of the Bill, that it is necessary for the improvement of Police administration. The Government should cast out the beam from its own eyes before it ventures to remove the mote from that of its neighbours.

The trifling object of securing due submission of agricultural and vital statistics can be secured well without the Bill enforcing a new cess in addition to the old ones against which there has been no complaint. (*Applause.*)

BABU BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN (*Bengal, No. 16, in list*) in seconding the resolution said:—This motion is composed of three parts, first it contains a reiteration of the recommendations made on previous occasions for the extension of the concession to provinces and tracts of land where Permanent Settlement does not prevail, the second portion consists of an expression of alarm on the part of the Congress in consequence of the attitude which the Government has taken in respect of the permanently settled provinces and regrets the tampering with its pledges. With regard to the second question it appears that the Government, instead of showing indications of extending the privilege of permanent settlement to tracts where it does not prevail, its attitude goes rather to interfere

with Permanent Settlement where it exists. I will confine my remarks to Bengal. At present Behar is about to be subjected to a Cadastral survey. Whatever the merits of such a survey may be, it is not my object to discuss; I will speak of the cesses to be imposed on account of that survey. Government undertakes to pay one eighth of the expenses of that survey, the remaining seven eighths being borne by the land owning interests. So, that is a fresh imposition on permanently settled estates, practically interfering with their permanent settlement. When this resolution was first brought before the Congress, we hoped for a favourable order from Government, but not only have our endeavours been abortive but we are threatened with a monstrosity and the Congress has taken timely note of it. It has become the duty of the Congress to express its alarm, but does the duty of the Congress cease here? No, something ought to be done to take protective measures, and therefore the Congress pledges itself to oppose by all legitimate means and in a thoroughly constitutional manner, to oppose all measures which are attacks on Permanent Settlement. We may indulge in a hope that our attempts will not fail and assure others that this is not an impotent threat on the part of the Congress. We know the history of the Jury Resolution. *(Applause.)* We had resolved to ask for an extension of the jury system and the extension of the system with reference to crimes which are now not tried by juries, but we know that a notification was issued for restriction. Now in the same way we are threatened with regard to settlements and by a strong combination we may succeed in averting the danger threatening us and frustrate the object; the unjust attempt of Government to interfere with permanently settled lands and placing on landowners fresh impositions. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, my time is up and so I must stop here in obedience to our worthy President's rule, though I had more to say.

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SHEIKH WAHAB-UD-DIN, (*N. W. Provinces, No. 155, in list*) said: MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Government has spent twenty crores of rupees over a scientific frontier and if the present fiscal policy of the present administrators is allowed to continue, it will break the very backbone of the Empire. It is rightly said in all quarters that the peasantry and landed gentry are the backbone of a nation, and this is not the first instance in which Bengal and Madras have had to complain of a breach of faith. When the settlement promises were given to the people of this country, the state of things which prevailed, was very different; but now all India, from one end to the other, is surely attached to the British Crown, and their loyalty and devotion to the British Crown has been rewarded in the manner explained in the Resolution. The rulers are not to be found strong everywhere and I am sorry to say that Bengal is not presided over by such a strong Governor as the Punjab, and so, nearly the maximum limit of taxation has been reached. We cruel tyrannical Mahomedans in the past days never took thirtytwo crores of rupees from the country in all shapes, but the British Government, notwithstanding its claim to civilisation, humanity, and christianity, is realising no less than twentyfive crores in the shape of land revenue. But this is not the fault of the British Government at home, or the British Public at home. The British Government have sent out a number of agents to govern this country on behalf of the Queen and the English nation, and it is our duty that we should inform them from time to time, how those agents behave and how they are carrying out the behests of their masters. This very Province in which I am standing, the capital of which is Lahore, was forty three years ago annexed to the British Empire. What was the condition of the country at that time? We were fiscally stronger, we were physically much more strong than at present, but the Forest Laws and taxations have deteriorated the condition of every man. The people have become poorer and poorer and there is scarcely left any margin for the peasant and for the landed gentry to make any provision for the future or even to support themselves and their families. Agricultural experts have said from time to

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time, that there is not a single nation on the face of the earth which is so industrious and so diligent in cultivating the land as the Indian peasantry, but notwithstanding this, we find periodically, to quote the words of Sir Roper Lethbridge, that "the modern legalised armies of the Pindaris are let loose: I refer to the periodical settlements." Time is up, so I will say no more (*applause.*)

MR. B. G. TILAK (*Bombay, No 760, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition, and in doing so I shall point out first, that this is one of those resolutions which furnishes a complete answer to the charge brought against the Congress that it exists for the benefit of the educated classes of this country. (*applause.*) We are not seeking to benefit that class, but the poor classes, and I shall point out that coming as I do from Bombay, I don't plead for the Zemindars, but the ryots of Bombay. There the necessity of Permanent Settlement is keenly felt by all classes of the community. The resolution before us shows the necessity of fixity and permanence of the Land Revenue demand without reference to the method of assessing the settlement or the Government revenue. That is, whether the Government be dealing with the landlords, or with the owners of the villages, or with the ryots directly as in Madras and Bombay, we find that the present inconvenience of the revised revenue settlement is caused by the increase; the enhancement is so great that the agriculturalists in Bombay and Madras feel the necessity of a Permanent Settlement. I am not going to anticipate my friend Mr. Abaji Khare, who is going to lay before you the inconveniences of a revised settlement every 20 or 30 years. So far as Bombay is concerned, we have experienced the evils of revised settlements to such an extent, that we all very cordially support the proposition placed before you. I may mention one case of revised settlements carried out every 30 years. The increase sometimes amounts to as much as 700 per cent. Government has recognized the necessity of remedying this evil and in a resolution, Government says that the enhancement is not to be more than 33 per cent. Notwithstanding that resolution, the Survey authorities have increased the assessment by 700 per cent and the wonder is that, it is sanctioned by the Government of Bombay, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State. After all, it would not be possible to remedy all these evils without the boon of Permanent Settlement. I would, with these remarks, support the proposition. (*Applause.*)

SIRDIR GURU CHARN SING (*Punjab, No. 310, in list*) It is my pleasant duty to stand before you and support that part of the resolution which urges, that Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue be granted to those provinces which do not already enjoy that privilege. Had it not been for the fact that the Secretary of State for India, that omnipotent gentleman who rules India from Downing Street, has condemned the principle of Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue, I would have contented myself by simply saying that, because Bengal and some other Provinces have been permanently settled, therefore that principle is sound in policy, useful to the State, advantageous to the landlord, and beneficial to the tenant. But unfortunately for us, the authorities seem to think, that they have made a mistake by giving Permanent Settlements to Bengal and to some other Provinces. They assign their reasons for it, the soundness or unsoundness of which I leave to you to decide. They say that when Land Revenue was permanently settled in Bengal, it was done on the supposition,

Vide Baden Powell Land system of India Vol. I. P. 290.

(1) That the landlord would improve the lands and will treat the tenants leniently and benevolently.

(2) That as both classes grow rich, though the Land Revenue would not alter, other Revenues would increase; for wealthy people want more and more in way of foreign imports and articles of luxury, and the custom house would reap the benefit in the shape of duty.

All these expectations have been rudely disappointed with rare exceptions. The Zemindars, as a class, did nothing for the tenants, but rack rent them or hand them over to the patnidars or rent farmers who did so still more. Gentlemen, mark the argument. Supposing all these statements to be true (about the truth of which I have grave doubts) I ask, are the tenants in places, where Permanent Settlements have been effected, not better off than in our parts of the country? The landlord may be exacting, but surely he will not be so exhorbitant in his demands as the landlord in a temporary settled place is compelled to be.

Each new settlement brings with it its own evils and raises the assessment by about 50 per cent., after every 20 years or so. At least such is the case in Punjab. And when the landlord has to pay so much more, he throws the whole burden upon the tenant by raising the rent by about 100 per cent. This is the hardship from which tenants suffer under temporary settlements. The other argument advanced by the noble Secretary of State requires no refutation, for it is an undisputed fact that both the landlord and the tenants now spend more money on foreign goods than they did in 1793, when Land Revenue was permanently settled in Bengal. But gentlemen, it is not enough that we should prove to our rulers that the system of Permanent Settlement is beneficial but they also want us to tell them how the changes are to be effected. Their argument is, that there are no big Zemindars like Bengal in the Punjab and with whom are they to settle the Revenue?

I humbly ask the question, with whom do the Government settle Revenue in cases of temporary settlements? Separate estates are marked out as assessment circles, and the Revenue is settled with the holders of these estates. These men and their representatives are responsible to the Government for the assessed Revenue, and the same method can be adopted in case of Permanent Settlements. Of course the system of collecting Land Revenue will not be so simple as you have in other Provinces, but that is a difficulty which is not insurmountable and ought not to delay justice because, to use the words of that eminent jurist, Jeremy Bentham, "Justice delayed is justice denied."

The system of temporary settlements is detrimental to the interests of the landlord as well as to those of the tenant. The landlord suffers for he dare not improve or reclaim the land, because the dread of the new settlement and the increased assessment is always hanging over his head. The more he improves his land the higher will be the assessment he shall be burdened with. The tenant suffers still more. As with each settlement the assessment increases, the landlord arbitrarily multiplies the rent. As regards this poor class of people, the produce is the same but the rent is raised higher. They have large families to support and other worldly expenses to incur. I hope I am not exaggerating the facts when I say that more than 90 per cent of these people, who work in their fields and brave the freezing colds of December nights and the scorching heat of June days, hardly get their bare subsistence.

The margin of profit in cultivation has grown so narrow that you find these poor people always in debt, and they have to borrow money from the money lender at something like 30 per cent interest. What is the result if the crop fails? They are ruined and ruined with no fault of their own; ruined not through their extravagance or imprudence but simply because they are unfortunately so circumstanced that no amount of honest labour on their part can save them from the hands of poverty. In vain they try to make the two ends meet, the calamity comes like death. The family is broken up, their cattle are sold for debts, the bread winner of the family either dies of a broken heart or lingers in the dark recesses of a Civil Jail under the decree of the money lender. If he has any son, the poor youth leaves home in despair and joins the army where he ends his

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Resolution X.

Permanent Settlement and the creation of alarm by Government interference with it

days at a handsome salary of 7 rupees a month. I have said enough to move your hearts, if you have any. The well known saying "That we have nothing to do with the taxes but to pay them, and nothing to do with the laws but to obey them," applies to us. Yes, we do pay the taxes and obey the laws without a murmur but we humbly ask, that the taxes be reasonable, and the laws be just. That is our position. I therefore ask for Permanent Settlement in the interests of the landlord, but much more in the interests of the tenant, a class which is dumb, a class which is poor and a class which is helpless. And I, for one, though pessimistic in other matters, feel certain that our demands will be conceded. When I look round, I feel no hesitation in saying, and I proudly say, that ours are the demands of a nation and to use the words of Sir W. Hunter, they may be delayed, they may be modified but cannot be ignored.

MR. KESHAV VINAYEK JOSHI (*Nagpur, No. 815, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT, AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—There is a saying that a ghost is one who has his feet turned backwards, and we have a Government with its feet turned backwards. (*Laughter.*) In the Central Provinces the Government is pursuing a retrograde policy and the settlement which was granted 30 years ago is now about to be interfered with. The Settlement operations now in progress are modified and are only to stand for twelve years or ten years and at the end of that time, Government will be able to enhance rents again. In some cases, the enhancement has been 200 per cent and 300 per cent. I will say one word about the Province which is being subjected to this cruel experiment. I have travelled through all the villages and I can bear testimony that the people are so poor that they live on *mowra* flowers and seed of tamarinds, and these are the people who are to be subjected to this experiment. ("*Shame.*") In the Central Provinces, we suffer from something which is not to be found anywhere else. We have a close relationship with both the Government of India and the Government of Bombay. On the one hand, we are told that an Act passed for Bengal is binding on the Central Provinces, and on the other hand, in the matter of Educational policy we are bound to the Bombay University. Therefore, we are bound, I cannot say why, by the *Rewari* system as well as the Permanent Settlement. We suffer from the evils of both. I put it to you and ask you, whether you think such evils should continue from year to year with the poverty of the people increasing. I speak from experience and conviction. (*applause.*)

The President intimated that Mr. Lakshman Prasad of Lucknow had an amendment to bring forward.

PUNDIT LAKSHMAN PRASAD (*Oudh, No. 171, in list*) : Before bringing forward my amendment, I wish to ask if this resolution goes against the Cadastral Survey.

THE PRESIDENT : No.

PUNDIT LAKSHMAN PRASAD : Then I withdraw my amendment.

The Seconder of the amendment having also agreed to withdraw, the motion was unanimously adopted.

Resolution XI.

Government failure in granting its promised modified fixity of tenure.

MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE (*Bombay, No. 779, in list*) proposed :

That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges for a permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865), but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements, laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State.

He said : MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—You will have observed from the wording of this resolution that it is not only not inconsistent with the previous resolution which has been passed, but affords a strong argument why Government should accede

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to the request you have already preferred to them. I propose this resolution and I hope you will accept it, for half a loaf is better than no bread. In this Province where Permanent Settlement does not prevail, there exists an institution by which every twenty five, or thirty years, the assessment of land is revised, and after that revision, the assessment is almost always increased, and my complaint is that that increase has at times been so unreasonable as to have amounted, in particular instances, almost to the confiscation of private property, and in others, it has greatly discouraged the improvement of land. In increasing these assessments Government have laid down, for themselves, a limit and they have issued a resolution in which they have said that the increased assessment should not exceed the limit of thirty three per cent. Now, there is no data by which we can judge of the justness of this limit, nor have Government taken into account the increased population of the country and the increased cost of production to the cultivators, but have arbitrarily said, that the profits of the cultivator may be taken as the standard and Government may take their share of the profits on that reckoning. Granted for the sake of argument, that the increased profits are represented by thirty three per cent, let us see how the system has operated in some instances. Government in their resolution said, that no assessment on an individual holding could be increased by more than one hundred per cent; but we find that in a recent survey settlement in the Bombay Presidency, an assessment was increased by seven hundred per cent. I may cite some particular instances from which you will see how unjustly these increases have worked out. In a taluka holding which paid four rupees as assessment, the amount has now been increased, under the revised settlement, to forty five rupees; another holding which formerly paid nine rupees, now pays thirty and another which paid three, now pays fifteen rupees. These are three instances out of several where actually Government have increased the assessments more than the hundred per cent to which it pledged itself in a solemn resolution. Another instance of confiscation and double enhancement is that relating to full eighty villages in the Ratnagiri District. In that taluka there exists no pretence for saying that the holders of the villages have increased their profits. Their profits have remained the same, but the increase in the assessment has been so much, that the holders who used to pay a hundred or two hundred, now pay two thousand rupees to Government Then there is another instance in the same category which I may cite to you for your consideration. The way this thirty three per cent. is collected is at times very queer. There is a taluka in the Khandesh Division where, when the settlement was made in 1852-55, a prospective railway was taken into consideration and the lands were assessed on the prospective profits. In 1890, when the assessment was revised, the same railway was taken as an argument for increasing the assessment over thirty three per cent. Then I would come to the question of the discouragement of improvements. I need not tell you that the ordinary landholders are terribly afraid of improving their lands and you may get an instance of this when I tell you that the late Mr. Telang, himself as a tenant, was afraid of improving his land. In the Bombay Council in 1886, he strongly asked Government for a pledge that improved land would not be taxed, and then Lord Reay made a solemn promise, that no improvements carried out by the holder himself would be taxed by the Government. The same principle has been clearly laid down in a resolution issued by Lord Ripon, but notwithstanding this we have to record a breach of those pledges in the recent settlement in the Panwell taluka. There some land which the holder had converted into rice land has been taxed, not on the previous arrangement but on the new lines for rice-lands. In this matter you have not only the ignorance of the ryots to deal with, but there is also the strong significant fact that such taxation on improvements has discouraged the people, from one end of the Presidency to the other, from putting their money into land. But you have also to see how Government behave with regard to the petitions submitted by the people. In the Ratnagiri district we got a petition prepared and submitted against the assessment. That was in 1892, but as yet we have received

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no reply. Gentlemen, you will observe from this how well one may bring his grievance before Government, when a petition is sent from a district in 1892, and has not yet been replied to by the Commissioner to whom it was sent. Having got no answer an appeal was preferred to the Government of Bombay who returned the petition forsooth, for want of a copy of the order of the authority against whom that petition was presented. But the authority against whom that appeal was preferred had made no order whatever, therefore the petitioners were unable to put forward any order. In these circumstances I would ask you to support the proposition. Although it does not so much concern Bengal, but in Bombay and in some parts of Madras, the Central Provinces and in the Punjab also, great grievances exist and if this request goes from the Congress it will have assisted a great many poor agriculturists in their daily toil. This is precisely a question of importance to the agriculturists who are a large majority of the population. You all know that they are a comparatively voiceless majority and I would appeal to you to give them the benefit of your voice and carry these grievances from this country even to England, if necessary, in order to get some redress in the matter. With these words I beg to propose the motion which I have already read out to you. (*Applause.*)

MR. G S. KHAPARDE (*Berar, No. 800, in list.*) in seconding the motion said: MR. PRESIDENT, AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—You probably all know the old saying "Unto him that hath, much shall be given and from him that hath not, even that which he hath, it shall be taken away." I will give you a few reasons why the proposition should be accepted by all here. The first is that, every few years a fresh settlement comes on and these re-settlements involve a great deal of expenditure. Government may pay some of the expense, but the ryots have to bear the most of it. What Government usually does is to say it costs very little; it only cost Re. 1 per acre, but as a matter of fact, it costs more, for it costs their forced labour of which you will hear later on. Letting alone that, it unsettles periodically the relations between the money lender and the people. The peasant knows that to-day he can borrow at Re. 1 per cent, but his holding might increase in rent whilst the land itself might deteriorate in value or become worthless. So the relations between the money lender and the poor peasant become unsettled every twenty or thirty years. But that is not all; the relations between the superior holder and the inferior holder become disturbed. Supposing I own 2000 acres of land. I let it out to other people. When I know the period is approaching when the land will be re-assessed and re-surveyed, I naturally want to cover the loss that might be incurred. I say to the tenant, you used to pay me Rs. 20 before, you must now pay me Rs. 25, part of which is to go as expenses of re-settlement, something for myself of course—well you know all about that. (*Laughter.*) This trouble is now going on in my own Province of Berar, but I am glad to tell you that Colonel Mackenzie, and the Resident Mr. Plowden, are both inclined to hear our complaints, and we got up a memorial to show, there was no necessity for a re-survey. It was said that prices had increased, we showed that they had not; they said that the railways had not been taken into consideration, we showed that they had. I think I need go no further. There may be other Provinces where the circumstances may be similar and I would advice you to bring forward your reasons. I have said enough to recommend the proposition, and I hope you will carry it. (*Applause.*)

MIR. NISAR ALI SHOHRAT (*Punjvb, No. 267, in list*) supported in Urdu.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Fourth day.

Resolution XII.

Protests against withdrawal of Government grant for High Education, recommends increased expenditure on general and technical education, advocates students physical development, prays for reduction of the poor students' fees and asks for an enquiry regarding industrial condition.

MR. M. B. NAMJOSHI, (*Poona, No, 761, in list.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—The motion I have to place before you has grown since it was first presented to you four years ago, and I consider it a matter of regret that new grievances have arisen every year. The motion is as follows.

That this Congress is of opinion that it is 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 those branches, i.e. the technical) of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country; and looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community, strongly recommends, that in all classes of Government or Municipal Schools and Colleges, all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and relations and remitted wholly in the case of very poor students; and, focussing the universal opinion of the Indian Community that undue stress is being laid at present upon mere mental development, this Congress earnestly recommends that henceforth, in all grades of schools and colleges, at least equal attention should be devoted to the physical development of the students.

Four years ago, or rather five years, the local Government, acting under the direction of the Government of India, were thinking of withdrawing their support to higher education. It was then that we took up this question for discussion and our prayer was that, Government should not withdraw its support to higher education. A year after that, Government thought of introducing technical education into several Provinces, but it was without proper attention to the wants of the nation and generally done in a haphazard way. We asked for a commission of enquiry to get full knowledge of the industrial wants of the people. Now we have two additional requests to make; one relates to fees. We think, fees should be remitted to some extent, and that greater attention should be paid to physical education in schools and colleges. On the first part of the resolution, we need not say anything more than has already been said. As to the reduction and remission of fees, I think it is necessary so far as primary education is concerned. Although Municipalities and Local Boards have the fullest freedom in other matters, the Government have reserved certain rights. Naturally they claim they have the right of saying what fees should be levied in schools, but Government does not allow that and even goes further and prescribes that the number of free studentships held in a school shall be so many, and still went a step further and said that they would not only prescribe the number but the castes and communities they should be held by. Although the Municipalities are the spending bodies, they have not the power to levy the fees, or distribute the studentships according to the wants of the communities. As to physical education, the number of deaths amongst the educated classes has forced this subject on our attention. We consider it is necessary that greater attention should be given to physical education. I say greater, because in most Provinces, Schools and Colleges have made a beginning in physicial education, but what they are doing is, according to our thinking and this motion, not enough and we say that greater attention might be given. Having proceeded thus far, I will say a few words with regard to the actual state of things. The present state of education in this country you know. In higher education not 1 per cent. of the whole population have gone through the entire course. In primary education we have not many schools. Hundreds and thousands of people receive no education at all and the Gaekwar has given us a lesson in this matter. If primary education is made free and compulsory, then our wants will be satisfied. As to higher education in our Province and, I believe, in Bengal, not only are they not establishing more schools of the second grade, but they are withdrawing grants on one pretence

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or another from institutions for secondary education and that is a state of things which is not satisfactory. And although we refer in terms and words to higher education, we thereby not only mean college education but secondary education. As to primary education, the burden of providing a larger number of schools has been thrown on the Municipalities and Local Boards. The Government agreed in the first place to bear a certain proportion of the expenditure but now after seven or eight years, Government is doing all it can not to act up to its promise. That is the present state of education; and if Government should withdraw from primary, and college or secondary education, there would be felt a greater want. So long as the people are unable to stand on their own legs, Government ought not to follow the policy of withdrawal. The second part of the resolution refers to an enquiry by a mixed Commission. It is admitted by the Government of India that such an enquiry is necessary and you will be glad to know that in most Provinces this enquiry has been made. It was ordered in 1886, and except in Bombay, such enquiry has been made and our prayer is that, instead of making the enquiry there a departmental one, it ought to be by a mixed Commission. The reason for this prayer is, that officials have to conduct the affairs of their Department and are not in touch with the people. It is necessary that the representatives of the people should be associated with the Commission. *(Applause.)* Our President has put before you the great question of the poverty of the people. That is the question of the day. Many schemes have been thought of to do away with that poverty, but primary education has been acknowledged by all economists as the best, and if free education is given we may have hope. Our hopes are in the spread of education; and therefore we pray that the Municipalities may be allowed to levy fees according to their own convictions and not those of Government. Our last prayer is, as I have told you, in consequence of the large number of deaths amongst the educated classes. We trust that Government will give us more physical education in our schools and colleges. *(Hear, hear and applause.)*

BABU NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS (*Bengal, No. 38, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution looks very big on paper but upon analysis you will find it is a very simple one. We want a continuation of high education, we want for poorer classes cheaper education, and we want a promise of physical education. That is all the resolution places before you. Now, with regard to higher education I have a few words to put before you. It is said that we are under a civilised Goverment and so we are, but I do not think any Government has a right to be called civilised if it does not place facilities at the door of the very poorest to educate themselves. Universities have been founded, colleges opened and schools established all over the country and so far the Government has redeemed its character as a civilised Government. But now colleges are being abolished, schools are to be disorganised and educational institutions pulled down. *("Shame.")* Government is now pursuing a reactionary policy and this policy is suicidal in the extreme. I tell you emphatically, this policy will cast a slur upon the Government in the history of the world. With regard to higher education I ask you to bear one thing in mind, that the Government spends only one per cent of its revenue on education, whereas the Government is not ashamed to spend twenty five per cent of its revenue upon expenditure. *("Shame.")* Government is very economical in matters of education; retrenchment is the order of the day. The financial bugbear looks nowhere more terrific than in the department of education. *(Hear, hear).* Now you are going to give exchange compensation to the Government European officials, yet there is no money for higher education. I should like to draw your attention to one fact in connection with the Punjab. There is only one college and not a single *Zilla* school maintained by the Government. That is all the Punjabis receive in the way of education from Government and I hear that the fees which the students in this Province have to pay are very high, and the poorer classes can hardly afford to go to the colleges and receive the

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benefits of education. When we were living under Mahomedan and Hindoo rulers, we used to receive education free. Now we have to pay for it and yet we are under a civilised Government. (*Hear, hear.*) With regard to physical education I have a few words to say. I am a graduate of the Calcutta University. I have passed almost all the Examinations of the University and I am also a graduate in Law and you may fancy, I am a very clever fellow but I am not. (*Laughter.*) I point out myself as a very peculiar piece of humanity. What a weak figure I present to you! To the business of the world I am hardly equal, because my physical education has been lamentably neglected. I am the victim of a bad system. The strain upon my system has been a great deal too much for me; I am a dyspeptic, care worn man, hardly equal to the duties of life. Do you like to have creatures like myself, or would you like to have an illiterate man physically able to bear all the turmoils and troubles of life? True it is, as the last speaker said, that something is being done for physical education in Colleges and Schools, but I should like to tell you that it is very, very little. If you want education in the proper sense, you must look to your body as well as to your mind. We must pay attetion to our physical development as well as to our intellectual culture. As the lease of life accorded me by the President is very short I cannot expatiate more upon the subject. He is not willing to extend the lease and so I must retire (*Laughter and applause.*)

BAKHSHI RAM LABHAYE (*Punjab, No. 454, in list*) supported the motion in Urdu.

LALA LAJPAT RAI (*Punjab, No. 237, in list*) said: MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The first two portions of the subject have been thoroughly threshed out in previous congresses and suffice it for me to say that in discouraging higher education and in reducing the expenditure upon it, the Government is laying itself open to a charge of forgetting its noble mission and work in India, and of forgetting the high ideal chalked out for it by the founders of the Empire. While other civilised countries, like Europe and America, are spending large sums of money on education it is a matter of regret that the Government of India is reducing that expenditue. As to the question of technical education I beg to submit that it is of still greater importance. While civilised countries, like Europe and America, are devising national systems of technical education in order to fit their citizens to compete with other civilised countries in the arts and industries, India, with its growing poverty and starving population and its embarrassed exchequer, is sleeping. No care has been taken of the industries of the country. The students are not taught to live independently of Government employment and still it is said, the people of India do not like learning for learning's sake and hanker after Government employment; but how can a nation with an average income of Rs. 22 per head pursue learning for learning's sake? (*Applause.*) How are we to fill our stomachs, if the education of the country means only to fit ourselves for Government clerkships, or law Professorships, neither of which can improve the material prosperity of the country itself? Therefore, it is essential for the material progress of the country, that Government should look into and provide technical instruction in Schools and Colleges and enable us to earn our livelihood independently of Government employment and become useful citizens of the Empire. This leads me to the third and fourth portions of the resolution with which we, Punjabis, are particularly concerned. It is forty four years since the Punjab came under British sway and it is thirty or thirty five years that the Department of Public Instruction has been started here; but do you know what progress has been made since then? One of the two Government colleges has been abolished: I mean the Delhi Government college. The fees in Government colleges have been this year raised from Rs. 2, to Rs. 12, per mensem and they have also been raised in schools. The bravery of the Punjabis, the Sikhs, and the Rajpoots on the fields of Egypt, Abysinia, and Afghanistan has been

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rewarded by shutting the doors of higher education and the benefits of civilization to their children. I say how can the son of a soldier drawing Rs. 7, per month afford to pay, for exactly the same period without a day or even an hour more or less, from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 for his education, besides providing him and the other members of the family with food, clothing and other necessaries? Government is of course very anxious for the welfare of the martial races and the Mahomedans particularly, but that anxiety is shown by shutting the doors of education for their sons. Is it because Government thinks, this high education will make them unfit to serve as soldiers, or does it think that the Punjab is so rich as to take care of its own education? Government may think that it is doing us a great favour by saving the sons of the Punjab from that depressed life which the educated India is destined to enjoy. Government may think also that it is protecting the physique of the Punjabis by depriving them of this high education, but if this is its idea, I submit, Government is mistaken, because it is not barbarous physique alone that raises a nation; it is moral courage with the force of intelligence at the back of it that makes a nation. This is what Government has provided for the sons of the poor soldier. Now let us see what the Government and the Universities do for the sons of the weak and the rich. On one side the sons of the strong, the sons of the soldier, should receive no education at all; on the other side the sons of the weak and the rich may receive an education, but an education, which shortens their life, an education which makes them drag out a miserable life even after they leave their colleges. It is an education which makes them totally unfit for practical purposes and the result is that, very few pass through the course but all prepare for premature death. The percentage of passing is so high that a student is required to go through a legion of books on a legion of subjects and obtain a very high percentage of marks in each before he can pass the examinations. I say to Senators very respectfully and humbly that the responsibility which they incur is very serious. To develop the mental state at a cost of the physical is to make a nation of pigmies which we do not want to be. Therefore I appeal to you Senators in the names of sons and brothers; I appeal to you in the name of the country to take up the matter seriously and redress the grievance which we feel so strongly and acutely. The strain is so great that the strong may not receive any education and the weak may die by that education. The strong will remain ignorant and the weak will die. Why should Indians make themselves parties to such a mistaken system. I hope the Senators here will swear to look into the matter as soon as they go to do their duties in the Universities. I heartily support the resolution. (*Applause.*)

MR. S. K. NAIR (*Madras, No. 847, in list*) in supporting the motion said: MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—It is with a pain in my heart that I have come upon this platform to support this resolution, because I take into my earnest consideration the pitiful sights I have witnessed with my own eyes throughout the length and breadth of this vast Empire. There is no question that has appealed to my heart more than this question of material progress, and that question can never be solved until the British Government is made to move a little bit to promote technical education in the country. The sweet Japan which I visited a year and a half ago spends millions of dollars upon technical education, whereas the civilized Government of a country like India spends not a pie on that cause. (*"Shame."*) Shame it is indeed, if a civilized Government cannot give technical education to promote the material advancement of us, the indigenous sons of the soil. It is really painful. I realized the sad state of things only yesterday when I saw a picture of Her Majesty the Queen with a crown on her head and underneath was written, "I rule all"; then there was the barrister who said, "I plead for all"; then there was the clergyman who said, "I pray for all"; then I saw the soldier who said, "I fight for all"; and last of all there was the ryot with his plough saying "I pay for all." (*Loud applause.*) It is the ryot and the sons of the ryot who want

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technical education. Coming, as I do, from the Madras Presidency, I say not a farthing has been spent on technical education. We have got a number of graduates all over the bazaars in Madras who are walking about with no bread to eat and is it a wonder when they have not been given any sort of practical education which would enable them to win their bread? It is high time that we, most unanimously, like loyal subjects of the Queen, directed the attention of the Government of India with a view to get them to take immediate steps with regard to technical education. Let us not consider this to be a joke, for having regard to the poverty of India, it is the question of all the imperial questions and one that we ask Government to solve with the least possible delay. Let us appeal to the Government; we are not appealing as aliens. It was England who went to the assistance of the Italians in their struggle for liberty, and it was England who extended her hand when Greece wanted to establish herself as a nationality. We are neither Italians nor Greeks, but the legitimately adopted children of Englishmen and have a right to claim indulgence at the hands of our rulers. With these words I support the resolution moved by Mr. Namjoshi who has every right to speak on this economic question. (*Applause.*)

The motion was unanimously adopted.

RAI BAHADUR. P. ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 838, in list*) moved:

Resolution XIII.

Expression of regret regarding the Executive interference with Judicial decisions and the Secretary of State's despatch on the Subject.

That this Congress regrets to notice that the Secretary of State for India in his recent despatch to the Government of India has enunciated the doctrine that occasions may arise in which it may be the duty of the Executive Government to criticise Judicial errors, the Congress being of opinion that such criticism is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the independence of Judicial tribunals.

He said: MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It seems to me that the mere announcement of the doctrine ought to secure its downright condemnation. I cannot conceive how a case may occur which would necessitate the dangerous power of the Executive Government being called forth for the correction of what the Secretary of State has chosen to call judicial errors. In the face of the numerous facilities that exist for the redress of wrongs on behalf of the aggrieved, in the face of a carefully elaborated system of appeals, in the face of a goodly contingent of well trained judges, in the face of an almost limitless power of revision possessed by the High Courts of the several Provinces and Presidences, it is beyond my comprehension to conceive, how a case or an action, escaping all these for correction, would require the Executive Government in its superior wisdom to criticise. Well, I cannot conceive of a case which would arise for the exercise of this dangerous power in the hands of the Executive Government. I should deplore the existence of this doctrine on the record, because the retention of this doctrine on the record cannot but be, as stated in the resolution itself, a shock to the confidenec of the people in the independence of the judicial tribunals. It will also be a standing menace to the judicial independence on the part of the tribunals. Thus it will be an unwarrantable detraction of the supremacy of the law, the non-recognition of which is characteristic of barbarous deeds and the recognition of which is the first fundamental principle of an enlightened Government.

MR. KALI CHARAN BANERJI (*Calcutta, No. 10, in list*) in seconding the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Yesterday you passed a resolution appealing to the Secretary of State for the immediate separation all around of judicial from executive functions. If the association of these two functions in one and the same person is fraught with evil, surely the subordination—the moral—I

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had almost said the immoral subordination—for judicial purposes of the judiciary, must be absolutely disastrous. It is the old controversy between might and right and I take it that one of the outstanding triumphs of modern civilisation is the subordination of might to right. Our Courts are the bulwarks of our rights and the Executive unfortunately are not above the weakness of encroaching, and sometimes wantonly, on our rights. It is to be regretted therefore, that the despatch of the Secretary of State should articulate a concession calculated to stimulate many a privileged contempt of Court. All the more dangerous because of the proviso in the despatch, that publicity is not to be given to it. All honour to the judicial independence of the Bengal officer whose action has been the occasion for bringing this controversy to a head and you may be interested in knowing that that officer is a close relation of one of your most foremost citizens. At the same time judicial independence may not always be proof against the prospect of executive censorship, when that censorship is material in more senses than one and even if such independence were impervious to such censorship we may take that the people realise the possibility of the executive interfering with it. So then their confidence in our tribunals shall be rudely shaken and so they shall be deprived of one of the comforts they have, when their rights are encorached upon. Any way many a subordinate judiciary, to secure the golden opinion of those who are their material superiors, may be tempted to disregard the pronounced views and directions of superior tribunals to the prejudice of many a suffering member of the community. In seconding this resolution I ask you to focus the voice of the Congress on the side of the independence of our judicial tribunals.

RAI JOTINDRA NATH CHAUDHURY (*Bengal, No. 7, in list*) in supporting the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The present resolution, I take it, can be characterised as a corollary to the one which you adopted yesterday. I mean the one relating to the separation of the Judicial and the Executive functions, because the subject matter of the present resolution has reference to the interference, by way of criticism of the administrative officers, with the judicial dicisions of the magistracy in the country. Many of you at least know the history of the quarrel between the High Court of Calcutta on the one hand and the Bengal Government on the other; therefore I shall give you a short statement, dealing with the salient features only, how the quarrel had begun and how it ended. Babu Atul Chandra Chatterji, a Deputy Magistrate in one of the Sub-divisions of Barisal District, was, a few months ago, not only found fault with, because he had not shown satisfactory percentages of convictions but he was threatened by the Commissioner of the Division, that unless he would convict more men in future, his promotion should be stopped; or in other words, Babu Atul Chandra was told point blank that if he expected promotion in his service, he should convict those whose only fault would be to appear as accused men in any case before his court. Under a fiat like this, emanating from such a quarter, we can well understand what would be the fate of many accused men before the subordinate magistracy. Now gentlemen, I ask you to ponder over and weigh fully, the principle which underlies this new doctrine of the Commissioner of the division. The principle is nothing more than the total subversion of that noble principle which has made the administration of criminal justice by the English nation a glory to them and a blessing to the ruled—I mean the principle of letting even 99 guilty men go unpunished but of not allowing an innocent man being punished. I think, gentlemen, you are surprised how an English High Official can enunciate, for the guidance of his subordinate officers, a principle so very repugnant to the British sense of justice; but I hope your sense of surprise will vanish when you will hear that the Commissioner in question was acting under, and perhaps was taking his cue from our Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, whose sense of justice is well illustrated in his now famous speech at Purulia wherein he said, "that when a riot has been committed, somebody should have been punished." Thanks to Mr. Stanley, the Sessions

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Judge of Barisal, to whom we all owe a heavy debt of gratitude, who had brought the whole matter to the notice of the High Court, Calcutta; and the honourable judges sent to the Secretary of State for India a strong protest against this interference of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal with the judicial works of the subordinate magistrates. A similar case had also occurred long before this Barisal case. In that still more unfortunate case, the Lieutenant-Governor had not only criticised the judicial proceedings of another subordinate Magistrate but also had caused his reflections to be published in the Local Government Gazette. The Honourable Judges resented also this interference. These protests were sent to the Secretary of State for India through the Government of India, which I regret to say not only sided with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but also impressed upon the Secretary of State, the necessity and expediency of the Executive Officers in India being empowered to interfere with the decisions of the judicial officers. From its action in connection with the Jury Notification in Bengal, we were convinced that the Government of Lord Lansdowne was very effeminate and miserably weak; but I am sure no one will be able to put forth this weakness as one of the excuses why we should spare the Government of India from our criticism. If the Government of India do not vigilantly watch the doings of the Local Governments and check their vagaries, when necessary in the cause of justice to the people of India, we can pertinently ask, what is the use of having such a costly, supreme controlling Government? The matter ultimately coming before the Secretary of State for India, he in his despatch on the subject gave utterance to the following which gives occasion to the resolution which has been placed before you. The words of the Secretary of State were as follow:— "While therefore I am not prepared to admit, that cases may not occasionally arise in which it is the duty of a Government in India to criticise judicial errors, I think it necessary in the interests of the community that the administrative officers of whatever rank should abstain from publishing officially reflections upon the dicisions and judicial acts of Magistrates and Courts of Law. Now gentlemen, if you ponder over these words, which I have just now quoted, I have no doubt that you will concur with me in thinking that our position in reference to the subject-matter of the quarrel between the Local Governments and the High Courts is not a whit better even after the order of the Secretary of State than it was before his recent order. We expected from him a statesmanlike and straightforward reply indicating the wise policy of not allowing administrative officers, either publicly or privately, to criticise the judicial acts of the Subordinate Magistracy in this country, and not a reply couched in a language which, if it means anything, means only a clever attempt to satisfy both parties in the quarrel, without facing the problem directly which was before him for his decision. Taking such a view of the letter as I do, I can not but press upon you that we, Congress-men, should try our utmost to have the principle, as enunciated in the letter of the Secretary of State, revised. We are told that under the British rule we have been enjoying a superior administration of justice both civil and criminal. I, for myself, do not subscribe wholly to this opinion, because the costliness of the administration of justice during the British rule is a great stigma on the administration. Notwithstanding its defects, however, we are thankful to the British nation for the system of administration of justice which they have introduced into this country. Now this boon is at stake, because we see the administrative officers are allowed, even though privately, to criticise the judicial acts of the Magistrates. It is therefore we pray, that the Secretary of State will, at his earliest opportunity, undo the effects, it may be his unintentional effects, of his ill-advised letter and set at rest finally the question at issue. We say in the resolution that the confidence of our countrymen in our courts will be shaken, if such policy is allowed to be continued. This policy of criticism, by the administrative officers, of the judicial acts of our judicial officers, is to be condemned both on account of the magistrates themselves and on that of the peoples of this country. The officers,

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thus hampered in their judicial acts, will have two paths open to them, namely, either to resign the service or to sacrifice their conscience for the success and promotion in the service. The officers, certainly not angels themselves, but as men, liable to be influenced by selfish considerations will, under the present state of things, in many cases at least, be compelled to subordinate their sense of duty to the prospects of their own aggrandisements which means, in innumerable cases, injustice and hardship to the people of this country. What we want to have is, that the administrative officers will not be allowed in any case to interfere with the judicial acts of the Magistrates and Judges and to let the latter have their mind and conscience free in the discharge of their judicial duty, so that there should be no occasion, either for the officers to be compelled to do their duty under the Damocles' sword, as it were, and to sacrifice their conscience in the discharge of their judicial functions, or for the pepole of India to complain that the judicial decisions of our courts of law are dictated by hints which our judicial officers receive from their administrative superiors and not by considerations of justice. The principle for which we contend requires no elaborate argument and I therefore hope that you will adopt this resolution with perfect unanimity.

PUNDIT MOHAN LAL (*N.W. Provinces, No. 135, in list*) in supporting the resolution said :—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg to support the motion, and I dare say it is one of the most important propositions because the matter complained of is one which encroaches on the liberties of the people ; because it hampers the independence and the impartiality of the Courts of Justice. Sir, it is a recognized principle of law, that courts of justice should be untampered with by any external interference. That is the only safeguard for the people—the courts of justice ought not to be intimidated, ought not to be brought under undue influence. I say, the existence of such a despatch here in India would amount sometimes perhaps to an intimidation to our judges and chief justices, and perhaps it might bring undue influence upon them, because it would be a good chance for the executive to criticise their judgments. It is not a wonder that this august body could not keep quiet when it found that the independence of the people is at stake and what is more, the independence of the judiciary is at stake. Sir, this is not a new thing we have to face. The people of England have had to face it, for the same conflict arose between the House of Commons and the Crown on the one side and the Courts of Justice on the other. I would remind all students of constitutional history of the action of James.I. who asked the King's Bench, when Lord Coke was Chief Justice, to legalise proclamations. The Chief Justice and the three judges declined and history says: "They also formally declared that the king had no prerogative but what the law of the land allowed him. By their firmness on this occasion, the judges rendered an important service to their country. A check was given to the exercise of arbitrary power in this direction and for some time no proclamation imposing fines and imprisonment was issued." Here we see the spirit of the English Judges and how they faced their King and Government. In another case the King asked the Attorney General, then Lord Bacon, to ask the Lord Chief Justice to consult the King before he pronounced judgment in a certain case. This is what is written of that incident, "Hereupon James directed the Attorney General, Bacon, to write to the Chief Justice ordering him and the rest of the judges not to proceed to judgment until they had spoken with the King. Coke shortly replied that if it was wished that the other judges should receive the information just given to him Bacon had better write to them himself. This was done, but the next day the judges as if nothing had happened, proceeded with their argument. The day following they despatched a letter to the King signed by all the twelve, informing His Majesty that as they were unanimously of opinion, that the Attorney General's letter was contrary to the law, they felt bound by their oaths to pay no attention to it and they accordingly proceeded with the case on the appointed day." In fact they did not pay the least

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attention to the order of the King. You remember when the House of Commons had a conflict with the Queen's Bench Division in that famous case of Stockdale *v. s.* Hansard. There the House of Commons wanted the Queen's Bench Division to proclaim, that the passages in the pamphlet were not libelous. The words of Lord Denman were very cogent on the point, and showed the independence and steadfastness of the Judges. Here we have to face the same thing but the difference is this; there in England the Judges fought for the people and vindicated their own independence, but here we have to fight for ourselves and advocate for the judges. Before I resume my seat I would only say that the existence of such a despatch here in India would bring great hardship on our people and a stigma of disgrace on our administration, and I say that such a despatch is unconstitutional, contrary to law and against the principles of justice and good conscience.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

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MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay, No. 782, in list*) said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution I have been entrusted with is as follows:—

That this Congress places on record its deep regret at the recent hasty legislation of the Government of India closing the Indian Mints against the private coinage of silver, whereby the people of this country have been subjected to a further indirect taxation of a burdensome and indefinite character, and some of the most important trades and industries, notably the Mill industry, have been seriously disorganised and injured.

It would be in your recollection, gentlemen, that I had the privilege of moving the resolution on the burning question of currency which was unanimously adopted by the Congress at its sitting last year at Allahabad. But at the time the Government of India, as you are aware, had neither disclosed its ultimate intentions nor taken any measures whatever in reference thereto. Consequently, the Congrees contented itself with what was called a resolution of caution. We respectfully observed to the Government of India that on a subject so important as the reform of the currency of the empire, which in its permanent effects would be far reaching for many a year to come, it would be a part of wisdom and statesmanship to exercise all necessary caution and circumspection, and proceed to take all practical steps with such deliberation as to cause little or no injury to the vast and divers interests at stake in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) In fact, we prayed to Government that it would not legislate in panic—panic created by the steady decline in the value of silver measured by gold and by the contemplated repeal or modification of the Sherman Act. It is, therefore, a matter of profound regret to have to notice on this occasion that notwithstanding the warning, not only from the Congress but from other influential quarters, barring the Anglo-Indian Currency Association which created so much artificial agitation about two years ago, the Government of India suddenly sprung a mine on the public by passing at Simla within half an hour what is now known as the Indian Coinage Amendment Act. No opportunity was allowed to the public to discuss the merits of the measure. (*Hear, hear.*) And what is indeed worse still is the fact that no non-official member was summoned to attend the deliberations of the Viceregal Legislative Council and give the benefit of his counsel! (*Shame*) Of course, the indispensable Mr. (now Sir James) Mackay was there; but the reason of his presence need not be explained. It would have been a scandal had the amended piece of legislation been jockeyed through the Council without the presence of even *one* mercantile member! Moreover, it was notorious that he had acted throughout as the most active non-official spokesman of the Government of India.

But it is superfluous to refer at greater length to the circumstances under which

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the Act was passed, and to the great evil which followed immediately on its heel. Almost all the disastrous consequences which were foretold began to be slowly realised. Perhaps, the depth of the trade depression and of the general distrust of the nostrum put into practice by Government, could not have reached a lower depth than at the present moment. And there are old and experienced men who even now ominously shake their heads as if to say we might anticipate a lower deep still which would devour everything. (*Hear, hear.*) But let us hope that the prophecies of our Cassandras may remain unrealised, and that with the advent of the new year we may witness a slow but gradual revival; though, for my part, I would not hesitate to declare that it would be futile for even the most sanguine to see exchange going back even to *15d.* at the end of the next twelve months, unless altogether new and unexpected factors, which it is impossible to foresee now, contribute to that consummation. (*Hear, hear.*)

It was generally apprehended that the closing of the Mints would usher evils of a character the magnitude of which it would not be easy to forecast. None can deny after the experience of well nigh six months that the evils have indeed turned out of a magnitude more colossal than before. In the speech I made at Allahabad on the subject twelve months ago, you would remember that I had foreshadowed, on the authority of the *Statist*, what evils the tinkering of currency may usher in for the ryot and the intermediary, for the banker and the merchant, for the taxpayer and the State. There is not a single class who is not suffering at the present moment from the fictitious value of the Rupee. For, gentlemen, please remember that the value of that coin does not at present represent anything like the value of the silver contained in it. The Rupee is artificially increased in value beyond its intrinsic worth. There is, in short, as a result of the tinkering, an immense transfer of property from the teeming millions of toilers who create wealth and a corresponding prosperity to the creditor class and Government servants. The hard-working labourers, mostly the overtaxed peasantry, is being impoverished in order that Government officials, and usurers may fatten at their expense. (*Hear, hear.*)

But it may be useful at this stage to enquire whether there was any imperative necessity on the 26th June last to take that fatal jump in the dark unknown whereby all India has been engulfed in losses the amount of which it is impossible to estimate except in millions? We have, of course, heard the Government point of view which is this. That it was absolutely imperative in anticipation of the contemplated repeal of the Sherman Act to take the precautionary step of closing the Mints and thus check the inflow of the white metal and give some stability to exchange. The Government observed that its sole object was to prevent the Rupee from dwindling to a shilling or even ten pence! Thus the closing of the mints was considered a sort of preventive measure against the possible deluge of silver with which India might be overwhelmed in the dread contingency of the repeal of the Sherman Act! The Government further declared that it was justified in embarking on the legislative measure on the strength of the report of Lord Herschell's Committee. But, gentlemen, what are the actual facts? The Sherman Act ceased to be the law in the United States two months ago. But has its repeal in the slightest way assisted the Government in its object? On the contrary, is it not the case that it has made the previous confusion, wrought by the Amended Coinage Act, worse confounded as all India knows to its cost. In this matter it should not be forgotten, gentlemen, that were it not for the undue haste with which the Government of India moved, the repeal of the American Act might in all probability have never taken place or delayed to an indefinite period. Had counsel in the first instance been taken by our Government with that of the United States, prior to legislation, it is the belief of many that the Government of India would have acted wisely. In all probability a joint

action might have been the means of averting the crisis in silver then apprehended and saved the people both here and in the United States from the heavy losses which we all now so sincerely deplore. The paralysis of trade which still prevails might have been obviated to a large extent and generally a more hopeful turn of events might have been fairly anticipated. The immediate repeal of the Sherman Act is in fact the *direct* consequence of the sudden closing of the Mints by the Indian Government. The latter has proved a curse instead of a blessing. (*Hear, hear.*)

Then as to the other plea, namely, that the action of our Government was based on the report of the Herschell Committee I may say this. I have the highest respect for the eminent persons who composed the Committee and for the distinguished Lord High Chancellor who presided over it. They were all undoubtedly men conversant with the pros and cons of the Silver question. But it appears to me that that Committee came to a conclusion which was altogether unwarranted by the weight of the evidence collected. Gentlemen, I do not make this statement carelessly or with a light heart. No. I make it on the strength of a careful perusal of the evidence itself. No unbiassed individual who cares to study that evidence can fail to arise from its perusal without being satisfied at the one sided character of the conclusion. In fact, it simply registers the previous decision of the Government of India as recorded in the minute of Sir David Barbour, the Finance Minister, dated 26th June 1892. I have already observed that the conclusion of the Committee is not borne out by the weight of the evidence. I will give facts in corroboration of that opinion. In all twenty-four gentlemen were called as witnesses. Of these one was Dr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade. But as his evidence was confined to certain statistics of production of the two metals it may be ommitted from our computation. Of the remaining twenty three, ten were for and thirteen against the closing of the Mints. Of those in favour, four were Anglo-Indian officials whose qualifications to pronounce an opinion may be more than doubted; namely, Sir J. Lyall, Mr. Bliss, Mr. J. Baines and Sir Charles Bernard. Among the non-officials Mr. J. Mackay was most conspicuous, of course. Of the thirteen who were against the proposed measure, two were Anglo-Indian officials, Sir T. Hope and Sir Raymond West, both of whom have paid considerable attention to currency questions. Of the rest, four were eminent Eastern bankers and seven were merchants, the most notable of whom was Mr. Stephen Ralli, of the eminent house of Messrs. Ralli Brothers, who have branches all over the civilised world. Our worthy President was also one of the thirteen who was against the closing of the Mints. (*Applause.*) I might quote, gentlemen, many a pertinent extract from the evidence of these, but that would detain you so long that I would rigidly refrain myself from that temptation, especially when our President has already shewn his indulgence towards me by allowing me to speak on this subject for a little more than the orthodox ten minutes. I must, therefore, ask you to read the evidence yourselves to be fully satisfied as to my statement that the report of the Committee is against the weight of the evidence. The opinion of men of eminence and varied banking and mercantile experience was set at naught, while that of the ten witnesses, four of whom were officials of no experience whatever, was accepted as conclusive because it chimed in with the view entertained by the Government of India. For that matter the Secretary of State might as well have forebore to call into existence the Committee and directed the Indian Government to act on the lines of Sir David Barbour's Minute of 26th June, 1892. (*Hear, hear.*) For, I repeat, that practically the report of the Committee is simply a paraphrase of that Minute.

If, gentlemen, the whole country, save the official classes, who have been liberally allowed the iniquitous exchange compensation allowance at the expense of the overburdened taxpayer, is suffering from the evil consequences of the Amended Coinage

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Act, we have to thank Lord Herschell's Committee for it. The Committee, it is apparent, was simply a blind to enable the Government to carry out its ill considered project—a project which was never allowed to be freely discussed by an enlightened public but which, on the contrary, was passed within half an hour into law without most of the representatives of the public in the Council being invited. No other Act affecting the permanent interests of millions of people was passed so precipitately in recent time save the Vernacular Press or Black Act of unhappy memory. (*Shame*). Thus, not only was injustice rendered to the people but to injustice was added injury of an irreparable character. I will not go so far as to say with Mr. Chaplin that it was a "Crime." But that it was a huge and inexcusable blunder I would unhesitatingly assert. For its whole tendency has been, as I said at the outset of my speech, to rob one large class of people to pay another. It robs the ryots; it entails an additional burden on them in order to actually compensate a microscopic minority already in receipt of salaries which find no parallel in any part of the civilised globe! (*Hear, hear.*)

I do not believe, gentlemen, that save the members of the Anglo-Indian Currency Association and their adherents, there is to be found anywhere, either here or in England, an approval of the currency measure adopted by the Government. Sir William Houldsworth, a staunch advocate of Bimetallism and an active supporter of Sir David Barbour condemns the report of the Herschell Committee and calls it one sided. Again Professor Foxwell in his article *in the Nineteenth Century* condemns it. So do many experienced men qualified to pass an opinion—Mr. Barr Robertson among them. Again, almost all the leading financial journals condemn it, such as the *Economist*, the *Statist*, and so on. Thus there is a consensus of opinion that the Act is a huge blunder and entails heavy sacrifices on the masses, specially the impoverished peasantry who will now have to produce more and part with the fruit of their labours at a lower price to meet the State demand for land revenue. (*Shame.*) I shall refrain from dilating on this part of the subject as the gentleman who will second this resolution will refer to it at greater length. I shall therefore briefly touch on the effects of the Act on the trade and industries of the country. As to the trade in general there was a dead lock. Imports and Exports fell off at once within three months of the date of the closing of the Mints. The trade with silver using counries received a violent shock, specially with China. The cotton industry suffered most. At Bombay, which is the principal centre of that industry, there are 70 cotton Mills at work. Most of the product of these is exported to China and Japan. The monthly average shipment, which has gone on steadily rising by leaps and bounds since 1882-3, equalled 25,000 bales before the date of the closing of the Mints. According to the latest trade returns, I find that it has fallen off to *16,250 bales*. I give the statistics of the triennul period from June to October, which is the latest month for which data are available, which will inform you at once how serious is the fall in the exports of this one article of our local industry.

	1891		1892		1893	
	In Crores of lbs.	In Lakhs of Rupees.	In Crores of lbs.	In Lakhs of Rupees.	In Crores of lbs.	In Lakhs of Rupees.
June.....	1·34	50·94	1·46	47·89	0·98	35·41
July.....	1·50	58·38	1·57	52·09	0·33	12·38
August.....	0·98	35·34	2·02	69·20	1·05	38·17
September.	1·53	54·92	1·51	52·55	0·79	27·87
October.....	1·24	43·71	1·31	46·39	0·91	32·84

On the day the Act was passed remittances for bales sold at Hongknog and Shanghai

were estimated at lakhs of Rupees. Exchange on Hongking and Shanghai was 220 Dollars and 312 Taels respectively. But there was an immediate fall to 180 in the former, equivalent to 18 per cent. To that extent the mill companies suffered on their remittances at the date the Act was passed. The same was the case with remittances expected from Shanghai where exchange diminished about 15 per cent. But these were not the only losses. To these have to be added the serious check the mills received in their shipments and on shipments on the way—not to say aught of the contraction of the monthly exports. I leave you to realise the extent of the loss. It cannot but be roughly estimated at many a hundred lakh for which the Government has failed to make any reparation! For the moment the industry is seriously crippled, though by prudent economies it is not improbable it may improve gradually as adjustment takes place. (*Hear, hear.*)

Again, the trade in general in all its branches has been dislocated which it wil take months to revive. The national loss on this account it is not possible to estimate with anything like accuracy. A proper census alone might tell us roughly what it may have come to.

There is, however, a further aspect of this currency reform which it is needful to point out. I mean its effect on India's balance of trade with the principal silver using countries. It bears close connexion with the annual sterling remittances to the Secretary of State. At present we have to remit on an average 17 millions sterling per annum or say 27 crores of Rupees at the current rate of exchange. Probably, if exchange goes to a shilling, as there is every probability of its doing so, the equivalent in Rupees may reach 34 crores. But be the amount of remittance in Rupees what it may, it is an unquestionable fact that a greater portion of it is discharged from the balance of our trade with China and other silver using countries. The currency legislation has by one stroke crippled, if not destroyed, that favourable balance. And in the proportion that it is unfavourable in the immediate future our remittances will prove more burdensome. (*Hear, hear.*) I dare say some of you have noticed the statistics which appeared on this subject in the *Economist*. That leading financial journal showed that while India's trade with gold using countries gave an annual balance in her favour of 19 lakhs, that with silver using countries, gave a balance of 22 crores per year. (*Hear, hear.*). I leave it to you, gentlemen, to realise the significance of these broad statistics. The contingency, I may say, was clearly perceived by bankers and merchants. Some of the gentlemen connected with banking and commerce who were examined before the Herschell Committee plainly forecast the evil consequences which we are now experiencing. But their mature warning was set at naught and the Act was passed in the teeth of it. Under the circumstances, I regret to have to say that it is impossible to acquit Government of its deliberate error in this respect. The Act is a huge blunder and I believe that this is the proper occasion, when the representatives of the different parts of the country have met together on a common platform, to ventilate their common grievance and to enter our emphatic protest against that precipitate piece of legislation. In spite of its transparent evils I extremely regret to observe the Viceroy and Governor General attempting to defend this measure and even going to the length of saying in his Despatch to the Secretary of State that it had the approval of almost the whole of the communities of India! I protest and say that it is absolutely fallacious and inaccurate for Lord Lansdowne to say so. (*Hear, hear.*) Save the interested clique, who call themselves the Anglo-Indian Currency Association, and their blind adherents and advocates, the community as a whole has viewed with the greatest disfavour the legislation of June 26th. (*Hear, hear.*) By all means let the Government of India defend its action. It is at perfect liberty to do so. But let it not mislead the British public.

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Let it not conceal the truth that in no part of India any considerable majority of the people have approved of its currency nostrum. In the interest of truth let us declare with our unanimous voice from this platform that the statement made by the Viceroy and Governor General that his currency policy has met with general approval is absolutely incorrect. Let it be proclaimed on the housetop. Let it be published in the four corners of the world so that they may not be misled by the words of Lord Lansdowne. (*Hear, hear.*) Let us at the same time respectfully inform the Government that the currency legislation is an error and that the sooner it acknowledges the error and returns to the state of affairs which existed before 26th June the better for the trade and the country at large, and specially for the impoverished peasantry who are the backbone of its finance. (*Loud applause.*)

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (*Satara, No. 741, in list*) in seconding the motion said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We have called this enactment "hasty," and hasty it was because you must know that the standing orders were suspended by the Viceroy at the suggestion of the gentleman who took charge of this scheme from the beginning. Sir David Barbour said at the beginning of the proceedings, that he had an important bill to introduce which affected the monetary standard and they would see that it was essential that it should be passed at that present sitting of the Council, and in consequence it was necessary to suspend the standing orders. Therefore, and I think with good reason, we call it a hasty enactment. I recall the year 1878 as the year in which several enactments were passed which now form the bulwarks of the omnibus resolution you pass every year. It was in 1878 that the Abkari, Opium, and Forests Acts were passed, and also the gagging act, I mean the Newspapers Act. We have it from the Viceroy that in that year the closing of the mints was pressed, but it was reserved for the present Viceroy to carry that proposition into effect. The Viceroy in speaking of the measure at the United Service Club dinner remarked that it was idle to suppose that the mere passing of the Act for the closing of the mints would at once lead to a scarcity of coined silver. The problem would work itself out in due time and those who were best able to judge were by no means prepared to admit that the great experiment had failed, or was destined to failure. Continuing the Viceroy said "I believe it has been described as the crime of June 26th. It is a crime for which I am still unrepentant, a crime which, although no doubt it has created a good deal of alarm, will, I still believe, prove to be a turning point in the commercial and fiscal history of this country." That is still to be judged. Lower down he says. "I say that so long as there was a chance that the Brussels Conference would bring about some concerted action for the rehabilitation of silver, we were excusable if we waited upon events, but when it became clear that the Conference would be abortive, and that even our own Government was not prepared to co-operate effectually in rehabilitating the white metal, one course and one course only, was open to us: the course which we adopted when we perpetrated the crime of June 26th." Well, he goes a little further and says. "Since then we have no doubt had a disturbance of values and a temporary dislocation of our business with silver using countries." Here is a distinct admission by the Viceroy that the Act has acted in such a manner as to dislocate the mass of our trades and industries. With regard to agriculture, it is a matter of the gravest concern to us all that the agricultural population which is the backbone of the country and 82 per cent. of the population should be indirectly burdened with this additional taxation. It is prepared to fight face to face with an evil, but this is a side thrust. If you stop the free coinage of silver, you naturally increase the burden on the tax payer. The agricultural population have to bear the cost of this increased expenditure. On the Bombay side they pay their taxes in the months of January and March and you all know that when the time comes for him to pay the assessments he is in a fix to find the money.

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They have to sell their corn and if the price of silver is enhanced by such an Act as this, he has to sell more in, order to get the rupee than he did previously. That is the indirect taxation he will suffer under. This is the grievance which the agricultural population has placed before you in a constitutional manner. I hope, therefore, you will approach Government with a strong protest. Your protest last year was unaviling. I hope you will convey to Government that there is a conviction in the minds of people that the enactment has had the effect of increasing the taxation generally. In the evidence given by our learned President before the Commitee he was asked this question, "Do you not deprecate any stoppage of the free coinage in India?" He answered, "yes," and went on to say that if free coinage was stopped the result would be, that the rupee would be artificially raised in value on account of being made scarce. And first of all, beginning with the poor cultivator, in order to pay Rs. 10, he would have to part with more produce in order to satisfy the demands of Government. One and all these reasons will convince you that this proposition must be carried. *(Loud applause.)*

THE HON'BLE RAJA RAMPAL SINGH *(Allahabad, No. 70, in list)* intimated that he was not in favour of the proposition, and favoured a gold standard. He wished to prepare the minds of those present for a series of articles he was shortly going to write on the subject.

The motion was then carried.

THE HON'BLE SURENDRA NATH BANERJI *(Calcutta, No. 8, in list)* said: MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—The resolution I have the honour to propose runs as follows :—

Resolution XV.

Protests against granting Exchange Compensation Allowance to European and Eurasian Government servants.

That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Exchange Compensation Allowance granted to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of Rupees, and to the Banks, to the extent of £1,38,000 at a time when the financial situation of the country is far from satisfactory, and the country is threatened with additional taxation.

He said: In moving this proposition I am reminded of the felicitous words of His Excellency the Viceroy to which reference has already been made by the previous speakers. In a recent speech which he delivered and from which extracts have been read before this Congress, Lord Lansdowne described the Currency Act and the Exchange Compensation Allowance which is a further development of the Act as the "crime of the 26th of June." That is the verdict of contemporary opinion and if I may venture to take a forecast of the future, I will say this : that it will be the deliberate judgment of history that it is a crime and worse than a crime, it is a political blunder of the gravest magnitude, the consequences of which it would be difficult to exaggerate or over-estimate. You are familiar with the name of Sir James Fitz Stephen ; he was a member of the Viceregal council ; he is no friend to the people of India and no friend of the human race. *(Laughter and applause.)* He was an advocate of the doctrine of force against the doctrine of moral persuasion in the Government of India. You remember the remarkable interpretation he put upon the gracious terms of the Queen's Proclamation. That interpretation was quoted with an air of jubilant triumph by the *Pioneer* and *Civil and Military Gazette.* (*Loud Cries of "Shame".*) What was that interpretation ? He said that the Queen's Proclamation was a mere ceremonial document ("*Shame*") ; that it enjoined no command; that it laid no mandate, and imposed no obligation upon the Government of this country. Well, Sir James Fitz Stephen, such as he was and such as he is, was compelled in his place in the Viceregal Council to make a remark to which I

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wish to draw the attention of this Congress. He was compelled to observe that a single act of injustice done by the Government of this country was more disastrous to its prestige and influence than a great military disaster upon an Asiatic battle field. It is not for us to pronounce punishment on the Government of this country, for we, members of the educated community, are more deeply interested than we can find words to express, in the prosperity of the country and in the maintenance in an undiminished measure of the influence and prestige of the British Government in India. We know that Government has done great things in the past and we know that Government is destined to achieve still greater things in the future: for we know that Government is imbued with the spirit of progress. It has its aberrations but even the Heavenly bodies have their eccentricities over which no control can be exercised. But whatever may be our views, the forces—the moral forces—march to their destined consummation without reference to human will or human judgment and it is written in characters of light in the awful and sublime pages of history, that injustice avenges itself with compound interest. I charge the Government of India with trifling with the interests of the people and having been guilty of injustice to the interests committed to its care by granting this absurd allowance to its non-domiciled Europeans. It is a grave charge but I make it deliberately. What is the justification set forth? It is this: that the rupee, that unfortunate coin, has been so depreciated in its value that many Europeans who have to make remittances to England suffer loss in consequence and it is a great hardship to them. No doubt it is so to those who draw three or four thousand rupees a month. (*Laughter.*) But there are many Europeans who have no remittances to make. Why should they be included in this act of beneficence? It is also given to non-domiciled Eurasians. May I inquire who are these non-domiciled Eurasians? I suppose it means the Eurasians who have no domicile in this country. But have they a domicile anywhere? They are, perhaps like the wandering Jews of the middle ages, homeless and houseless. They too must have an increase given to their salary. Let me put this case to the Government of India, let me put this to the Anglo Indian advocates of Exchange Compensation Allowances; if instead of the rupee having been depreciated it had been appreciated, if instead of our having to pay Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 for a sovereign, we had to pay Rs. 5 or Rs. 6, would there have been an abatement or reduction of their pay? Would they have submitted to such a reduction? Would not there have been a fearful outcry and would not we all have joined that outcry because it would have been a gross and deliberate injustice to a deserving class of public officials? (*Applause.*) If the interests of the officials need to be protected, the interests of the people also should be protected; their interests should be protected in preference to the interests of the officials. The Government of India in their reply which was sent to the Indian Association who protested against this outrage, for such it is, admitted that the European officials had no legal claim upon the Government but that they had a moral claim upon the Government. It is refreshing to find Government taking its stand upon the high ground of morality. (*Laughter and applause.*) These moral considerations, mind you, were never present to their minds when they were discussing the question of Simultaneous Examinations and when they had to consider the claims of the natives of the soil to the indefensible right they possessed to the high offices under the Government of their own country. But when it comes to questions of a frontier war, of the building of impregnable fortresses, the subsidising of the Amir, or of granting Compensation Allowances to the European officials, then we are treated to these homilies about moral considerations and obligations. I will take my stand on the same ground as the Government of India has taken its stand. I will give battle to the Government on its own chosen ground and I will be prepared to show that the Government has no justification to grant Compensation Allowances even upon the principle by which it professes to be guided. For whose sake does this country exist? For the sake of the services, or do the services

exist for our sake? This is the crucial question. If the services exist for our sake, and the Government have said more than once that the services should exist for the benefit of the country, it is very obvious that the interests of the country must have the preference and that they cannot be sacrificed for the benefit of the services. Let us see how the interest of the country have been served. You will find that the interests of the country have been deliberately sacrificed. The commonest domestic matters have been starved on the ground that the money has not been forthcoming. It is admitted by Lord Dufferin that the reform of the Police is a counsel of perfection, but when the Congress pressed this home on the Government, the Government came forward with the pleas that, "We have not got any funds for the improvement of the Police." It is admitted that the fusion of the Judicial and Executive functions is contrary to the principle admitted by Lord Cross, but the reform cannot be carried out because there are no funds. Local bodies press upon the Provincial bodies the urgency of sanitary improvements, and the Provincial Governments urge upon the Supreme Government the urgency of these matters, but there again it is the eternal want of pence. But when it comes to a question of granting Compensation to the services, then Government is as rich as the richest Government in the world, and from whom is this money taken? You heard yesterday the story of India's poverty related in graphic and earnest language by Pundit Madan Mohan; you heard on the highest official authority that 20,000,000 of people had died of starvation in the last few years; you heard that 40,000,000 live on one meal a day and now these 40,000,000 people will be burdened with additional taxation. They will be stinted of their food, of their rice and of their salt, in order that the highly paid officials of the Government must be provided with their usual brandy, beef and champagne. (*Shame.*) I think it is an unutterable shame. One can scarcely repress the sense of indignation one feels when he has to discuss a matter like this. Call this a civilised, a Christian and a Righteous administration! They say that in the most sacred of their books it is written that "Righteousness exalteth a nation." But, is this civilisation, is this Christianity, is this consistent with the tenets of the principles of Righteousness? I feel that language fails me to describe what I consider to be the iniquity of the Government in this matter of Compensation, (*Applause.*) and those allowances have been granted at a time when you are threatened with fresh taxation. If you read through the Budgets of the last few years, you will find that from 1888 to 1893 there have been constantly recurring deficits and these deficits have come to the large sum of eleven crores of rupees and this year, 1893-94 is threatened with a deficiency of nearly two crores of rupees. I think we may take it that additional taxation will be necessary and judging from the suggestions which have found their way into the official organs, Government leaves us no doubt as to the manner in which the taxation will be levied. Here again the unjustness of the measure is apparent: it is proposed to enhance the salt duty for the sake of these highly paid officials. (*"Shame."*) I do not think I need detain you at any further length. I invite you not to submit to this; I invite you not to submit to this gross act of injustice, and not to submit to this deliberate affront to the public opinion of the country. The issue is plainly before us. It is this: the country exists for the people and the officials exist for us. This Exchange resolution is the embodiment of a principle which Government has persistently followed and what is that principle? We are the children of the soil; we are the helots of the land, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water and we exist for the services, the Gods of the bureaucracy. Illustrious men of Bombay, men of the Punjab, men of northern India, men of Bengal, let us combine, let us take a firm stand, and let us not rest until we have succeeded in convincing these Gods of their iniquities; (*Applause*) let us not rest till we have disenchanted them of the illusion under which they labour, namely, that the country is theirs and not ours. The country is ours and theirs and India is for England and also for India; primarily for India and secondarily for England and

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the officials ought to understand, and they will understand that, when they harmonise their interests with ours, and when they are animated by that lofty love, that deep and fervent sympathy for the people which characterised the early founders of the British Empire. Where are the Bentincks, the Cannings and the Ripons of Indian administration? They are gone for ever. Let there be no misconception of my attitude or that of the Congress. We have no antipathy towards the officials and no feeling of conflict between them and ourselves. Was not our venerated and illustrious leader Mr. Hume an official? (*Cries of "three cheers for Mr. Hume."*) Where shall we find an official like him to cement the bonds of sympathy between the official and non-official Europeans and Indians? But, gentlemen, we have fallen on evil times and our hope and prayer is that the giver of all good may come to the rescue of this luckless land and may instil into the hearts of our rulers a sense of their responsibility so that they may rise to their high station and do their duty to the unrepresented millions of this great country (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

MR. W. A CHAMBERS (*Bombay, No. 781, in list*) said in seconding the resolution: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The previous speaker asked you if the granting of compensations to some Europeans and Eurasians domiciled in this country was a Christian or righteous act. I say, it is neither Christian, it is neither righteous, nor is it————(*Loud Applause.*)

The fact that such a resolution, as the one which I am about to second, is necessary, almost makes us despair of the Government of India. The Government is notoriously poor, it is with the greatest difficulty that it can meet its liabilities and yet upon the most flimsy grounds, it gives to its already overpaid servants an annual present of one crore of rupees. Were the Government able to afford it we might not grumble, but they cannot afford it, and to raise the money, they must further squeeze the unfortunate tax-payers of this country. Whenever native opinion requests a favour of the Government the answer offered is, "we have no funds for such a purpose," but the moment the European Civilians approach it and ask for an increase of salary, it is given. As an Englishman and one who has been sitting in this Congress a long time, listening to your speech, I say, I was almost ashamed I was an Englishman. (*Applause.*) Now as an Englishman, who sincerely believes that there is a great mission in this land for his countrymen to perform, this is a most melancholy spectacle because it is likely to convey a bad impression to the minds of the natives of India. (*Hear, hear.*) Why should a certain class of Europeans be favoured? Most Englishmen suffer by the loss in exchange. We have to bear it; it is one of the disadvantages of living in India. We have enjoyments and privileges which balance this disadvantage. I can assure you that the life which an European leads here is much more luxurious, much more pleasurable than that which he leads at home. (*Hear, hear.*) You may have noticed that some of them are constantly alluding to their stay in this country as a time of exile. Do not believe these statements! I tell you that they find, inspite of the fall of the rupee, India to be a very pleasant place of abode. (*Applause.*)

Let us examine the grounds upon which the Civil Servants base their claim. They state that twenty years ago the rupee was worth two shillings but that it is now worth only a little more than one shilling. This is so, and no doubt it is very hard that their emoluments should have suffered in this fashion. It is unsatisfactory that a man should have been better off when a bachelor twenty years ago than he is now with a growing and expensive family. Yet this is no fault of the Indian Government and as protectors of the tax-payers of India, it was their duty to have insisted, as Lord Kimberley on one occasion did, that a contract is a contract. The Government engaged

to pay so many rupees for their services and this they were doing. It may appear cruel to state this ; it may be said we are a Congress of Shylocks, but in this particular instance they are the Shylocks who wish to get as much out of the Indian people as possible. (*Loud applause,*) Just one word here to the Anglo Indian papers which have supported the Civilians in their agitation. I should like them to state the case thus ; for Government of India insert Coal Owners of England and for Civilians insert Miners. What then is their position ? It is that the miners are a set of good for nothing fellows who are never contented and that the coal owners are giving them as much wages as it is in their power to pay and as much as they deserve. We will not be so severe as this, but simply say that you are getting as much as you deserve and as much as the Government of India can afford. (*Hear, hear.*) Compare the position of an English Civilian with that of his colleague here. In England there are two divisions of the Civil Service, the higher and the lower. In the lower a boy starts at £70 per annum and the maximum is £250. We must however, for a proper comparison, take the higher division ; the examination is of a very severe character and the men attracted to it are equal in position to those who compete for the Indian Civil Service. A boy in the higher division begins on a salary of £100 a year and may reach £600. Now, take the Indian Service and examine its remuneration. A boy starts upon Rs. 400 a month, say, (with the rupee at one shilling) £240 per year and he may reach £2000, or more. He has also a handsome pension at the end of his service. We therefore see, that even with the rupee at one shilling, the remuneration is still sufficient for any reasonable man. The cry of the Indian Civilian brings to my mind the conduct of some of my native friends. In the course of business I have much to do with native Contractors. They often come to me at the end of their works and say, "Sahib, I have lost Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000 on that contract," meaning thereby that they have not made Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000 so much as they expected. The Civilian has not lost but he has set an artificial value upon his rupee and he is disappointed, because it does not come up to his expectations. I, therefore, think that as, after all, this compensation allowance only effects some 6000 persons and that as you speak on behalf of the tax-payers of this country, it is your duty to protest against the recent action of the Indian Government in increasing the salary of the Civilian at this juncture. (*Loud Applause and three cheers for Mr. Chambers.*)

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay, No. 782, in list*) in supporting the Resolution, observed : I am not going to detain you, gentlemen, for more than a minute. But I think it my duty at this stage to submit to you certain statistics in reference to the gold prices of many an article of domestic consumption in an ordinary English home. It has been loudly alleged that the English Civilian or Military officer in India has to convert his Rupees into gold, and that owing to low exchange he now obtains for those Rupees a smaller equivalent in gold than before or say ten years ago. That this smaller equivalent does not suffice to buy the necessary comforts for his wife and children at home, and that so far the low exchange is entailing extreme hardship on him. We may admit at once that the equivalent in sterling is smaller than before. But the question we have to inquire into is this. Whether the smaller equivalent does not represent in reality an equal purchasing power as before. It is notorious that gold prices of articles of daily consumption have fallen considerably in England. All competent experts place the average fall at 20 per cent. I shall therefore demonstrate to your satisfaction from the statistics of prices I have collected from the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom that the fall in the gold price of various articles—from 1882 to 1892—ranged from 3 to 47 per cent. As an ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory, I shall at once proceed to read to you the prices of each of the 60 articles I have selected for comparison and leave you to judge how far the contention of the Anglo-Indian officials is borne out by facts. I emphatically say that the facts are dead against them and therefore their cry

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as to hardship and so forth is hollow and the exchange compensation allowed is therefore most iniquitous. (*Loud applause.*)

Statement contrasting average price of the undermentioned Articles in the United Kingdom in 1882 and 1892, with percentage of Increase or Decrease. (Vide Statistical Abstract Untited Kingdom 40th No. p.p. 140-143.)

Articles.	Per.	1882.	1892.	Percentage. + or —	Articles.	Per.	1882.	1892.	Percentage. + or —
Wheat	Cwt.	10·67s.	7·66s.	—30	Barley	Cwt.	7·12s.	6·04	—15
Do. Flour.....	„	16·33s.	11·10s.	—47	Oats	„	6·75s.	6·40s.	—5
Other Flour....	„	10·09s.	8·27	—18	Maize.....	„	7·15s.	5·33	—25
Bacon.....	„	53·04s.	40·86s.	—23	Brandy.....	Gallon	9·02s.	9·02s.	*
Hams.....	„	55·56s.	47·30s.	—15	Wine.....	„	6·95s.	6·95s.	*
Beef.....	„	51·57s.	40·78s.	—21	Cigars	lb.	14·21s.	9·20s.	—35
Butter.....	„	5·23£	5·48£	+5	Tobacco	„	10·06d.	9.98d.	—08
Margarine.....	„	3·60£	2·84£	—21	Candles.....	Doz. lb.	67·36d.	53·30s.	—21
Cheese	„	2·80£	2·43£	—15	Paraffin.....	Cwt.	1·76£	1·36£	—22
Coffee.....	Cwt.	3·81£	4·65£	+22	Almonds	Cwt.	3·4£	3·36£	—1
Eggs	Doz.	8·44d.	8·18d.	—3	Apples	Bush.	6·57s.	6·00	—8
Fish.....	Cwt.	33·56s.	21·64s.	—35	Currants	Cwt.	26·72d.	23·14	—13
Lard	„	55·95s.	35·88s.	—34	Raisins.....	„	37·45d.	30·23	—19
Saltad Meat...	„	3·35£	2·65£	—32	Oranges, &c..	Bush.	7·86d.	6·07s.	—22
Preserved do..	„	3·02£	2·44£	—19	Buttons.....	Gross.	2·21d.	1·76s.	—20
Olive Oil	Ton	40·39£	37·24£	—7·80	Cotton Yarn...	lb.	1·08d.	1·05d.	—3
Onions	Basket.	3·39s.	3·28s.	—3·24	Feathers	„	68·83s.	22·71s.	—70
Potatoes.....	Cwt.	6·67s.	6·32s.	—5·54	Boots & Shoes.	Doz. Pair	3·98£	3·15£	—26
Pork	„	40·18s.	34·20s.	—15	Gloves	Pair	23·87d.	21·38d.	—10
Rice	Cwt.	7·98s.	6·89s.	—13	Linen Yarn ...	lb.	10·76d.	9·27d.	—16
Spices	lb.	13·49d.	7·75d.	—42	Silk Raw	„	16·54d.	13·09s.	—26
Sugar.....	Cwt.	28·67s.	17·06s.	—40	Woolens	„	42·53d.	40·80d.	—40
Tea.....	lb.	12·58d.	10·07d.	—20	Paperwriting..	Cwt.	35·29d.	23·44s.	—43

The motion was unanimously adopted.

LALA DHARM DASS SURI (*Punjab, No, 275, in list,*) moved :—

Resolution XVI.

Praying the Indian Government for removing by express legislation the oppressions caused by forced labour and forced Supply.

That the Government of India be moved, once for all, to put a stop, by new and express legislation, (the existing provisions of the penal code having proved inoperative) to the existing oppressive system of forced labour (known as Begar) and forced contributions of supplies (known as Rasad) which, despite numerous Resolutions of the Government of India, are still prevalent throughout India.

This speaker made a very impressive speech giving several instances of oppression and received applause more than once. Parts of his speech were, however, written and were read out. The report of the speech was not complete and that incomplete report was taken away by him on the understanding, that it would be soon returned with his corrections, but as he has not done so and to avoid any further delay in printing this Report, the speech is reluctantly ommitted.

LALA KANAHYE LAL (*Punjab, No. 636, in list*) in seconding said : MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We are the Punjabis who live near the Black and the White Mountains. An officer with an expedition comes along and sends to us his requisition which may contain a list of so many carts and so many mules &c. just as if so many quails were to be got. He impounds human souls in hundreds, takes the father from his children, separates the husband from the embraces of the wife, just to equip his forces and make them up to the standard of requirement of the Transport Department. It was at my request that the Subjects Committee brought this matter forward. The people have been begging me to bring it forward, because they feel the consequences of

it whilst you do not, for you are barristers, pleaders, and merchants and you have never been seized in that way to perform something against your will. Are we always to depend on those who live outside to redress the evils of our administration ? Ladies have to come from America and outside and we dare not take up a subject where humanity is concerned. It is the spectacle of these human souls being taken away by the *chuprassies* which is just like what I have seen in the London Graphic. There you see the slave hunter going to the different villages taking the people away at night and taking slaves away with a rope round their necks and bringing them to the markets for sale. A portion of Her Majesty's Navy is engaged in suppressing this slave trade, but here Her Majesty's Officers are employed in making slaves. (*Applause.*)

BABU MOHINI MOHUN CHAKRAVARTY (*Bengal, No. 40, in list*) in supporting said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have to support has already been read to you. It deals with a standing complaint which is not only prevalent in our part of the country, but throughout the whole of India. In those districts it prevails most where by reason of the backward state of education and intelligence of the people and by reason of those places being distant from the centre of public opinion these things cannot be remedied by the people themselves. It exists in those districts because the people cannot bring forward their complants to the public authorities and be heard. I shall, however, bring to your notice instances where complaints have been made to the authorities but they were not remedied by the authorities. Gentlemen, the resolution says that there is a provision of the Penal Code to the effect that such labour is illegal. Notwithstanding the existence of such a provision in the Penal Code, this forced labour is in existence and has, I regret to say, been brought to the notice of public authorities without being remedied, and without the cases having been brought to the notice of those who are willing to do justice to the people. This system of labour is even adopted by high officials of Government and they are not amenable to justice because they are supposed to do no wrong. It was to a certain extent true that lower officials adopted this system and were greatly to blame, but the higher officials were sometimes none the less guilty. Here is an instance I will lay before you. In this case certain Manipuris had been forced to labour. They complained to the Chief Commissioner in 1891. Up to this time they have not had a reply to their petition. In consequence we have memorialised Government. I advise my brother delegates also to memorialise on this point. (*Applause.*)

MR. RATIRAM DURGARAM DAVE (*Bombay, No. 778, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—I have great pleasure in supporting this Resolution. I come from Gujrat in the Bombay Presidency and it will, I trust, be some relief to this Congress to learn that on our side this evil of Veth (as we call it) is not so great a Zoolum as would appear to be the case in the Punjab. I need hardly say to this learned assembly that Veth is a well known ancient Indian prerogative of the State and of Inamdars and grantees from the state. But the British Government cannot officially recognise or allow any iniquity or Zoolum, even if sanctioned by antiquity and an early local usage and from an early period. The Government of Bombay has pronounced itself strongly against *Veth* of any kind.

However, in spite of the Government resolution, in rural parts the evil still largely obtains. Sometimes there are *Jolnukani Sahebs* who always impose this Veth and oppress the ryot. More commonly great Zoolum is done by officious native subordinates such as Mamlutdars and Police Patels who, to please their Sabs, override the standing orders of the Government, drag away the cartmen from their hearths and homes, force supplies and sometimes do not even pay a pice to the poor men.

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Resolution XVI.

Praying the Indian Government for removing by express legislation the oppressions caused by forced labour and forced Supply.

There are also, I must add, some noble District officers who strictly obey the orders of Government and pay for everything they want on our side.

In the Military Department matters I fear, are worse and require the strong hand of Legislation for the removal of the evil.

The Government of Bombay, however, as a Government, has done much to put down this evil. Only about two months ago, H. E. Lord Harris while conferring a C.I.E on a Bombay native Chief specially complimented him for his abolishing pressed labour in his State, again by a recent Government Resolution all Political agents and their assistants in our part have been directed to buy their own supplies and not to use a Rajah's carriage even if offered. Thus the evil is not equally great on our side and a little more free use of the right of interpellation will equally put down the evil in other places.

LALA HARBHAGWAN DASS (*Punjab, No. 374, in list*) said :—The resolution says in so many words that the existing laws passed by the Government of India have proved quite ineffectual. Do you know the reason? It is this: as injustices are done by the higher officials because the Judicial and Executive functions are combined together, so in this case there is so much oppression because the functions of the robber and the Policeman are combined in one individual. The persons who are the greatest offenders in this respect are the persons who have got the duty and right to administer the laws against this evil. I support this resolution, for unless Government takes very special measures against this, there is no hope of any remedy being effected. I shall not be doing justice to both sides of the question if I omit to give the reasons which might be given by the Executive for levying *begar* from the people. Some of the authorities say that the people of India are so much after the right of volunteering and though we are not at present prepared to grant that right yet in the meantime we shall be gratifying their wishes by training them to be volunteers by bringing them up as coolies and *dooli* bearers. To show you the hardship of the law, I may mention a certain instance which came under my notice. Once happening to follow the camp of a District Magistrate, I saw a certain shop keeper brought before the Deputy Collector because he refused to supply milk to a regiment on the march which had halted near the village, and he was called upon to furnish Rs. 100 to another shop keeper who was to be asked to supply the regiment with milk. And in my presence he agreed to pay Rs. 60 only to be excused from opening a milk shop where the regiment was halted for two days. If this is a tax it has got no name. With these remarks I support the resolution.

SWAMY ALA RAM (*Allahabad No, 82, in list,*) supported the motion addressing the Meeting in Hindi:

The proposition was then carried.

Resolution XVII.

Tenders thanks to Lord Northbrook for his endeavouring to reduce the Home Charges and prays the House of Commons to appoint a committe to settle the matter.

PROFESSOR G. K. GOKHALE (*Poona No. 748, in list.*) said : MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution I have to propose is as follows :—

That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter.

He said : Many of you may be aware that in the month of May last a very important debate on this question took place in the House of Lords on a motion brought forward by Lord Northbrook and in the course of that debate many serious

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and damaging statements were made by responsible statesmen on both sides; so much indeed that if ever the Government of the country were put on its trial I should be content to frame the indictment on those admissions. It was admitted during that debate that year after year, in spite of the protests from Secretaries of State and Viceroys of India, burdens were thrown on the Indian exchequer which properly belonged to England. It was admitted by Lord Kimberley that this was because the India Office was powerless against the combined forces of the Treasury and the War Office. Another important statement was made by the Duke of Argyle. His Grace said in a low tone, possibly because he wanted to say it in a whisper, that the people of the country should not hesitate in the matter and that the grievance should be remedied before the impression got abroad in India that there was such a grievance. But the Duke of Argyle does not seem to know that from this very Congress platform Mr. Wacha has year after year protested against the Home Charges and that long before this Mr. Power, Mr. Nowrojee Furdonjee and other gentlemen raised their powerful voices against this unjust burden. If you look at the Home Charges particularly during the last thirty years, you will see that the figures have increased from £7,000,000 to £16,000,000, and if you calculate the value in rupees, they have risen from seven to twenty or twenty six crores. At the same time it is only fair to state that a large part of this increase is of such a nature that we cannot claim any sort of redress from the House of Commons in regard to it, because there have been loans taken by the Government of India in England and the interest on these must be paid. There are particularly two items in regard to which we have a right to ask for redress and these are the expenditure incurred in connection with the India Office and that in connection with the Indian Army in England. I will pass over the expenditure in connection with the India Office because although that office pays, and liberally pays, their respectable and at the same time useless and mischievous old gentlemen, it is comparatively a small matter and may be left for the present. In regard to the Home Military Charges, if you look at the figures for the last thirty years you will find they have risen from £2,000,000 to over £5,000,000 or if you calculate the value in rupees, it is a rise from two crores to eight crores or just four fold. The Recruiting Charges are a heavy item. The men cost the War Office £19 per head but India is charged £105 a man. It has been said by no less an authority than Sir Charles Dilke that the whole sum which is about seventy five lakhs of rupees may be saved if the Indian Government are allowed a free hand and have the right to recruit for themselves. The Stores Charges is a varying quantity. It is never less than about fifty lakhs of rupees and last year it was nearly a crore. It is very discreditable that the War Office charges not merely an extravagant price but it tries to make a profit out of the contracts. As to the Indian trooping services, there are a certain number of ships built at India's expense to bring the soldiers here and to take them back again and the expenditure on them is very great. Now my point is that the British troops might be brought and taken away like private passengers in other steamers instead of these big ships, which are five months in the year lying idle and means a very large and useless expenditure. Another item is the payment made to the War Office for pensions to the troops which is about a third of a million. Last year Lord Northbrook raised his powerful voice against it and showed that during the last twenty years England had taken more than four millions beyond what it was entitled to take. There are other items which might be mentioned but I may say that any one who closely studies the subject will arrive at the conclusion that about a million pounds or one and a half crores of rupees per annum can be saved to the Indian Treasury if there is a more reasonable and more equitable adjustment of the charges. There is a sort of partnership between India and England which strongly reminds me of the dwarf and the giant in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield.* There have been occasions on which England borrowed troops from India and there have also been occasions when India had to borrow troops from England. Whenever England borrowed

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troops she forgot to pay but when India borrowed them she had to pay all the ordinary and the extraordinary expenses; and in some cases even the charges for recruiting the soldiers had been extorted from India. In regard to all these matters it is but just and right that we should complain and Lord Northbrook is entitled to our best thanks for his powerful services. In the first place the resolution proposes to express our best thanks to him for his powerful advocacy of India's just claims and in the second place it entreats the House of Commons that it will listen to us in an attentive manner and appoint a committee in order to consider the whole question so that ultimately a fair adjustment of the charges may be arrived at. With these remarks I leave the resolution before you for your unanimous adoption. (*Applause.*)

MR. D. B. CHAKRADEV (*Sholapur, No. 731, in list*) seconded the motion addressing the meeting in Urdu. He said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am much obliged to you for having permitted me to address in *Urdu*. I am all the more thankful for the indulgence, for it is the *lingua franca* of united India—the common speech of the Indian nation united in heart and sympathy—in aims and aspirations.

The resolution on the subject of the Home Charges which has just been proposed by my friend Professor Gokhale will, I have no doubt, commend itself to your acceptance, and does not seem to require any lengthened argument on my part. The justice of our grievance in this matter is now admitted on all sides; some of the burdens at present thrown on India are condemned as simply inequitable and unfair. The one crore or so, for instance, which we have to pay from year to year for the mere privilege of employing British troops, is a charge which is regarded as a monstrous piece of injustice. But there is no need to go into details. The whole subject demands a thorough, impartial enquiry and examination, and it is matter for satisfaction that it is being pressed on the attention of the British Parliament and the British public by our friends in England; and the ability, and the earnestness with which Lord Northbrook is pleading on our behalf for a juster adjustment of these burdens, he is entitled to our warmest thanks. We are, of course, proud of our position in the imperial system of Great Britain, and are cheerfully willing to loyally bear our proper share in the responsibilities of that position. But we contend that charges are at present thrown upon India which she ought not, in fairness and equity, to be called upon to bear, and our demand is a demand for a fairer apportionment of these charges. Our worthy and revered President, of whom and of whose work we are all so proud, and who so thoroughly enjoys the confidence of all India will, on his return to England, press this demand upon the consideration of Parliament with an authority to which no one else can pretend, and I think it adds in no small degree to the strength of this demand that it goes forth from the National Congress assembled at the Capital of the Punjab and with the full sanction and approval of the representatives of the martial people of Northern India. It is clear that it is not the Babus of Bengal or the Brahmins of the Deccan alone who are urging these demands, but that the men of the Punjab and the men of the North-West Provinces join heartily with their brethren of Bengal, Madras and Bombay in submitting this demand for the favourable consideration of Parliament; and let us trust that it will be impartially and in a spirit of just sympathy considered by the authorities in England. With these few remarks I beg to support the resolution moved by Professor Gokhale and submit it for your approval. Thanking you for the patience with which you have kindly listened to my observations I beg to resume my seat.

The motion was then carried unanimously.

LALA DWARKADASS *(Punjab, No. 589, in list)* said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The proposition which I have been commissioned to lay before you runs thus:

That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interest of the administration of Justice in this Province.

It is a well known fact that the Executive machinery of the British administration of this country is very delicate and the wheels by which that machinery is set in motion are so hidden from the public sight, that the people never know or see them and the people at large don't understand this refined apparatus and at times the hypocritical grounds upon which the British administration is carried on. And when they don't understand these things, you cannot expect them to appreciate that Government. But if, for example, you ask a poor villager or trader what he thinks of the British Government., you will discover that all his notions are clearly traceable to what he sees of that Government in the Courts they have established for the people. He sees the British Courts and sees their effect for good or evil. It is, therefore, of the highest importance alike in the interests of the British Government and the attachment which should exist amongst the people, that the Courts which are constituted by the Government should inspire confidence amongst the people and become powers of unmixed good. Gentlemen, you had read to you yesterday the resolution with regard to the separation of Judicial and Executive services. That was one way of remedying the evil which at present attaches to the Courts. But there is another way in which you can effect the independence of the Courts. This second remedy is by giving a High Court to this Province, a status by means of which it will be able not only to acquire independence itself, but also be able to support the Subordinate Courts especially when they come into conflict with the whimsical policy of any Executive officer of the Government. It will be just like the remedy you proposed by another resolution to make it imposible for your Judicial Officers to be afterwards put under Executive influences and so enable them to carry on their Judicial works independently and without any powerful interference (*Applause.*) By the operation of the one scheme you take it out of the range of possibilities for justice to be tampered with by Executive functions, by the other you make it possible for Judicial officers to have nothing to do with political matters. One remedy is by way of discouraging the combination of Executive influences with the impartial administration of justice, the other scheme is to enable Judicial officers to administer justice by being free from political influences. One scheme is a negative method whilst the other scheme is a positive method of bringing about the same end. In the Punjab the officers of the Chief Court hold their appointments during the pleasure of the Governor General. Their appointments and removals rest with him and as he is guided by the Council of the Lieutenant Governor, the Judges of the Chief Court, therefore, hold their high offices at the pleasure of the Lieutenant Governor. What Judge has his judicial instinct so high that he, with all his hopes and prospects depending on the Lieutenant Governor, would care to go against the policy of that Official? If the Court is raised to the status of a High Court the Judges will hold their offices during the pleasure of the Queen. It will not be possible for the Government to dismiss them because they did not agree to follow the policy of the Executive officials. They would be able to exercise proper independence and act with strict impartiality in the administration of justice, and the High Court would not only be able to secure independence for itself but also be able to support the independence of the Subordinate Courts. In this Province the decisions of the Judiciary are arrived at according to the rules and regulations which the Chief Court frames under Statutory powers. For example, one of the most vexed questions in this Province is the indebtedness

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of the ryot. Of course it is admitted that the ryot is indebted and Government thinks that the only way to relieve the ryot and get him out of his present difficulty is to support him against the claims of the money lender. We would not have had much cause of complaint in that, but this admission of the Local Government has gone so far as to contaminate the decisions of not only the Subordinate Courts but those of the Chief Court itself. In cases between money lenders and the royt, only written contracts are the basis of claims and the terms of the contracts when have not even been brought into question by either parties our philanthropic Government have thought fit to substitute and place upon them an interpretation entirely foreign to the claim. Such judgments are often upset by the Highest Appellate Court. But sometimes the Highest Appellate Court endorses the views of the Government and it comes about, that the Chief Court is also not found to be independent of the policy which guides the Government. Sometimes our Court is so weak that even in minor matters it cannot make its voice felt. If I multiplied these cases of weakness I would encroach on your time, but I cannot pass over the subject without alluding to one or two. There is one important district in which a Magistrate established a number of *Panchayets* to settle claims between the money lender and the ryot. The object of the *Panchayet* was to always settle the claim of the money lender in favour of the ryot. The ryots themselves composed the *Panchayet* and you can very well understand what their decisions were. This state of things went on for several months and claims were settled by the *Panchayet* without any legal authority. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Chief Court, not by the public or the press, but by the judicial authorities of that district, the Chief Court sent a report to the Local Government and it felt itself bound to interfere in this matter. The Magistrate was told to put down the *Panchayet* but he was not censured, at least so far as is known, by the Chief Court or the Government. I remember a case which came before the Chief Court and before the Senior Judge of that Court. In that case the same District Magistrate had been called upon to send in the records of the case. The file of the record was evidently so ugly that he did not think fit to submit it. For three months he did not forward it and the Chief Court had ultimately to decide the matter without consulting the records. But there was nothing said about the conduct of the District Magistrate. That very District Magistrate, in that very district which had been unfortunate in other respects, no sooner he had taken charge of the District began to hold his Court in his own house. The matter was brought to the notice of the Chief Court and the Lieutenant Governor, and they requested that gentleman to hold his Court at the Kutchery, at least for judicial purposes. The Lieutenant Governor, however, did not condescend to answer the memorial presented to him on the matter. This order was passed in August last and to this day that District Magistrate holds his Court at his own private house. Such cases are not to be met with under the High Courts of other Provinces and the reason is that the Judges are not subordinate to the Local Authority or the Supreme Government. (*Applause.*) I may refer in one word to the difference in the revisional powers. It is impossible that our Judges can be so impartial or independent of the declared views of Government on certain matters as they should be and as it is necessary they should strive to be. Just see what a difference there is between the revisional powers of the Chief Court and the High Court. Revisions in the High Court lie on three grounds, illegality, material irregularity, and on the ground of a subordinate Court not having exercised the jurisdiction vested in it, or having exercised jurisdiction not vested in it. The Punjab Courts Act has prescribed a diffirent procedure. The word "illegality" has been taken out of the enactment. In other Provinces you find most of the applications rest on the point of illegality, but here that has been cut down by one fiat of legislature. (*Applause and cries of "Time."*)

LALA MUNSHI RAM (*Punjab, No. 440, in list*) in seconding the motion said: It

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would be cruel to you and disrespectful to the chair if at this late hour I proceeded to inflict a speech on you. My predecessor has dealt fully with the subject before you. He has laid before you the points which go to prove the necessity of a High Court instead of a Chief Court for this Province and in view of all the other Provinces having got High Courts it would be needless for me to try and impress upon you the sore need of such a Court here. I will simply confine myself to giving you the chief points which speak for themselves. In the first place we have not got efficient Judges on account of having only a Chief Court here. Some four or five years ago, and perhaps my friends will bear me out in this, the Chief Court was in such a state that an able Judge could not be found in the Punjab and a Small Causes Court Judge of Bombay was offered the seat and would you believe it, that Small Causes Court Judge refused it. This shows the respect in which our Chief Court is held. The Judges here and even the Small Causes Court Judge of Bombay think it an indignity to sit on a Bench which has such a reputation throughout India. I will put it to you, brother delegates from other Provinces who enjoy the benefits of a High Court, whether you do not think that Judges appointed by the Crown direct are more independent than those Judges appointed by the Government here. I certainly do think that if the Judges are made more independent than they are, the cause of justice will gain a great deal. I do not mean to insinuate that there have not been cases of efficient Judges in this Province and I am proud to acknowledge that there has been a Judge in this Chief Court who has had the independence to set every tradition of the service at defiance in pronouncing his judgments upon the misdoings and misdeeds of his subordinates; but this is an exceptional case. If we had all our Judges of such an independent character our lives and properties would be much safer than now. I think quite enough has been said to show you that a High Court for the Punjab is a necessity and with these remarks I heartily second the proposition.

The motion was then adopted.

Resolution XIX.

Thanks to the Electors of Central Finsbury.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (*Madras, No. 837, in list*) proposed:

That this Congress tenders its best thanks to the Electors of Central Finsbury, both for their kindly sympathy in its objects and for having so generously accorded to it the valuable services of their honoured member Mr. Naoroji, who is destined, the Congress hopes, long to represent both Central Finsbury and India in the British House of Parliament.

He said: This resolution does not require any speech or any argument to commend itself to you. You know very well how during recent Elections which brought the Radical Government into power, the people of Central Finsbury did us the favour of returning one of our own men to the House of Commons as their representative. Not only have they done this but they have done us the further favour in permitting their representative in the House of Commons to divide his time between protecting their own exclusive interests and advocating those of this country; and again, they have conferred another favour by not insisting on his staying in their own country while Parliament is in session, but allowing him to come here and preside over our deliberations. Furthermore, they also record with satisfaction that their representative had the entire confidence of the people there and they record also their approval of the aims and objects of this Congress. These considerations have earned for the Electors of Central Finsbury our lasting gratitude—(*Applause.*)—and in recording in this Congress assembled our gratitude to them for the favours which they have shown to us we are only doing our duty. (*Loud Applause*).

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Thanks to the Electors of Central Finsbury.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (*Berar, No. 798, in list*) in seconding the proposition said :—There are times when the language of man fails to afford an adequate measure of the strength or depth of his feelings. As the great poet of the Victorian era has said : "Words like language half reveal and half conceal the soul within." This is an occasion on which I find that words fail me to express the feeling which I and, I have no doubt, all of you entertain towards the Electors of Central Finsbury. By the inscrutable decree of Providence the destinies of England and India are closely bound together. We know, the whole main spring of action lies in England, in Westminster Hall and although there is our administration in India, if we want to obtain justice we must appeal to that august assembly of which Bright, Fawcett and Bradlaugh were such distinguished members. The last named gentleman earned the title of "member for India," but what is more natural for us to wish, that there should be one of us in that great assembly. It rested with the people of England to grant our wishes and to satisfy our aspirations and it reflects the greatest lustre on the noble character of the English that they set aside all race feeling and with a free and open mind appreciated the great qualities which characterises our illustrious and revered President. In doing honour to him and in doing honour to us they have done honour not only to themselves, not only to the people of England but to the whole of humanity. For a portion of what is called a race of conquerors, to have thus chosen one of the conquered to represent them in their Parliament, (and this is what the people of Central Finsbury have done,) is a great reason for rejoicing and by their act they have earned our eternal gratitude and we hope they will be able to secure our gratitude for a long time to come. (*Loud Applause.*)

LALA FATEHCHAND (*Punjab, No. 395, in list*) in supporting the motion said :—Last year when the Congress passed a resolution thanking Central Finsbury for the election of our distinguished President to the House of Commons, that resolution was passed in a way which showed that our gratitude was as deep and as intense as any sincere gratitute could be. A year has passed since then and many things have happened and we have reason to be even more grateful to them and to congratulate ourselves on what has been accomplished during that year. The career of our distinguished President in the House of Commons during the last session has been one which will be memorable in the annals of India and when we remember that the Electors of Central Finsbury on the eve of his departure for this country passed a resolution approving of his conduct in the House of Commons we have especial reason to congratulate ourselves as well as to be grateful to the Electors of Central Finsbury. They have set an example to the rest of the constituencies in England and have shown that they are above those racial prejudices which may guide more narrow minded people. I hope the Electors of Central Finsbury will know what they have done for us is not forgotten here and I hope that our distinguished President may long be spared to serve them first and then India. I also hope sincerely that he may long be spared so that that relationship which has been brought about by the generosity of Central Finsbury Electors may continue between him and them. (*Loud Applause.*)

PUNDIT GOPINATH (*Punjab, No. 255, in list*) having supported the motion in Urdu and "three cheers" having been given for the Electors of Central Finsbury the proposition was adopted.

Resolution XX.

Assignment of Funds for the British Congress Committee.

THE HON'BLE MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJI (*Calcutta, No. 8, in list*) moved :—*That the sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "India;" and that the several circles do contribute, as arranged, either now or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1894.*

He said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—A word of apology is necessary from me for being on this platform a second time to-day. (*Cries of "no, no"*). I am here, I may say, in obedience to the mandate of our venerable leader Mr. Hume

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who, you will be sorry to hear, is indisposed. That is the reason I have the honour to lay this resolution before and invite you to accept it with that enthusiasm which the Congress has always been able to display when a critical occasion arises. It is a practical resolution and it has reference to your work in England. You will see that we make a demand upon you for the sum of Rs. 60,000 during the year 1894. You will at once ask me the question as to why instead of Rs. 47,000, as was demanded last year, we should raise the sum this time to Rs. 60,000, and you are entitled to an explanation which you shall have at my hands forthwith. The Rs. 60,000 includes private subscriptions and donations which the Rs. 47,000 did not include. Therefore you will see at once that we do not ask you to subscribe more for 1894 than for 1893. So let there be no sense of alarm in the minds of the delegates in connection with this matter. What is this money wanted for? It is wanted for *India* our publication and it is wanted for the British Committee. Gentlemen, we may cry here at the top of our voices and we have been doing so for the last two or three days and yet our grievances will go unredressed unless and until we can make ourselves heard before the Bar of British Public opinion. We must voice our grievances in the columns of the English newspapers and from the platforms of English public meetings, and from the floor of the British House of Commons. *India* and the British Committee constitute the right arm of our strength; they are the musket to the soldiers and they must be kept in the highest state of efficiency; and as far as *India* is concerned we must secure to it the largest possible measure of circulation. The English people must be persuaded to take an interest and feel a concern in the affairs of their great dependency. You must agitate! agitate!! agitate!!! and incur a vast measure of self-sacrifice before you can obtain a footing on the platform of British politics. You have made large sacrifices and I recognise the measure of your self-sacrifices, but you have yet to make much larger sacrifices before you can accomplish the enfranchisement of your nation. Look at the heroic acts of self-sacrifice of the Irish people, not for one day, not for one year, but for the greater part of a century; and it is because of these acts of self-sacrifice that the Home Rule question has come within a measurable distance of satisfactory solution. As it has been with Ireland so will it be with us. We must rise to the height of our situation and if we can do this, then and then only, will the Congress programme be accomplished to the full measure. I do not wish to make an appeal: I will not call upon you to come forward with your subscriptions at this meeting but I hope and trust that when we meet next year at Madras—(*Applause*)—it will be possible for us to say that we have fulfilled the promises we make to-day; that it will be possible for us to say that we have redeemed the vote that we shall presently record. Our greatest charge against the Government of this country is that it does not fulfil or redeem the pledges it makes. Let not that charge be brought against the Congress that it does not know how to redeem the promises it so solemnly makes. Therefore, men of Bombay, men of Bengal, men of the North-West Provinces, men of the Punjab, men of Madras, let us all return to our homes, and let us work energetically and persistently to raise this money, so that when we meet next year it will be our glorious privilege and pride to be able to tell the Congress that we have redeemed the vote of to-day and that we have paid the full amount for the maintenance of the British Committee and our newspaper "India." (*Loud Applause.*)

MR. K. P. ROY (*Punjab, No. 304, in list*) in seconding the motion said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—My determination throughout this Congress has been not to appear before you as a speaker, and against my will I have come up here. However, I have to support the appeal to you to enable the Congress to pay the cost of the publication "India" and the expenses of the British Committee. Without my knowledge or consent I have been selected for this object, but as the Congress is sitting in the Punjab and I am one of the humble workers of the Reception Committee, I had to

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appear. (*Applause.*) I appeal to all of you, and particularly the young men of the Punjab. You must not overlook the fact that the British Committee require sinews of war, and unless you fight the battle where the grievances are to be relieved you never will succeed. Where Government is, there our grievances must be made known. (*Applause.*) If we have to be governed in Downing Street and by the House of Commons and House of Lords, there the grievances have to be laid. We have had to establish a British Committee and go there and spend our money and energy in order to secure the aims of the Congress and that success which the Congress labours for and deserves. Therefore, I ask you to take this matter into serious consideration. Don't be frightened because the battle is to be fought in England. I know a good many Indians feel apprehension about the foundations of the Congress which they think are being removed to England, and they ask, is it wise and proper? What is wanted is only to support the superstructure in England which is necessary for the preservation and continuance of the Congress. Therefore, it should be done. (*Applause.*) I say that the foundation of the Congress remains in India, it is in no way removed; it is secure, but we must have subordinate Divisions and one of the most important is the British Committee in England, which must be supported at any cost. Unless you do it, all your labours here will go for nothing. If you wish to be heard, and heard you must be, and if you are determined to secure success, go and shout it forth at the top of your voice to the British Public and the House of Commons where it will be heard and you will gain success. I, therefore, second the motion. (*Loud applause.*)

PUNDIT MADAN MOHUN MALAVYA (*Allahabad, No. 73, in list*) said:—I rise, Mr. President, to support this resolution because I feel it is necessary that something more should be said in regard to this matter than what has already fallen from the previous speakers. Gentlemen, we have to recognise the necessity of voting Rs. 60,000 for the expenses of the British Committee and the organ "India" which is rendering valuable service to the cause. Although we seem to show by our cheers and applause that we appreciate the fact fully, the moment we turn homewards we seem to forget that we have to carry out a promise made in this Hall. A long correspondence has to be gone through to bring in a portion of the subscriptions which have been promised year after year. I must protest against that practice and I must ask every one to go away from this hall with a stern resolution to give effect to this vote by bringing in money as early as possible. (*Applause.*) We have been speaking of the poverty of the people; we believe they are suffering from starvation and injustice. We are anxious that these should be removed; find the means and enable our friends in England to remove it. (*Hear, hear.*) I am reminded of what the poet has beautifully said in speaking of what one desires. He says "you love the roses and so do I, and I wish the sky would rain roses down; for see Queen, will it rain roses? No, my pretty Prattler, it never will rain roses, if we want more roses we must plant more trees." If you want, gentlemen, that the British Committee should be maintained in a state of efficiency and able to bring you that justice you have been crying for so earnestly, you should keep it in a state in which it will be able to kill that demon of tyranny which denies you justice in the matter of Home Charges, and to demonstrate the real poverty of the people of this country and bring some relief. You must make up your minds to work from day to day and week to week to make up the money. When you have done that, then alone you will have done your duty by your country. An objection has been raised that the money for the purpose of *India* and the Committee is so much money sent out of the country; but gentlemen, you must not forget that for all litigation you have to incur expense. Every Privy Council case incurs expense, but these are cases in which the interests not of one man, not of half a dozen families, but of vast millions are concerned. Therefore, you must not grudge this Rs. 60,000. It is all wanted to enable that noble band

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of English gentlemen, who are giving their service and time, energy and attention so courageously and unselfishly to carry on the work. If we don't back up their efforts and don't send money in proper time, we expose ourselves to the censure that we are not prepared to do our duty to our country. (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—I have to say one word. What we in the British Committee have to urge upon you is to be prompt in your payments. You do ultimately pay, but we are very much worried when we have not the money in time. I appeal to you and trust that what you propose to contribute you will contribute promptly and therefore, we shall receive it gratefully. (*Loud applause.*)

The motion was then unanimously carried.

Resolution XXI.

Thanks to Sir William Wedderburn and to the members of the British Congress Committee.

THE PRESIDENT:—As we are very much pressed for time let me move the next resolution. The resolution is :—

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.

I think so highly, ladies and gentlemen, of the services of these gentlemen that I will not make a speech. (*Three cheers were then given for the British committee.*)

The motion was then unanimously adopted.

Resolution XXII.

Re-appointment of Mr. A. O. Hume as General Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT: In the absence of our esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee who almost always moves the resolution which is to follow, it will be moved by our esteemed and indefatigable Secretary Mr. J. Ghosal.

MR. J. GHOSAL (*Calcutta, No. 5, in list.*) who on rising was received with loud applause said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have been unexpectedly called upon to propose is in one sense a very formal one, but in another sense it is a most important one, as it is very closely connected with most of the Congress works to be done between its one sitting and another ; for the period of one whole year and taking all the necessary steps for giving proper effect to the resolutions we are now passing. But for all that it does not require from any one any speech or words to commend it to your acceptance. It will suffice if the resolution is only read out to you. Unfortunately, however, this year there is a little difference in the circumstances connected with the matter which I am about to submit to you. The resolution is for the re-appointment of our revered General Secretary, Mr. A. O. Hume, and the little difference that I mentioned is this: Mr. Hume is unwilling to accept the office this year, not that he is unwilling to work for the Congress, or for us, as he has hitherto done ; you may rest assured that he will work for us as hard as possible till he takes his last breath in this world. He is unwilling because he thinks that his failing health will not permit him to work as much as would be necessary to do justice to the office and also because he does not expect to be able to spend even a portion of the ensuing year in this country. But I can assure you, gentlemen, that there is no reason to apprehend that our works will suffer in his hands on account of his ill-health. It has been my privilege and good fortune to know him very intimately, perhaps more intimately than any one present in this hall. I worked with him before the National Congress came into existence and excepting at the last Congress when he was absent from India, I worked under him at every Congress from the very first, living together and working together for weeks, both before and after each Congress sitting and I have never seen him shirk or

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neglect any work, nor to allow a single day's delay in doing what, though important, could, without any harm, be delayed for days and that even when suffering from fever or such other complaint. (*Hear, hear.*) On one occasion at the time of a Congress Session, I saw him work day after day till past midnight, when he had been getting attacks of fever every evening, in order to keep everything ready for the day following. He is an indefatigable worker and loves work, particularly work for the good of our country. Whether in good or bad health, or whether residing in or out of India, I have no doubt that he will do more work for us than any other Secretary we could appoint in his stead. (*Applause.*)

Allow me gentlemen to ask you one question; can you concieve the idea of our revered leader, the father of the Congress, being separated from us and from his infant child, the Congress itself, before he is separated from or leaves this world. To me personally, and I dare say to several others present in this hall, the very idea would be really painful. May the Supreme Being grant him long life and health to continue and complete the noble work he has so disinterestedly, so earnestly and so well begun for the amelioration of the miserable condition of the helpless people (ourselves) of this country. You know very well how helpless we all Indians are without the help of Englishmen of position. Whether Mr. Hume can work or not, so long as he lives we cannot think of severing his connection with us, or with the Congress; and so far as I know, he too never contemplates the adoption of such a course, I mean to cut off his connection with India, its people or with the Congress altogether and even if he ever thinks of doing so, we who are looked upon by him as his children should personally approach and entreat him to give up the idea and I am sure that we shall not approach and entreat him in vain. (*Applause*). I have already spoken much more than I had intended and I belive that there is no need of my saying anything further for the adoption of this resolution by you which runs thus:

That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year.

This resolution never required a seconder and I hope that this time, as in the former years, you will carry it by acclamation. (*Loud applause and three cheers for Mr. Hume.*)

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution XXIII.

Tenth Congress to be held at Madras.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (*Madras, No. 837, in list*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the pleasant duty to make a formal proposal to you in the way of an invitation that this Congress will do us the honour of meeting in the capital of our Province, Madras. It is a poor country and cannot boast of any great traditions or great natural scenery. But if you accept the invitation, Madras will not yield to any Province in the heartiness of its welcome. On the strength of our devotion to the Congress we invite you to the capital of our Province. (*Applause.*) The resolution I move is in these words:

That the Tenth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas Day 1894, as may be later determined upon, at Madras.

MR. H. MORGAN BROWNE (*Calcutta, No. 2, in list*) seconded the motion and said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In one sense I am sorry to be here, because, gentlemen, if Mr. Hume were not unable to speak on this resolution you would not be listening to a humble lieutenant. But as I have to second the resolution I am

glad to do so, and I am happy to think that the Congress next year will meet in Madras. I will take this opportunity of saying a few words which I trust you will not take amis from so young a worker in the cause of India. I have now travelled many thousand miles in India and I have seen a great deal of the country for the short time I have been here and I have seen a good many Committees, and I have noticed amongst the Indian people unparalleled and well sustained enthusiasm for the cause of their country's enfranchisement. But I have noticed a serious tendency to allow your enthusiasm to detract somewhat from the value of solid hard work and I wish to impress on you that your enthusiasm should be diverted into more profitable channels. If you wish to obtain your great country's freedom, I say you will not obtain it by great mass meetings or by giving Mr. Hume a torch light procession, by waving banners and shouting cheers and by the other components of an Indian *tamasha*. I say you will not in that way achieve your country's freedom. You have got to take a leaf out of the political book of your English friends in this matter. There the stress of public life is enormous and a cause can only succeed by the individual efforts of every individual interested in it. I wish to point out what has been done in England by one of the most successful political organizations in existence. It is the Fabian Society—a little society which does not contain more than 1000 members, but it has done more in the last ten years to revolutionize political life than all the other societies have done in the last century. (*Hear, hear.*) How was that done? By every man being a worker. No one waited to see what his friend was going to do or what they were going to think about him; there was no question of personal dignity entered into, and these men, each one regardless of what any one else might say, irrespective of what any one might think, went on doing his work in his own way and in his own time. He would work without thinking whether it was his duty to lead or follow. That is what I would have you, Indian people, do throughout the length and breadh of the land. You must forget some of your old customs, you must learn something higher than the dignity which is to be associated with ancient customs. Good solid hard work performed in an honest cause is what is wanted for the welfare of the country and I would have everyone remember that you cannot achieve your country's good except by individual work and that good is only won by each one doing his utmost to achieve that good. (*Hear, hear.*) Englishmen who hold the political faith, I hold, will always be willing to help you. We are always ready, we of the Radical faith, to stretch out a helping hand to India's toiling millions. To those painfully treading on the path which England has already trod we are willing to extend help, but, I say, if it was in our power to grant to you all those reforms you are endeavouring to obtain, it would be wrong to grant them. You will only achieve the real good if you win them for yourselves as others have done. (*Applause.*) No man can give you political salvation, you must win it. You have had within this year the first fruits of victory, you stand at the parting of the ways; on the one side you are leaving behind the old bureaucratic institutions of a despotic Government, and entering on the path of representative institutions. (*Applause.*) Along that path you have only advanced some little way and you have got to fight hard and long before you reach the goal; but it is now within your sight, the prize is within your grasp and if each will strive manfully without thinking what others may do, and if you will all do that, you will, in the words of our Scripture "acquit yourselves like men and be strong." Believe me, success is not very far distant. (*Loud applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—There is another invitation from Belgaum but if you do not wish it I will not read the letter itself which has been received from there. It is an invitation to hold the next session of the Congress in that town. I mention it now because those who prefer to see the next Congress meet at Belgaum would be able to carry out their wishes by voting against this proposition and if it is rejected, by moving

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Resolution XXIII.

Tenth Congress to be held at Madras.

another resolution for holding the next Congress at Belgaum which, however, would not be needed if this one is carried out. The motion is :

That the Tenth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas Day 1894, as may be later determined upon, at Madras.

The motion was then put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT :—On your behalf I thank the inhabitants of the Belgaum District for sending us this invitation for it shows clearly that there is an earnestness abroad and that the people of the country are willing to have both political education and to mix with their fellow countrymen as much as possible. I offer, therefore, to the delegates who brought this invitation our sincere thanks for it. (*Loud applause.*)

Vote of thanks to the President.

LALA LAJPAT RAI (*Punjab, No. 237, in list*) said :—There would be no justification for my appearing on this platform a second time this day but for the fact that I am going to perform the duty of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to our learned President. (*Loud applause and three cheers for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.*) It is not an easy task to preside over the deliberations of such a large assembly as the Indian National Congress, but the manner in which our President has performed that duty has been most pleasing and impartial and he is entitled to the heartiest thanks we can possibly give him. By doing this we shall be showing that we really feel grateful for the services he has done for the country. I have just one word to say to my brother delegates from other Provinces and it is this : that I hope you will excuse all our shortcomings for we have already told you we are not sufficiently advanced either in education or riches—(*Cries of "no, no."*) and if we have not been able to give you a sufficiently splendid reception we hope you will excuse us. (*Loud applause.*)

MR. J. GHOSAL (*Calcutta, No. 5, in list*) :—As the motion refers personally to the illustrious occupant of the chair he cannot put it to the vote and therefore I have been asked to perform that pleasant duty. Let me tell you that the motion has not been seconded nor I wish that it should be seconded. It should be carried by acclamation and I beg to call upon my brother delegates to do so and I am sure you will carry it by acclamation. (*Loud applause and "three cheers for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji."*)

The motion was then carried by acclamation.

President's concluding address.

Two poems in the vernacular were then recited. At the conclusion of the recitations the President rose and was most enthusiastically received. He said :—I have first to announce to the Subjects Committee that they should send their delegates here at eleven o'clock tomorrow for the purpose of finishing the financial part of our business. The next thing I have to announce is that I am sorry to hear from Mr. Seymour Keay that he has not been in a condition to come here and help us as he expected to do. He sends his best wishes for the Congress and hopes that he will be able to be present at its meetings next year. Again, we have received many telegrams and letters containing good wishes for the success of the Congress and expressing the regret of many persons who have not been able to attend. I may mention that the Maharajah of Durbhanga expresses his regret at not being able to attend and wishes us every success. The Prince of Palegang has sent a telegram and we have received a number of letters and telegrams of a very encouraging character, wishing us every success. Then there is also a letter from the Hon'ble the Maharajah Pratap Narayan Singh. He sends a letter acknowledging with thanks

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President's concluding address.

the invitation we sent him and expresses his best wishes for our success : private business prevented him coming here. Now, gentlemen, I do not know how to thank you for the very kind and cordial vote of thanks you have tendered me. As I have said repeatedly, I am one of you and it is my duty to do individually what I can for, as Mr. Morgan Browne advised us, every one and each of us must do the best he can, for it is only by these means that the good of all will be accomplished. I have done my duty and it is a great gratification to me that the invitation to attend this Congress was sent to me so many thousands of miles away and that you had not forgotten me. I was able, with pleasure, to accept that invitation and when I came here I found myself, as it has often been said, the idol of my country. (*Loud Applause.*) I am overpowered by your kindly and splendid reception and the only way in which I can express my deep sense of appreciation of it is by using the simplest word possible and saying "I thank you." I must acknowledge my obligations to the Reception Committee who have done everything in their power to make me comfortable and to make me feel that I am amongst my own family, in my own country. I therefore return my most sincere thanks to the committee. The one name I will mention in connection with the Reception Committee in making this acknowledgment will be that of Sirdir Dyal Singh, the President of that Committee. (*Loud applause.*) Then as a delegate of all the delegates here I offer my thanks on behalf of the delegates to Sirdir Dyal Singh and to the members of the Reception Committee for the admirable manner in which they have attended to the wants of the delegates and making their stay as comfortable as possible. I have to offer also thanks on behalf of the Congress to the Volunteers who have, from all I have observed, done good and useful work. (*Applause.*) It was not a mercenary service but a service of the heart and a feeling towards their own country to contribute what they could in their position towards the success of the Congress. And lastly, I have to say one word to the Congress itself. During the time I have had the honour of presiding here, whether in the Subjects Committee or in this Congress Hall, you have done everything you could to show that you were prepared to work cordially and sympathetically with me. You have attended to all my wishes and you have not given me the slightest trouble in the conduct of the deliberations of this Congress and to maintain perfect order. I say it reflects on you the highest credit and demands from me my sincere gratitude which I offer with every pleasure. Before I conclude I will ask you to give three sterling cheers for the Queen Empress of India.

Loud and enthusiastic cheers were then given for Her Majesty and were followed by equally hearty cheers for "the people of the United Kingdom," for "Central Finsbury," for "British rule," for "the Congress" and for "the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab."

Dissolution of the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT :—Well gentlemen, I now declare your deliberations at an end, trusting that you will meet at Madras next year with some work done and some reforms achieved. I bid you farewell and declare the Congress dissolved.

The delegates and visitors dispersed at about a quarter past six and as they left the Hall repeatedly cheered "the Grand Old Man of India.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

NINTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT LAHORE, DECEMBER, 1893.

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	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B. ...	European Christian.	Retired Civil Servant.	At a Committee Meeting held at No. 3, Hastings Street, Calcutta, on the 19th December, 1893.
2	"	"	"	Mr. H. Morgan Browne.	do.	Secretary, British Congress Committee.	do.
3	"	"	"	Babu Amoy Nath Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Teacher, E. School, 13, College Square, Calcutta.	do.
4	"	"	"	" Binode Behari Bose, B.A.	do.	Zemindar, 65, Bagbazar Street, Calcutta.	do.
5	"	"	British Indian Association.	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Merchant, Secretary, Congress Committee, Honorary. Presidency Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta.	At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association on the 12th December, 1893.
6	"	"	Indian Association.	Dr. Mohini Mohun Bose, M.D., L.R.C.P. EDIN, &c.	Brahmo.	Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate, Physician and Surgeon.	At a Meeting of the Indian Association held on the 1st December, 1893.
7	"	"	"	Rai Jotindra Nath Chaudhury, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Baranagore.	do.
8	"	"	"	Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerji, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Secretary, Indian Association, Editor, "Bengalee," Proprietor, Ripon College, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Member, Bengal Legislative Council and Chairman, North Barrackpore Municipality.	do.
9	"	"	"	Dr. Jagadish Chandra Lahiri.	do.	Medical Practitioner, 101, College Street, Calcutta.	do.
10	"	"	Bengali Christian Conference.	Mr. Kali Charan Banerji, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Christian.	Vakil, High Court, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, 81, Baranasi Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Bengali Christian Conference held on the 8th December, 1893.

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.
11	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Bengali Christian Conference.	Revd. C. N. Banerji, B.A.	Bengali Christian.	Missionary, L. M. Society, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Bengali Christian Conference held on the 8th December, 1893.
12	,,	,,	Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Pandit Kali Prasanna Kavyabisharad.	Agnostic.	Journalist and Proprietor, "Secular Press," 33, Balaram Bose's Ghat Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division held on the 17th December, 1893.
13	,,	,,	,,	Babu Upendra Nath Sen.	Hindu Vaidya.	Kaviraj and Zemindar, 29, Coolootola Street, Calcutta.	do.
14	,,	,,	24 Perghs. Taki.	,, Prafulla Chandra Ghose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, Taki.	At a Committee Meeting of the Branch Indian Association, Taki.
15	,,	,,	Katwa.	,, Aghore Nath Barat.	Hindu Vaidya.	Private Service, Alampur. (Katwa.)	At a Public Meeting held at Katwa on the 10th December, 1893.
16	,,	,,	Murshidabad.	Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Chairman, Berhampur Municipality, President, Murshidabad Association, Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate.	At a Meeting of the Murshidabad Association on the 29th November, 1893.
17	,,	,,	,,	,, Moti Lal Banerji.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar.	do.
18	,,	,,	,,	,, Bhowani Kishore Chakravarty.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Berhampore.	do.
19	,,	,,	,,	,, Hemendra Nath Sen, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	do.	do.
20	,,	,,	,,	,, Hem Lal Banerji.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Berhampore.	At a meeting of the Murshidabad Association on the 20th December 1893.
21	,,	,,	,,	,, Janoki Nath Singh.	Hindu Kayastha.	do.	do.
22	,,	,,	Nuddea.	,, Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Kishengunge.	At a Public Meeting held at Krishnaghur on the 26th November, 1893
23	,,	,,	,,	,, Ramani Mohun Mullick.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate, Chairman, Meherpore Local Board, and Member Nuddea District Board.	do.
24	,,	,,	Katdaha. (District Nuddea.)	,, Chuni Lal Bose ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Katdah, Poradah.	At a Public Meeting held at Katdaha on the 20th December, 1893
25	,,	,,	Chogda. (Nuddea District.)	,, Hari Nath Singha.	Tamuli Vaishnava.	Teacher, Chogda M. E. School.	At a Meeting held at the Local School Premises on the 26th November, 1893.
26	,,	,,	Kushtea. (Nuddea District.)	,, Ambica Charan Moitra, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Hony. Magistrate and Landholder.	At a meeting held at the Kushtea Bar Library on the 8th December 1893.
27	,,	,,	Jessore.	,, Akshoy Kumar Mitra,	Hindu Kayastha.	Hony. Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and Talukdar, Jessore.	At a Meeting of the Jessore Branch Congress Committee held on the 9th December, 1893.
28	,,	,,	Khulna.	,, Veni Bhusan Roy, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Khulna.	At a Public Meeting held at Khulna on the 4th December, 1893.

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.
29	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Kishoreganj. (Mymensingh.)	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.	Brahmo.	Lecturer, City College, and Editor, "Sanjibanee" 6, College Square, Calcutta.	At a meeting held on the 8th December, 1893.
30	"	"	Tangail. (Mymensingh.)	" Prasanna Kumar Bose.	do.	Talukdar and Superintendent, Sanjibanee Office.	At a Meeting of the inhabitants of Tangail residing in Calcutta, held on the 23rd December, 1893, at 6, College Square, Calcutta.
31	"	"	"	" Dina Nath Biswas, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Pubna.	do.
32	"	Dacca.	Munshiganj (Dacca District.)	" Jagat Chandra Roy.	Hindu	Pleader, Hony. magistrate, and Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Munshiganj.	At a Public Meeting held on the 12th December, 1893.
33	"	"	Dacca.	" Sarat Chandra Bose, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Theist.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Secretary, Congress Committee, Dacca.	At a General Meeting of the Local Bar-Association held on the 12th December, 1893.
34	"	"	"	" Sarat Chunder Gupta.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Hony. Magistrate, Member, Dacca District Board and Chairman, Narainganj Local Board.	At a General Meeting of the Local Bar-Association held on the 12th December, 1893.
35	"	Furridpore.	Furridpore.	" Ambica Charan Mazoomdar, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held on the 21st December, 1893.
36	"	"	"	" Prithvis Chandra Roy Chaudhury.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, 35/2 Beadon Street, Calcutta.	do.
37	"	"	Manikdaha.	" Gorachand Das, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Napit.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Barisal.	At a meeting of the Manikdaha Hitashadhini Sabha held on the 21st December, 1893.
38	"	Barisal.	Backerganj.	" Nibaran Chandra Das, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Barisal.	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Backerganj held on the 20th December, 1893.
39	"	Rungpore.	Rungpore.	" Ram Kumar Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtar, Rungpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Rungpore on the 19th December, 1893.
40	"	Pubna.	Pubna.	" Mohini Mohun Chakravarty, M.A. B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Municipality, Pubna.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th November, 1893.
41	"	"	"	" Mohendra Narain Chakravarty,	do.	Zemindar, Pubna.	do.
42	"	Jalpaiguri.	Jalpaiguri.	" Umagati Roy, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Hony. Secretary to the Branch Indian Association and Standing Congress Committee.	At a meeting of the Branch Indian Association held on the 19th November, 1893.
43	"	Rampore Beauleah.	Rampore Beauleah.	Dr. Akshoy Kumar Bhaduri, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner.	At a Meeting of the Rajshahye Association on the 19th December, 1893.
44	"	"	Maldah.	Babu Rama Prasad Mullick.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar, Banker and Indigo Planter.	At a Public Meeting of the Merchants held at Nawabgunge on the 29th November, 1893.

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.
45	Bengal.	Bhagalpore.	Purneah.	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Municipal Commissioner, Purneah.	At a Public Meeting held at Purneah on the 19th December, 1893.
46	„	„	„	„ Parvati Charan Das, B.L.	Brahmo.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Member, District Board, Purneah.	do.
47	„	„	Bhagalpore.	„ Ugra Mohun Thakoor.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar.	At a Public Meeting held on the 14th November, 1893.
48	„	„	„	„ Tariny Prasad Dobay.	do.	Manager, Barari Estate.	do.
49	„	Chota Nagpur.	Hazaribagh.	Rai Jadu Nath Mukerjee B.L.	do.	Zemindar, Vakil, Hony. Magistrate, Vice-Chairman, Hazaribagh Municipality and Director, Chota Nagpur Banking Association Ld. &c.	At a Public Meeting held at Hazaribagh on the 3rd December, 1893.
50	„	„	„	Mr. M. L. Mitter,	Bengali Christian.	Hony. Magistrate, and House and land-owner.	do.
51	„	„	„	Babu Narendra Nath Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder.	do.
52	„	„	Giridih.	Pandit Deo Datta Bharati.	do.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Giridih on the 18th December, 1893.
53	„	„	„	Munshi Mathura Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindari Service, Peshkar, Palgunge Raj Estate, Giridih.	do.
54	„	„	„	Babu Sakti Kanta Bhattacharyya, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Giridih.	do.
55	„	„	Manbhoom.	„ Ananga Mohun Bhattacharyya, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Landholder, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held on the 9th December, 1893.
56	„	„	„	„ Srish Chunder Tewari, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Purulia.	do.
57	„	Behar.	Bankipore.	Babu Guru Prasad Sen.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Zemindar and Banker.	At a Public Meeting held at Bankipur on the 6th December, 1893.
58	„	„	Darbhanga.	Pundit Bishnu Dutt Chowbey.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher, Dalton Institution, Darbhanga.	At a Public Meeting held on the 18th December, 1893.
59	„	„	Chupra.	Mr. Radhika Prasad Ghose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Chairman, Chupra Municipality, Vice-Chairman of the Local Board, Member, District Board and Honorary Magistrate, Chupra.	At a Public Meeting held on the 23rd December, 1893.
60	N. W. P.	Benares.	Benares.	Babu Jagat Narain Sinha.	Sarasvat Brahmin.	Zemindar, Rais, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board, Ghazipur.	At a Public Meeting held at Benares on the 10th December, 1893.
61	„	„	„	„ Bhowani Prasad.	Hindu Khettri.	Zemindar, Kachourigali, Benares.	do.
62	„	„	„	Pundit Srinath Deva.	Hindu Brahmin	Talukdar of Devakali and Member District Board, Ghazipur.	do.

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63	N.W.P.	Benares.	Benares.	Munshi Shankar Lal Desai.	Hindu Brahmin.	Rais, Banker, Zemindar, Treasurer 'Union Club' and "Carmichæl Library," Nandan Sahi Street, Benares.	At a Public Meeting held at Benares on the 10th December, 1893.
64	"	"	"	" Basudeo Sahai.	Hindu Kayastha.	Teacher, C. M. High School, Azamgarh.	do.
65	"	"	Kashi Sujan Samaj.	Lala Durga Prasad.	Hindu Khettri.	Banker, Sidhesvari Mahalla, Benares.	At a General Meeting of the Sujan Samaj held on the 16th December, 1893.
66	"	"	"	Munshi Sankatha Prasad.	do.	do.	do.
67	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Sriram.	do.	Pleader, Zemindar and Banker; Member, District and Municipal Boards.	At a Public Meeting held on the 21st December, 1893.
68	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Prakash Sarma.	Hindu Brahmin.	Priest	do.
69	"	"	"	Babu Beni Prasad.	Hindu Bhargava.	Zemindar, Merchant, Hony. Magistrate, Vice-President, Municipal Board and Member, District Board.	do.
70	"	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	The Hon'ble Raja Rampal Singh. ...	Hindu Rajpoot	Talukdar, Vice-President, Pratapgarh District-Board and Member, Legislative Council, N. W. P. and Oudh.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathasala, Allahabad, on the 6th December, 1893.
71	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Charoo Chundra Mittra.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Legislative Council N. W.P. and Oudh.	do.
72	"	"	"	Dr. Abinash Chunder Banerjee, L.M.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad.	do.
73	"	"	"	Pundit Madan Mohun Malavya, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P. and Hony. Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Allahabad.	do.
74	"	"	"	" Jwala Dutt Joshi.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P. Johnstonganj, Allahabad.	do.
75	"	"	"	" Sunder Lal, B.A.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P. Fellow of the University of Allahabad and Member of the Council of law Reporting, N.W.P.	do.
76	"	"	"	" Buldeo Ram Dave.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P. Allahabad.	do.
77	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Banerjee, B.A.	do.	do.	do.
78	"	"	"	Munshi Rashan Lal, B.A.	Arya Samajist.	Barrister-at-Law, Stanley Road, Allahabad.	do.
79	"	"	"	Pundit Deoki Nandan Tewari.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor and Proprietor "Rampataka" Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
80	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Bhatta.	do.	Editor and Proprietor, "Hindi Pradip"	do.

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81	N.W.P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Lala Brij Mohun Lal.	Hindu Khatri.	Zemindar and Banker, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1893.
82	„	„	„	Swamy Alaram.	Sanyasi.	Ascetic, Hindu Sabha, Allahabad.	At a Meeting of the Hindu Sabha held on the 6th December, 1893.
83	„	„	Cawnpore.	Babu Ramsing Bhargava.	Hindu Bhargava.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on the 17th December, 1893.
84	„	„	„	„ Bunsidhur.	Arya Samajist.	Zemindar and Banker.	do.
85	„	„	„	„ Madan Chand Khannah.	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant and Contractor.	do.
86	„	„	„	Pundit Bhaktanund Sarma.	Hindu Brahmin.	Priest and Journalist.	do.
87	„	„	„	Lala Govind Prasad Mirhotra.	Hindu Khatri	Merchant and Contractor.	do.
88	„	„	„	Bhai Hurnam Singh Varma.	do.	Proprietor, "Cawnpore Gazette," Late Govt. Military Sowar and now a Pensioner.	do.
89	„	„	„	Babu Ganga Dyal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	do.
90	„	„	„	Lala Devi Dass ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	do.
91	„	„	„	„ Hukum Chand ...	Hindu Vaisya.	General Merchant and Banker.	do.
92	„	„	„	„ Ram Swaroop ...	Hindu Agarwala.	Banker ...	do.
93	„	„	„	Pundit Prithvi Nath ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee and Reform and Temperance Association.	do.
94	„	„	„	Lala Chandika Prasad.	Hindu Vaisya.	Merchant ...	do.
95	„	„	„	Babu Shew Narain ...	Arya Samajist.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
96	„	„	„	„ Mahendra Nath Ganguly.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
97	„	„	„	Lala Santokh Chand Bhandari.	Jain.	Merchant and Banker ...	do.
98	„	„	„	Pundit Hirdey Narain Kaul.	Cashmere Brahmin.	Pleader, Zemindar, Merchant, Joint Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee and Reform and Temperance Association, Cawnpore.	do.
99	„	„	Agra.	Pundit Tulsi Ram Misra. M.A., M.B.S., F.T.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy, St. John's College, and Joint Secretary Divisional Congres Committee, Agra.	at a Public Meeting held at Agra on the 17th December, 1893.

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100	N.W.P.	Allahabad.	Agra.	Pundit Kampta Prasad.	Hindu Brahmin.	Rais and Pleader District Court, Agra.	At a Public Meeting held at Agra on the 17th December, 1893.
101	"	"	"	Babu Kedar Nath, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaisya.	Vakil, High Court and Law Lecturer, St. John's College, Agra and Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee.	do.
102	"	"	"	" Ram Chandra, B.A.	Hindu Vaisya.	Teacher, Agra College.	do.
103	"	"	"	" Beni Madhab Sirkir, M.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Professor of Mathematics, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
104	"	"	"	Chowbey Chhakkan Lal.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court and Zemindar.	do.
105	"	"	"	Babu Jumna Das Biswas.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader and Editor, "Nassim" Agra.	do.
106	"	"	"	Pundit Mohun Kishen Dar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Rais and Manager, Stewart Tanning Factory, Agra.	do.
107	"	"	"	Babu Beni Kanta Dutt B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Professor, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
108	"	"	"	Babu Bireshwar Sanyal.	Hindu Brahmin.	Legal Practitioner, District Court, Agra.	do.
109	"	"	"	Pundit Jagannath ...	do.	Pleader, Zemindar and Vice-President, Divisional Congress Committee, Agra.	do.
110	"	"	"	M. Rahimuddin ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader, District Court, Agra.	do.
111	"	"	"	M. Rahim Buksh ...	do.	Rais and Mukhtear, Agra.	do.
112	"	"	"	Sheik Khwaj Buksh ...	do.	Rais, Agra ...	do.
113	"	"	Mainpuri.	Chowbey Dammi Lal B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P. Practising at Mainpuri.	At a Public Meeting held at Mainpuri on the 22nd December, 1893.
114	"	"	Muttra. (Brindaban.)	Radha Churn Goswami Vidyavagisha.	do.	Priest, Radharaman Street, Brindaban.	At a Public Meeting held at Brindaban on the 22nd December, 1893.
115	"	"	"	Babu Baij Nath ...	Hindu Bhargava.	Zemindar and Indigo Merchant.	do.
116	"	"	"	" Jagannath Prasad.	do.	Rais, Zemindar, Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner, Ghiamundi, Muttra.	do.
117	"	"	"	Kumar Hukum Singh ...	Arya, Jat	Reosatdar, Zemindar and Member, Local Board, Po. Baldeo, District Muttra.	do.
118	"	"	"	Mani Lal Goswami ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Priest, Radharaman Street, Brindaban.	do.
119	"	"	Dehra Doon.	Pundit Braj Lall ...	Arya Brahmin.	Chemist ...	At a representative Meeting held at Dehra Doon on the 20th December, 1893.
120	"	"	"	Pundit Anand Narain ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.

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121	N.W.P.	Allahabad.	Dehra Doon.	Lala Lachhmi Chand ...	Hindu Arya Mahajan.	Banker. ...	At a representative Meeting held at Dehra Doon on the 20th December, 1893.
122	„	„	Jhansi.	Babu Shiva Pada Ghose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Jhansi on the 20th December, 1893.
123	„	„	„	„ Prasanna Coomer Chatterji.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
124	„	„	„	Mr. Shunker Sahai Varma.	Arya Kayastha.	do. ...	do.
125	„	„	„	Babu Keshava Das Chowdhury, B.A.	Arya Vedic.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
126	„	„	„	Pundit Prag Das ...	Arya Brahmin.	Mukhtear and Zemindar.	do.
127	„	„	„	Babu Basanta Coomer Sanyal.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
128	„	„	Aligarh.	Hafeez Mahomed Abdur Rahim.	Sheikh Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Aligarh on the 17th December, 1893.
129	„	„	„	Pundit Udai Ram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Service, Karchuaganj, Aligarh.	do.
130	„	„	„	Babu Jogendra Nath Chatterji.	do.	Vakil ...	do.
131	„	„	„	Mahomed Zafar Yali Khan.	Mahomedan Pathan.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
132	„	„	„	Mahomed Sarfaraz Khan.	do.	do.	do.
133	„	„	„	Syed Sarfaraz Ali ...	Mahomedan Syed.	do.	do.
134	„	„	„	Mahomed Shahbaz Khan.	Mahomedan Pathan.	Service ...	do.
135	„	„	Shaharanpur.	Pundit Mohun Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Advocate, N. W. P. High Court.	At a Public Meeting held at Shaharanpur on the 22nd December, 1893.
136	„	„	„	Mr. Madan Mohun Lal, B.A., L.L.B.	Vaisya Agarwal.	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P.	do.
137	„	„	„	Lala Narain Das ...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	do.
138	„	„	„	Babu Jyoti Prasad ...	Hindu Bhargava.	Pleader, Shaharanpur ...	do.
139	„	„	„	Dr. Jnanendra Nath Roy Chowdhury.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
140	„	„	„	Pundit Maharaj Narain.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
141	„	„	„	Mr. Bulant Rai ...	Hindu Arya.	Pleader, Shaharanpur ...	do.
142	„	„	Meerut.	Babu Prahlad Singh ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Pleader, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Meerut on the 17th December, 1893.
143	„	„	„	Pundit Ram Prasad, M.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Meerut ...	do.

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144	N.W.P.	Allahabad.	Meerut.	Lala Babu Ram ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Pleader, Meerut ...	At a Public Meeting held at Meerut on the 17th December, 1893.
145	„	„	„	Babu Ghansham Dass ...	do.	do. ...	do.
146	„	„	„	Lala Babu Lal, B.A. ...	do.	do. ...	do.
147	„	„	„	Babu Kishen Dyal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
148	„	„	„	Chowbey Radhe Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
149	„	„	„	Babu Raghubir Sarun ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Rais, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
150	„	„	„	„ Dungar Mal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Vakil, Notary Public and Landholder, Meerut.	do.
151	„	„	Farrukhabad.	Pundit Gopal Rao Hari Bakhashi.	Maharashtri Brahmin.	Late Educational Sub-Deputy Inspector and Secretary, Vaidic Samaj and Divisional Congress Committee.	At a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December, 1893.
152	„	„	„	Lala Durga Prasad ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant and Member, Local Board.	do.
153	„	„	Shajehanpur.	Munshi Bhaktawar Singh.	Arya Agarwal.	Editor & Proprietor of the "Arya Darpan" a Hindi and Urdu monthly.	At a Public Meeting held at Shajehanpur on the 22nd December, 1893.
154	„	„	„	Babu Kalka Prasad, B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	do.
155	„	„	Moradabad.	Sheikh Wahab Uddin ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar, Moradabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Moradabad on the 19th December, 1893.
156	„	„	„	Babu Madan Mohun Das.	Hindu Vaisya.	Pleader ...	do.
157	„	„	„	Mr. Brij Nandan Prasad, M.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Khettri.	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
158	„	„	„	Pundit Bishwambhar Nath Aga.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	do.
159	„	„	„	Babu Narendra Chunder Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Moradabad ...	do.
160	„	„	„	Pundit Avatar Krishna Aga.	Hindu Brahmin.	Proprietor, of "Najmul Hind" Urdu Newspaper.	do.
161	„	„	„	Pundit Bishwambhar Nath.	do.	Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Moradabad on the 21st December, 1893.
162	„	„	„	Babu Brijnath ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Service ...	At a Public Meeting held at Moradabad on the 23rd December, 1893.
163	„	„	„	Pundit Hari Har Nath.	Hindu Brahmin.	Wasigdar, C/o Mr. Brij Nandan Prasad, Vakil.	do.
164	„	„	„	Lala Damodar Das ...	Hindu Vaish.	Merchant and Banker ...	do.
165	„	„	„	Babu Sunder Lal ...	do.	Pleader, District Court.	do.
166	„	„	Bulandshahar.	Lala Bishen Lal ...	Hindu Bania.	Zemindar ...	At a General Meeting held on the 24th December, 1893.
167	„	„	„	„ Kanahya Lal ...	do.	do. ...	do.

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168	N.W.P.	Allahabad.	Barielly.	Babu Ram Swarup, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Khettri.	Vakil, Barielly. ...	At a Meeting of the Vakil's Association held on the 23rd December, 1893.
169	"	"	Gorakhpur.	Mr. Alfred Nundy ...	Bengali Christian.	Barrister-at-Law ...	At a Public Meeting held at Gorakhpur on the 23rd December, 1893.
170	"	"	Azamgarh.	Munshi Vasudeo Shahai.	Hindu Kayastha.	Teacher, C. M. High School, Azamgarh.	At a Public Meeting held on the 19th December 1893.
171	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lucknow.	Pundit Lakshman Prasad.	Brahmo.	Brahmo Missionary ...	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on the 22nd December, 1893.
172	"	"	"	Swami Brahmanund Sarasvati.	Arya Sanyasi.	Missionary ...	do.
173	"	"	"	Babu Bansi Lal Singh ...	Hindu.	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
174	"	"	"	" Kedar Nath ...	Hindu Khatri.	Vakil and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
175	"	"	"	Munshi Gunga Prasad Varma.	do.	Editor and Proprietor of the "Advocate" and the "Hindustani" and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
176	"	"	"	Pundit Ikbal Shunker Kachak.	Hindu.	Pleader, Lucknow ...	do.
177	"	"	"	Pundit Juggat Narain ...	do.	Vakil, Lucknow ...	do.
178	"	"	"	Seth Sitaram ...	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant ...	do.
179	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Nasim ...	Mahomedan.	Vakil ...	do.
180	"	"	"	Babu Khetra Nath Mookerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Agriculturist ...	do.
181	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Muffidar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
182	"	"	"	Rai Pitam Singh ...	Hindu.	Zemindar ...	do.
183	"	"	"	Pundit Sham Narain Masuldan.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
184	"	"	"	Pundit Bishen Narain Dar.	do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
185	"	"	"	Babu Bhuban Mohun Roy.	Brahmo.	Trader ...	do.
186	"	"	Fyzabad.	Babu Charu Chunder Ghose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Medical Practitioner ...	At a Public Meeting held at Fyzabad on the 17th December, 1893.
187	"	"	"	Pundit Radha Kishen ...	Cashmiri Brahmin.	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.
188	"	"	"	Babu Gokul Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	Vakil, Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate, Chairman, Municipal Board and Vice-Chairman, District Board, Fyzabad.	do.
189	"	"	Pertabgarh.	" Ram Chandra, M.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil	At a Public Meeting held at Pertabgarh on the 14th December, 1893.

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190	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Pertabgarh.	Mr. Mir Ali Sha ...	Mahomedan, Syed.	Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Pertabgarh on the 14th December, 1893.
191	„	„	Kala Kankar.	Pundit Deo Datta Sarma.	Hindu Brahmin.	Private Service ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kala Kankar on the 18th December, 1893.
192	„	„	„	„ Mahadeo Prasad Upadhya.	do.	Zemindar	do.
193	Punjab.	Delhi.	Delhi.	Abul Al Monsur ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Delhi ...	By a Public Meeting held at Delhi on the 16th December, 1893.
194	„	„	„	Nisar Hussain ...	do.	do.	do.
195	„	„	„	Lala Sanwal Das ...	Hindu Vaisya.	do.	do.
196	„	„	„	„ Ganeshi La ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant, Chandney Chauk, Delhi.	do.
197	„	„	„	„ Madhow Prasad ...	Hindu	Merchant, Banker and Landholder, Allahabad.	do.
198	„	„	„	Babu Kedar Nath ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Pleader ...	do.
199	„	„	„	Mr. Raghunath Das Gorga.	do.	Barrister-at-law, Delhi.	do.
200	„	„	„	Lala Girdhari Lal ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Delhi.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December, 1893.
201	„	„	„	„ Jugal Kishore ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	do.
202	„	„	„	„ Shadi Ram ...	Oswal Jain.	Merchant and Jeweller.	do.
203	„	„	„	„ Gokul Chand ...	do.	do.	do.
204	„	„	„	Babu Pyari Lal ...	Hindu Jain.	Pleader, Delhi ...	do.
205	„	„	„	Lala Bunsidhur Seth ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	do.
206	„	„	„	„ Banarasi Das ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Private Service, Chooriwalla Mahalla, Delhi.	do.
207	„	„	„	„ Bunsidhur ...	Arya Khettri.	Banker and Commission Agent.	do.
208	„	„	„	Sirdir Ram Singh ...	Sikh.	Rais, Delhi	do.
209	„	„	„	Lala Ram Chand ...	Arya Vaisya.	Banker, Merchant and Commission Agent, Mori Gate, Delhi.	do.
210	„	„	„	„ Gokul Chand, B.A.	Hindu Arya-Khettri.	Merchant and Banker, Nil-Ka-Katri, Delhi.	do.
211	„	„	„	„ Bhajan Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker, Daruba Bazar, Amarki Gate, Delhi.	do.
212	„	„	„	„ Sanwal Das ...	do.	Banker and Landholder.	do.
213	„	„	„	„ Sunder Lal Khanna.	do.	General Merchant and Commission Agent.	do.
214	„	„	„	„ Sultan Singh ...	Hindu Jain.	Banker and Landowner.	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.
215	Punjab.	Delhi.	Delhi.	Lala Gur Sahayak ...	Hindu.	Government Pensioner.	At a Public Meeting held on the 17th December, 1893.
216	„	„	„	„ Balmukund ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	do.
217	„	„	„	„ Brindaban ...	do.	do. ...	do.
218	„	„	„	„ Gridhari Lal ...	do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
219	„	„	„	„ Lal Chand ...	do.	Cloth Merchant, Daruba Bazar Gali.	do.
220	„	„	Industrial and Commercial association of Upper India, Delhi.	Babu Puran Chand ...	Hindu.	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 22nd December, 1893.
221	„	„	„	„ Raj Rajeshwar Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
222	„	Lahore.	Lahore.	Lala Sarab Dyal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Government Pensioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 10th December, 1893.
223	„	„	„	„ Naranjan Das ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
224	„	„	„	„ Bhagwan Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	do.	do.
225	„	„	„	„ Saligram ...	Hindu Arora.	Proprietor, "Aror Bans" Press, Lahore.	do.
226	„	„	„	„ Prabhu Dyal, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Lahore. ...	do.
227	„	„	„	Mr. E. C. Jassawala ...	Parsi.	Merchant and House-Proprietor, "Rose Cottage," Lahore.	do.
228	„	„	„	Lala Har Kishen Lal, B.A.	Hindu Arora.	Barrister-at-Law, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
229	„	„	„	„ Gopal Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Cloth Merchant, Lahore.	do.
230	„	„	„	Dr. Jai Singh, L.M.S. ...	Sikh.	Medical Practitioner, Lahore.	do.
231	„	„	„	Babu Jogendra Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
232	„	„	„	Lala Madan Gopal, M.A.	Hindu Khettri.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.	do.
233	„	„	„	„ Ishwar Das, M.A. ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
234	„	„	„	„ Beni Prasad ...	Hindu Khettri.	Retired Sub-Engineer, P. W. D. Lahore.	do.
235	„	„	„	„ Dhanpat Rai, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
236	„	„	„	Rai Bahadur Babu Mall.	Hindu Kayastha.	Government Pensioner.	do.
237	„	„	„	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
238	„	„	„	Bhai Sorchal Singh	Sikh.	House Proprietor ...	do.

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239	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Sirdir Mehr Sing Chowala.	Sikh.	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 10th December, 1893.
240	,,	,,	,,	Sheikh Ata Mahomed ...	Mahomedan.	Private Service ...	do.
241	,,	,,	,,	Lala Kahin Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	do. ...	do.
242	,,	,,	,,	,, Bulakiram Shastri.	Hindu Chopra.	Barrister-at-Law, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
243	,,	,,	,,	Bakshi Jaishi Ram ...	Hindu Mahajan.	Pleader, Lahore. ...	do.
244	,,	,,	,,	Babu Amrita Lal Rai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
245	,,	,,	,,	Munshi Khairuddin ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
246	,,	,,	,,	Dewan Maya Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Mukhtear ...	do.
247	,,	,,	,,	Lala Lal Chand, M.A. ...	Arya.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
248	,,	,,	,,	Dr. Thakur Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Viceroy's Chemist, Lahore and Simla.	do.
249	,,	,,	,,	Lala Nehal Chand ...	Hindu.	Contractor ...	do.
250	,,	,,	,,	,, Barkat Ram ...	do.	do. ...	do.
251	,,	,,	,,	Bhai Pertap Singh ...	Sikh.	do. ...	do.
252	,,	,,	,,	Lala Beli Ram ...	Hindu.	do. ...	do.
253	,,	,,	,,	,, Sadanand ...	Hindu Arora.	General Merchant ...	do.
254	,,	,,	,,	Munshi Shams-Ud-Din S. Shaiq.	Mahomedan.	Proprietor, "Shams Hind" Press, Lahore.	do.
255	,,	,,	,,	Pundit Gopi Nath ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Secretary, "Sanatan Dharma Sabha," Lahore.	do.
256	,,	,,	,,	Mr. B. B. Ghose ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Merchant and Proprietor, Empress Medical Hall, Lahore.	do.
257	,,	,,	,,	Sirdir Dayal Singh Majithia.	Sikh.	Jagirdar ...	do.
258	,,	,,	,,	Moulvie Haji Ahmed Sahib.	Mahomedan.	Hakim-i-Haziq ...	do.
259	,,	,,	,,	Lala Tara Chand Sahib.	Hindu.	Rais, Lahore ...	do.
260	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Feroz Din ...	Mahomedan.	Draftsman ...	do.
261	,,	,,	,,	Lala Maya Das ...	Hindu.	Private Service ...	do.
262	,,	,,	,,	Pundit Mankameshwar Nath.	do.	Rais, Lahore ...	do.
263	,,	,,	,,	Mirza Aziz Beg ...	Mahomedan.	Hakim ...	do.
264	,,	,,	,,	Munshi Nabi Buksh Khan.	do.	Editor, "Koh-i-noor" Lahore.	do.
265	,,	,,	,,	Moulvie Amir Buksh Sahib.	do.	Imam ...	do.

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266	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Moulvie Mohurrem Ali Chisti.	Mahomedan.	Editor and Proprietor, "Rafiq-Hind" Lahore.	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 10th December, 1893.
267	"	"	"	Mir Nisar Ali Shohrat.	do.	Journalist ...	do.
268	"	"	"	Syed Nazir Hussain Nazim.	do.	Poet, Lahore ...	do.
269	"	"	"	Mirza Golam Mahomed Sahib.	do.	Landholder ...	do.
270	"	"	"	Chowdhury Khoda Bux Sahib.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
271	"	"	"	Moulvie Seraj-ud-Din ...	do.	Imam, Chauhatta Musjid, Lahore.	do.
272	"	"	"	" Waliulla ...	do.	Proprietor, "Siddiqi Press" Lahore.	do.
273	"	"	"	Munshi Golam Mahomed.	do.	Rais ...	do.
274	"	"	"	Mian Serajuddin ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
275	"	"	"	Lala Dharam Das Suri.	Hindu Khettri.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
276	"	"	"	Babu Harish Chandra ...	Hindu Brahmin	Contractor ...	do.
277	"	"	"	" Ram Krishna ...	Hindu Arora.	Merchant ...	do.
278	"	"	"	Lala Ganpat Rai ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
279	"	"	"	" Shib Das ...	Hindu Khettri	Pleader ...	do.
280	"	"	"	Mr. Charles Goloknath, B.A., L.L.B.	Christian.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.	do.
281	"	"	"	Lala Ram Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Cloth Merchant, Dabi Bazar, Lahore.	do.
282	"	"	"	Bawa Surmukh Das ...	Sadhu.	Hindu Missionary ...	do.
283	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur Protul Chunder Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore and Fellow of the Punjab University.	do.
284	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand Manoktele.	Hindu Arora.	Proprietor, "Anglo-Sanskrit Press," Lahore.	do.
285	"	"	"	Lala Roshan Lal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Lahore ...	do.
286	"	"	"	" Ram Chand ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Manager, "Tribune," Lahore.	do.
287	"	"	"	" Hira Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Proprietor, "Ærated water Manufactory," Anarkali, Lahore.	do.
288	"	"	"	" Palaram Khannah,	do.	Proprietor "Khannah Brothers, Tailoring Company," Lahori-Gate, Lahore.	do.
289	"	"	"	Mr. Nogendra Nath Gupta.	Hindu Vaidya.	Editor, "Tribune," Lahore.	do.
290	"	"	"	Syed Safdar Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Munshi ...	do.
291	"	"	"	Munshi Kurim Buksh Khakar.	do.	do. ...	do.

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292	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Moulvie Kutub-ud-Din.	Mahomedan.	Late of Settlement Office and at present Private service.	At a Public meeting held at Lahore on the 10th December, 1893.
293	"	"	"	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	Hindu Khettri.	Physician ...	do.
294	"	"	"	" Kashi Nath Mehra.	do.	Proprietor, "Gold & Silver Manufactory," Lahore.	do.
295	"	"	"	" Manohur Lal ...	do.	Banker and Contractor.	do.
296	"	"	"	" Daya Ram ...	Hindu Arora.	Editor, "Aror Bans Prokash," Lahore.	do.
297	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, M.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor, D.A.V. College, Lahore.	do.
298	"	"	"	Lala Balmkund ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker, Landowner and Merchant.	do.
299	"	"	"	Seth Ram Dass ...	Hindu.	Contractor ...	do.
300	"	"	"	Lala Govind Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
301	"	"	"	Mr. M. C. Mukerji ...	Bengali Christian.	Professor, Mission College, Lahore.	do.
302	"	"	"	Dr. Parmanand ...	Arya Khettri.	Surgeon and Dentist ...	do.
303	"	"	"	Lala Khem Chand ...	Hindu Bhatiya.	Druggist ...	do.
304	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Roy, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
305	"	"	"	Babu Bama Pada Roy ...	do.	Rais ...	do.
306	"	"	"	" Shama Pada Roy ...	do.	do. ...	do.
307	"	"	"	" Megh Nath Banerjee.	do.	do. ...	do.
308	"	"	"	" Jai Gopal Sahib ...	Hindu.	Editor, Atab-i-Punjab ...	do.
309	"	"	"	Lala Hira Lal Kapur ...	do.	Proprietor, "Khettri Samachar."	do.
310	"	"	"	Sirdir Guru Charan Sing, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Sikh.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.	do.
311	"	"	"	Pundit Sham Lal, M.R.A.S.	Hindu.	do.	do.
312	"	"	"	Lala Nursing Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker ...	do.
313	"	"	"	" Sangam Lal ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.	do.
314	"	"	"	Babu Hari Ram Sahokar.	Hindu Arora.	Banker ...	do.
315	"	"	"	Lala Amir Chand ...	Hindu.	Contractor ...	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 24th December, 1893.
316	"	"	"	" Shankar Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	General Contractor, Lakkar Mandi, Wadda Werra, Lahore.	do.
317	"	"	"	Mian Abdul Karim ...	Mahomedan Pathan.	General Contractor, Campbellpur, District Rowalpindi.	do.

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318	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Syed Mahomed Shah ...	Mahomedan, Syed.	General Contractor, Campbellpur, District Rowalpindi.	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 24th December, 1893.
319	„	„	„	Pundit Ichra Chand ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Mukhtear ...	do.
320	„	„	„	Lala Ram Dyal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker ...	do.
321	„	„	„	„ Gobardhan Das ...	Hindu Bania.	do. ...	do.
322	„	„	„	Munshi Imamdin ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
323	„	„	„	Lala Ganda Mal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pensioner ...	do.
324	„	„	„	Munshi Fukhiruddin ...	Mahomedan.	Draftsman ...	do.
325	„	„	„	Lala Hakim Rai ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	do.
326	„	„	„	„ Dewan Chand ...	do.	Cloth Merchant, Anarkali, Lahore.	do.
327	„	„	„	Sheikh Amiruddin ...	Mahomedan.	Mukhtear ...	do.
328	„	„	„	Mian Mahomed Roushauddin.	do.	Bookseller ...	do.
329	„	„	„	Mirza Golam Hussain ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
330	„	„	„	Moulvie Ferozuddin ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
331	„	„	„	Mahomed Abdulla ...	do.	do. ...	do.
332	„	„	„	Munshi Serajuddin ...	do.	Khashnavis ...	do.
333	„	„	„	Sheikh Fateh Mahomed.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
334	„	„	„	Mian Fazaldin ...	do.	do. ...	do.
335	„	„	„	Munshi Ali Buksh ...	do.	Proprietor of a Tailor Shop.	do.
336	„	„	„	Mian Hakimdin ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
337	„	„	„	Hakim Mahomed Sherif.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
338	„	„	„	Lala Kaushi Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Shawl Merchant ...	do.
339	„	„	„	Mr. Beheman H. Khurshed.	Parsi.	Late Manager of Messrs Jahangir and Co., Lahore.	do.
340	„	„	„	Munshi Wali Mahomed.	Mahomedan.	Preacher ...	do.
341	„	„	„	Mr. Nagina Singh, B.A.	Sikh.	Tutor ...	do.
342	„	„	„	Lala Harbhagwan Das.	Hindu Khettri.	Mukhtear ...	do.
343	„	„	„	Syed Abdulla Shah ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
344	„	„	„	Dave Lachman Das Nagar.	Nagar Brahmin.	Rais and Zemindar, Mouza Thakoordwar, District Moradabad.	At a Meeting of the Nagar Brahmins at Lahore on the 25th December, 1893.

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345	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Lala Nand Lal ...	Hindu.	Merchant ...	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 26th December, 1893.
346	"	"	"	Pundit Basant Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
347	"	"	"	Babu Hari Krishna ...	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do.
348	"	"	"	Hazi Ahmed ...	Mahomedan.	Hakim ...	do.
349	"	"	"	Sirdir Anand Singh ...	Sikh.	Contractor ...	do.
350	"	"	"	Mr. M. E. Jassawalla ...	Parsee.	Merchant ...	do.
351	"	"	"	Lala Beni Prasad B. A.	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader ...	do.
352	"	"	"	" Jowala Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtear ...	do.
353	"	"	"	Sirdir Maya Sing Ahluwalya.	Sikh.	Professor ...	do.
354	"	"	"	Lala Totaram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Landholder ...	do.
355	"	"	Mooltan.	Mr. Ganesh Das ...	Hindu Arora.	Contractor, Mooltan ...	At a Public Meeting of the Residents of Mooltan held on the 18th December, 1893.
356	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Bowa Sarma.	Hindu Brahmin.	Purohit and Pundit ...	do.
357	"	"	"	Swami Brahmanundji ...	Hindu Mohunt.	President, "Dharma Sabha" Mooltan.	do.
358	"	"	"	Chaudhury Kriparam ...	Hindu Arora.	Halwai, Mar Subzi Mundi, Lahore.	do.
359	"	"	"	Pundit Thakurdat Sarma.	Hindu Brahmin.	Priest, Astrologer and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
360	"	"	"	Lala Chetan Anand, B. A.	Hindu Arora.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Mooltan.	do.
361	"	"	"	" Ishwar Das B. A. ...	do.	Mukhtear, Mooltan ...	do.
362	"	"	"	Mr. Rustomji Dadabhai.	Parsee.	Merchant ...	do.
363	"	"	"	Lala Parmanand ...	Arya Arora.	Pleader, Mooltan ...	do.
364	"	"	"	Babu Mohendra Nath Banerjee B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. do. ...	do.
365	"	"	"	Lala Vir Bhan ...	Hindu.	Pensioner and Secretary, "Sonatan Dharma Sabha" Mooltan.	do.
366	"	"	"	Mr. Praduman Singh ...	Hindu Sikh.	Pleader, Mooltan ...	do.
367	"	"	"	Lala Kishen Chand ...	Hindu.	Shopkeeper ...	At a Public Meeting held at Mooltan on the 22nd December, 1893.
368	"	"	"	" Hotoo Ram ...	do.	Contractor, Mooltan ...	do.
369	"	"	Abotabad.	Chowdhuri Thakur Das	Arya Khettri.	Shopkeeper, Abotabad, Hazara.	At a Public Meeting held at Abotabad on the 8th December, 1893.

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370	Punjab.	Lahore.	Abotabad.	Lala Dhani Ram ...	Vedic Khettri.	Merchant, Abotabad, Hazara.	At a Public Meeting held at Abotabad on the 8th December, 1893.
371	"	"	"	" Uttam Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	Abotabad, Hazara ...	do.
372	"	"	"	Bukshi Bishen Dass F.T.	Vedic Muhyal.	Head Master, "Albert Victor Anglo-Sanskrit School, Abotabad.	do.
373	"	"	"	Lala Nathu Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Mookhtari Adalot, Abotabad, Hazara.	do.
374	"	"	Jhelum.	" Harbhagwan Das, L. L.	Hindu Arya Khettri.	Pleader, Jhelum ...	By a Public Meeting held at Jhelum on the 21st December, 1893.
375	"	"	"	Mr. Bishen Das ...	Hindu Arya.	Mukhtear and Member, Municipal Board, Jhelum.	do.
376	"	"	"	Lala Fateh Chand ...	Hindu Ubrai Khettri.	Pleader, Jhelum ...	do.
377	"	"	Pind Dadan Khan.	Mr. Ram Saran ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Mukhtear ...	Elected by the people of the place on the 24th December, 1893.
378	"	"	Ludhiana.	Lala Labhoo Ram Nagar	Arya Khettri.	Sugar Merchant and Assistant Secretary, Arya Samaj and Temperance Society, Ludhiana.	By a Public Meeting held at Ludhiana on the 8th December, 1893.
379	"	"	"	" Sanwan Mall Sahib	Hindu Khettri.	Trader and Landowner	do.
380	"	"	"	" Shib Dyal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
381	"	"	"	" Chint Ram Mohindar.	Arya Sudra.	Cloth Merchant ...	do.
382	"	"	"	" Mansa Ram ...	Arya Bania Agarwal.	Pleader and Member, "Theosophical Society," Ludhiana.	do.
383	"	"	"	" Kishori Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker and Proprietor of the Firm of Messrs Banka Rai Chandoo Lal and K. L. M. Rai Company, Ludhiana.	do.
384	"	"	"	" Nathu Mall ...	do.	Pensioner, Rahoon, District Jullunder.	do.
385	"	"	"	" Khusi Ram ...	Hindu Bhabru.	Pansari (Drug Seller) ...	do.
386	"	"	"	Babu Ram Nath ...	Hindu Khettri.	Proprietor of the Firm of Messrs R. N. Choopra Brothers, Ludhiana.	do.
387	"	"	"	Lala Umrao Singh ...	Arya Khettri.	Banker, Landholder and Secretary, Arya Samaj and Temperance Society, Ludhiana.	do.
388	"	"	"	Mian Abdul Guffar Khan	Mahomedan Pathan.	General Army Contractor and Proprietor, Punjab Manufacturing Co., Ludhiana.	do.
389	"	"	"	Lala Ram Rattan ...	Hindu Bania Agarwal.	Pleader and Vice-President, Arya Samaj, Ludhiana.	do.

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390	Punjab.	Lahore.	Ludhiana.	Lala Gopi Mall ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held at Ludhiana on the 8th December, 1893.
391	,,	,,	,,	Babu Shib Saran Das ...	Hindu Arya.	Rais, Contractor and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
392	,,	,,	,,	Sirdir Gajjan Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore and Secretary, Funeral and Marriage Committee and District Congress Committee; Member, Khalsa College Committee and Vice-President, Goordnara Committee &c.	do.
393	,,	,,	,,	Lala Durga Dutt ...	Hindu Bania Agarwal.	Pleader, President District Congress Committee and Vice-President, Temperance Society &c.	do.
394	,,	,,	,,	,, Thakurdas ...	Hindu Khettri.	Writer ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ludhiana on the 20th December, 1893.
395	,,	,,	,,	,, Fateh Chand B.A., LL.B., Cambridge.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Ajmere.	do.
396	,,	,,	,,	,, Shadi Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker ...	do.
397	,,	,,	,,	,, Lajpat Rai ...	Hindu.	Contractor ...	do.
398	,,	,,	,,	Babu Amar Nath Sahib	do.	Rais and Contractor ...	do.
399	,,	,,	,,	Lala Lahouri Mal ...	Hindu.	Landowner and Proprietor of Workshops.	do.
400	,,	,,	,,	,, Ama Dutt ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Rais, Amritsar ...	do.
401	,,	,,	Dera Ismail Khan.	Mian Sahara ...	Mahomedan.	Physician and Druggist, Dera Ismail Khan.	At a Public Meeting held at Dera Ismail Khan on the 14th December 1893.
402	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Jhind Ram ...	Arya Khettri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore and Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee, Dera Ismail Khan.	do.
403	,,	,,	,,	Lala Hira Nand Saibgal	do.	Mukhtear and Vice-President, "Bhratri Sabha," Dera Ismail Khan.	do.
404	,,	,,	,,	Malik Bhagwan Das Kapur.	do.	Zemindar, Pleader and President, "Bhratri Sabha," Dera Ismail Khan.	do.
405	,,	,,	,,	Malik Kaura Khan ...	Mahomedan Biloch.	Zemindar, Kulochi, District Dera Ismail Khan.	do.
406	,,	,,	,,	Lala Chiman Lal ...	Arya Arora.	Physician, Druggist and Proprietor of "the Medical Hall," Dera Ismail Khan.	do.

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407	Punjab.	Lahore.	Dera Ismail Khan.	Lala Lilaram Nandwani.	Arya Arora.	Zemindar, and late Editor, "Bhratri Risala."	At a Public Meeting held at Dera Ismail Khan on the 14th December, 1893.
408	,,	,,	,,	Bhagat Shivdyal ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Guru, (Ecclasiastic) ...	do.
409	,,	,,	Gujranwalla.	Lala Dhani Ram B.A., L.L.B.,	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Gujranwalla ...	At a Public Meeting held at Gujranwalla on the 17th December, 1893.
410	,,	,,	,,	Lala Jivan Kishen ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader and Vice-President, Municipal Board, Gujranwalla.	do.
411	,,	,,	,,	,, Sunder Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Mukhtear ...	do.
412	,,	,,	,,	,, Gokul Chand ...	do.	Contractor, Jandiala, Sherkhan, Gujranwalla District.	do.
413	,,	,,	,,	Sirdir Harsa Singh ...	Sikh.	do. ...	do.
414	,,	,,	,,	,, Chet Singh ...	do.	Merchant, Jandiala, Sherkhan, Gujranwalla District.	do.
415	,,	,,	,,	Lala Gunga Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Gujranwalla ...	do.
416	,,	,,	,,	Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, B.A.	Bengali Christian.	Head Master, Mission High School, Gujranwalla.	do.
417	,,	,,	,,	Lala Mela Ram Talwar	Hindu Khettri.	Rais and Zemindar ...	do.
418	,,	,,	,,	,, Gian Chand Chopra	do.	Rais and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
419	,,	,,	,,	,, Kahan Chand ...	Hindu Arora.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Secretary, "Aror Bans Sabha," Gujranwalla.	do.
420	,,	,,	Montgomery.	Pundit Saligram ...	Hindu Kashmiri Pundit.	Pleader, Montgomery ...	At a Public Meeting held at Montgomery on the 22nd December, 1893.
421	,,	,,	,,	Lala Shib Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	do. ...	do.
422	,,	,,	,,	Sett Ram Ditta ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
423	,,	,,	Jhang.	Munshi Amir Chand Trikha.	Hindu Brahmin.	Mukhtear, Jhang ...	By a Public Meeting held at Jhang on the 12th December, 1893.
424	,,		,,	Munshi Devi Dyal ...	Hindu Arora.	Zemindar and Banker ...	do.
425	,,	,,	,,	Mian Golam Hussain ...	Mahomedan.	Manager of the Estate of late Nowab Ismail Khan.	do.
426	,,	,,	,,	Lala Kashi Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader and Member, Municipal Board, Mooltan.	do.
427	,,	,,	,,	Lala Lal Chand ...	Hindu Arora.	Pleader, Meghiana ...	do.
428	,,	,,	,,	Chowdhury Ramlal ...	do.	Zemindar and Merchant	do.

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429	Punjab.	Lahore.	Jullundur.	Lala Ram Kishen ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Jullundur ...	By a Public Meeting held at Jullundur on the 9th December, 1893.
430	"	"	"	Pundit Chhugga Ram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
431	"	"	"	Sirdir Surjan Singh ...	Sikh.	Munshi, Kharkat Kalan	do.
432	"	"	"	Lala Mohun Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker and Zemindar, Basti Shaikh, Jullundur.	do.
433	"	"	"	Mr. Kali Prasanna Chatterjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Sub-Editor, "Tribune" Lahore.	do.
434	"	"	"	Sirdir Kishen Singh ...	Sikh.	Mukhtear, Jullundur ...	do.
435	"	"	"	Bawa Salamat Rai ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, do. ...	do.
436	"	"	"	Syed Najib Ali Shah ...	Mahomedan Syed.	Zemindar, Basti Shaikh, Jullundur District.	do
437	"	"	"	Rai Saligram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Rais, Municipal Commissioner, Hony. Magistrate and Landholder, Jullundur.	do.
438	"	"	"	Pundit Devi Chand ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
439	"	"	"	Lala Dev Raj ...	Arya Khettri.	Zemindar, Jullundur City	do.
440	"	"	"	" Munshi Ram ...	do.	Pleader and Editor, "Satdharma Pracharak" and President, "Arya Pratinidhi Sabha."	do.
441	"	"	"	Pundit Sheo Narain ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Jullundur City	do.
442	"	"	"	Raizada Bhagat Ram ...	Arya Khettri.	Barrister-at-Law, Jullundur City.	do.
443	"	"	"	Sirdir Uttam Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader ...	do.
444	"	"	"	Mr. Madan Gopal ...	Hindu Khettri.	do. ...	do.
445	"	"	"	Lala Gajjar Mal ...	do.	Banker and Editor of the "Bharat Sewak" and Secretary, Purity Association, Jullundur.	do.
446	"	"	"	" Gokul Chand ...	do.	Mukhtear, Jullundur City	do.
447	"	"	"	" Ram Nath ...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held at Jullundur on the 24th December, 1893.
448	"	"	"	" Narain Das B.A. L.L.B.	Hindu Bania.	Pleader, Jullundur Cantonment.	do.
449	"	"	Shahpur Bhera.	Babu Brij Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Shahpur ...	By a Public Meeting held at Shahpur on the 17th December, 1893.
450	"	"	"	Lala Shankar Das Sahib	do.	do. ...	do.
451	"	"	"	" Gandat Mal ...	do.	Teacher, English School and Secretary, Arya Samaj, Bhera.	do.

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452	Punjab.	Lahore.	Shahpur Bhera.	Lala Hans Raj Sewhney	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Rawalpindi and Secretary, Managing Committee, A. S. High School, Bhera.	By a Public Meeting held at Shahpur on the 17th December, 1893.
453	"	"	"	" Parmeshwari Sahai	Thiest Kayastha.	Teacher, A. S. High School, Bhera.	do.
454	"	"	"	Bakshi Ram Labhaye ...	Hindu Khettri.	Proprietor, "Dost Hind" and "Wilson Press," Bhera and late P. Secretary to H. H. The Maharaja of Kashmir.	do.
455	"	"	"	Malik Ram Das Anand	Arya Khettri.	Contractor, Bhera ...	do.
456	"	"	"	Lala Bhagwan Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	do. ...	By a Public Meeting held at Shahpur on the 18th December, 1893.
457	"	"	"	Sant Prabhu Dyal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Jammu and Kashmir.	do.
458	"	"	"	Lala Jivan Mal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker and Contractor, Bhera.	do.
459	"	"	"	Lala Bhagat Ram Seth	do.	Merchant ...	do.
460	"	"	"	" Hari Ram Chopra	do.	Banker ...	do.
461	"	"	"	" Lal Chand Mehra ...	do.	Mukhtear, Bhera ...	do.
462	"	"	"	" Beliram ...	Hindu.	Petition Writer, 1st grade	do.
463	"	"	"	" Muthra Das ...	do.	Late Munsiff, now a Pensioner, Bhera.	do.
464	"	"	Peshwar.	Babu Sheo Shahai ...	Arya Khettri.	Continental Agent ...	By a Public Meeting held at Peshwar on the 22nd December, 1893.
465	"	"	"	Pundit Mul Chand ...	Vedic Brahmin.	Pleader, Peshwar ...	do.
466	"	"	"	Sirdir Sunder Singh ...	Sikh.	do. ...	do.
467	"	"	"	Lala Mulchand Lomba ...	Vedic Khettri.	Rais and Landholder ...	do.
468	"	"	"	Dr. Sitaram ...	Vedic Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
469	"	"	"	Mr. B. M. Amoria ...	Parsi.	Merchant, Rawalpindi ...	do.
470	"	"	"	Mr. Boga ...	do.	do. ...	do.
471	"	"	"	Lala Mahesh Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker, Rais and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
472	"	"	"	" Harji Mall ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
473	"	"	"	Mr. Dadabhai ...	Parsi.	Merchant ...	do.
474	"	"	Gujrat.	Lala Ganesh Das ...	Hindu Arya.	General Contractor and Money-lender.	At a Public Meeting held at Gujrat on the 11th December, 1893.
475	"	"	"	" Bishwambhar Das.	do.	Pleader, Gujrat ...	do.
476	"	"	"	Bawa Shiv Dyal ...	Sikh.	Mukhtear ...	do.

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477	Punjab.	Lahore.	Gujrat.	Lala Niranjan Dar ...	Hindu Vedic.	Pleader, Gujrat ...	At a Public Meeting held at Gujrat on the 11th December, 1893.
478	„	„	„	„ Thakur Das ...	Hindu.	Mukhtear ...	do.
479	„	„	„	Sirdir Meher Singh ...	Sikh.	Government Pensioner	do.
480	„	„	Rawalpindi.	Lala Devi Ditta Mall ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant, City Rawalpindi.	By a Public Meeting held at Rawalpindi on the 10th December, 1893.
481	„	„	„	„ Bhagat Ram Sahai.	do.	Zemindar of Bhera, (Shahpur District.)	do.
482	„	„	„	Hakim Nand Lal Sethi.	Arya. Khettri	Munshi, Rawalpindi ...	do.
483	„	„	„	Lala Maya Das Sawhuy.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Zemindar.	do.
484	„	„	„	Pundit Shivram Jhingan.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader's Agent, Rawalpindi City.	do.
485	„	„	„	Mehta Kripa Ram ...	Arya Khettri.	Proprietor of the "Himalaya Press," City Rawalpindi.	do.
486	„	„	„	Mr. Bhagat Kishen Chand	Kalal.	Pensioner and Rais ...	do.
487	„	„	„	Dr. B. R. Sawhuy, M.B., B.S., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.	Hindu Khettri.	Medical Practitioner, Rawalpindi City.	do.
488	„	„	„	Mr. G. R. Sawhuy ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
489	„	„	„	Lala Ganes Das Sethi ...	do.	Sowkar ...	do.
490	„	„	„	Mr. Pestonji Dadabhai ...	Parsi.	Pleader, Rawalpindi Cantonment.	do.
491	„	„	„	Chowdhuri Batamal Anand	Hindu Khettri.	Proprietor of the "Gulshan Punjab Press."	do.
492	„	„	„	Lala Gurdas Ram Chudda.	Hindu Arya.	Sowkar ...	do.
493	„	„	„	Lala Jagannath Sethi	do.	Contractor ...	do.
494	„	„	„	„ Govind Ram Sethi.	do.	Iron Merchant ...	do.
495	„	„	„	„ Hari Ram Sethi ...	do.	Showkar ...	do.
496	„	„	„	„ Radha Kishen Sethi.	do.	Merchant and Contractor	do.
497	„	„	„	„ Prabhu Dyal Kali ...	Hindu Khettri.	Rais and Munshi ...	do.
498	„	„	„	„ Hari Ram Puri ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
499	„	„	„	Jivaram Thakur ...	do.	Merchant and Proprietor of the "Agerton Press," "The Punjab Times" and the "Taj-ul-Akbar" Cantonment, Rawalpindi.	do.
500	„	„	„	Mr. Hem Chunder Mukerjee, L.L.	Bengali Christian.	Pleader, Rawalpindi City.	do.
501	„	„	Ferozepur.	Sirdir Gurmukh Sing, B.A.	Jat, Sikh.	Pleader, Ferozepur City.	At a Public Meeting held at Ferozepur City on the 17th December, 1893.
502	„	„	„	„ Chanda Singh Bhind	do.	do.	do.
503	„	„	„	Lala Mukunda Lal Sandhi, B.A.	Hindu Khettri.	do.	do.

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504	Punjab.	Lahore.	Ferozepur.	Mr. Nathaniel Prem Das.	Christian.	Missionary, American Mission, Ferozepur City.	At a Public Meeting held at Ferozepur City on the 17th December, 1893.
505	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Ram, B.A. ...	Hindu Khettri	Pleader ...	do.
506	"	"	"	" Bhava Ram, B.A. ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Mukhtear ...	do.
507	"	"	"	" Behari Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant and Contractor	do.
508	"	"	"	" Kishen Lal ...	Hindu Agarwal.	do.	do.
509	"	"	"	" Jethu Mal ...	Hindu Vaisya.	do.	do.
510	"	"	"	Sirdir Atma Singh ...	Sikh.	Contractor, Flour Mills, Ferozepur.	do.
511	"	"	"	Lala Durga Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Manager, Ginning Factory, Kasur.	do.
512	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Ram ...	do.	Pleader, and Proprietor of Ginning Factories at Kasur, Okara and Housi; Member and Hony. Secretary, Municipal Committee, Ferozepur City.	do.
513	"	"	"	" Gridhari Lal ...	do.	Sowkar, Ferozepur City.	do.
514	"	"	"	" Shankar Das ...	do.	Sowkar and Municipal Commissioner, Ferozepur City.	do.
515	"	"	"	" Ram Nath ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
516	"	"	"	" Ram Sukh Das ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Pleader and Landowner.	do.
517	"	"	"	" Din Dyal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	do.
518	"	"	"	" Harzi Ram ...	Hindu.	do. ...	do.
519	"	"	"	" Nanak Chand ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Sub-Agent, Messrs Bryan Durant & Co's Agency, Ferozepur City.	do.
520	"	"	Hoshiarpur.	Babu Hira Ram, L.L. ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	By a Public Meeting held at Hoshiarpur on the 10th December, 1893.
521	"	"	"	Lala Thakur Das Varma.	Arya.	do. ...	do.
522	"	"	"	Sheikh Umar Buksh, B.A.	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Vice-President, Anjuman Islamia, Hoshiarpur.	do.
523	"	"	"	Lala Bir Bal Vaid ...	Hindu	Zemindar, Money-lender and President, Hoshiarpur Peoples' Association.	do.
524	"	"	"	Lala Amar Chand, L.L.	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader ...	do.
525	"	"	"	Pundit Jagannath, L.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
526	"	"	"	Lala Thakur Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Zemindar and Money-lender.	do.

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527	Punjab.	Lahore.	Hoshiarpur.	Mr. Ram Chand Sarma.	Arya Brahmin.	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held at Hoshiarpur on the 10th December, 1893.
528	„	„	„	Lala Fateh Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	Zemindar and Money-lender.	do.
529	„	„	„	„ Puran Chand ...	Hindu.	Grain Merchant, Hoshiarpur.	do.
530	„	„	„	Pundit Tulsi Ram ...	Arya.	Mukhtear and Zemindar.	do.
531	„	„	„	Sadhu Tulsi Ram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Preacher ...	do.
532	„	„	„	Lala Gajjar Mal ...	Hindu.	Banker and Zemindar ...	do.
533	„	„	„	„ Narain Das, L.L. ...	Hindu Kalal.	Pleader, Merchant and Zemindar.	do.
534	„	„	„	„ Sham Das, L.L. ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
535	„	„	„	Seth Suraj Mall ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
536	„	„	„	Pundit Budri Nath ...	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Mukhtear, Hoshiarpur ...	do.
537	„	„	Sialkote.	Lala Labha Mall ...	Arya Bhatia.	Pleader and Public Prosecutor, Sialkote.	By a Public Meeting held at Sialkote on the 13th December, 1893.
538	„	„	„	„ Charan Das ...	Hindu.	Mukhtear, Sialkote ...	do.
539	„	„	„	„ Balmukund ...	do.	Teacher, American Mission School, Sialkote.	do.
540	„	„	„	Bhai Hazra Singh ...	Sikh.	Banker, Sialkote ...	do.
541	„	„	„	Lala Bhim Sen ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Sialkote ...	do.
542	„	„	„	Sirdir Ganda Singh Uberoi.	Sikh.	Proprietor "Punjab Sports Works," Sialkote.	do.
543	„	„	„	Lala Sawan Mal ...	Jain.	Banker ...	do.
544	„	„	„	Pundit Mul Raj ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor and Proprietor "Sanatan Dharma Gazette."	do.
545	„	„	„	Bhai Ludha Singh ...	Sikh.	Teacher, American Mission School, Sialkote.	do.
546	„	„	„	Lala Karta Kishen ...	Arya Kayastha.	Pleader ...	do.
547	„	„	„	Pundit Shankar Das ...	Hindu. Brahmin	do. ...	do.
548	„	„	Hissar.	Lala Gouri Shankar ...	Hindu	Banker ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December, 1893.
549	„	„	„	„ Ram Chandra ...	do.	do. ...	do.
550	„	„	„	Pundit Deo Dutt Sarma.	do.	Teacher, Sanskrit Pathasala, Hissar.	do.
551	„	„	„	Mr. Churamani, L.L. ...	Arya Vaisya. Agarwal.	Pleader ...	do.
552	„	„	Dharamsala.	Bukshi Sohun Lal ...	Arya Mahajan.	Pleader, Landholder and Member, Dharamsala Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at Dharamsala on the 5th December, 1893.

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553	Punjab.	Lahore.	Dharamsala.	Lala Sukh Dayal, L.L. ...	Arya Mahajan.	Pleader, Landholder and Vice-President, Dharamsala Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at Dharamsala on the 5th December, 1893.
554	"	"	Kangra.	" Brij Lal, B.A. ...	do.	Mukhtear ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kangra on the 17th December, 1893.
555	"	"	Gurdaspur.	" Guru Charan Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Zemindar and President, Municipal Committee, Gurdaspur.	At a Public Meeting held at Gurdaspur on the 9th December, 1893.
556	"	"	"	Pundit Meghan Ram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
557	"	"	"	Mr. Ranji Shah ...	Hindu Shewalia	Sowkar, Gurdaspur ...	do.
558	"	"	"	Chowdhuri Nathu Mal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Sowkar and Landholder.	do.
559	"	"	"	" Jivan Mal ...	Hindu Joshi Brahmin.	Chowdhuri Bazar, Gurdaspur.	do.
560	"	"	"	Lala Vir Bhan ...	Hindu Khettri.	Landholder ...	do.
561	"	"	"	" Mohun Lal ...	Hindu.	Munshi ...	do.
562	"	"	"	" Muta Mal ...	Hindu Saini.	Mukhtear and Landholder.	do.
563	"	"	"	Bawa Sunder Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader ...	do.
564	"	"	"	~~Dewan~~ Rallia Ram Bali.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
565	"	"	"	Lala Ram Saran Das ...	Hindu Arya.	Pleader and Landholder.	do.
566	"	"	"	" Das Mal Mehta ...	Hindu Khettri.	Contractor, Dinanagore, District Gurdaspur.	do.
567	"	"	"	" Nathuram Sowkar.	Hindu Arya Alawalia.	Sowkar, Pandori, Banisan, Gurdaspur.	do.
568	"	"	"	Sheikh Nabi Buksh ...	Mahomedan Sheikh.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
569	"	"	"	Mr. Nanak Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant, Dinanagore, District Gurdaspur.	At a Public Meeting held at Gurdaspur on the 10th December, 1893.
570	"	"	"	Lala Bhava Mal ...	Hindu Mahajan.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner, Dinanagore.	do.
571	"	"	"	" Shib Dyal Talwar ...	Hindu Khettri.	Mukhtear and Revenue Agent, Gurdaspur.	do.
572	"	"	"	" Kashmira Mal ...	do.	Merchant, Dinanagore ...	do.
573	"	"	Umballa.	Lala Ramsaran Das ...	Hindu Vaisya Agarwal.	Mukhtear, Umballa ...	At a Public Meeting held at Umballa on the 19th December 1895
574	"	"	"	" Than Singh ...	do.	Contractor and Proprietor of "Upper India Steam Flour Mills," Umballa.	do.
575	"	"	"	" Hari Singh ...	do.	Contractor, Banker, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner, 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.
576	Punjab.	Lahore.	Umballa.	Lala Karam Chand ...	Hindu Arya Agarwal.	Contractor, Umballa ...	At a Public Meeting held at Umballa on the 19th December, 1893.
577	„	„	„	„ Tilak Chand ...	do.	Pleader, Umballa ...	do.
578	„	„	„	„ Lachmi Ram	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Umballa.	do.
579	„	„	„	Pundit Brij Mohun Dattatriya.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Journalist ...	do.
580	„	„	„	Babu Durga Churn Mookerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical practitioner ...	do.
581	„	„	„	Babu Shyama Churn Mookerjee.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
582	„	„	„	Lala Janki Prasad ...	Hindu Vaisya Agarwal.	Co-proprietor, "Upper India Steam Flour Mills" Umballa.	do.
583	„	„	„	Mr. G. Law ...	Christian	Retired Medical Service	do.
584	„	„	„	Mahomed Fazil ...	Mahomedan	Assistant, "Upper India Steam Flour Mills," Umballa.	do.
585	„	„	„	Babu Khirode Chunder Chatterjee B.A. B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Umballa City ...	At a Public Meeting held at Umballa on the 20th December, 1893.
586	„	„	„	Munshi Abdul Kadir Tayaf.	Mahomedan.	Journalist ...	do.
587	„	„	„	Lala Gopal Das, B.A. ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Pleader, Umballa ...	do.
588	„	„	„	Pundit Shahzada Ram ...	Hindu. Brahmin.	do.	do.
589	„	„	„	Lala Dwarka Das, M.A.	Hindu Vaisya Agarwal	do.	do.
590	„	„	„	Pundit Madhuram, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
591	„	„	„	Lala Murlidhar ...	Hindu Agarwal.	do.	do.
592	„	„	Amritsar	„ Gopaldas Sahib ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	At a General Meeting held at Amritsar on the 10th December, 1893.
593	„	„	„	„ Nathu Mal Khalsa.	Hindu Khettri.	Zemindar and Quanango.	do.
594	„	„	„	Pundit Kashmira Mal Sahib.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
595	„	„	„	Lala Ram Nath ...	Hindu Khettri.	Sowkar ...	do.
596	„	„	„	Pundit Behari Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	do.
597	„	„	„	Lala Shib Churn Das, B.A.	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader ...	do.
598	„	„	„	Roy Baldeo Das ...	Hindu Bania.	Shawl Merchant ...	do.
599	„	„	„	Lala Sadhu Ram ...	Hindu Arya.	do.	do.

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600	Punjab.	Lahore.	Amritsar.	Pundit Ram Rattan Sahib.	Hindu Brahmin.	Jagirdar and Sowkar ...	At a General Meeting held at Amritsar on the 10th December, 1893.
601	„	„	„	Lala Dina Nath ...	Hindu Khettri.	Mukhtear ...	do.
602	„	„	„	„ Gyan Chand ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
603	„	„	„	Babu Jagannath ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
604	„	„	„	„ Shibdas Kapur, B.A.	Hindu Kapur.	Banker, Bazar Harising, Amritsar.	do.
605	„	„	„	„ Murlidhar ...	Hindu Agarwal.	Lawyer and Secretary, Bar Room, Amritsar.	do.
606	„	„	„	Chowdhury Ghasita Mal.	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	do.
607	„	„	„	Bawa Basant Singh ...	Sikh.	Mukhtear, Amritsar ...	do.
608	„	„	„	Babu Chatturbhuj Sahib.	Hindu Meheshin.	Pleader ...	do.
609	„	„	„	Lala Asar Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Zemindar ...	do.
610	„	„	„	Babu Radharam Sahib ...	Hindu Arora.	Lawyer ...	do.
611	„	„	„	Lala Nandlal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Hakim ...	do.
612	„	„	„	„ Sunder Das Sahib ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
613	„	„	„	Bhai Dinga Singh ...	Sikh.	Mukhtear, Amritsar ...	do.
614	„	„	„	Sirdir Pertap Singh ...	do.	Timber Merchant ...	do.
615	„	„	„	Mr. B. Harnum Singh ...	Sikh.	Merchant and Contractor.	do.
616	„	„	„	Lala Shib Das Mal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Sowkar ...	do.
617	„	„	„	Bawa Makhan Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader ...	do.
618	„	„	„	Lala Ram Chand Sahib.	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Amritsar ...	do.
619	„	„	„	Babu Gossain Lal ...	do.	Mukhtear ...	do.
620	„	„	„	Lala Shib Dyal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
621	„	„	„	Bhai Mahatab Singh Sahib.	Hindu Arora.	Banker, Vice-President, "Trade Association" and Secretary, "Aror Bans Sabha", Amritsar.	do.
622	„	„	„	Bhai Govind Singh ...	Sikh.	Merchant and President, "Trade Association," Amritsar.	do.
623	„	„	„	Lala Sukh Dyal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	do.
624	„	„	„	„ Dewan Chand ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
625	„	„	„	„ Gunga Bishen ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
626	„	„	„	Babu Balmukund ...	do.	Proprietor, Soap Factory, Amritsar.	do.
627	„	„	„	Lala Ram Chand Sarup.	do.	Banker ...	do.
628	„	„	„	Bawa Narain Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader ...	do.

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629	Punjab.	Lahore.	Amritsar.	Lala Joy Kishen Das ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	At a General Meeting held at Amritsar on the 10th December, 1893.
630	„	„	„	Pundit Mulraj ...	Hindu. Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law ..	do.
631	„	„	„	Mr. Todar Mal ...	Hindu Khettri.	do. ...	do.
632	„	„	„	Lala Rela Mal ...	do.	Cloth Merchant ...	do.
633	„	„	„	Lala Ram Chand ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
634	„	„	„	„ Bishen Das ...	do.	Hakim ...	do.
635	„	„	„	„ Amolak Ram ...	do.	Banker, Bazar Sirki Bandan, Harbhaj Rai's Temple, Amritsar.	do.
636	„	„	„	„ Kanahye Lal ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
637	„	„	„	„ Jwalanund ...	do.	.....	do.
638	„	„	„	„ Hardyal Sitiwala ...	do.	Trader ...	do.
639	„	„	„	Sirdir Golab Singh ...	Sikh.	Jagirdar ...	do.
640	„	„	„	„ Shib Nath Roy Sahib.	Hindu Brahmin.	Jagirdar of Shib Nath Roy Pura.	do.
641	„	„	„	Mohunt Harnum Singh.	Sikh.	Mohunt, Amritsar ...	do.
642	„	„	„	Lala Devi Dyal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Mukhtear ...	do.
643	„	„	„	Sirdir Rachpal Singh Pandariwala.	Sikh.	Jagirdar and Zemindar ...	do.
644	„	„	„	Lala Nehal Chand ...	Hindu Bania.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
645	„	„	„	Mr. Mohun Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
646	„	„	„	Pundit Ruplal ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
647	„	„	„	Lala Ralya Ram ...	Hindu Khettri.	Contractor ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amritsar on the 15th December, 1893.
648	„	„	„	Moulvie Niazali Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Editor of the "Amritsar Gazette, and "Wakil Punjab," Proprietor of the "Wakil-Punjab Press" and Bookseller.	do.
649	„	„	„	Lala Dooney Chand, M.A.	Hindu Arora.	Mukhtear, Amritsar ...	At a General Meeting held at Amritsar on the 23rd December, 1893.
650	„	„	„	Mr. Nathu Singh ...	Sikh.	Trader ..	do.
651	„	„	„	Mr. Mody. B. Hormusji.	Parsi.	Merchant ...	do.
652	„	„	„	Mrs. Mody. B. Hormusji.	do.	.....	do.
653	„	„	„	Mr. Ram Rattan ...	Hindu Khettri.	Commission Agent ...	do.
654	„	„	„	Mr. Guruditta Mal ...	do.	... ..	do.
655	„	„	„	Lala Bhagat Ram ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
656	„	„	„	Mr. Kripa Ram ...	do.	Broker	do.

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657	Punjab.	Lahore.	Amritsar.	Babu Karam Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	Merchant ...	At a General Meeting held at Amritsar on the 23rd December, 1893.
658	„	„	„	„ Prithvi Chand ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
659	„	„	„	Lala Jaswant Rai ...	Hindu.	Private Service ...	do.
660	„	„	„	Bhai Ontam Singh ...	Arora.	Banker and Merchant ...	do.
661	„	„	„	Lala Mul Chand ...	Hindu Khettri.	Banker, Phulanwala Chauk, Amritsar.	do.
662	„	„	„	Pundit Devi Das ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Physician, Amritsar ...	do.
663	„	„	„	Mr. Mangu Mal ...	Hindu Bania.	Banker and Shawl Merchant.	do.
664	„	„	Kasur.	Lala Bhowani Shankar ...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 20th December, 1893.
665	„	„	„	„ Banki Mal ...	do.	Sowkar ...	do.
666	„	„	„	„ Chunni Lal ...	Hindu Khettri.	Sowkar and Zemindar ...	do.
667	„	„	Quetta (Beluchistan.)	Sirdir Hukum Singh ...	Sikh.	Contractor ...	At a Public Meeting held at Quetta on the 24th December, 1893.
668	„	„	„	Mr. Jamsetji Edulji Captain.	Parsi.	Merchant ...	do.
669	„	„	„	Mirza Niaz Mahomed ...	Mahomedan.	do. ...	do.
670	„	„	„	Mr. Jamsetji Sorabji Vania.	Parsi.	Contractor ...	do.
671	„	„	„	Mr. Ardeshere Ruttanji Garwalla.	do.	Contractor and Merchant.	do.
672	„	„	„	Sirdir Amrit Singh ...	Sikh.	do. ...	do.
673	„	„	„	„ Harnum Singh ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
674	Bombay.	Sindh.	Kurrachee.	Mr. Shivandas Noomal, B.A.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Kurrachee ...	Elected at a Meeting of the Congress Committee held at Kurrachee on the 21st December, 1893.
675	„	„	„	Mr. Tahilram Khemchand, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Kurrachee.	do.
676	„	„	„	Mr. Asanund Tejbhandas, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Kurrachee ...	do.
677	„	„	„	Mr. Lalchand Hasamal, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Amil.	do. ...	do.
678	„	„	„	Mr. Lalchand Pahlagrai.	Hindu.	Cashier, Agra Bank, Kurrachee.	At a meeting of the Sindh Sabha held at Kurrachee on the 20th December, 1893.
679	„	„	„	Mr. Revachand Ramrukhmal.	do.	Merchant, Kurrachee ...	do.
680	„	„	„	Mr. Basarmal Tarachand.	do.	do. ...	do.
681	„	„	„	Mr. Deolmal Dowlagram, B.A.	do.	.....	do.

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682	Bombay.	Sindh.	Kurrachee.	Professor Naik ...	Hindu.	Professor, D. J. Sindh College, Kurrachee.	At a meeting of the Sindh Sabha held at Kurrachee on the 20th December, 1893.
683	,,	,,	,,	Professor Bejwade ...	do.	do. ...	do.
684	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Boolchand Doyaram, B.A.	do.	Landlord, Capitalist, Former Fellow, Wilson College and Editor, "Sindh Times."	do.
685	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Sahib Singh Chandsingh Shahani, M.A.	do.	Professor, Wilson College, Bombay.	do.
686	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Chatur Singh Ailmal.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader, Hyderabad, (Sindh.)	do.
687	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Pribhdas Shewakram Adrani.	Hindu.	Manager, "Hiranand Academy" Hyderabad (Sindh.)	do.
688	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Wadhamal Bellaram.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sindh.)	do.
689	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Manjhanmal Kundanmal.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Hyderabad (Sindh.)	do.
690	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Lekhraj Tilakchand.	Hindu.	Editor, "Prabhat", Hyderabad (Sindh.)	do.
691	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Jhamatmal Vasanmal.	do.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sindh.)	do.
692	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Lilaram Jethmal, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	do. ...	do.
693	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Thakurdas Khemchand.	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Merchant, Hyderabad (Sindh.)	do.
694	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Atmaram Thannwardas.	Hindu Amil.	Contractor, Hyderabad, (Sindh.)	do.
695	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Thawerdas Ramchand-	do.	Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner, Hyderabad, (Sindh.)	do.
696	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Hiranand Khem Singh, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader and President of the Municipality, Hyderabad, (Sindh.)	do.
697	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Muthradas Ramchand B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Hyderabad, (Sindh.)	do.
698	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Jevatram Alimchand, L.M.S.	Hindu Amil.	Medical Practitioner, Hyderabad, (Sindh.)	do.
699	,,	,,	,,	Seth Chuharsingh Depsing Lala.	Hindu.	Contractor, Shikarpur, (Sindh.)	do.
700	,,	,,	Shikarpur (Sindh.)	Mr. Hematsingh Gojsingh Advani, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Shikarpur ...	At a representative Public Meeting held at Shikarpur on the 17th December, 1893.
701	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Shivaldas Mulchand.	Hindu Mandari.	do. ...	do.
702	,,	,,	,,	Seth Hemraj Girdharidas.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Shikarpur ...	do.
703	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Chandumal Khemchand.	Arya Bhatia.	Pleader, Shikarpur ...	do.

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704	Bombay.	Sindh.	Shikarpur (Sindh).	Mr. Jhamrai Uttamchand	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Shikarpur.	At a representative Public Meeting held at Shikarpur on the 17th December, 1893.
705	"	"	"	Bhai Menghraj Motoomal.	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do.
706	"	"	"	Bhai Bhocharmal Kimatrai.	Hindu Bhobjia.	Contractor ...	do.
707	"	"	"	Mr. Murlidhar Jeramdas.	Hindu.	Zemindar ...	do.
708	"	"	"	Mr. Kalumal Tikumdas.	do.	Zemindar and Pleader ...	do.
709	"	"	"	Mr. Lokram Jowmal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
710	"	"	"	R. S. Bhai Hiranand Gangaram.	Masand.	Zemindar and Member of the Local Board.	do.
711	"	"	"	Bhai Tirthsing Ramsing.	Hindu Chabia.	Merchant and Zemindar.	do.
712	"	"	Sukkur (Sindh.)	R. S. Dewan Chetanram A.M.	Hindu Khettri Amil.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Sukkur.	At a Public Meeting held at Sukkur on the 11th December, 1893.
713	"	"	"	Mr. Cowasji Framji Malkar.	Parsi.	Merchant and Landlord, Sukkur.	do.
714	"	"	"	R. S. Mookai Dewan das.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Sukkur ...	do.
715	"	"	"	R. S. Dewan Tindan Mal.	do.	Pleader, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board, Rohri, Sindh.	do.
716	"	"	"	Mr. Dosabhai Cowasji ...	Parsi.	Contractor, Sukkur, Sindh.	do.
717	"	"	"	R. S. Fatehchand Wahyamal.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Sukkur.	do.
718	"	"	"	R. B. Pesumal Zokiram.	do.	Pleader and Vice-President, District Local Board, Sukkur.	do.
719	"	"	"	Lala Dhanrajmal Lakhomal.	Hindu Khettri.	Pleader, Sukkur ...	do.
720	"	"	"	Mr. Rochaldas, F. ...	Hindu Lohana.	do. ...	do
721	"	Ahmedabad.	Panchmahals.	Mr. Ganpatrao Sitaram Mukadam.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member and Senior Treasurer, Temperance association, Baroda; Member, Social Reform association and Telang Memorial Committee, Godhra, Panchmahals.	By a Public Meeting held on the 15th November, 1893.
722	"	"	Ahmedabad.	Mr. Runchhodlal Vandrawandas Patwari B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Bania.	Pleader, Ahmedabad ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ahmedabad on the 18th December, 1893.
723	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Gopal Pundit, B.A.	Hindu Daxni Brahmin.	Agriculturist, Ahmedabad.	do.
724	"	"	"	Mandal Harilal Vakil B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Bania.	Secretary, Bombay University Union, Ahmedabad.	do.

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725	Bombay.	Ahmedabad.	Ahmedabad.	Mr. Jatashankar Latadhar Vaid.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical practitioner, Ahmedabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Ahmedabad on the 18th December, 1893.
726	„	„	„	Mr. Vanmalidas Ladhabai Modi.	do.	Editor and Proprietor of the "Hindustan," Ahmedabad.	do.
727	„	„	„	Mr. Maniklal Harilal ...	Hindu Bania.	Vakil, Ahmedabad ...	do.
728	„	„	„	Seth Purshottambhai Maghanbhai Hattising.	Hindu Jain.	Merchant, Ahmedabad.	do.
729	„	Surat.	Surat.	Mr. Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridas.	Hindu Kayastha.	Landowner, 161, Malabar Hill, Bombay.	By a Public Meeting held at Surat on the 17th December, 1893.
730	„	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Mr. Shridhar Narayan Sathaye, B.A., L.L.B.	Deccan Brahmin.	Pleader, Sholapur Bijapur.	At a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Sholapur people's association on the 30th November, 1893.
731	„	„	„	Mr. Dinker Ballal Chakradev.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
732	„	„	„	Mr. J. Seymour Keay, M.P.	European Christian.	Member of the House of Commons, England, and Agent and Secretary, Hyderabad Deccan Spinning and Weaving Co.	do.
733	„	Belgaum.	Belgaum.	Mr. Sadasiva Balkrishna Bhate.	Hindu. Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Chairman and Member, District Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Belgaum on the 14th December, 1893.
734	„	„	„	The Hon'ble Vishnu Raghunath Natu, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	High Court Pleader, Belgaum, and additional Member, Bombay Legislative Council.	do.
735	„	Bhusawal.	Bhusawal.	Rao Saheb Chintaman Bapuji Morgankar.	do.	Pleader and Vice-President, Bhusawal Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at Bhusawal on the 2nd December, 1893.
736	„	„	„	Rao Saheb Vithal Govind Dastane.	do.	Pleader and Vice-President, Local Board, Bhusawal.	do.
737	„	„	Jalgaon (Khandesh.)	Mr. Abaji Raghu Mahalas.	do.	Subordinate Government Pleader and Municipal Chairman, Jalgaon.	At a Public Meeting held at Jalgaon on the 2nd December, 1893.
738	„	Satara	Satara.	Mr. Balvant Shridhar Sahasrabudhe.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Satara.	By a Public Meeting held at Satara on the 13th December, 1893.
739	„	„	„	Mr. Vasudeo Ram Chandra Joglekar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	High Court Vakil, Satara.	do.
740	„	„	„	Mr. Ganesh Hari Hardikar, B.A.	do.	Sowkar, Money-lender and Agriculturist, Satara.	do.
741	„	„	„	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar.	do.	Pleader and Editor of "Vidropak," Satara.	do.
742	„	„	„	Mr. Dattatraya Balvant Parames.	do.	Editor of the Monthly Magazine "Maharashtra Kokil".	do.
743	„	Deccan	Poona.	Mr. Girirow Madhav Ghate.	do.	Pleader, Gulburga, (Deccan.)	By a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 10th December, 1893.

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744	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Madhavrow Jatkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Satara ...	By a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 10th December, 1893.
745	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Govind Natu.	Hindu.	Pleader, District Court, Poona.	do.
746	"	"	"	Mr. Rungnath Bapuji Melag.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member, "Sarvajanik Sabha" and Sowkar, Poona.	do.
747	"	"	"	Mr. Ramkrishna Bhikaji Kulkarni.	do.	Teacher, "Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya" and Editor "Dyan Prakash," Poona.	do.
748	"	"	"	Mr. Shivaram Hari Sathe.	do.	Editor of "Nyashraya" and Honorary Secretary, "Sarvajanik Sabha," Poona.	do.
749	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B.A.	do.	Professor, Ferguson College and Honorary Secretary and Editor of the Quarterly Journal of the "Sarvajanik Sabha," Poona.	do.
750		"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Keshav Limaye.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.	do.
751	"	"	"	Shreemant Shankarrao Narayan Natu.	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Sowkar and Inamdar, Shanwar Peth, Poona.	do.
752	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Narayan Apte.	do.	Manager, "Dyan Prakash," Grain dealer and Agent of the "Mercantile Bank Limited," Poona.	do.
753	"	"	"	Mr. Naro Bhaskar Deodhar.	do.	Inamdar, Retired Deputy Educational Inspector and Member, "Sarvajanik Sabha."	do.
754	"	"	"	Shreemant Moreshwarrao Vishvanath Natu.	do.	Inamdar, 1st Class Sirdir and Jagirdar, Poona.	do.
755	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Moreshwar Sane.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Narayan Peth, Poona.	do.
756	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Inamdar, Budhwar Peth, Poona.	do.
757	"	"	"	Shreemant Narharrao Trimbak Rajinachikar, B.A.	do.	Inamdar, Mehenpura, Poona.	do.
758	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide.	do.	Retired 1st Class Sub-Judge, 1st Grade Honorary Magistrate and Chairman, "Sarvajanik Sabha," Poona.	do.
759	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Balkrishna Ranade.	do.	Editor "Dyan Chakshu," a Marathi Weekly.	do.
760	"	"	"	Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Law Lecturer, Ferguson College, and Editor of the "Kesari" a Marathi Weekly and the "Marhatta" English Weekly.	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.
761	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Quarterly Journal of the Industrial Association of Western India," Secretary Metal Manufactory and Municipal Commissioner.	By a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 10th December, 1893.
762	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Ganesh Joshi.	do.	Manager, "Chitrasala Printing Press," Poona.	do.
763	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Mahadeo Paranjpai.	do.	Editor and proprietor, "Native Opinion" Girgaon, Bombay.	By a Meeting of the Committee of the Poona "Sarvajanik Sabha" held on the 8th December 1893.
764	"	"	Barawali.	Rao Saheb Bhikaji Anandrao Deshpande.	do.	Pleader and Chairman of the Barawali Municipality and Member, Local Board, Poona.	At a Public Meeting held at Barawali on the 15th December, 1893.
765	"	"	Nasik.	Mr. Gangadhar Narsing Ketkar.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Nasik.	At a General Meeting of the Nasik "Sarvajanik Sabha" held on the 9th December, 1893.
766	"	"	"	Mr. Shridhar Gopal Putekar.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
767	"	"	"	Mr. Eknath Shamlal ...	Hindu Gujrati Kadwa.	Merchant, Yeola ...	do.
768	"	"	"	Mr. Jagjivan Khemchand.	Hindu Gujrati.	Banker, Yeola ...	do.
769	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Raoji Kavale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Local Board, Nasik.	do.
770	"	"	"	Mr. Rajaram Yeshwant Raje.	Hindu Parbhu.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Sinnar, District Nasik.	do.
771	"	"	"	Mr. Namadeva Tukaram Simpi.	Hindu Simpi.	Merchant, Yeola ...	do.
772	"	Ichalkeranji.	Ichalkeranji.	Mr. Vishnu Moreshwar Limaye.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Ichalkeranji State.	At a Public Meeting held at Ichalkeranji on the 9th December, 1893.
773	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Ganesh Tikakar.	Hindu.	Municipal Commissioner.	do.
774	"	"	Kagal.	Mr. Krishnaji Dadaji Kulkarni.	Hindu. Brahmin.	Landholder, Village Rui, Halkalanjab P.O. Kolhapore.	At a Public Meeting held at Rui on the 23rd December, 1893.
775	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P.	Parsi.	Member of British Parliament.	At a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 18th December, 1893.
776	"	"	"	Dr. John. D. Cunha, L.M.S.	Portuguese Christian.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
777	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Sadasheo Gokhale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Engineer ...	do.
778	"	"	"	Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.	Hindu Gujrati.	Fellow of the University of Bombay and Articled Clerk, Messrs Payne Gilbert and Logani, Solicitors, Bombay.	do.
779	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	Deccan Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	do.

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780	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Dr. K. N. Bhadurji, M.D.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner ...	At a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 18th December, 1893.
781	„	„	„	Mr. W. A. Chambers ...	European Christian.	Civil Engineer ...	do.
782	„	„	„	Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha.	Parsi.	Mill Agent, Member, Municipal Corporation and and Secretary, Presidency Association, Bombay.	do.
783	„	„	„	Dr. M. R. Setna L.M.S., J.P.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
784	„	„	„	Mr. Hari Sitaram Dixit.	Hindu Gujrati.	Solicitor, High Court, Bombay.	do.
785	„	„	„	Mr. Sadashiv Vaman Kane, L.M.S.	Deccan Hindu.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
786	„	„	„	Dr Bhal Chandra Krishna, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner and Member of the Municipal Corporation, Bombay.	do.
787	„	„	„	Mr. B. N. Bhajikar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Vakil and Inamdar, Girgaon, (Bombay.)	do.
788	„	„	„	Mr. Pranalal. K. Joshipara	Gujrati Hindu.	Civil Engineer ...	do.
789	„	„	„	Mr. Narsingrao Sayaboo.	Deccan Hindu.	Contractor ...	do.
790	„	„	„	Mr. Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh, B.A., B.S.C., M.D.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Syndic in Arts and Justice of the Peace, Bombay.	do.
791	„	„	„	Mr. Madasadmi Vasudeo Athalye, B.A.	do.	Landholder ...	do.
792	„	„	„	Rao Bahadur. Nil Kantha Bhagwant.	Hindu.	Pensioned Deputy Collector.	do.
793	„	„	Thana.	Mr. Ardeshere Cursetji Pallonji.	Parsi.	Merchant, Thana ...	At a Public Meeting held at Thana on the 21st December, 1893.
794	„	„	„	Mr. Sitaram Ballal Joglekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Thana ...	do.
795	„	„	„	Mr. Mangaldas Devidas.	Hindu Bania.	Merchant, Thana ...	do.
796	„	„	„	Mr. Mahadeo Ganesh Pundit.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Thana ...	do.
797	„	„	Colaba.	Mr. Waman Bapuji Deva.	do.	Landholder and Merchant, Pen, District Colaba.	At a Public Meeting held at Colaba on the 21st December, 1893.
798	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Rangnath Narsing Mudholkar, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Maharshtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 22nd November, 1893.
799	„	„	„	Mr. Moreshwar Bapuji Marathi.	do.	Pleader, Amraoti ...	do.
800	„	„	„	Mr. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, Landholder, Malguzar, Vice-Chairman, Town Municipality and Chairman, District Board, Amraoti.	do.

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801	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Wasudeo Narayan Jog.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 22nd November, 1893.
802	"	"	..."	Mr. Keshav Balwant Deshpande.	do.	Banker and Landholder.	do.
803	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Sowlaram Oke	do.	Pleader ...	do.
804	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Deorao Vinayek.	do.	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Meeting of the Berar "Sarvajanik Sabha" held on the 10th December, 1893.
805	"	"	"	Mr. Golam Ahmed Khan.	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Merchant and Member, Local Board, Mulkhapur.	do.
806	"	"	Ellichpur.	Mr. Gangadhar Narayan Jagadale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Ellichpur ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ellichpur on the 7th December, 1893.
807	"	"	Akola.	Mr. Hari Ram Chandra Amikar.	Hindu Krishnapakshi.	Editor of the "Shadh Varhadi."	At a Public Meeting held at Akola on the 10th December, 1893.
808	"	"	"	Mr. W. Venkatesh Ramchandra Mudholkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Vaidarbha," and Honorary Secretary, Municipal Committee.	do.
809	"	"	Basim.	Mr. Govind Kasheo Chavak.	Hindu Kayastha Prabhu.	Pleader, Basim ...	At a Public Meeting held at Basim on the 3rd December, 1893.
810	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Atmaram Mahajan.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Member, District Board, Basim; Vice-Chairman, Taluq Board, Mangrulpir, Basim District.	do.
811	"	"	Wun.	Mr. Gopal Narayan Bhat.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Yeotmal, Berar.	At a Public Meeting held on the 9th December, 1893.
812	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Raghu Sastikar.	do.	Pleader, Yeotmal ...	do.
813	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Chintaman Bapat.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Yeotmal.	do.
814	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Ganesh Mundle, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	do. ...	do.
815	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Keshav Vinayek Joshi, B.A.	Hindu Maharashtri Brahmin.	Head Master, Neill City High School, Nagpur.	At a Public Meeting held at Nagpur on the 22nd November, 1893.
816	"	"	"	Cotari Venkata Raman Naidu.	Hindu Khettri.	Barrister-at-law ...	do.
817	"	"	"	Dr. Adharsing Gour, M.A., (Dublin) L.L.D., L.L.M., F.R.A.S., F.R.S. &c. &c.	do.	Barrister-at-law, Hoshangabad.	do.
818	"	"	"	Mr. R. Srinivasarao Naidu.	do.	Agent to the Zemindars of Chanda (Wardha District.)	do
819	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Narayan Gokhale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Nagpur.	do.
820	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Mahadeo Pundit.	do.	Editor and Proprietor of "Desha-Sewaka," Chitnavispura, Nagpur.	do.

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821	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Saugor.	Mr. Vinayekrao Vaidya.	Hindu. Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a Meeting of the "Hit Sabha" held on the 3rd December, 1893.
822	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Ramchandra Srikhande.	do.	do. ...	do.
823	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Anant Mahatkar.	do.	do. ...	do.
824	"	"	Damoh.	Mr. Gopal Das Sarma.	do.	Contractor, Damoh ...	By a Meeting of the Damoh "Sukh Karini" Sabha held on the 19th December, 1893.
825	"	"	Balaghat.	Mr. Narayan Krishna Kelkar.	do.	Pleader and Secretary, Municipal Committee, Balaghat.	At a Public Meeting held at Balaghat on the 1st December, 1893.
826	"	"	Rajnandgaon State.	Pundit Bhagwan Datta Seratia.	do.	Landholder and Editor, "Rajnandgaon."	At a Public Meeting held at Rajnandgaon on the 18th December, 1893.
827	"	"	Jubbulpur.	Mr. Ganesh Wasudeo Saney.	do.	Merchant and Contractor.	At a Special Meeting of the Literary and Scientific Association of Jubbulpur on the 17th December, 1893.
828	"	"	Hoshangabad.	Mr. Vishnu Ram Krishna Gudrey.	do.	Pleader, Hoshangabad ...	At a Meeting of the townspeople of Hoshangabad held on the 20th December, 1893.
829	"	"	Chhindwara.	Mr. Muthra Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader and Landowner, Chhindwara.	By a Public Meeting held at Chhindwara on the 3rd December, 1893.
830	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Narayan Deshmukh, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
831	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Ganesh Wazalwar.	do.	do. ...	do.
832	"	"	"	Pundit Prabhakar Shastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landowner ...	do.
833	"	"	Burhanpur.	Mr. Raghunath Balkrishna Bhide.	do.	Proprietor of the "Arya Vai Bhaw" Press, Burhanpur.	At a Public Meeting held at Burhanpur on the 15th December, 1893.
834	"	"	Harda.	Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji.	Mahomedan.	Agent, Cotton Presses and Cotton Ginning Factories, Indore and Bombay.	At a Public Meeting held at Harda on the 18th December, 1893.
835	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbak Jaywant Sabnis.	Hindu Saraswat	Clerk to the Jagirdar of Ajanas Anapura, Post Harda, C. P.	do.
836	"	"	Wardha.	Mr. Keshavrao Mahadeo Kaule.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Banker, Malguzar and Municipal Commissioner, Wardha.	At a Meeting of the District Association of Wardha held on the 19th December, 1893.
837	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Mr. Ganapathy Subramania Iyer.	do.	Editor of the "Hindu" and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Meeting of the "Mahajan Sabha" held on the 18th December, 1893.
838	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur. P. Ananda Charlu.	do.	Vakil, High Court and Joint General Secretary, Indian National Congress.	do.

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839	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Mr. Peter Paul Pillai ...	Nativie Christian.	Agent, and Landholder.	At a Meeting of the "Mahajan Sabha" held on the 18th December, 1893.
840	"	"	"	Mr. K. Ethiraja Pillai ...	Hindu Vaisya.	Merchant and Contractor.	do.
841	"	"	Salem.	Mr. C. Venkata Chariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder and Member, District Board, Salem.	At a Public Meeting held at Salem on the 14th December, 1893.
842	"	"	"	Mr. B. Krishna Ram, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Salem ...	do.
843	"	"	"	Mr. W. Viraswamy Iyer.	do.	Pleader and Chairman, Salem Municipality.	do.
844	"	"	"	Mr. U. Venkata Ram, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Salem ...	do.
845	"	"	"	Mr N. Ramswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. ...	do.
846	"	"	Palghat (Malabar.)	Mr. K. P. Achhutha Menon.	Hindu Nair.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Palghat.	At a Public Meeting held at Palghat on the 23rd December, 1893.
847	"	"	"	Mr. S. Kutton Nair ...	do.	Landholder ...	do.
848	"	"	Tellicherry.	Mr. M. Gopal Menon, B.A., B.L.	do.	Apprentice-at-Law, Madras.	At a Public Meeting held at Tellicherry on the 20th December, 1893.
849	"	"	Calicut.	The Hon'ble C. Sankaran Nair, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Member, Legislative Council and Fellow of the University, Madras.	At a Public Meeting held at Calicut on the 16th December, 1893.
850	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Raman Menon.	do.	Pleader, Calicut ...	do.
851	"	"	"	Mr. C. K. Raman Menon.	do.	Editor and Proprietor, "Kerala Patrika," Calicut.	do.
852	"	"	Cuddapah.	Rao Bahadur C. Jambulingam Mudaliar, B.A.,	Hindu Velala.	Pleader, Cuddapah ...	At a Public Meeting held at Cuddapah on the 16th December, 1893.
853	"	"	Tanjore.	Mr. N. S. Rajaram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Banker and Landholder, Negapatum.	By a Public Meeting held at Tanjore on the 16th December, 1893.
854	"	"	Bezwada (Kristna District.)	Sri Raja Kocherlakota Ramchandra Venkata Kristna Row Pantulu Bahadur.	do.	Zemindar ...	Elected at a Meeting of the "Viziavada Sabha" of Bezwada on the 17th December, 1893.
855	"	"	"	Mr. D. Seshachalapati Row.	do.	Editor, "Kristna News" and Vernacular Secretary, "Viziavada Sabha," Bezwada.	do.
856	"	"	Rajahmundry.	The Hon'ble N. Subbarao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Member, Legislative Council, Madras; Member, District Board and Municipal Commissioner, Rajahmundry.	At a Public Meeting held at Rajahmundry on the 13th December, 1893.
857	"	"	"	Mr. N. Subramanya ...	Hindu.	Inamdar ...	do.
858	"	"	"	Mr. S. Lakshmipaty ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Banker and Landholder.	do.

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859	Madras.	Madras.	Ellore.	Mr. A. Kanakarajee, B.A.	Hindu.	1st Grade Vakil, Godavary.	By a Public Meeting held at Ellore on the 19th November, 1893.
860	„	„	Vizagapatam.	Mr. O. V. Jagannadha Shastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Member, Taluq Board, Parvatipur, District Board, Vizagapatam and Secretary, Mahajan Sabha.	By a Public Meeting held at Vizagapatam on the 20th December, 1893.
861	„	„	Bellary.	Mr. C. Hanumanth Gond.	Hindu.	Hony. Magistrate, Member, District and Taluq Boards and Mirasidar, Hospet.	Elected at a Meeting held by the people of the place on the 13th December, 1893.
862	„	„	„	Mr. D. Gopala Charlu ...	do.	Pleader, Bellary ...	do.
863	„	„	„	Mr. B. Subba Sastrulu ...	do.	Inamdar, Bellary ...	do.
864	„	„	„	Mr. B. Madhava Row ...	do.	do. ...	do.
865	„	„	Kurnool.	Mr. T. Chidambara Row, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Landholder and Member, District Board, Kurnool.	At a Public Meeting held at Kurnool on the 21st December, 1893.
866	„	Madura.	Sivaganga.	Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Madura ...	At a Public Meeting held at Madura on the 16th December, 1893.
867	„	„	„	Mr. S. M. Narayana Swamy Iyer, B.A.	do.	Teachar, Raja's High School, Sivaganga, Madura District.	do.

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS.

PASSED AT THE

First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Congresses.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

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 increase in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and, regard being had to the revenues of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.

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 clssses 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 Calcutt and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December, 1886, and the next succeeding days.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.

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 Councils 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, *primâ 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.

RESOUTION 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.*)
„ S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras.*)
„ Peary Mohun Mukerjee (*Calcutta.*)
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras.*)
Babu Motilal Ghose (*Calcutta.*)
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta.*)
„ Gungapershad Varma (*Lucknow.*)
„ Ramkali Ghaudhuri (*Benares.*)
Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (*Patna.*)
Pundit Prannath (*Lucknow.*)
Munshi Kashipershad (*Allahabad.*)
Nowab Reza Ali Khan (*Lucknow.*)
Mr. Hamid Ali (*Lucknow.*)
Lala Kanhyalal (*Amritsar.*)
Rao Sahib Gangadhar Rao
Madhaw Chitnavis (*Nagpur.*)
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.

30th December, 1886.

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

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 crises.

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 usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

* Messrs. Namjoshi, Chandravarker, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor 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, Bishen Narayen Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, 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.

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 crises,

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 revenues 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.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.

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 se-
" paration 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 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 the pow-
"ers 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 Juris-
"diction Act of Englad (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 Bri-
"tain 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 crises;"

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 en-suing year.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

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 population 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 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 crises;

(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 re-imposition, 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 year.

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.

* 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.

(*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 respective 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, and exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December, 1890.

EESOLUTION 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.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS.

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 Nagpur, 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 Commitee.

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.
Viraraghava Chariar.
Hafiz Abdul Raheem.
Gangapersad Varma.
Pringle Kennedy.
Guruprasad Sen.
D. E. Wacha.
M. B. Namjoshi.
Hamid Ali Khan.
Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide.

Messrs. Murlidhar.
Mudholkar.
Deo Rao Vinayak.
Gopal Rao Bhide.
Bipin Krishna Bose.
Dajee Abajee Khare.
Madan Mohan Malaviya.
Saligram Singh.
Sankara Nair.

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 this 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 ninetenths 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 expediency, in view to 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 necessaries 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 wide-spread 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 graetful 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.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS.

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, and 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 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;

(*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

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, and 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 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;

(*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.

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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 Ananda 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 with 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, Ld.," 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.

J. C. Wedderburn

REPORT

OF

THE TENTH

Indian National Congress,

HELD AT

MADRAS,

On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December,

1894.

Madras:
PRINTED AT THE LAWRENCE ASYLUM PRESS, MOUNT ROAD.
1895.

SOME

OF

ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1833.

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

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

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

* * * * * * * * *

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

LORD NORTHBROOK ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

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

LORD LYTTON'S SPEECH AT THE DELHI ASSEMBLAGE ON 1st JANUARY, 1877.

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

LORD RIPON IN THE VICEREGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

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

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

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

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

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

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Indian

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INTRODUCTION.

The Tenth Congress

AMID scenes of enthusiasm which only belong to a great and popular Cause, the Tenth Indian National Congress successfully accomplished the yearly task of placing before an increasingly attentive public the need for Reform and the need for redress of grievances in the Indian Empire. In four days of exemplary application to the work in hand much sound common-sense, much political sagacity, much eloquence of a high order was brought to bear upon the pressing problems of modern India. If the proceedings towards the close of the Session were somewhat subdued in the recent shadow of a public sorrow—the sudden death of the young Maharajah of Mysore—none the less did the work of clear enunciation of popular rights go forward with unabated zeal to its appointed completion.

The Congress Hall was a large building capable of holding nearly 5,000 persons and throughout the four days during which the deliberations lasted was at all times full to overflowing. It stood in a large compound of several acres in extent plentifully supplied with fine trees. Innumerable tents and offices with their occupants hurrying to and fro, and the large house set apart for the President and some of the delegates, with the frequent arrival and departure of visitors some distinguished and some the reverse, for all had access to the Congress Headquarters—all these made up a scene of intense animation and interest. If absence of friction and perfection of results are tests of efficient organization then the arrangements of the Reception Committee must have been as well-nigh perfect as it is possible for human arrangements to be. Not only in this busy camp, but in the stressful moments of Committee meetings, everything worked with a regularity and a smoothness which is not often met with.

A word must be said about the Volunteer Corps—one of the remarkable features of these Indian Congresses. During the Congress week some 200 young men of good family thought it an honour, and by their helpfulness, tact and discretion made it an honour, to be in constant attendance upon the delegates to the National Parliament. Never obtrusive, but always at hand, and always willing to take messages, to receive orders and to get things done, these young men under a genial captain and efficient lieutenants contributed in no small measure to the amenities of that strenuous political life. Mr. Webb was especially struck with their bearing and efficiency and many a hard-pressed delegate had good reasons to be grateful for their unselfish and untiring services.

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address

The First Day's Proceedings opened with the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. In a telling and eloquent address the Hon. Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu welcomed the 1,200 delegates of the Tenth Indian Congress to Madras, reminding them in the words of the late Rajah Sir T. Madhava Row, K.C.S.I., that the Congress is the "soundest triumph of British Administration and a crown of glory to the British Nation." He pointed out that the Congress was steadily increasing in power and influence and gradually penetrating all classes and sections

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

of the people. "The political horizon of the educated Indian citizen is no longer his village or district, not even the capital city of his province, but it is now the whole Indian Continent."

After referring to the Charter of Indian liberties, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and to attempts which have been made from time to time to explain away the obvious meaning of that historic document, Mr. Rungiah Naidu declared fairly and squarely that the Indian Bureaucracy were selfish. "I say that most deliberately" he added "and the history of the last 35 years is my justification for saying so." The two following paragraphs taken from his address illustrate well that strong and effective criticism of the defects of Anglo-Indian rule coupled with a generous recognition of its advantages, which has always marked the utterances of the Congress leaders.

"We are at present, more than we ever were, in need of the support of British public opinion, because in proportion as our agitation acquires prestige and grows in influence, so does the opposition in this country grow strong. Of this opposition you have seen a remarkable proof in the latest official contribution to the literature on the Simultaneous Examinations Question. The Parliamentary Blue Book on that question marks, I fear, a further straining of the relations between educated Indians and the officials, from which latter nothing but abuse, misrepresentation and determined opposition are, it would seem, hereafter to be expected even in our most moderate attempts at self-improvement. They would seem to have persuaded themselves into the belief that to have established English Schools and Colleges is the greatest mistake of British rule in India, and that inasmuch as their abolition is out of the question, the next best thing, from their point of view, is to cry down the men educated in these institutions, call them names, and characterise them as a class of disloyal men, devoid of influence with their own countrymen, and incapable of discharging any responsible public duty. Our Anglo-Indian friends speak as if nothing good can come out of the people for whose education the State expends as much as a crore of rupees every year. They seem to be almost ashamed of their own literature, of the teachers and professors of their own nationality, and enamoured of ignorance and superstition as the best mental state of the Indian people. I have no doubt that this Blue Book, so disappointing and so retrograde and so unworthy of the Englishman's reputation for fair dealing, will be subjected to severe criticism in the course of our proceedings. And I merely refer to it here to show what amount and what kind of opposition we should be prepared for in this country before our objects are attained."

"To abuse the opponent is a favourite form of argument with a certain description of people, and failing to meet us with fair reasoning or on the ground of justice or political wisdom, the opponents of the Congress, that is, of educated Indians, call us disloyal, and attribute to us revolutionary designs. Gentlemen, with mad men and with people who talk wildly under the exciting sense of losing interests, we have no concern. If there be any reasonable persons amongst our opponents, I should like to take them into my confidence and ask them why they

think we are disloyal. If a rule which has established peace, order and security in the country, which administers justice as impartially as human tribunals can do, which constantly stimulates material prosperity, which has conferred on the people the inestimable blessing of Education, liberty of conscience and freedom of discussion, and of which, indeed, the possibilities for future good are even greater than what has actually been done in the past—if such a rule cannot excite the loyal attachment of the people, I am at a loss to know what kind of rule may be expected to excite their loyalty. Gentlemen, the fact is, the persons that charge us with disloyalty are the victims of their own guilty conscience, of some evil thought concealed in their minds, and it is only such persons that see disloyalty everywhere, and, like Macbeth, perceive a dagger in the air. Nor is it anything but the most ludicrous absurdity to see disloyalty in political agitation conducted on strictly constitutional lines and in a spirit of confidence in the rulers. What is the good of the education and freedom that have been vouchsafed to us if we do not make use of them for our own improvement. We have no desire but to live on terms of the utmost amity and regard with our Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects. We feel we want their guidance and their sympathy which, whenever shown, we have most sincerely and unstintingly reciprocated."

Speaking of the enthusiasm which this Congress has evoked in Southern India Mr. Rungiah Najdu said "There can be no doubt that, although after the first few years the Congress as a great patriotic enterprise lost the attractions of novelty, it has lost no portion of its influence on the intelligent classes of the community as the only institution calling into play what resources of public spirit exist in the country and imparting weight and dignity to such non-official Indian opinion as gives itself expression from time to time. Nothing proves this fact better than the unprecedented outburst of enthusiasm throughout Southern India when the preparations for this Congress were set on foot in the middle of the year." * * * "The most remarkable feature in the work of our organization this time was the system of raising the necessary funds by appealing for help to every house and every place of business in the locality, a system which, first started in the city of Madras, was immediately adopted in every centre of Congress activity in all the districts of the province. The Reception-Committee has collected till now nearly 40,000 rupees, of which nearly if not more than half was collected in exceedingly small amounts, in the shape of single rupees, of annas and pies."

In the concluding paragraphs of this address a reference to the Mahomedan community exhibits again that firm but temperate and conciliatory attitude which as we have said before characterizes the Congress on the questions of the day. "We do not conceal from ourselves the fact that an important section of our Mahomedan fellow countrymen have stood aloof from our movement under the mistaken impression that it is disliked by the powers-that-be, and that not to join such a movement, to denounce it, and to actually oppose it, is the surest passport to Government's favour and official advancement. But the time is gone, altogether gone, when subserviency to official power can play the role of real merit and win admission to the public service, and our deluded fellow country-men are just

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

now discovering that the game is after all not paying, and that in these days no community gets a hearing for its representations, especially when the governing power is vested in the hands of foreigners, unless those representations are backed up by a powerful and organized agitation. Educational Conferences are accordingly being organized, political societies are being established, and whispers of discontent are being heard—all showing that soon our Mahomedan fellow countrymen, though they may not all join the Congress, will press their claims by public agitation on lines parallel to our own. They are quite welcome to this method and we shall most cordially wish them success. They cannot have claims different from our own or claims with which we of the Indian National Congress do not fully and warmly sympathize."

President's Address.

The formal election of the President was the next business and being quickly over Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., for West Waterford began his inaugural address as President of the Tenth Indian National Congress. The distinguishing characteristic of a very thoughtful and sympathetic address was a moderation and a sweet reasonableness which has proved extremely disconcerting not to say irritating to that hostile chorus of unofficial officialdom—the Anglo-Indian Press. In vain would the most uncompromising opponent ransack Mr. Webb's opening address for any vestige of sentiments which overstepped the bounds of sober and legitimate criticism. The address should be read in its entirety, but the following noteworthy paragraphs may be quoted here.

"The ends you have in view are similar to those of politicians in other quarters of the globe. The difficulties before you are, however, greater. Elsewhere politicians have to deal principally with homogeneous populations, to whom, at least in theory, equal political rights may at once be accorded; you have largely to work for those who have yet to pass through a long process of assimilation and elevation. All the greater necessity that in assemblages such as this you should set yourselves to the task. All the greater necessity that a deaf ear should be turned to doctrines of despair. The question is not concerning the difficulties, but whether or not the difficulties are to be faced; and if to be faced, the sooner the better. And it is alone by and through organizations such as yours that they can be faced."

"It is at the same time necessary to bear in mind that you stand at the most critical period of a people's history. Your populations, heretofore supine, are awakening to consciousness and new hopes, whilst they may not fully as yet have acquired habits of self-restraint and sentiments of responsibility. Mistakes are certain to be made, and are sure to be attributed by opponents, not to their true source—former conditions, but to the awakening, the ennobling process itself. We must be prepared to meet misrepresentations and calumny. We must take heed that in our leading we give no just cause for accusation."

"Nothing in what I have said or intend to say must however be taken to imply a want of appreciation of the character and services of numbers of my fellow-citizens, whose lives have been and are being given to the administration and government of India. They were doubtless at first attracted to the service solely

as a career in life. But residence here, sympathy with your people, and a sense of duty, rapidly impel to higher motives. They become sincerely anxious for your welfare and devoted to what they believe your highest good. Never has more conscience been brought to the government of a conquered country. We here are not set against them, unless, indeed, they are determined to set themselves against us. The services of men of their training, temper, and turn of mind may, perhaps for generations to come, be necessary. They are to be honoured and respected in their sphere. But they must not impede or prevent the gradual application to the government of this country of principles other than those laid down by statesmen of the first rank fully half a century ago. I might perhaps have been more affected than I have been by the attitude and language of many of them regarding your country and your people, were it not that it is such as I have been accustomed to hear from the same class in Ireland regarding my country and my people. If the anticipations of the former regarding your capacities and your future are as fully belied as have been the anticipations of the latter regarding our capacities and our future, you may rest satisfied. Closely allied, in blood and religion, as this class in Ireland has been to us, their efforts to govern independently of Irish opinion have resulted in failure. How much less likely is it that they can succeed here without availing themselves of your assistance more largely than heretofore."

"While most anxious not to implicate your cause with Irish politics, or the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, I may occasionally illustrate your affairs by reference to my own country. Your interests are in fact closely involved in some effectual settlement of the Irish question. One of your principal and most just complaints is that no sufficient attention is given to your affairs in Parliament. Whilst months are allotted to the consideration of the British budget, a few hours are grudged to yours. Parliament is paralysed with work. It has undertaken functions it cannot perform. Three separate Parliaments had enough to do to manage the affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They were merged into one when the population of the United Kingdom was only fifteen millions. That population has now risen to thirty-eight millions. Parliament has, moreover, undertaken to care for your two hundred and eighty millions. The sphere of law is becoming both wider and more minute. Surely Parliament ought to be more of an Imperial, less of a local, assembly! For generations to come, England, the heart of the Empire, must have the preponderating influence in Imperial councils. That we grant. You, who are Indian, and I, who am Irish, trust that our Imperial rights will not suffer from that preponderating English influence. But at present the Imperial Parliament is occupied largely with the affairs of under five millions of people, and ministries rise and fall with reference to the question of Ireland, and not in connection with great Imperial interests. The entire Empire is concerned in the speedy settlement of the Irish question."

After referring in some detail to various items in the Congress programme Mr. Webb concluded an address which had been listened to with profound attention in these words:—"Apart from those family and national ties, which to each one of us are the first of life's blessings—the choicest gifts of God—I regard this

President's Address.

visit to India, and permission to take part in the proceedings of this great assemblage, as the highest privilege, and one that cannot but profoundly influence my remaining years. So far, two convictions before all others, press themselves upon me. The one: the greatness, apart from its inception and much of its history, of the mission of the United Kingdom in this land—the other: that this Congress movement is the necessary and logical outcome, the richest fruit of that noble mission, of which we citizens of the United Kingdom should be proud. You yourselves are taking up the work—the work which you and you alone can ultimately perfect—'the eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of your country.' This is in truth the greatest combined peaceful effort for the good of the largest number of the human race that history has recorded."

Election of Subjects Committee.

The President's address finished, there was one of those little incidents which are the envy and despair of opponents of the national movement—namely, the reading of a letter announcing a gift of Rs. 10,000 to the Congress Cause from the young Rajah of Ramnad. 'How can we stop a movement to which—as if popular enthusiasm were not enough—inconvenient Rajahs contribute their thousands of Rupees?' say opponents. How indeed? How much more suitable, think retiring Governors, if that money had been contributed to the raising of some fitting memorial with which to mark our beneficent rule! The election of the Subjects Committee, whose function it is to arrange the agenda paper for each day and to select the speakers for the different resolutions, concludes the first day's proceedings. But the work of the day is by no means over—the Subjects Committee has to meet to discuss the substance and the wording of the Resolutions to be brought forward—one hundred keen-witted politicians, themselves a small parliament, delegated by the Congress itself, will hold debate far into the night so that no hasty or ill-considered proposition may be put forward at to-morrow's meeting. Truly a prudent and hard-working body this Congress!

Resolution I. Cotton Excise Duty.

The Second Day's Proceedings begin with the reading of the Rules of Debate, the reading over of the Standing Orders as it were, and then the Congress settles down to formulate by the utterances of its chosen spokesmen and the words of its written resolutions, its perpetual programme of retrenchment and reform. A resolution condemning the imposition of Excise Duty on Indian manufactured cottons on grounds of urgency is given precedence of debate and becomes Resolution I. This day the Excise Duty Bill is down for third reading in the Viceroy's Council. Therefore it is deemed advisable that the protest of India's Parliament should be in the hands of India's Legislators before the Bill actually becomes law—which by means of the telegraph may be done, and is done after an exhaustive speech from that old Congress-wallah Mr. D. E. Wacha, and after the motion has been neatly seconded by the Hon. Mr. A. Sabapathy Mudeliar.

Mr. Wacha after saying amid cheers that the Government of India deserved their warm gratitude for having at last been able to extort from the Secretary of State for India the concession to impose an import duty on cotton goods, proceeded to show that this act of tardy justice reluctantly accorded by the auto-

crat at Westminster was accompanied by two disadvantages. Firstly, a large revenue—a crore and a half rupees—had been needlessly sacrificed during the last twelve months; and secondly there was the countervailing excise. The excise duty failed to satisfy the three tests of a sound and successful tax, namely, productiveness, economy and equity. In no case could the excise bring in more than 8½ lakhs of revenue, which would probably be eaten up by the heavy cost of collection. "It will then be reasonably asked why is the Bill brought forward. To that we have a reply from the Financial member himself. Because the Secretary of State deems it opportune to please the Philistines of Manchester" Loud cries of "Shame!" showed that the speaker had expressed what was in the minds of his hearers, and what every one there and many elsewhere knew to be strictly true.

Resolution I. Cotton Excise Duty.

The following sentences put the matter succinctly and clearly. "I daresay most of you, if not all, have perused the very able and exhaustive memorial on the subject submitted some time ago to the Government of India by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association; also the minute of the Hon. Mr. Westland, dated 14th July last, which accompanied the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 7th August, recommending that, if any excise duty was to be levied, it should be on all counts of yarn above "twenty-fours." The former body collected statistics from 105 mills in the country, 70 of which are in Bombay, the centre of the industry, and conclusively demonstrated that of the total manufactures counts between "twenty-fours" and "thirties" only come to 6 per cent.; and that the total value of exports of Indian manufactured cottons above "twenties" does not exceed 86 lakhs of rupees. On the other hand, out of the bulk of all descriptions of cotton fabrics imported into India from the United Kingdom only 2 per cent. are of counts under "twenties." Virtually, then, Lancashire does not compete with this country in the coarser kinds, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer kinds. Thus statistics completely disprove the cry of protection. Absolutely nothing is protected by the import duty, which, therefore, in no way acts as a bounty on home-made cottons. This being the exact economic condition of the indigenous industry, can it be reasonably urged that the excise duty is justifiable? And if it be not justifiable, can we not characterise it as unjust? For of what use imposing a duty for which there exists no justification? Again, as Mr. Westland observed in his speech, revenue is not the consideration. That simply emphasizes the injustice. For if there be no necessity to levy it for purposes of revenue and if it is not even for purposes of counter-balancing the import duty, what is it imposed for? The Honorable the Finance Minister gives a reply to the query. It is to please the Secretary of State on behalf of those good and pious people of Manchester."

Resolution II deals with the Land Question and was entrusted in the first place to the able hands of Mr. Boikunta Nath Sen, a native of Bengal, the province of the Permanent Settlement. The Resolution was a protest against interference by Government with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Behar (*e.g.*, the Behar Cadastral Survey) and with certain permanently settled estates in Madras: the Resolution also reminded Government

Resolution II. Land Question.

Resolution II. Land Question.

of certain pledges that had been given to extend the Permanent Settlement, and suggested in a spirit of extreme conciliation that if more permanent settlements were out of the question, there should be at any rate a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land revenue for a period of say 60 years so as to secure to landholders the benefit of their improvements. In fact this second clause of the Resolution is a demand for an Agricultural Improvements Act—very necessary where an impecunious Government is the landlord!

Mr. Boikunta Nath Sen pointed out—an easy task—that the Government were not fulfilling their pledges with regard to the land: and then, turned aside to meet the modern objections about "unearned increment" in the following sentences:—"These despatches laid down certain rules for the extension of the permanent settlement. There were certain conditions precedent, *viz.*, the bringing under cultivation of a certain portion of the area. Four-fifths of the entire area was fixed as the amount to be brought under cultivation in order that the permanant settlement might be accorded to such local area. Now in some tracts, with the object of getting that privilege, the conditions have been fulfilled; in some other parts the conditions have been partially fulfilled; and if time will allow they will also surely be fulfilled. The fulfilment of these conditions is not an easy thing; it requires the investing of money. Here comes in the question of unearned increment. It is not the unearned increment which these land-owners are trying to get; they are investing their money, they are bestowing their labour, and they ask for a return. So you see, these persons who now hold under temporary settlement, are not at all asking for the unearned increment. They wish to have the fruits of their own labour and a return for the capital they have invested. Before the despatch of 1862 there was no stimulus whatsoever for investing money, because there was no knowing when the property might be re-measured, when there might be interference by Government again, and when the property would be snatched away from their hands. There was no security, no value, and therefore no stimulus for investing money. But the despatch of Government emboldened the people, it induced them to invest their money to improve the land. They have fulfilled their part of the contract, and if it had been, Gentlemen, a question between individual and individual, perhaps one would be inclined to ask 'Why not sue?'"

The Hon. Mr. V. R. Natu then took up the question from the Bombay point of view, asserting strongly that all India, Ryots as well as Zemindars were interested in the maintenance of existing Permanent Settlements. He then proceeded to show how necessary was the second clause of the Resolution, giving striking instances of the outrageous demands of Government. The matter is very simple. Government have laid it down that on a new Revision of Survey in the Bombay Presidency, the assessment in the case of any given group of villages shall not be increased by more than 33 per cent. Yet Mr. Natu was able to quote unquestioned instances where there had been increases; in 3 Taluqs in the Ratnagiri District and 3 Taluqs in the Albag District, an extremely poor district, there had been the enormous increase of 1,200 per cent.! In concluding he said "We say that whenever you introduce Revision Surveys you should simply adhere

to your own terms, that you should simply limit your demand to 33 per cent. That is the only limited demand. We do not want a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. Foreigners, including the President who comes from a foreign country, should not be misled into supposing that the bulk of the population in India requires a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. It is a limited demand, a demand accepted by Government as proper and just and followed for some years."

Here came an amendment. Captain Banon—a very old friend of the Congress and, as he himself said, a ryotwar of the Punjab—suggests that Congress should propose a permanent settlement for all India, bringing the land under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis into the general settlement—of course Bengal losing something by the arrangement, but the rest of India—at least that is Captain Banon's view—gaining largely. The following paragraph from his speech, which was very short and very much to the point, shows clearly his standpoint.

"I may begin by saying that I am very desirous of a permanent settlement for all India, because I myself am a ryotwar in the Punjab; but the only difficulty that I can see to our getting this permanent settlement is the permanent settlement at present existing in Bengal. Government say that they lose quite enough money already by this permanent settlement in Bengal, and that as long as it exists they cannot give a permanent settlement to the rest of India. I live amongst the ryotwars, as I am one of them, and I know that they consider it very unfair to them that they should pay twice as much land revenue as they would pay but for this permanent settlement in Bengal. I would also direct your attention to another question. It has always been alleged against this Congress that it favours the interests of the richer classes as against those of the poorer classes. That I do not believe, but I think if you support this Resolution, you will add a good deal of colour to the accusations against us."

The Amendment is not supported—although it struck a note which may sound louder in the future—and the Hon. Mr. K. Kalyanasundram Iyer, proceeded to unfold the grievances of Tanjore. Very real grievances they appear to be as the speaker showed well. "Now, Gentlemen, what do these constant re-settlements mean? You have an excellent illustration in the methods adopted in the re-settlement of the district of Tanjore. The Government, being fully alive to the evils attendant on settlement operations generally, determined that the average outturn of land should, first and once for all, be estimated upon scientific principles, and that in future revisions the rise in prices alone should be taken into account. The procedure adopted was this: the average yield of land was ordered to be estimated by a scientific classification of soil, but not to be checked and tested by actual experiments in harvesting; apparently this scientific classification of soil is so finely graded that the officers of the settlement department have often, with reference to one and the same soil, been obliged to differ from themselves and each other, while with regard to the actual experiment made the result has been by no means more satisfactory. A small plot of land, the tenth part of an acre, was selected by the settlement department itself for the experiment in har-

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vesting, and upon the result of this single experiment hundreds of acres, nay thousands of acres, were settled as being able to produce a particular out-turn. The Mirasidars of the district naturally objected to such a course; they loudly complained that the actual yield of the land in their possession was a great deal less than the estimate fixed by the department, and they clamourously demanded an *Amani* management for a reasonable period, for the purpose of determining the average yielding capacity of the land; but their complaints and their demands were alike rejected and they were in fact told that if the actual facts were not consistent with the theory evolved by the settlement department it was so much the worse for their facts. Now, Gentlemen, the utter unreliability of this theoretical settlement is clearly shown by the action of the authorities themselves. The gentleman who was appointed the settlement officer of the district, after a classification of the soil, reported to Government that the re-settlement of the district would involve an increase of eighteen and a half lakhs of rupees, the assessment under the old settlement being about forty-one lakhs; but he added, that if the district were to be treated upon scientific principles an increase of twenty-eight lakhs would not be too much. Apparently to the great loss of Government, he finally recommended an increase of only fourteen and a half lakhs. This was reduced by the Board of Revenue by two lakhs, and finally by Government to eleven and a half lakhs. Thus you see the final decision of the Government imposed an increase of assessment representing only forty per cent. of what should have been the increase according to the accurate scientific theory."

Mana Vikrama Raja follows with the complaint of Malabar, another district in Madras, where Revenue Settlement operations are in "full swing." The whole speech gives a clear consecutive account of the history of the land revenue in Malabar and must be read as a whole. To show that the present scheme of government affords ground for complaint the following short quotation from this very able speech will suffice. "In the face of the pledge already made, Government has determined to revise the existing assessment in spite of the repeated protests and representations of the people, and a scheme of settlement is at the present moment awaiting the orders of the local Government. I may add that according to this scheme, the existing revenue in three typical Taluqs of the District under wet, dry, and garden lands will be increased by 95 per cent., 49 per cent. and 335 per cent. respectively, resulting in an aggregate increase of over 15 lakhs whilst their present revenue is only 10½ lakhs."

Mr. Peter Paul Pillai a well-known figure at successive Congresses, and others continued to press the case against the Government and then the Resolution on the Land Question was passed unanimously. Mr. Seymour Keay, M.P., then came forward amidst enthusiastic cheers to move Resolution III dealing with the poverty of India. In a speech which was frequently cheered to the echo, Mr. Seymour Keay marshalled in a telling manner a great deal of statistical material. A few quotations must be given to show the nature of the argument, but the whole speech is deserving of careful study.

"In the first place, Gentlemen, allow me to give you a general summary of a Parliamentary return which I was able to obtain on my motion three years ago. It is a return showing respectively the number and emoluments of the European and the Native officers employed in the Indian Government, receiving pay of Rs. 1,000 a year and upwards. That return shows that while, if you exclude the rank and file of the European soldiers, there are only 70,000 Europeans in the whole of this vast country, yet of these 70,000 Europeans no less than 28,000 hold Government posts worth over Rs. 1,000 a year. What is the total of their pay? These 28,000 Europeans draw as pay the enormous sum of no less than 15½ crores of Rupees a year! Worse still, Gentlemen, the return shows that of these 28,000 Europeans, no less than 33 per cent., that is to say, ⅓rd part of the whole, although they are quartered upon your revenues, reside not in India but in England! In other words, they are absolutely non-effective for your Government. And the amount of pay or rather pension which these absentees receive comes actually to 6 crores of Rupees at this moment every year; and it is growing still! What country can go on standing that? On the other hand, we have the other page of the Return. We have there got a statement as to the Natives who receive pay from the Government of India exceeding Rs. 1,000 a year. Well I have already mentioned that there are only 70,000 Europeans, but there are not only 70,000 of you. There are 287 millions of you the natives of India. Yet of the whole 287 millions of Natives, there are only 17,000 persons employed in the whole Empire at a pay of over Rs. 1,000 a year. What do these 17,000 draw? These 17,000 draw actually only 3 crores of Rupees amongst the whole of them. In other words, what you have got is this:—the absentee Europeans actually draw from the revenues of your country more than double the whole amount of the whole salary of the whole of the Natives who are allowed to enter into the administration of their own country."

"The first picture that I shall lay before you is a Census taken of twelve villages in the district of Rampore. In these twelve villages the population was found to consist of 2,000 persons. Of these 1,600 were cultivators and the remaining 400 were labourers. What did the Deputy Commissioner, a high Officer of the Government of India, find on the most careful examination, and on an Industrial Survey of the whole of these twelve villages scattered in different parts of Rampore? He found that, after laying aside the rent and cost of cultivation, the whole amount left for the support of the people came only to Rs. 16 a year for the cultivator and Rs. 13 a year for the labourer. The next case is from the Report of the Commissioner of Rai Bareily, with a population of 1,000,000 souls. This officer took a census of thirty average families scattered throughout the whole of that populous district, and he found that these thirty families consisted of 173 persons. He found that the gross crop amounted to the value of Rs. 2,800. He also found that for seed and hired labour and for 25 per cent. interest to the usurer, there had been paid by these 170 persons the amount of Rs. 600, and that the rent which they had to pay amounted to Rs. 1,080. The result was that deducting this Rs. 1,680 from the Rs. 2,800, the balance for the sustenance of these villagers and their families amounted to Rs. 1,120. In other words, these

Resolution III. Poverty of India.

173 persons, man, woman and child had each an amount of 6½ rupees a year for their support !"

This Resolution was supported among others by Lala Murlidhar, in an amusing speech which kept the whole Congress in a perpetual roar of laughter. The speech, which is short should be read as a whole; quotations would give no correct idea of the effect produced.

Resolution IV. Secretary of State's Council.

The Secretary of State's Council and the need for its abolition formed the subject matter of Resolution IV, which was moved by Mr. Eardley Norton in a brilliant and powerful speech. A severe, and at times witty, indictment of both the theory and the practise of the India Council. Why do we object to the India Council? Let Mr. Norton answer. "We object for this simple reason: that although its members are, possibly, imbued with the very best of intentions—mere intentions are not sufficient for practical politics—these same members are swayed by the same official interest, trained in the same official career, steeped in the same official prejudices, as the men out here who, also with the best of intentions, are resolutely endeavouring to thwart and obstruct your moral, material and political reforms. Unless and until you sweep away the powerful association which, through all the intervening stretch of land and sea, is ever ready to help its fellow officials in this country, to condone their faults, to pander to their extravagance, to restrict your privileges, and to deny you your prerogatives, the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils must remain practically a sham."

The speaker then proceeded to deal in a masterly manner with the constitution and powers of the Council. Of the Council's commercial incapacity here is what he said:—"Although Lord Canning in 1858 sent an urgent despatch to the Secretary of State strongly protesting against his contemplated action, that particular Secretary of State in Council sanctioned the construction of the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway, and guaranteed interest at the rate of 5 per cent. This was done after eleven years experience had taught that such concessions were irreconcilable with the true interests of India. The result of this was that the whole thing practically became bankrupt, and the Secretary of State had to purchase the railway at the cost of half a million sterling! Not content with this purchase of 1858, in 1859 the Council granted another concession, this time, by way of strict impartiality, in my own particular Presidency of Madras, to the Madras Irrigation Company upon substantially the same basis, guaranteeing to pay in perpetuity interest at 5 per cent. upon one million pounds sterling. Soon after this it was found the calculations were all wrong. The work never paid its expenses. What did the Secretary of State in Council do? He promptly advanced an additional £6,000 without security, with the result that eventually India had to buy this concern at par. I have dealt with Calcutta and Madras. Let us see what is done in the Presidency to which Mr. Wacha belongs. I find in Bombay that in 1869 the India Council sanctioned the purchase of the Elphinstone Land and Press Company for Rs. 1,000 per share while the selling price was only Rs. 339. These illustrations show that the commercial capa-

city of the gentlemen who receive handsome salaries and pensions from us is not so great as to entitle them to retain our confidence or our admiration."

"Now let us look at some interesting figures illustrative of the licentious and criminal extravagance of these twelve or fourteen gentlemen at home. India has been charged—and has had to pay—£821,100 for the erection of certain buildings in England. Of this £540,000 has been absorbed in the construction and furniture of the India Office, a place not unfrequently devoted to giving, at the expense of India, costly entertainments to visitors to England unconnected with this country. I find that £70,000 have been spent on the erection of a library, £68,000 upon our old friend the Store Depôt, and £100,000 upon the Indian Engineering College for the manufacture of experts who after importation find themselves shelved in favour of Royal Engineers. Now I come to the most extraordinary and alarming of all the items, namely, £38,000 which have been spent, Sir, on the construction of a Lunatic Asylum at Ealing." The manner in which Mr. Norton dealt with the famous institution at Ealing must be read in the full report.

Concluding, the speaker accurately voiced the feelings of all present in the following sentences. "With me there is no mending that Council. It must be ending. Let it be decapitated and its head decently buried in another continent to that in which lies interred its trunk, lest the two baneful things re-unite and the monster be resuscitated. For a worse system than the present could not be invented by the ingenuity of man. The Council is a secret body; its discussions are not public; its conclusions do not see the light of day; it is not open to the influence of outside criticism; it is not responsible to Parliament; it cannot be affected by public opinion. You cannot have a worse body than that to rule or to misrule you."

Mr. Mudholkar in support emphasized the utter uselessness of the India Council and related the following striking instance of a grievance against this Council. "You know, Gentlemen—particularly those of you who come from Bombay—what the *Inam* commission is. When the *Inam* Commission was let loose in certain provinces, which need not be mentioned here, certain *Inams* were attached and the proceeds taken to the Government treasury pending investigation, which in some cases went on for a period of 25 years. At last it was found that the *Inamdars* were entitled and their claims were allowed. But during all this time Government had received the profits. The *Inamdars* asked for arrears. The Government of India disallowed the claim. There was an appeal to the Secretary of State and his Council. Well, one would have expected that if the claim was just, Government would have taken time to verify the thing. No! Claims of right and justice like this would most certainly hamper the hands of our Council, and these claims were summarily rejected. This is the justice which is received from the highest executive authority." With the passing of this Resolution the business of the Second day came to an end.

The Third Day's Proceedings opened with Resolution V. relating to the promised Financial Enquiry. Mr. Mudalier in moving the Resolution well

Resolution V.

Financial Enquiry.

expressed the opinion of educated Indians on the scope of this promised enquiry in the following words "I think I can make you understand our position by a brief illustration, which may not be elegant, but at the same time expresses our ideas briefly and in a short compass. The action of the Government—if the promise of the Secretary of State results in action in the terms of that promise—seems to me like the conduct of a stupid cartman who loads or overloads his cart without considering and measuring the strength of his bullocks. The Government idea of making an enquiry into the expenditure only without making corresponding enquiries as to the capacity of the Indian tax-payer to bear the present burdens seems to be based on foregone conclusions. It postulates that the Indian people are very happy and contented under the present fiscal burdens, that they have nothing whatever to complain of, and that the present taxation can be continued without any diminution."

He was followed by Mr. Morgan-Browne in a speech containing several suggestive facts and figures. Here are one or two extracts. "When I was travelling in the Punjab I met an Anglo-Indian, himself an officer of Government, who told me this little story. Somewhere here in Madras there was a man who helped a Colonel, a man of some influence, in a matter of some importance. This Colonel out of gratitude offered this man an appointment and wrote to him saying 'I can get you an appointment as an Inspector of Stores in London at £250 a year.' He replied 'I am very much obliged to you for your kind offer, but unfortunately I have a wife and family, and I cannot afford to take up the post on such a low salary.' And so, Gentlemen, the post went elsewhere. Afterwards the Colonel wrote to this man and said, 'I am very sorry to hear that you have declined the appointment, for it is worth £1,250 a year.' What does that mean? It means £1,000 a year in the shape of bribes."

Dealing with the financial methods of the Government of India, Mr. Morgan-Browne said :—"There was published quite recently a return on Indian Military Expenditure. Now this is an instructive return because it shows you, although late in the day, some of the financial methods of this Government. The return is headed "East India (Military Expenditure)." The first thing you notice on opening the return is that the items of "Military Works" and "Special Defence Works" have been absolutely ignored. Now we put a question to Mr. Fowler, the Secretary of State for India, as to why in a return of Military Expenditure such an important part of Military Expenditure as that of "Military Works" was left out. He replied that the Return only dealt with Army Expenditure, and that "Military Expenditure" was the ordinary heading under which this is placed in the accounts. Well, Gentlemen, we turn up the Accounts of the Government of India, and we find no such heading as "Military Expenditure." In those accounts Military Expenditure figures under three heads, "Army Services", "Military Works" and "Special Defence Works." I do not see how we can exonerate the Government of India from either being extremely ignorant of their own accounts or else deliberately deceiving the public in England with the heading of Military Expenditure, which, while suggesting the whole, was meant to cover only a portion."

And finally, referring to the cry of Anglo-Indian Officialism that the fall in Exchange has been the sole cause of the financial embarrassment of the Government of India, the speaker made the following significant statement, founded as he had previously explained on the published accounts of the Government of India. "Gentlemen, the increase in the Revenues in this country exceeded the increase in the cost of exchange by 2½ crores, and by that same amount, namely, 2½ crores, the increase in Military and Civil expenditure exceeded the increase in the Revenues. I want you to appreciate these facts, which I am giving you on the figures of the Government of India. I want you to realize that these facts give the lie direct to the assertion of the Government of India that the fall in the rupee has accounted for the deficit and has been the sole cause of it."

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the able Editor of the *Hindu* Newspaper, brought further damaging evidence against the financial methods of the Government of India, quoting no less an authority than Sir W. Hunter. Here is what he said :—"Sir William Hunter writing in the columns of the *Times* has gone to the extent of accusing the Government of India of want of honesty generally. When he criticised Mr. Westland's budget, in which Exchange was taken at 14d. per Rupee, although everybody knew that that rate was excessively high, Sir W. Hunter even said that Mr. Westland did that in order to mitigate the scandal of sacrificing 14 millions of Rupees of potential Indian Revenue to party exigencies in England; in other words, he asserted that this high rate of exchange was assumed in order to allay the public feeling against the exclusion of Manchester goods from the Tariff Act. Such being the case, Sir, it will not be said that we are presumptuous in asking for this enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burdens."

The same speaker neatly summed up the financial history of India during the last ten years in a couple of sentences. "Mr. Westland said in his budget speech that within the last ten years, four new taxes had been imposed and the surpluses of the Provincial Governments swept off into the Imperial coffers. Still the financial difficulties have not disappeared, for the very sufficient reason that all the further proceeds of this taxation have been spent upon wars and upon Compensation Allowance to the European Employés of Government."

And Mr. Nagarkar from Poona reminded his hearers of the abortive Fawcett Committee on this question of finance, and made a practical suggestion by which its lost labours might be recovered and utilized. "You are all aware that as far back as the year 1870 or thereabouts, the British Parliament appointed a similar Committee of Enquiry which was popularly styled the Fawcett Committee because Mr. Fawcett, whose immortal name stands indelibly engraved on the hearts of the whole Indian nation, was one of its members. This Committee, having continued its labours for four full years, recorded a huge mass of evidence, but had no time to give a Report or to summarise the evidence it had collected, because by the time the labours of this Committee had been nearly completed, the British Parliament was dissolved, and along with it this Committee also was dissolved. If the scope of the enquiry of the present Committee is extended, and an

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examination of the Revenue side of the administration included in it, the work of this Committee will have been much simplified. They have only to fill up the gap which the last Committee left at the end of 1882, and to examine half-a-dozen witnesses, the heads of each department, with a view to ascertaining the change that has taken place during the last 20 years; and when this is done the enquiry will not occupy a very large portion of the Committee's time."

Resolution VI. Simultaneous Examinations.

The next Resolution was one, like the last, of considerable present interest. It was the opportunity for educated and thinking India to give its answer to Mr. Fowler's despatch on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and a very significant and weighty answer it is. This was Resolution VI. on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, protesting against the way in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India had set aside the vote of the House of Commons on this subject. The occasion was one to call forth all the gifts of an orator and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea acquitted himself in a manner worthy of the occasion and of his own high reputation. Here is India's reply by the lips of her favourite orator to the Secretary of State's despatch on Simultaneous Examinations.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea begins by expressing the disappointment which had been experienced. "Gentlemen, last year about this time, we were rejoicing that the House of Commons had definitely affirmed the principle of Simultaneous Examinations. Last year about this time, in Congress assembled, we expressed the hope—I was somewhat sceptical about the matter—that the Government of India would see its way to give effect to the resolution of the House and fulfil the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of India. Those hopes have now been blasted. We meet to-day under the shadow of a great disappointment." He then proceeds to describe Mr. Fowler's despatch in terms which arouse enthusiastic assent from the 1,200 delegates there assembled.

"Our Sovereign has passed round the word of emancipation, she has declared that we are to be free; that we are to be eligible to the highest offices in the State; Parliament has endorsed the mandate; and we shall see to it that no minister of the Crown, however highly placed he may be, that no Government, however influential it may be, is permitted to nullify the gracious pledges of our Sovereign and the authoritative declaration of Parliament. Gentlemen, last year about this time, I have already remarked, we were rejoicing about the resolution of the House of Commons. These rejoicings have given place to disappointment. I do not know what view you take of the despatch of the Secretary of State. I regard it in the light of a deliberate affront offered to the public opinion of this country."

The speaker then turned to the despatch itself and literally riddled it with his destructive criticism, denouncing in no measured terms the spectre of racial disability which this despatch had conjured up from a dead past. This is what India thinks of the Secretary of State's despatch. "The Secretary of State in that document invites the Government of India to state the conditions subject to which, in the opinion of the Government, the resolution may be given effect to.

Mark the loyalty of the Secretary of State to his masters, the House of Commons. It is evident from the words of the despatch which I have just quoted that, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, the resolution of the House of Commons cannot be given effect to in its entirety, for he wants an expression of opinion from the Government of India, as to the modifications subject to which the resolution may be carried out. The views of the Secretary of State—the sinister views I was going to add—become more apparent in the second paragraph of the despatch. The Secretary of State openly invites the Government of India to open the battery of its hostile criticism upon the doomed resolution of the House. The Secretary of State says, in the language of diplomacy which is usual on such occasions, that he has no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government of India with regard to any remark which the Government may think fit to make upon the resolution of the House of Commons. I should like to know what the Secretary of State himself would think if the Government of India were to send round a despatch, which it had received from the Secretary of State, and invite the various subordinate Governments to treat it in the spirit of hostile criticism; but, perhaps, that is only an error in form, a mistake in procedure. We come to something which is a great deal worse in the third paragraph. He says that it is to be an indispensable condition on the part of any recommendation which the Government of India may make, that an adequate number of appointments should be held by Europeans. The Secretary of State need not have taken the trouble to say so. It was a mere work of supererogation. At the present moment the Civil Service is the monopoly of Europeans."

And here is laid bare the true meaning of this official document. "Gentlemen, when the Secretary of State lays down this recommendation in this naked form, in this undisguised fashion, he invites a protest and a remonstrance; for the Secretary of State now, for the first time, introduces the element of racial disability into a question from which considerations of racial disability have been eliminated for a period of more than thirty years; for what does the order of the Secretary of State amount to? It comes to this that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, and, say, that fifty appointments were competed for, and the first fifty candidates were Natives of India, all of them would not get the appointments —some of them would be disqualified by reason of their race; they would suffer for the crime of colour. Would the Secretary of State venture to introduce a condition like this just now? If not, why should he be permitted to conjure up into existence the dead, buried and forgotten spectre of racial disability."

Finally after showing with inexorable logic that the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was being shamelessly violated—a Proclamation which the worst Government India ever had (that of Lord Lytton) concurred with the best Government she ever had (that of Lord Ripon) in regarding as peculiarly sacred and binding upon all—Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea concluded in these noble words. "But, Gentlemen, it is open to us in the meantime to prove by our loyalty, our devotion, and self-sacrifice that we are qualified for the boon we pray for. So let the moral victory prepare the way for that political emancipation to which our

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fondest aspirations tend. The promised land is full in view but an untoward fate prevents us from entering it; nevertheless, from the Sinai of faith and hope, like Moses of old, we may obtain a prospective view of the glories of the land of Canaan, the destined inheritance of our children and our children's children. I am confident that in the fulness of time, under the Providence of God and the auspices of British Rule, they will take possession of this land of promise where their fetters will fall off, their badge of political slavery will disappear; where, being British subjects in name, they will be British subjects in reality, and where, under the fostering influence of free political institutions, they will develop a civilisation the noblest which the world has ever seen, the emblem of indissoluble union between England and India, a civilisation fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of India and unspeakable renown to the English name. That is the future which with the eye of faith we see awaits us; that is the future which looms in the distance; that is the future which inspires us with an enthusiasm of which the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy can have no conception; that is the future for which we work, and for which some of us, at any rate, are prepared to lay down our lives; it is the future of an emancipated people, ennobled by the spirit of liberty, consecrated by the genius of self-sacrifice and consolidated by fervent loyalty to the British connection."

After the great orator many more press home the heavy charges against the Government in this particular. Rajah Rampal Singh, an old and staunch worker in the Congress, awakens inextinguishable laughter by his quaint way of exposing the clumsy efforts of an ex-Secretary of State to cancel the Queen's Proclamation by a flank attack. Speaking of the doctrine of equality which breathes throughout that Proclamation he said:—"As we did not appreciate these blessings, no objection was thrown in our way, but when a few of our Bengali friends passed their Examinations successfully in England then Lord Lytton's Government began to meditate, and he wrote a letter, a private letter, after consulting all the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, to Lord Cranbrook, and in this he proposed that the systems of the Military and Civil Service should be identical, and the Examination for the Civil Service should be closed for Indians. To this Lord Cranbrook replied that shutting up the Board of the Civil Service would require the sanction of Parliament, which he said 'he did not like to undertake because he did not expect success.'"

Mr. Venkata Subba Row, of Madras, puts the merits of the case very clearly thus:—"What is our case? Gentlemen, there are competitive examinations held, at which candidates are selected for the Civil Service of India. Well, if it was declared that these examinations are not open to the natives of this country I should not be standing here to argue this particular question. But our rulers do not say that. They say that these examinations are open both to Englishmen and Indians. They say that they proceed only upon considerations of merit as determined by these competitive examinations. They do not object even if all the successful candidates at these competitive examinations should turn out to be Indians; they would raise no objection whatever. But with all this fairness of

principle, with all this love of even-handedness, with all this good feeling for Indians, our rulers do one thing which practically nullifies their benevolent intentions. They hold their examinations in London, and in London alone, near the homes of Englishmen and far away from here, far off from the native place of those who are directly interested in those examinations."

Mr. Hafiz Abdul Rahim—a Mahomedan from that centre of Mahomedan exclusiveness and opposition, Aligarh—voices the approval of enlightened and educated Mahomedan opinion with the claims which the Congress puts forward. "Gentlemen, there is no doubt that Mahomedans have become poorer in comparison with their former state; it is alleged, and it is not denied, that they are poorer than other communities at present. You know that it is not the richer and wealthier classes that take to the Service all over the world; it is generally the middle class that desires to join the public service of the land. But it is beyond the means and power unfortunately of the Indian middle classes to send their youth to England. If the Civil Service Examinations were held in India it is my sincere conviction that Mahomedan youths would derive greater benefits than they can ever derive if the Examination continues to be held in London only."

Finally Mr. Joshi and Professor Gokhale criticise still further but always effectively this spectre of racial disability which has been resuscitated by the Secretary of State in his ill-conceived despatch. Mr. Joshi says. "The evil that has been done in the despatch of the Secretary of State is this: that the Secretary of State has introduced a new principle by way of racial distinction. I say, Gentlemen, that this is a monstrous principle to introduce in the case of this country, for this reason: that if you once admit the principle that a certain minimum number of Europeans is necessary in the Civil Service of this country, there will be a time not very distant when you can imagine the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy stopping you from going even to England and competing through the channel that is open to you at present."

And Prof. Gokhale from Poona—that home of learned men and able politicians, *pace* the cricketing Governor's different opinion—clinches the matter in a few sober and dignified sentences. "The Government of India and the Secretary of State have now authoritatively laid down that a certain minimum number of posts, and those the highest, must always and for all time to come be held by Europeans; and most of the local Governments have supplied a key to this proposition by saying in their despatches that that minimum has now been reached. The doctrine of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, therefore, means that the present arrangements should be perpetuated, and is, in fact, an attempt to keep us always under as a subject race. Gentlemen, is it not plainly our duty as men not to allow this barefaced attempt to succeed? Some of our opponents often say:—'But you are a subject race.' Now all that I would say to such men is this, 'We know we are a subject race, and the consciousness is humiliating enough; and they are not good friends of the Empire who indulge in the pastime of needlessly reminding us of the fact.'

Resolution VI. Simultaneous Examinations.

It is true that England has come here as a conqueror, but she has of her own accord solemnly pledged herself not to hold the country as a conqueror. Let our opponents put themselves into our position, and then say what they would feel. I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to love one's country. I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to have a high ideal for one's country. And then I believe they will allow that it is not wrong for us to be dissatisfied with our present condition. Well, Gentlemen, the pledges of equal treatment which England has given us have supplied us with a high and worthy ideal for our nation; and if these pledges are repudiated, one of the strongest claims of British rule to our attachment will disappear."

Resolution VII. Judicial Service.

The next Resolution deals with the Judicial Service and is rather technical, but in the hands of able speakers discloses a very real grievance. The Resolution urges that the Judicial Service should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case. The obvious need for this is well stated in the words of Sir Charles Paul, Advocate-General of Calcutta, quoted by one of the speakers. Here is what the leader of the Calcutta Bar has said on this subject. "It is a mistake in these advanced days to appoint Civilians to high judicial posts which ought to be filled properly by thoroughly trained and thoroughly experienced Barristers and Pleaders. What can an ordinary Civil Servant, however intelligent and well educated he may be, know of the tremendous complications and the innumerable technicalities of a mixture of English and Mahomedan laws? We have a number of codes; all of a strictly technical character, based principally on English Law. Now, it often happens that Sectional orders issued by Government do not clearly and expressly state the law on the points to which they refer. It is taken for granted that the Administrator, Judge or Magistrate, knows the law; but he frequently, being a Civilian, does not know it. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, for men who have to construe these Sections to be acquainted with the principles on which they are founded. It is hopeless to expect men merely by the light of nature to arrive at a proper interpretation of the Sections. Many years of extensive practice, and a long familiarity with principles and cases, will alone fit a man for so great a task. I would here particularise the frequent unfamiliarity of all non-professional Judges with the law of evidence. Points of law which arise in the course of the examination of witnesses require to be readily decided. I do not think that under our present system there is sufficient ability or enlightenment for that purpose."

Resolution VIII. Medical Service.

Resolution VIII relates to the Medical Service, and prays for a complete separation of the Civil Medical Service from the Military Service, at whose triumphant chariot-wheels the Civil Medical Officer in India is ignominiously dragged. The gross injustice of the present system and the evil which it works were eloquently put forward by Dr. Bahadurji of Bombay, in a speech which contains an extremely cogent and lucid account of the whole position. After dealing exhaustively with the higher Medical Service. Dr. Bahadurji turns to the subordinate service and there discloses a perfectly infamous state of things. "To turn to the second part of the resolution, *viz.*, the subject of the Subordinate Medical Service.

It has three branches. First, the Assistant Surgeons. These are our graduates in medicine, who have passed both educational and professional tests higher than those required for the I. M. S., and being Assistant Surgeons on Rs. 100 a month, rise to be old Assistant Surgeons on Rs. 300 a month, and retire on the grand pension of Rs. 100, whilst members of the Military Service who sponge on the Civil Department rise from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500. The Assistant Surgeons do, and have done, all the work, even field work as Volunteers in the Afghan and other campaigns, of the Civil Military Surgeons, but without their pay or their position."

Resolution VII Medical Service

And again:—"Then there are two other enlistments for the subordinate service—one military and the other civil—the former being open to Christians only. But see what difference the element of religion makes in the treatment accorded to the two classes. John, the Christian, and Pandu, the non-Christian, both seek admission to their respective services. John, the Christian, need not know more than the High School fourth standard; reading, writing, and sums, but Pandu, the non-Christian, must pass a much higher test. They both go through the same professional course and examination. John, the Christian, then begins as a Military Apothecary, and works under the regimental Surgeons. His salary ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 450. He may, however, be promoted to the uncovenanted grade and given even Rs. 750 by being found a post in the Civil Department. His new designation is Assistant Surgeon, I. M. S., and he rises from the rank of Lieutenant to that of Major. But Pandu, the non-Christian, begins as a Hospital Assistant and dies a Hospital Assistant. His work is as vast as it is responsible. He practises medicine, surgery and midwifery. He it is who really dispels the ignorance and prejudice of the masses in regard to the western system of medicine. He treats a thousand times more cases in a month than the highest officer of a hospital does in a year. On his judgment, intelligence and integrity depend the lives of his fellow citizens in the mofussil, questions of life and death turning upon the nature of his evidence in medico-legal cases. But, alas! the respectability and responsibility of this most important servant of the State are in an inverse ratio, and that too in very abnormal proportions. One feels almost ashamed to say that the non-Christian Pandu who does such responsible and excellent work for the Government is paid no higher salary than is paid to a senior *punka-wallah* in the hospital, or a cook or a coachman. The scale of his pay is Rs. 16 to Rs. 80 odd."

Other speakers press the matter home; and we pass on to the IXth Resolution relating to the Legislative Councils. It must always be a matter of regret that the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments in the various Rules framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 gave so niggardly an interpretation of the rights conferred by the Statute. The authorities in India have unfortunately succeeded in thwarting to no inconsiderable extent the expressed purpose and plain intentions of Parliament in this respect. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad—a welcome speaker at the Congress—had no difficulty in showing how far the actual facts fell short of

Resolution IX. Legislative Councils.

Resolution IX. Legislative Councils.

Mr. Gladstone's anticipation of "a real living representation of the people" or of Lord Salisbury's strongly expressed hope that representation would be given "to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India." Mr. Bhagiratha Prasad, of Nagpur, showed in a very clear and well-reasoned speech the peculiar folly of the arrangements which had been made with regard to the Central Provinces. While complaints from the Punjab, who have been ignored altogether, Bombay, Madras and Bengal, proved how wide is the dissatisfaction with the present rules.

At the close of the day's proceedings a very sad piece of intelligence became known and was communicated from the Chair at the time of adjournment. The evening papers had announced the sudden death from Diphtheria of the young Maharajah of Mysore, whose progressive reign had long excited universal feelings of admiration and respect.

Resolution X. Vote of sympathy with Royal Family of Mysore.

At the beginning of the Fourth Day's Proceedings there was brought home to everyone the consciousness of the *lacrimæ rerum*. Very quietly in the presence of a public sorrow did the delegates assemble: and then the President in a few simple but eloquent words moved in the name of the whole Congress a vote of sympathy with the Royal Family of Mysore in their sad bereavement. The Indian Congress pointed with keen regret, touched with a sense of patriotic pride, to the loss which the Indian Peoples had sustained by the premature close of a constitutional reign which was at once "a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties."

Resolution XI. Trial by Jury.

In the next resolution Congress asked for an extension of the jury system, but late so wantonly invaded by Sir Charles Elliot; that finality should be given to verdicts of acquittal passed by a jury; and that in any case the power at present possessed by Government to appeal against acquittal should be taken away. The reasonableness of the demand for an extension of the system of trial by jury was forcibly put by the Hon. Mr. C. H. Sitalvad of Bombay. "Suffice it to say that the agitation that followed that Notification, and the Report of the Commission that was appointed by Government to consider that matter, fully established, once for all, that the system of trial by jury, instead of being a failure, as was sought to be made out by the officials, was a complete success; while some of the members of the Commission recommended its further extension. Gentlemen, if trial by jury is a necessity in England, I maintain that it is a greater necessity in India where the majority of the Judges, unacquainted with the manners and customs of the people, are not in a proper position, as a jury selected by the people themselves would be, to deal with questions of fact."

Alluding to Government's power of appealing against acquittals, the same speaker brought out the glaring injustice of this proceeding in a manner it does not seem easy to refute. "Under this provision of the law, Government have the power of appealling against any order of acquittal, appellate and original; and the Limitation Act allows them the long period of six months within which they can do it. Contrast this with the privilege accorded to an accused appealing

against conviction. If an accused is sent to jail for a period of one month, or is sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50, or is committed to the Sessions, he has no power to appeal, while in the case of summary trials he has no power of appeal at all. Even in cases where he has the power to appeal, he must exercise that power within 30 days, in the case of convictions by Magistrates, and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Sessions Courts. Thus, Gentlemen, while an accused person—I ought to say a native accused person, because the Criminal Procedure Code most shamelessly violates the fundamental principles of law, that the law is no respecter of persons, and exempts European British subjects from these Rules—must appeal within 30 or 60 days, as the case may be, when he is sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 3 months, or must make up his mind to sit still and bear it, your august Government with all their resources at their back have the proud privilege of hanging the sword of Damocles over the head of acquitted persons for 6 months."

Mr. K. N. Desmuki put in a strong plea for the Central Provinces, who are certainly very hardly used in most things by a paternal Government—in fact they are the ugly duckling of our Indian Administration. Here is the short list of their grievances. Mr. K. N. Desmuki says, "I am from the Central Provinces, the non-regulated provinces ; the provinces having no Legislative Council ; the provinces having no Chartered High Court ; the provinces having no jury system. So you see, Gentlemen, we want many things. But be not afraid, please ; we do not want them all at once and at one and the same time. Our Indian people are well known to the civilised world for their patience. Among other things that we want is the jury system."

And again, he shows that the demand is no revolutionary request. "We do not want anything which is new to us ; we do not want anything which is an innovation to us ; but we want a thing which was the right and privilege of our forefathers, we want a thing which was enjoyed by our worthy forefathers, and enjoyed without any disturbance, without any interference. And what was that ? It was the jury system, but fortunately or unfortunately it had a very different name, a name known to all of you here, and that was the "*Panchayet*" system."

Mr. Ambica C. Mozumdar in a powerful speech, carries vigorous war into the camp of the opposition. He opens with the following eloquent sentences. "Sir, the almost proverbial immobility of Indian reform is probably nowhere so conspicuous as in the slow and imperceptible development of the system of trial by Jury. Here it seems to have moved in cycles even larger than those of the great orb which is the centre of the mighty planetary system under which we live. Decades passed away after the British conquest before the system of trial by jury was properly secured to Her Majesty's Indian subjects living within the Presidency towns. It then took three decades more to reach a few favoured spots in the regions of the Western and the Eastern Ghats and the Assam Valleys ; and then another cycle of full thirty years rolled away before seven districts in the Gangetic Provinces came to receive its blessings. There it has ever since stood as if fossilized beyond all possibility of further growth. But now that the country

Resolution XI. Trial by jury.

has completed another revolution of thirty years more, has not the usual period of probation passed and the time fully arrived for doling out another measure of this reform to the suffering millions of this vast empire? If the privilege is still to be withheld Anglo-Indian bureaucracy must be false to its own established tradition."

Then, after placing some carefully prepared statistics before his hearers he sums up their results thus:—"From these it would appear that while the Magistrates were found wrong in 30 per cent. of cases in which there was an appeal from their decisions, Sessions Judges sitting with assessors were found wrong in about 28 per cent., while juries were found wrong only in 4½ per cent. with the barest possibility of 11 per cent. It follows, therefore, that as regards perversity of judgment, Judges left to themselves are at least 2½ times as perverse as Judges kept straight by jurors, while the Magistrate's perversity is 2 degrees in excess of that of the Sessions Judges."

Finally he draws a vivid picture of the arbitrary and anomalous administration of the criminal law in British India, as between district and district. "Gentlemen" he says "a murder is a murder, with the gallows for its destined goal, whether it is committed in Dacca or in Faridpur, and yet the merest accident of its being committed on this or that side of an almost imaginary line, sometimes drawn through restless waters, may determine whether the same man shall be dealt with as a true citizen or as a bondsman. Sir, where is the clause in the great testament of the Queen-Mother that, while imposing upon my head the liabilities of her Government deprives me of an equal share in the privileges of her rule? Why should I day by day and year after year, standing on one bank of a river, gaze mournfully on the other bank, and have to say to myself that it is over there that the shackles fall off and true citizenship begins?"

Resolution XII. Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

Resolution XII deals with that important question, long over-ripe for solution, of the separation of judicial and executive functions. The three or four short speeches on this subject, of such vital interest to the poorer classes of the people who are at the mercy of a corrupt police, should be carefully read. A single quotation from one of them must here suffice. Mr. K. Srinivasa Row says:—"I will give you one example in which the combination of the executive and judicial functions has been a failure. In the Bellary district, (my own district) a confidential circular was sent round by the District Magistrate to the effect that the Magistrates who hear and decide cases should remember that they are responsible for the detection and suppression of crime. They were told that the duty which we thought was entirely the duty of the Police was to be undertaken by them. The Magistrates are asked to support and assist the Police. And I will tell you why this was done. Government found that when the last Administration Report was published the number of convictions was not quite as large as they desired, and our Editors—whom we have either to thank or curse, I do not know which—sat upon the Administration Report and said that poor convictions showed poor detection. Government therefore wanted to show to the Editors a larger number of convictions, as being synonymous with greater efficiency in Criminal Administration. Accordingly this Circular was issued which means in effect that

the District Magistrate should ask his subordinates to make friends with the Police, and that if fault is found with the Police, they should excuse them."

Resolution XIII. The Punjab Chief Court.

On Resolution XIII praying for the establishment of a Chartered High Court in the Punjab, Bakshi Jaishi Ram, of Lahore, spoke with authority. "We want equal treatment with other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. As there is such a large surplus under the head of Law and Justice, I do not see why the people of the Punjab should not have a High Court when the people of the North-West Provinces and Oudh have one. The law which is in force in the Punjab is the same as that which is in force in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces. The Highest tribunal is the High Court, and it is only that Court that can give final decisions in important matters connected with the welfare of the people. Another ground for the establishment of a High Court is that there is an anomaly in reference to Appeal cases in our Province. There is no right of Appeal in the case of suits the value of which is within Rs. 1,000, when the judgment of the Appellate Court agrees with the judgment of the Original Court." The people of Sindh also are deeply interested in this question—as at present their highest appellate court, short of the Privy Council, is a Judicial Commissioner, a covenanted civilian, who may be a good officer, but very bad Judge. A High Court for the Punjab might well have jurisdiction over Sindh—in easy railway communication with Lahore—pending better arrangements for litigants in Sindh.

Resolution XIV. Military and Civil Expenditure.

Resolution XIV. on Military and Civil expenditure was necessarily of interest because of the growing attention which the abnormal growth of Indian expenditure is attracting to all financial questions connected with India. Mr. Wacha—an old authority on this and all financial questions—had no difficulty in strengthening the assertion of all persons having knowledge of the subject (with the not unnatural exception of the Government of India and India Office officials) that not exchange but excessive and ruinously extravagant expenditure on the Military and Civil Services is the true cause of India's financial distress. His speech, which bristles with statistics, must be read *in extenso* as it defies quotation.

Resolution XVI. Omnibus Resolution.

Passing over a short resolution on Public Education we come to Resolution XVI—the Omnibus Resolution—the Resolution which sets forth the standing grievances of the Indian Empire. Pandit Bishan Narain Dar in an able speech made the following brief and emphatic assertion, which was loudly cheered. "Gentlemen, if I were asked to point out any action or any measures of the Government of India to show that the policy of the Government in this country has of late been that India is not for Indians or for Englishmen but solely and wholly for Anglo-Indians, I should point to two measures; I should point to the rejection of our demands for Simultaneous Examinations, and I should point to the granting of Exchange Compensation Allowance. India is at present governed in the interests of a particular class. Now, Gentlemen, I look upon these two actions of Government as two crimes—grave crimes committed against the just aspirations of the people of this country, against the honour of England and against the noblest instincts of humanity."

Resolution XVII. Proposed further powers of District Magistrates.

Resolution XVII is very important. It deals with proposed amendments to Section 15 of the Police Act of 1861. A serious wrong is about to be perpetrated —has already been perpetrated—and prompt action ought to be taken in England and India to bring the Indian Government back into the ordinary paths of equity and common sense. Let Messrs. Mudholkar, of the Berars, and Namjoshi, of Poona, explain. Says Mr. Mudholkar "There is a section in the Police Act by which, if it is found that any part of the country is in a disturbed condition, Government have the power of imposing what is called a punitive police there, that is, a police specially so employed, and the cost of that police is defrayed not from the general revenue of the country but from a tax specially raised for that purpose. The tax is levied in the locality where the police have to be quartered. It was suggested to Government that this measure—which has been in existenee from 1861—is not a just one; that it is desirable to make some changes, and that it is only persons who have really committed any disturbance who should defray those expenses. At first sight this looks very just and proper, but look at the insidious manner in which this principle is sought to be worked out. The way in which the Government proposes to proceed is this; whenever such a Police has to be employed the cost of such additional police force shall be borne as the Magistrate of the District may direct. Now let us understand what this means. It means that such community or classes as the Magistrate thinks has committed the offence is to be taxed with the whole thing; but not only that, his power of differentiation extends to that community as a whole. He may say that only five or six men who are responsible shall be called on to pay; such persons in such manner and to such extent as he thinks fit. If there is a man against whom he has a grudge, that man may be singled out, and from that man the whole cost can be claimed."

"Then there is this dangerous procedure existing, not only with regard to the imposition of the tax, but also with regard to another thing in which the same powers are given. If any damage to property is caused, if any person has received grievous hurt, or any person is killed, power is given to the District Magistrate to give compensation for the loss or for the destruction of property, or for the injury caused to the person. That compensation he has got the power of levying from such classes of the community as he thinks proper, or from such individuals, in such manner, and to such extent, as he thinks proper."

Mr. Namjoshi after alluding to various defects in the proposed legislation, points out that "in section 30 or 31 it proposes to entrust to the Police, to the Inspector, or the officers of the Police, the novel power of stopping, controlling and regulating processions or assemblies not only in public places, but also in private places." Such a power, he adds, is "dangerous" and "unprecedented." "It is unprecedented in that it un-makes the blessings, that it un-makes the good that written law guarantees to the subjects of foreign rule, inasmuch as it leaves not only large powers but large powers of discretion, not only to District Magistrates but to Superintendents of Police, and not only to Superintendents of Police, but, as this Bill seems to indicate, to the Assistant Superintendents of Police, and some lower grades of Police Officers also."

Then we come to numerous Resolutions of great, though minor, importance. On Forest Management, which the subordinates of the Forest Department make to press heavily on the poor people within their jurisdiction. On the Liberty of the Press, relating to a gross violation of this principle of rudimentary justice, in British territory within the boundaries of native States—rather late in the day, pertinently remarks one of the speakers, to plead for the liberty of the Press! On the arbitrary character of the imposition for Water-cess, one of those side-attacks on existing rights by which governments not infrequently cancel long-established concessions. Finally to formal Resolutions and a few last words by the President spoken simply from an honest heart and sympathetic understanding. Then amid hearty cheers for Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, for India's old and valued friend Mr. A. O. Hume, and for India's distinguished son and trusted representative in the British Parliament, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Tenth Indian National Congress brought its arduous labours to a successful and appropriate termination.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS USED IN THE REPORT.

Abkari ...	... Excise of spirits.
Agraharamdar ...	... A landholder under a particular tenure.
Amani ...	... Management of Land-Revenue direct under Government.
Candy ...	... A measure (Madras)=500 lbs.
Crore ...	... A numeral=ten millions.
Durbar ...	... A ceremonial assembly.
Fasli ...	... Of or belonging to a harvest; the agricultural year, beginning about April or May.
Gaurakshani ...	... Cow-protection. There is a widespread movement in India for protecting and preserving cows, the sacred animal of the Hindu.
Inam ...	... A gift, grant of land (lit. a reward).
Inamdar ...	... Inam-holder, grantee of land; land-owner.
Janmi ...	... Landlord (Malabar).
Kons=Khots ...	... Landholders under a particular tenure—landlords.
Kotwal ...	... Police officer, administrative officer generally.
Lakh ...	... A numeral=100,000. When denoting sums of Rupees by figures the arrangement of the commas is determined by the number of crores or lakhs and not by the thousands. Thus Rs. 317,94,62,000=317 crores 94 lakhs and 62 thousand rupees.

Malguzar ... ... Payer of Revenue, landlord (Central Provinces).
Marwadi, Marwari ... One of the banker caste, a banker.
Mirasdar, Mirasidar ... A landholder.
Mofussil ... ... Country districts as opposed to capital towns.
Munsiff ... ... A judicial officer.
Paddy ... ... Unhusked rice.
Pandal ... ... Shed, pavilion.
Pandit ... ... A learned man—professor.
Pasi ... ... A low-caste man, a servant.
Peishcush ... ... A tribute or offering, land revenue.
Pukka ... ... Perfect (*lit.* baked, cooked) used of Government posts, &c., it signifies the *permanent* as distinguished from the *acting* appointment.
Punkah-wallah ... ... Punkah-man, the servant who pulls the punkah.
Putti ... ... A measure=500 lbs.
Pymash ... ... Measurement, survey.
Ryot, ryotwar ... ... Tenant, occupant of land not under any landlord or middle-man.
Ryotwari ... ... Tenant right—the system of individual holdings direct from the State.
Sabha ... ... A society, association.
Sanyasi ... ... An ascetic.
Sarvajanik Sabha ... An influential political association at Poona.
Shastras ... ... Scriptural code of law.
Shikar ... ... Hunting; a day's shikar=a day's shooting.
Shikari ... ... A hunter.
Sowcar ... ... A money-lender.
Sudra ... .. The lowest of the four great castes, Brahmin (priest), Kshattrya (warrior), Vaysya (merchant), Sudra (servant).
Sunnad ... ... A title-deed.
Taluq, Taluqa ... ... An administrative area.
Taluqdar ... ... A Taluq-holder, an estate holder, big landlord, &c.
Thannah ... ... An administrative area for purposes of police.
Topee ... ... A Sun-hat.
Wallah ... ... A fellow, a man; Congress-wallah=a Congress-man.
Zemindar ... ... A landholder, landowner.