

37

# REPORT

OF THE

## SIXTH

# INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

## CALCUTTA,

On the 26th, 27th, 29th, and 30th December, 1890.

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In Memoriam.

# CHARLES BRADLAUGH,

THE FRIEND AND CHAMPION  
OF INDIA.

Born

26<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER, 1833.

Died

30<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY, 1891.

" HE WAS ONE WHO NEVER TURNED HIS BACK, BUT STRODE HEADFORWARDS,  
NEVER DOURING CLOUDS WOULD BREAK,  
NEVER DEMANDED, THOUGH RIGHT WERE WORSHIPED, WRONGS COULD TRIUMPH;  
HELD: WE FALL TO KNEE, AND BAPPLD TO FIGHT BETTER."

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## THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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"Of course we have to submit resignedly to this ruinous, this unprincipled, trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the conscience of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects now, of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren never awake?"—*Speech of MR. DENSHAW EDULJI WACHA.*\*

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THE SIXTH CONGRESS assembled, for its first sitting, early in the afternoon of the 26th December, 1890. It met in a vast hall or pavilion, two hundred and fifty feet in length by one hundred and fifty in breadth, erected for the purpose in the Tivoli Gardens, a place of public resort at other times, (most kindly lent by the Proprietors), a sort of minor Vauxhall, where switchback railways, balloons, swimming bath, and other attractions have, from time to time, in the past, rendered it well known to the public.

The huge hall, with its multitudinous platforms rising terrace above terrace, elaborated throughout—ceilings, pillars, and curtains—with the national colours—red, green, and white, presented, perhaps, a more striking appearance than any of its predecessors. It nominally provided seats for only some five thousand two hundred persons, but at one time during the first day accommodated very nearly eight thousand. Yet, despite its great size, as in the case of all previous Congress Halls, its acoustic properties were such that every word spoken by the vast majority of the speakers (who all spoke from a raised tribune at the back of the President's platform) was distinctly heard even in the furthest corners. A new and pleasing feature was the approach; a covered passage three hundred feet long, fifty wide and thirty high, open at the sides (though shaded here and there by rows of huge and gaily variegated crotons), leading straight from the outer gate to the centre of the hall. It

was divided by the posts, or pillars, that supported the embroidered crimson cloth roofing, into three aisles, the central one for passers to and fro, and the lateral ones, furnished luxuriously, to serve as waiting and drawing rooms.

The chair was taken at 2 P.M. by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, an eminent Calcutta Barrister, whose duty it was, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, to welcome the delegates and call upon them to elect a President. It is needless, for those who know Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, to say that both these duties were gracefully and effectively performed. The whole speech should be read, but one important passage, lengthy though it be, may be appropriately reproduced here\* :—

"Our proceedings have been subjected to much and varied criticism, and for my part I am glad that such should have been the case. All our proceedings, our discussions, and our resolutions, are public property, and it is only right that they should be subjected to public scrutiny, for I believe we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from honest criticism (cheers), however unfavourable such criticism may be. That, besides legitimate criticism, the proceedings of such a body as ours should be subjected to unworthy attacks and our aims misrepresented and distorted is a matter which, however painful to us all, ought not to discourage and dishearten us. For what great cause in the history of this world has ever triumphed without, in the first instance, having met with unworthy and even rancorous opposition? Our opponents have not even hesitated to accuse the promoters of this movement of disloyalty to the British Government. If I could bring myself to believe that the accusation,

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\* Detailed Report, p. 38.

\* Detailed Report, pp. 2-4.

however unfounded, had been honestly preferred by those who are responsible for starting it, I should have felt myself called upon to deal with it seriously; but the charge has always seemed to me so preposterous and so dishonest on the part, at any rate, of a large portion of our detractors, that I think every speaker in this hall ought to treat it with silent contempt. There is, I believe, no one present here, who, in his heart of hearts, does not feel that at no period in the history of India were life and property more secure than they are at the present day. If English rule in India had done nothing more than that, we should, even then, have had ample reason to be grateful to England, for, as you know, the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and order are the first requisites for the happiness of a people. To my mind, our allegiance to the British Government is based, not only on the feeling of gratitude which the benefits conferred upon us must evoke in our hearts, but also upon the highest grounds of expediency; for every sane man in India, who is capable of thinking, must feel that any change of Government at the present time would be the greatest calamity that could befall the people of this country. (Cheers.) That we should have been better pleased if we could have governed ourselves, as well as we are governed by England, is a sentiment which we need not in the least shrink from avowing, because not only is such a feeling natural, but it is perfectly consistent to my mind with true loyalty to England. (Hear, hear.) The National Congress movement was fittingly described last year by my friend, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, while welcoming the Delegates in Bombay, as 'the grandest outcome of British Rule in India.' To that description I will venture to add that it is also the natural and, indeed, the inevitable outcome of the generous policy pursued by England in this country. The fact which we all gratefully acknowledge, namely, that India is now better governed than before, or the fact that no other Asiatic country is, at the present time better governed, furnishes no argument whatever against the demands made by us with the sole object of improving the administration of the country. The English people have no right to complain if we refuse to judge of their acts and professions, as rulers of this country, by any standard lower than what they themselves have taught us to respect and admire. If England has been instrumental in teaching an Asiatic people a higher code of political morality she can scarcely complain, with any show of reason, if we expect her strictly to adhere to that code in the government of her own dependencies, and to carry out the professions and declarations which have from time to time been made in her name and on her behalf. The great demonstration of to-day, I think we are all agreed, implies nothing more than this, viz., that such as England has done for us, she has yet a great deal more to do, or, in other words, that the administration of India is not perfect, but that there is still considerable room for its improvement and reform. This, I believe, to be the keystone of this great national movement. It is not a movement intended in the slightest degree to embarrass or hamper the Government of the country, but to assist that Government by every means in the great and difficult task in which it is engaged.

Viewed in this light—and I am sure you all agree with me that it is our most anxious desire that it should be viewed in no other light—I fail to understand how it is that we have not yet met with a sympathetic recognition at the hands of those who are responsible for the good government of this country. It is impossible in any country to carry on the work of government for any length of time without consulting the wishes and wants of those who are governed, and it is obvious that when the government of a country is practically in the hands of a foreign people, it is all the more necessary for that Government, and, indeed, it is its duty, if it is to exist for any good purpose, to ascertain the wishes and even the aspirations of those who are governed. If such is the duty cast upon those who are called upon to govern, it is equally the duty of the people themselves to acquaint the Government by all constitutional means with their own wishes and their requirements. We are not so unreasonable as to expect that all our suggestions should be at once carried out, or that all our demands should be at once granted without due consideration. All that we desire is that our suggestions should be honestly and sympathetically considered, and that if difficulties, which we ourselves may fail to perceive, should deter the Government of the day from acceding to any of our wishes, we may be taken into the confidence of the Government, so to speak, in order that we may be in a position to help it, if we can, in grappling with those difficulties. (Hear, hear.) This, I believe, is the true position which the National Congress in India desires to occupy. An idea is said to prevail among certain officials in the vicinity of Whitehall as well as in this country, to the effect that the supremacy of England in India is mainly based upon the different races existing in this country, and that any attempt to unite them, even to a limited extent, upon a common political platform, is fraught with ultimate danger to the safety of the British Empire. I cannot for a moment believe that any Englishman having any claim to statesmanship, can seriously entertain such an idea, based as it is altogether upon a superficial, and, I venture to think, an erroneous conception of fact. 'To divide and rule' is a wicked policy as unworthy of the great English people as it is practically impossible after what they have themselves done for us: because you can no more now keep the different races of this country disunited in feelings and sentiments, for any length of time, than you can abolish your schools and colleges, your railroads and telegraphs. But then it is asked: 'Whom does the National Congress represent? What right has it to speak on behalf of the masses of the people who know nothing about the Congress?' My answer is, the National Congress represents the thinking portion of the people of India. (Cheers.) The delegates present here to-day are the chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people who have learnt to think and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity. It is perfectly correct that the ignorant masses whom we seek to represent are still unable in many provinces to take an active interest in the great social and administrative problems which are now engaging the attention of the educated classes; but history teaches that, in all countries and in all ages, it is the thinking

classes who lead the unthinking, and in the present state of our own society we are bound, not only to think for ourselves, but also to think for those who are still too ignorant to exercise that important function. (Cheers.) If by reason of the peculiar intellectual condition of the people of India whom we are seeking to represent, not only some of those who have actually chosen us as their delegates, but also many others, are still incapable of exercising any choice in the matter, I am sure we are not insensible of the grave responsibilities which we are incurring in speaking and acting on their behalf. Our duty to our less favoured countrymen requires that we should not shrink from incurring these responsibilities. I believe we are all agreed that it is our duty to educate our ignorant countrymen not only to think, but to think rightly, and to instil into their minds the fundamental doctrine that the happiness of a people primarily depends upon the maintenance of law and order in the country, and that if they have any grievances the only way to obtain redress is to agitate by peaceable and lawful methods. In trying to discharge so obvious a duty we can well afford to be ridiculed as self-styled delegates or as belonging only to 'a microscopic minority'. (Cheers and laughter.) Gentlemen, I feel I ought not to trespass much longer on your patience, but there is one other accusation to which I cannot help alluding, although it has been satisfactorily answered at more than one of our previous gatherings—I refer to the charge, so often repeated, that the National Congress as a body is opposed to social reforms. Such an accusation is based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and functions of the National Congress, whose object, as I have already explained, is to point out to the Government what we conceive to be the defects in the administration of the country, and to ask only for such reforms as we are incapable of introducing without the aid of the Government, and in regard to the necessity of which we are all practically of one mind. Now, the many questions of social reform which are at present engaging the attention of the educated classes throughout India are questions the solution of which is entirely in the hands of the people themselves. It is open to all of us to live as we like, or to eschew or alter at any time any custom which we may consider inconvenient or mischievous. The remedy being entirely in our own hands we can apply it whenever we choose and on the majority of points we are, unfortunately, by no means all of one mind yet. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Congress is composed of diverse communities, each having its own religion and its peculiar usages, and it would be impossible for such a body to discuss the social customs of a particular community, based as they often are upon religious ideas, regarding which the members of another community professing a different religion have no adequate knowledge or information. (Hear, hear.) But it by no means follows that the promoters of the National Congress are not as keenly alive to the importance of social as they are to that of political reforms. The same educational agency which has given life to the National Congress has already helped to bring about enormous social changes throughout India. Half a century is but a day in the life of a

nation, and any one who compares the state of Indian society of the present day with what was the case even thirty years ago, cannot but be surprised at the rapidity with which we have moved in social matters during that period. If there are some who think we ought to have moved still faster, they, in my opinion, ignore altogether the enormous difficulties against which we have to contend in this matter. There are movements of a very important character already on foot among the different communities of our people, to promote the cause of social and religious reform, and in my humble judgment we should be travelling out of our legitimate province if we were to deal with such questions in this assembly. Those who know my own views will readily believe that I yield to no one in the country in attaching importance to the question of social reform, but at the same time I cannot but feel that it is our duty, however keenly we may feel on the subject, to remember that any precipitate or inconsiderate action, before the creation of a healthy public opinion in a community is often apt to retard progress and to defeat the very object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) We ought to be thankful to our English friends for any suggestions they may be disposed to make to us on the question of social reform, so long as those suggestions are made in a sympathetic spirit; but at the same time we must ask them to bear in mind that it is impossible for an outsider or foreigner to realize adequately the difficulties which the different Indian communities have to contend against in matters of social reform. Our English friends whose kind sympathy and advice our social reformers are always delighted to have, may also be asked to remember that the decision of the question as to what reforms should or should not be introduced must, from the very nature of the case, rest with the Indian people themselves, and that, therefore, the true remedy lies in educating the people and creating a healthy public opinion on questions of social reform. To my mind, this gathering itself must have, and indeed, already has had the effect, directly and indirectly, of giving a great impetus to the cause of social reform. It is true that there are social problems connected with our domestic life of so important a pressing a character that, in my opinion, the sooner we direct our attention to them, and deal vigorously with them, the better for our country; but all I say is, that those are questions with which the Congress, composed as it is of different communities, ought not at present to have any direct concern. (Cheers.)"

Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, a well-known Judge of the High Court (from which he has only recently retired, and of which he at one time acted as Chief Justice), and now a Member of the Viceroy's Council, then proposed Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, (a Parsi,) of Bombay as President of the Congress, and the proposal having been duly seconded, supported and unanimously carried, this gentleman was formally installed.

In commencing his inaugural address, th



whole of which should be perused,\* he referred to the futile attempt that has been made, by a "microscopic minority" of the Parsis, acting under Anglo-Indian inspiration, to detach their co-religionists from the Congress movement. He said †:—

"In speaking of myself as a native of this country, I am not unaware that, incredible as it may seem, Parsis have been both called, and invited, and allured, to call themselves foreigners. If twelve centuries, however, entitle Angles and Saxons, and Normans and Danes, to call themselves natives of England, if a lesser period entitles the Indian Muhammadans to call themselves natives of India, surely we are born children of the soil, in which our lot has been cast for a period of over thirteen centuries, and where, ever since the advent of the British power, we have lived and worked, with our Hindu and Muhammadan neighbours, for common aims, common aspirations, and common interests. To my mind a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsi, as a Muhammadan or a Hindu is a better and truer Muhammadan or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth. . . . more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognises the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects, under a common Government". . . . "The birthright, therefore, gentlemen, which the Parsis thus possess of so indefeasible and glorious a character, they have refused and will always refuse to sell for any mess of pottage, however fragrant and tempting. (Loud cheers.)"

Then, congratulating the Congress on the progress it had effected, he remarked ‡:—

We have survived the ridicule, the abuse, and the misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have survived the charge of being a microscopic minority. We have also survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise.—(Laughter and Cheers). . . . The question of our loyalty is set at rest for ever. In the debate on Lord Cross's India Reform Bill in the House of Lords, Viceroy after Viceroy bore emphatic testimony to the loyal and peaceful character of our aims and efforts. Within the last few days the voice of no less a personage than one of our former Secretaries of State has confirmed this testimony. Lord R. Churchill—it is to no less distinguished a public man than I refer—has publicly declared that 'he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress, shortly to be resumed, were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people.' Then, gentlemen, it is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly as to demand the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which, in England,

have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that we have not asked even for representative institutions of a governing or ruling character at all. Indeed, so far as the historical argument is concerned, we have not alone proved that we have not been guilty of disregarding it, but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they who defy the lessons of history and experience when they talk of waiting to make a beginning till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia, in fact till a millennium has set in, when we should hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk have never understood the law of human progress, which, after all is a series of experiments, in which men and institutions re-act upon each other for their mutual improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the microscopic minority can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the omniscient District Officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed, for instance, by French waiters at Paris hotels, which proudly blazon forth the legend—'Ici on parle Anglais;' and whose knowledge of native domestic and social life and ways and habits of thought seldom extends beyond a familiarity with flattering expressions of the Saheb's greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy and sometimes by interest. Then, gentlemen, our right to the designation of a National body has been vindicated. It is so admirably set forth in an article which appeared in a Conservative Review—*The National*—from the pen of a Conservative, who, however, speaks from the fulness of intimate knowledge, that I cannot resist the temptation of borrowing from it: 'The supposed rivalry,' says the writer, 'between Mussulmans and Hindus is a convenient decoy to distract attention and to defer the day of reform. I do not wish to affirm that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political paper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress. The members of the Congress meet together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to weld a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason the organization has been called the Indian National Congress; not because, as many besides Mr.

\* Detailed Report, pp. 5—11.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

‡ *Idem.*

Keane have assumed, that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with rights and interests which are national in character, and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned. I think we may take it, gentlemen, that we have passed through the first two stages, and that the loyalty, the moderation, the propriety, and the constitutional and national character of our mission are now established beyond a doubt. But, however arduous and however provoking some of the experiences of the trial through which we have passed, they should not leave any trace of bitterness behind. For let us not imagine that they were devoid of chastening and beneficial effects upon ourselves. Let us frankly acknowledge that they also must have had their share in contributing to add clearness to our thoughts, sobriety to our methods, and moderation to our proposals. If I might use a proscribed, but not unscriptural, phrase we must give even the Devil his due.—(Laughter.)”

Gratefully acknowledging the services rendered to India by Mr. Caine and other English friends, and specially by our late deeply lamented Member, Mr. Bradlaugh, not then, yet, lost to us, he turned to Mr. Bradlaugh's last year's Bill and Lord Cross's Bill, and fully exposed the feebleness of the arguments on which the omission from the latter of any recognition of the elective principle was vainly sought, at the time, to be justified. He said \* :—

“ But the next result, which the introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill achieved, was gratifying in the highest degree. It at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation, in which men at the head of Indian affairs are so apt to be lost, that they can never spontaneously recover from it. Lord Cross's Indian Councils Bill promptly saw the light of day in the House of Lords. It was at once the official recognition of the *raison d'être* of the Congress, and the first fruits of its labours. In itself, however, it was a most halting and unsatisfactory measure. . . . The omission of the elective principle from the Bill was boldly justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that ‘ the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds.’ I wish to speak of his lordship with all the respect to which his high talents and great intellectual attainments justly entitle him, but it is not a little surprising as well as disappointing to find the Prime Minister of England, a statesman who, as Lord Cranborne, was once Secretary of State for India, displaying such profound ignorance of the history of the Indian people and the genius of the Indian mind. The late Mr. Chisolm Anstey, a man of immense erudition, once pointed out at a meeting of the East India Association in London, that ‘ we are apt to forget in this country when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government, that the

East is the parent of Municipalities. Local Self Government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from east to west, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network so that you have ready-made to your hand the framework of the great system of representation.’ Sir H. Maine has shown that the Teutonic Mark was hardly so well organized or so essentially representative as an Indian village community, until the precise technical Roman form was engrafted upon it.—(Cheers.) But leaving village communities alone, what do we find at the present day over the whole country but all sorts and conditions of people, from the highest to the lowest, meeting together and transacting the business of their numberless castes, in assemblies which, in their constitution and their mode of working, are the exact prototypes of the Saxon Witans, from which the English parliamentary institutions have sprung. It is true that circumstances never allowed the representative genius of the people to develop forms and organizations for higher political functions. But it is no less true that the seed and the soil are there, waiting only for the skilful hand, and the watchful mind, which we of the Congress firmly believe we have secured in the presence of Englishmen in this country.”

Pursuing the question of the introduction of the elective element into the government of India he advocated the acceptance by the Congress of the new Bill then recently introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh into the House of Commons, showed that Lords Northbrook, Ripon, and Dufferin, the three most capable living Ex-Viceroy's, were in favour of some step in this direction, and gracefully expressed the hope that the present Viceroy would prove not less liberal in his views regarding this question than his illustrious grandfather. He touched upon the growing feeling amongst the British public in favour of reform for India, and concluded his address with the following\* remarks :—

“ It seems to me that success is well within our reach, if we resolutely apply ourselves to obtain, in the first instance at least, the recognition and application of the principle of election in the organization of our Legislative Councils. Let us then strive for it with the sagacity of practical men, who have not learnt in vain the lessons taught by English political history, and who know the value of moderate, gradual, and substantial gain. To the many reasons which have been set forth in Congress after Congress, proving the imperative need of reformed Councils, another has been now added. The discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was always more or less of a sham; but it

was a sham for which the officials of the India Office thought it at least a matter of decency to shed a tear of remorse. But now Sir John Gorst has boldly and candidly declared in his place in the House that there need be no sham regret at all; that if anything, it was rather to be hoped and wished for, that the House of Commons should not waste its time over the weary farce. ("Shame, Shame!") It is now officially declared that it is right and proper that Parliament should,—to use Mr. Yule's happy way of putting it,—throw 'the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence' back into the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best, with such grace as Providence may choose to pour on the heads of Sir John Gorst, his heirs, successors, and assigns. I think you will agree with me that when the responsible advisers of the Crown, on Indian matters, propound doctrines of such a character it is high time that we should raise our united voice to demand Local Councils possessing some guarantees for energy and efficiency. (Cheers.) It has been said that our united voice is the voice only of a certain portion of the people and not of the masses; and that it is even then the voice of indifference, and not of urgency and excitement. These remarks are intended to be cast as matters of reproach against the Congress; properly understood they constitute its chief glory. If the masses were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would have arrived, not for consultative Councils but for representative institutions. It is because they are still unable to do so that the function and the duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand, and to interpret their grievances and requirements, and to suggest and indicate how these can best be redressed and met. History teaches us that such has been the law of widening progress in all ages and all countries, notably in England itself. That function and that duty, which thus devolve upon us, are best discharged, not in times of alarm and uneasiness, of anger and excitement, but when the heart is loyal and clear, and the reason unclouded. It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude, which they owe for the priceless boon of education, by pleading and pleading temperately, for timely and provident statesmanship. (Cheers.) I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilization. It may be that, at times, the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may look fierce and uncompromising. But my faith is large, even in Anglo-Indians. As in the whole universe, so in individuals, in communities, there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps some of you have read a little novel, called *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, the plot of which hinges on the conflict between the two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower, embodied each, for the time being, in a separate and distinct individuality. If the lower tendencies are sometimes paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian Society, if

as our last President, Sir W. Wedderburn said, the interests of the Services are antagonistic to and prevail over the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle; it is still only one side of the shield. They cannot permanently divest themselves of the higher and nobler nature, which, in the end, must prevail, and which has prevailed in so many honourable, distinguished, and illustrious instances. They are, after all, a part and parcel of the great English nation, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must even work along the main lines of that noble policy which Great Britain has deliberately adopted for the government of this country. When in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: 'Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing if you will obey the commandments of the Lord your God: a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye have not known.' All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are, if slowly, yet steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will make the connection of England and India a blessing to themselves, and to the whole world, for countless generations. Our Congress asks but to serve as a modest handmaid to that movement, asks but to be allowed to show the pits and falls, asks but to be allowed to join in the blessing which England will as surely earn as there is an 'Eternal that maketh for righteousness.' (Cheers.) I appeal to all true Englishmen—to candid friends as to generous foes—not to let this prayer go in vain. It may be that we sometimes speak in uncouth and outlandish ways, it may be that we sometimes stray in some confusion of thought and language; still it is the prayer of a rising, growing, and hopeful nation. I will appeal to them to listen to the sage counsels of one of the most careful and observant of their modern politicians, who, like the prophet Balaam, called, I will not say, exactly to curse us, has however, blessed us utterly. In his 'Problems of Greater Britain,' Sir Charles Dilke thus sums up his views on the Congress: 'Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not invective, and there is so much reason to think that the Congress movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests of Great Britain, bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met half-way. (Cheers.) The official class themselves admit that many of the natives who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and to push their claims for decoration. (Hear, hear.) Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish

problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention.' So careful an estimate of the work and spirit of the Congress movement cannot but commend itself to all thoughtful minds. However that may be, our duty lies clear before us, to go on with our work firmly and fearlessly, but with moderation, and above all with humility. If we might be permitted to adopt those noble words of Cardinal Newman, we may say:—

Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,  
Lead thou me on!  
The night is dark and I am far from home,  
Lead thou me on.  
Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see  
The distant path, one step enough for me."

(Loud and enthusiastic cheering.)

The assembly then proceeded to elect its Subjects Committee. The functions of this Committee are very important and are not, even yet, generally understood by the public. Months before the Congress meets, the Committee of the Circle in which it is to assemble calls upon all the Standing Committees (of which there is one to each Circle), to submit, after consultation with their divisional and sub-divisional Committees, a list of the subjects which they suggest for the consideration of the coming assembly. Their replies are compiled by the Committee first mentioned; subjects proposed by a majority of the Committees are accepted and embodied in a circular to all the Standing or Circle Committees, notifying that these are the subjects which will be submitted by the Reception Committee to the Subjects Committee when it is formed. Subjects proposed by less than half of the committees are not included. Every delegate, therefore, now-a-days, knows, or can know if he chooses, and ought to know, before he leaves his Province, what the subjects are which will primarily engage the attention of the Congress.

As soon as the President's inaugural address has been delivered, the assembled delegates of each Circle proceed to elect from amongst themselves the men whom they desire to represent them on the Subjects Committee. This is always a large body; this year it included about one hundred and ten gentlemen of all races and castes, residents of seventy of the largest towns in the Empire, and belonging to every Province therein, except Sind. To this Committee is submitted, as a basis of discussion, the list of subjects compiled by the Reception Committee from the replies of all

the Standing Committees, and it is this Committee who decide which of these shall be taken up, who frame the resolutions in regard to those that they decide to lay before the assembly, and who select the speakers who are to propose and second these resolutions. Reporters and spectators are excluded from the sittings of this Committee so as to give the utmost freedom of debate, and it is impossible to deny that in this Committee every subject is more effectively and completely threshed out by rapid questions and answers and short speeches lasting two or three minutes only, by committee proceedings, in fact, in which every man present takes an active part, than they can be in the formal speeches of half-a-dozen members in the Congress itself. Matters are always rapidly and satisfactorily disposed of. It is hardly ever necessary to vote, because, according to one of the basal principles of the Congress, subjects in regard to which, after full discussion, considerable difference of opinion continues to exist, are *ipso facto* thrown out. The main object of the Congress is to press upon the attention of the Government of India and the people and Government of England those reforms, and those reforms only, in regard to which the whole country has come to a substantial agreement; in regard to which the people of all provinces, of all races, castes, and creeds, are practically of one mind.

This is the explanation of that marvellous unanimity often suspiciously commented on by European critics, that characterizes, as a rule, the Congress debates. The Congress itself, through its elected representatives, weeds out all subjects in regard to which a practical agreement, in all parts of the country and by all parties, has not been arrived at. It is this, too, which ought to give weight to the formal recommendations of the Congress, since these are not proposals advocated by this or that body, this or that province, but only such as are concurred in by the educated and semi-educated classes throughout the Empire.

Of course, besides the subjects embodied in the Reception Committee's list, many others are brought forward in the Subjects Committee, by one or more province, or even by individual members, and duly discussed; but these rarely secure a sufficient unanimity of

assent to permit of their being then submitted to the Congress, though, having thus been brought within the sphere of practical politics, and hence being during the year talked of all over the country, they, not unfrequently, are sent up next year from a majority of the committees, and so find a place in next year's Reception Committee's list.

This year the Subjects Committee held six sittings extending in the aggregate over fully eighteen hours, not one minute of which was wasted in oratory or useless talk, and it is really to be regretted that neither the Government nor the public can fully realize the care and acuteness with which, not only the subjects which actually came before the Congress, but fully a dozen others, were canvassed and criticised by this most truly representative body, representative to an extent not yet fully realized, except in Congress circles, of the entire culture and intelligence of the nation.

As soon as the election of the Subjects Committee had been formally completed and ratified by the entire assembly, all the names being read out, the President adjourned the meeting till the next day at 1-30 P.M., so as to allow time for the Committee at an evening and morning session to prepare the work for the next day.

On Saturday, when the Congress re-assembled, the first subject taken up was the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, and a resolution was proposed by Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose\* (whilom candidate for Deptford) approving the Bill then recently introduced into the House of Commons, by the late Mr. Bradlaugh, to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861, "as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform in the Administration of India for which it (the Congress) has been agitating," and praying both Houses of Parliament to pass the same into law.

The reform embodied in this Bill—the introduction of a true, elected, representative element into the Government of India—is, in the opinion of the people of India, the one fundamental reform, on which all other reforms hinge, and the only reform which can pave the way for the real prosperity of the country

and secure the permanence of the union of England and India. Necessarily this being so, the discussions, although absolute unanimity prevailed, were somewhat protracted; but the matter has been so exhaustively threshed out at former Congresses that it will only be needful here to reproduce a few passages from the many speeches delivered on this occasion

Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose remarked\* :—

"There are, I believe, certain points on which there prevails an almost absolute unanimity of opinion amongst the thinking and educated classes of our countrymen. We are all united in demanding that there should be some substantial expansion of our Supreme and Local Legislative Councils; and this Bill provides for that expansion by proposing to raise the number of members of the Governor-General's Council to something between forty and sixty, and that of the Council of the various Lieutenant-Governors and Governors of Provinces to something between thirty-six and forty-eight. Now, there is no particular magic in any given number, but it seems to me that this proposal is so reasonable and modest that no honest or candid critic can accuse us of desiring suddenly to revolutionize the Government of this country. (Cheers.) On the other hand, if there be any amongst us who think that the Bill does not go as far as it might have done in this direction, I would beg of them to remember that it is impossible for us to err on the side of moderation (hear, hear); and that the more cautiously these changes and reforms are introduced, the greater is the chance of their ultimate success. (Cheers.) The other point upon which we are also agreed is this, that there should be some fair share of popular representation in these Councils, and, further, that this popular representation should be based upon some application of the principle of election. Now I have always been of opinion that, wholly irrespective of the capacities or qualifications of the persons whom the Government might nominate under the present system, even when the choice of the Government happens to fall, as I admit it does frequently fall, upon the very men whom we would ourselves be the first to elect—take, for example, the latest instance before us—the nomination by the Viceroy of our distinguished friend Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter—(Cheers)—even in such cases I have always felt that it would greatly improve and strengthen the position of our members of Council if they held their seats by the suffrages of their fellow-countrymen rather than by the grace and favour of the Government. With your permission, Sir, I will read one short sentence from a memorial that was presented to Lord Hartington by a large deputation of English and Indian gentlemen, of whom I had the honour to be one, ten years ago, just after the great Liberal victory of 1880: 'Although some of these members' (alluding to the nominated members of Council) 'render useful services to the State, it is obvious that so long as all the members are nominated by the Government, however carefully the selection

\* Detailed Report, p. 14.

\* Detailed Report, p. 14.

may be made, the members so appointed cannot feel or be credited with that independence, which it is essential they should enjoy, nor can their opinions possess the weight and authority which belongs to the voice of representatives elected by the people.' That short sentence, I believe, expresses the unanimous opinion of us all—(Cheers)—and, for my part, I am unable to conceive the possibility, even, of any differences of opinion, upon this great question of principle. (Cheers.)"

After counselling the acceptance of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, although not going nearly so far as many here consider desirable, and advocating moderation, mutual toleration, and a liberal give-and-take attitude, he concluded\* with these remarks:—

"I think if you approach this great question in that generous spirit there is nothing that can prevent the ultimate triumph of the great cause we have at heart. All the signs of the times seem to be entirely favourable. I find gathered together under this great pavilion representatives of all nations, of all communities, inhabiting this great country—a sight which, only a few years ago, nobody would have dreamed of as being possible. We have across the seas in England a British people willing and anxious to extend to us the right hand of fellowship. Of late they have given us the sincerest, the strongest, the most convincing, proofs of their sympathy. British constituencies have emphatically endorsed the great doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation, the doctrine of the equal rights of all Her Majesty's subjects. They have endorsed them by going so far as even to invite some of your own fellow-countrymen to stand as their Parliamentary representatives. Who among us would have thought twenty, or even ten, years ago, that such a thing was within the bounds of possibility? I ask you, gentlemen, if these things are not sufficient to cheer us, to encourage us to go on labouring firmly, generously, and steadfastly, through good report and through evil report, until we have at last succeeded in convincing the people and Parliament of England that the reforms we ask for are just, moderate, and legitimate, and calculated greatly to improve the administration of this country and to broaden and strengthen the foundations of the British Empire in India. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, our motto is reform and not revolution—(hear, hear)—and my own experience of the just and generous instincts of the English people convinces me that a measure which, like this Bill of Mr. Bradlaugh's, proposes to concede to us some share in the management of our own affairs and some voice in the administration of our own country, some representation in our Councils, cannot fail to commend itself to the approval of the English nation. (Cheers.)"

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke at considerable length.† He said:—

"The one consideration that has induced us to accept Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill is a desire to conciliate, so

far as it may be in our power, without, of course, sacrificing the principle we have been contending for, those of our opponents who think the reform we have been seeking might lead to undesirable results. I hope that no reasonable man will any longer hesitate in giving the Bill his best support, and that Parliament will soon pass it into law. (Cheers.) If it be otherwise, gentlemen, we shall all, we and other civilized countries, be greatly surprised and disappointed, for, gentlemen, what is it we ask for? Is it not for a limited and qualified—an extremely limited and qualified—application of that principle of representation in the administration of this country, which the genius of the English nation has for six hundred long years recognized as best calculated to make Governments good and the governed happy and prosperous?"

Ever since the time of Simon de Montfort—he went on to say—

"This has been the guiding principle of English political existence. Englishmen have extolled it in theory and maintained it in practice at the sacrifice of a large amount of treasure and life. They have carried it with them wherever they have gone, and the nations of Europe, long held in bondage by their despots, have learnt it at the feet of England and thrived under it. (Cheers.) Englishmen rightly feel a pride in having been the apostles of this political Christianity, and Mr. Gladstone expressed a widely-prevalent belief when speaking at the Piccadilly Hall in May last, he said: . . . 'In the adoption of that system (the system of representation) we long stood alone, but one after another the great countries of the world have come in, and the nations sprung from our loins have given further countenance and currency to our example, and now the man would be deemed mad who should denounce the system of popular representation.' (Cheers.) But I need not dilate further on this point. Everyone, if, as Mr. Gladstone says, he is not mad, or (permit me to add) if he has not degenerated by contact with the worst phases of oriental thought, will admit the soundness of the principle. And it is only for a partial introduction of this principle into the administration of our country that we have been so long, and hitherto vainly, praying. (Cheers.)"

The Pandit pointed out the rottenness of any system of representation such as was contemplated by Lord Cross's Bill as introduced, under which all the so-called representatives of the people were to be nominated by the Government. He refuted, as, indeed, the President had already done in his inaugural address, the absurd statements of the Marquess of Salisbury and Lord Cross that representative institutions were foreign to India, and that India did not possess the elements of good constituencies; and, referring to the close and rotten boroughs that subsisted in England, even up to 1839,

\* Detailed Report, p. 15

† *Ibid.*, p. 18.

he said, and said truly, amidst loud applause, "You will, I am sure, agree with me when I say that no electorates that might be formed here could be half as bad as those which existed in the Ant-Reform days in England before the period of the passing of the Reform Bill. You have all heard of the close and rotten boroughs." He went on to show that even these—ininitely worse as they were than any constituencies that could now-a-days be created in India—had yet done good service to the State by introducing into public life innumerable great men, who would certainly never have been selected by Government under any pure nomination system. He concluded thus:—

"I have already received, gentlemen, a note\* of warning from the President that I should not go further; but I hope he will permit me to say one word with regard to another objection put forth by Viscount Cross and Lord Salisbury in their speeches on the second reading of the Official Indian Reform Bill. Said the Secretary of State for India: "As was well said by the late Sir Henry Maine in speaking of India: 'There is no more resemblance between a Punjabee and a Bengalee, between an Indian of Hindustan and an Indian of Malabar than there is between an Englishman and a Roumanian, or between a Spaniard and a Swede.'" The Marquis of Salisbury added: 'The difficulty of introducing the elective principle, largely dependent upon the peculiarities of Eastern minds, is also, to a great extent, as the noble Lord pointed out, due to the fact that we have to deal with a deeply-divided population. Representative government answers admirably so long as all those who are represented desire much the same thing and have interests tolerably analogous; but it is put to an intolerable strain when it rests upon a community divided into two sections, † one of which is bitterly hostile to the other and desirous of opposing it upon all occasions.' I think, gentlemen, this grand assembly, composed of men of all the different provinces of India, is a living refutation of their lordships' objection. (Cheers.) It is absolutely untrue to say that the two great sections of our community are utterly hostile to each other and desirous of opposing each other on all occasions. Their interests are not only 'tolerably analagous,' but identical in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand that could come before the Councils. The absence of a common faith, which Lords Cross and Salisbury considered a valid excuse for not introducing the elective principle here, is purely imaginary. They,

\* Speakers are nominally limited, proposers of resolutions to ten minutes, others to five. Where a man speaks well and is carrying the audience with him the rule is not very rigidly enforced, but the Pandit had been speaking for nearly a quarter of an hour, and hence the stroke upon the President's gong.

† We should very much like to know whether Great Britain, herself, is not divided into two sections, one of which is bitterly hostile to the other, and desirous of opposing it on all occasions!

no doubt, follow different religious persuasions, but there exists amongst them a common faith which is:

"Taught by no priest, but by their beating hearts:  
Faith to each other: the fidelity  
Of fellow-wanderers in a desert place  
Who share the same dire thirst, and, therefore, share  
The scanty water: the fidelity  
Of men whose pulses leap with kindred fire,  
Who, in the flash of eyes, the clasp of hands,  
The speech that even in lying tells the truth  
Of heritage inevitable as past deeds,  
Nay, in the silent bodily presence feel  
The mystic stirring of a common life  
Which makes the many one. (Loud cheers.)"

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar, who followed pursued this question of the supposed diversity of Hindu and Muhammadan interests further. He said\*: "What are called Hindu interests and Muhammadan interests have really no existence in political matters—(cheers)—," and he continued:—

"I feel deeply the responsibility of my words, and I do not hesitate to say, from what I know in my experience in the United Provinces, that whatever we hear about Muhammadan opposition to political reform, and about the antagonism of Hindu interests and Muhammadan interests, is due to the deliberate policy adopted by certain members, at any rate, of the governing classes. (Cheers.) It is a serious charge to bring against officers of Government that they want to keep the people disunited, and seek to follow the low, evil maxim, 'Divide and rule.' But I am prepared to show from the writings of Anglo-Indian statesmen, who have held high positions in this country, that some of them, at any rate, do believe that race antagonisms and religious rivalries are the chief factors that contribute to the strength and permanence of British rule in this country. (Cheers and cries of 'Shame!')

Then he quoted a passage from a quite recent lecture by Sir John Strachey, showing clearly, that like many of our typical bureaucrats, that gentleman really holds that the existence side by side of two hostile races in India would be a source of strength to the British Government and ought to be taken advantage of by it.

"I call that," he went on to say, "an immoral doctrine. (Cheers.) I call it a shameful policy for those who have faith in the teachings of Christianity. At the same time it cannot be denied that that is the deliberate policy of some sections of our Indian bureaucracy. In the United Provinces we see the fruit of the seed that has thus been sown. This fruit is bloodshed and bitterness in the United Provinces; and in recent years the religious disputes between Muhammadans and Hindus are, in the mind of every well-wisher of his country, a cause of regret or shame. For my part I attribute them entirely to the policy which the Government, or at any rate some of its component

\* Detailed Report, pp. 20.

parts, have adopted towards this country." . . . "We all know that those disputes, in any aggravated form, are of recent origin. Ten years ago they hardly existed. Even in Muhammadan times Hindus and Muhammadans lived together peaceably. Even in times when, according to Sir James Stephen, the Muhammadans proposed to everybody the alternative of the Koran or the sword, Hindus enjoyed equal rights with Muhammadans, held the highest posts, and governed large sections of Muhammadans. But it appears to me that the Government of India—for it is, in the last analysis, this Government which must be held responsible for the acts of its subordinates—the Government of India I say, has adopted a different policy. I think that Government may be reminded of a certain fact in the history of India. There was a time when India was divided into small sects, when the Muhammadans stood aloof from the conquered people, when the doctrines of religious toleration and free discussion were unknown. Enough time had not elapsed to mitigate the existing differences. At that stage, there appeared a man who was destined to be the greatest Muhammadan ruler that India ever had. He adopted a new policy, he tried the grand and successful experiment of basing his rule, not upon the fears of the people but upon their affections. (Cheers.) He ignored all class and religious differences, and proclaimed, for the first time in this country, the doctrine of universal toleration; and by his wise, noble, and far-seeing policy he raised the Mogul Empire to a power and a glory that excited the envy and admiration of the world. Is that noble policy of Akbar going to be reversed by the British Government? Are the British people, who are 'the heirs of all the ages,' and 'in the foremost files of time,' going to reverse that policy and adopt a different one? 'Divide and rule' may be a good principle for a time; but when a higher and a purer moral consciousness dawns upon the minds of our rulers, I believe they will see that that power alone is secure which rests upon the affections and the will of the nation. (Cheers.)"

Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, after pointing out certain minor verbal alterations that he and many of his friends considered necessary in Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, went on to make certain remarks in regard to the Feudatory State of Mysore that are well worthy of notice. "That State," he remarked\* :—

"has had a representative assembly for the last ten years. In the year 1881 the Dewan of Mysore created the nucleus of a representative assembly. It did not possess political privileges, but it had the right of stating grievances to the Maharaja. Last year, I believe, the Dewan of Mysore made a new and important departure with regard to the constitution of that assembly. As the arrangement now stands the franchise is restricted to persons having a certain property qualification—the payment of 100 rupees to the Government; but Local Boards and Municipalities

\* Detailed Report, p. 22, 23

are also entitled to elect a certain number of members. The persons elected in each district meet in the district itself, and they elect representatives to attend the representative assembly in Mysore, and that assembly has a right to put any question it likes to the Dewan and the Maharaja, and is entitled to receive an answer. That assembly has been created in a province which has not received the benefit of liberal education to the same extent as the provinces directly under the control of England, and has enjoyed this privilege in its original form for a considerable time, and statesmen ruling over that country have testified to the wisdom of the further advance made by the present Dewan. I should like to read one short paragraph from the speech of the late Dewan, Mr. C. Ranga Charlu, C.I.E., delivered on the 26th of October, 1882, to the Mysore Representative Assembly. He said: 'If the spread of any high degree of education among the great mass of the people were to be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*, we may have to wait for ever; meanwhile, every year under an autocratic system of Government will find the people less fit for representative institutions. The sprinkling of educated men who are sure to be found in these representative bodies will serve for all purposes of leading and guiding; but what is required in the great body of the representatives is common sense and practical views, which are sure to be possessed by men of ordinary knowledge engaged in industrial and other useful occupations.' It was not, you see, that the people should all of them be educated; it was not that there should be a large proportion of the people educated before they were entitled to have conferred upon them the privilege of electing members to the Legislative Council; the mere fact that there is a considerable body of the people, not necessarily a large percentage, but a large body of educated people, who are qualified to take an intelligent interest in the proceedings of the Government, entitles them according to the late Prime Minister of Mysore, to a voice in the administration. The facts that they are a 'microscopic minority,' or that they are not a large percentage of the people, is not to form a reason for their being debarred from enjoying the privilege of electing members or discussing Budgets. (Cheers.) How so infinitely superior a man, as Mr. Ranga Charlu, was only utilized by Providence as Prime Minister of a little state like Mysore, and so infinitely inferior a man, as the Marquess of Salisbury, is tolerated as a Prime Minister of a vast Empire like Great Britain, is one of those matters that fairly bewilder those who, like myself, believe in a righteous over-ruling power that guides and governs the affairs of mankind. (Loud cheers and laughter.)"

Syed Sharfuddeen, a Muhammadan Barrister from Patna, said that he was glad Mr. Bradlaugh's new Bill laid less stress upon the Minorities Clause. He put the question thus\* :—

"Let me say at once that from the first I was opposed to this clause, although I am a Mussulman,

\* Detailed Report, p. 23.



and so belong to a class, which, in this country, no doubt, is in the minority. My reason is this. We have municipal laws in this country, and we have district boards; but neither in the Municipal Act nor in the Local Self-Government Act is there any clause for the protection of minorities, nor has the absence of any such clause ever, anywhere, caused the slightest inconvenience. This, I think, you will take as a sufficient proof of the goodwill of the Muhammadans towards Hindus and of Hindus towards Muhammadans. (Cheers.) I am a delegate from a place which now and then gets a westerly breeze from Aligarh.\* (Laughter.) I come from Patna, where, in the second week of this month, there was a general election of the municipality, twenty members being elected under the Act, and, out of those twenty members, you will be surprised to learn that thirteen were Muhammadans, and that these thirteen were not elected by Muhammadans, only, but also by Hindus. You will find, therefore, that my position in opposing the Protection-of-Minorities Clause is not without due warrant."

Precisely similar testimony was borne† by the President, himself the representative of one of the smallest minorities in the country, that of the Parsis, who constitute less than one two-thousandth of the population. He remarked:—"Experience has shown that even in a preponderating Hindu electorate it does not happen that Hindus only are elected, as so many other, besides racial, forces and interests concur in influencing the selection. If we may apply the lessons learnt from experience in municipal elections, I may mention the remarkable fact that in the Town Council or, what is now called the Standing Committee, of the Bombay Corporation, composed of twelve members, there have been frequently five Parsis, three Europeans, two Hindus, and two Muhammadans."

Syed Sharfuddeen went on to say—

"My second point relates to the Bill of Lord Cross. You will understand that Lord Cross is, no doubt, technically responsible for the introduction of this Bill into the House; but you will also understand that he is, or ought to be, guided by his Council. Lord Cross is nobody, and cannot possibly know anything of Indian matters, except in so far as he represents his Council in the India Office. His advisers are mostly those who have served in India a good many years, but who retired long before the existence of this Congress, and who, therefore, possess no knowledge of that new India

\* Aligarh is the head quarters of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who, though formerly an enthusiastic advocate for an advanced system of Representative Government, of recent years, under official guidance, has more than once denounced vehemently that very small tentative step in the direction of such institutions that the Congress has advocated.

† Detailed Report, p. 7.

which has grown up in this country. (Hear, hear.) So that to blame Lord Cross for the introduction of this futile Bill would be rather unjust. The councillors he needs are men of a different class, and we in this assembly would advise the Government in England to select, as councillors of the Secretary of State for India, men who have full experience of the present state of the country,—(cheers)—and who are not hampered by class traditions and prejudices." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Nasir Ali Shohrat, a Mussulman from Delhi, who spoke next, worked out this idea further. He remarked\* :—

"Of course, many of the members of the Secretary of State's Council are opposed to this as to every other reform; but this does not surprise us in the case of such antiquated personages. The wonder is not that they oppose this measure, but that the English nation still allows such fossils to fill these important posts instead of replacing them by modern-living men. (Cheers and laughter.) You can all understand that in choosing a pleader we select one in active practice in the Courts, thoroughly up in the law of the present day, not some old fogey who has not read a new law for the last quarter of a century, and whose knowledge of the practice of the Courts is confined to that of fifty years ago! These councillors are absolutely ignorant of our modern India of to-day. (Cheers.) During the last ten years, even, the entire country has been so metamorphosed as to be barely the same place as it was. (Loud cheers.) Why do these worthy old gentlemen remain to clog the wheels of progress? And why do they oppose our modest demands for representation? Because, say they, of the disunion of Muhammadans and Hindus. But there is no sort of disunion amongst Muhammadans and Hindus on these political matters. (Cheers.) All are of one mind. (Loud cheers.) No doubt Sir Syed Ahmed and his now microscopic following tried to create such disunion; but all see now with what conspicuous failure. I fear I cannot give him credit for good faith. Had his motives been good he would have given expression to his new views on the Congress platform, and have explained how it came about that he was now denouncing the very proposals that a few years back he had himself most strongly urged. Had he done this the whole matter would have been fully discussed and a fair decision arrived at. He did not do so, and from this the only possible conclusion is that he was not actuated by a pure desire for the public welfare but by other motives. By his influence and vehemence he did in some places and instances succeed in creating some unpleasantness between Hindus and Muhammadans, and, perhaps, here and there, evil traces of his unpatriotic work may yet linger. Yet, despite this, despite all he and his masters amongst the officials could do, there is practically at this present time absolutely no disunion as regards Congress questions between Mussulmans and Hindus. (Prolonged cheering.)"

This subject of the Legislative Councils disposed of, the assembly passed on to re-

\* Detailed Report, p. 23.

affirm, in an omnibus resolution, a whole group of resolutions which, having been threshed out in past Congresses and discussed at hundreds of public meetings and in thousands of newspaper articles and pamphlets, now constitute, *nemine dissentiente*, accepted planks in the Congress platform.

We may well leave Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee to state the case in his own words\* :—

" Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As an old driver of your omnibus,—(laughter)—in regard to which, by-the-by, it may soon be necessary to legislate as to how many it should be allowed to carry, I may be permitted to drive it once more. There will be no detention with a view to check the passengers; they are all familiar faces, and you would know them at a glance. The resolution I have to propose is—

" 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."

Let me remind you that these resolutions were passed by previous Congresses, and you are now called upon simply to ratify and confirm them. In other words, you are called upon simply to be loyal to your traditions—(Cheers)—for I take it that the Congress is old enough to have traditions of its own. In order to help your memories let me briefly describe to you the eleven passengers that I carry in my omnibus. I will begin with the last resolution (k). We are grateful to our Government for the security that we enjoy as to life and property from human invasions ; what we seek is that we should have security also, as far as wild animals are concerned. (Hear, hear.) And in that connection we desire it to be remembered that wild animals make no distinction between the European and the Indian. (Laughter.) I have spoken of wild animals ; what as to the wild men ? We are grateful to our Government for the machinery that exists for the prevention and suppression of crime ; at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the administration of justice in this country admits of improvement, and that it ought to be elevated to a footing in which it might be spoken of as self-justifying in its character. We desire, therefore, that the police should be reformed so that it may not be possible for them to place, habitually, innocent men in the dock. We desire further to secure that when Magistrates hold a trial in any case, they should bring to the trial a mind which should be, as far as the facts of the case are concerned, a *tabula rasa*. I do not mean that they should bring to the trial of cases a mind that should be a *tabula rasa* as far as the law of the case is concerned. (Laughter.) We desire further that in the administration of justice in this country the people should be allowed the benefit of the judgment of their peers, that this privilege should not be confined to a few favoured spots, but that it should be extended to all parts of the country to which it may be extended with advantage. We desire further that this privilege of having the judgment of one's peers in any case should not be allowed to become a farce and a nullity by being in danger of being set aside even by the highest Court in the country. I

\* Detailed Report, pp. 24, 25.

may describe these six resolutions as being on a certain level, that is, the level of protection. I now pass on to another class of resolutions that we have in this omnibus, and in order to help your memories I will mention a word which begins with the same letter—P. I am going to place before you four P.'s. Following protection I will give you the watch-word—plenty. We desire that the poor of the country should be enabled to live, at any rate, from hand to mouth; that they may be in no danger of having what little they may possess for their sustenance diminished by the imposition of any species of taxation which is likely to press hard upon them, whether as regards the nature of the tax itself or as regards the administration of the tax. Then after plenty let me give you the word peace, and here I take it that I am not wrong in regarding the British nation as under an inspiration which ought to enable it to usher in a reign of peace which is prophesied as part of the faith which inspires that country—a reign which, when it is once inaugurated, shall lead men to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. A nation that lives and moves under such an inspiration is surely destined to usher in this reign of peace rather than to go in a direction which indicates the permanence of war. We desire, then, that the military expenditure of the country should be reduced rather than allowed continually to increase. But if the British nation happens to be lacking in faith so that they are not in a position to lay hold of the sure word of prophecy we make to them a certain offer, by way of an earthly support. That is, we invite them to allow us to train ourselves in that same art of war so that when they do need earthly help we shall be prepared, all of us, to render it. I now come to the last, which I describe as the panacea; because, after all, when we seek to introduce reforms into our country it is not possible for any of them to take root unless the people are educated to help in the cause of reform. (Cheers.) So it is that we desire to secure that the expenditure in aid of education in all its branches should not be diminished. And here I ought to draw your attention to what is prominently brought out in one of the resolutions, that there should be no distinction ever suggested between high education and low education. An educated carpenter stands on the same footing exactly as an educated lawyer. There is no such thing as high and low in the matter of education. If education is to be a passport to the various services of the country, we desire that those passports should not be hampered by conditions which may render them simply inaccessible to certain persons who cannot fulfil those conditions. Gentlemen, the omnibus has now reached its destination, and the occupation of the driver is gone. (Laughter and cheers.)"

Mr. G. S. Khaparde, in supporting the resolution, gave expression to a feeling very general now amongst the rising educated generation. "I would not," he said, "compare this resolution to an omnibus, but rather to a casket of jewels," jewels that the well-wishers of both India and England have dug

out of the matrix of popular sentiment, have laboriously polished, and now present to the Viceroy asking him to decorate with them British rule and India's people. He went\* on:—

"There is one jewel that some of us especially desire to possess. Some of us would like to hold office in Her Majesty's army. We live, I joyfully admit, under the protection of the British Crown and flag, and we desire that we should be allowed to fight under that flag. We fight as soldiers; I should like to fight as an officer; I want to command a few hundreds. That is all we ask—not much. One would think that to give me the command of a hundred sepoy or a few cavalry soldiers would not be very dangerous, the Commander-in-Chief and the General and the Brigadier and the Colonel being all above me. Yet they say: 'No, you are not fit.' I ask, 'Have I been examined and found wanting?' They will not answer that question, and they will not send me to school. They are just like a stepmother to us! (Laughter)."

Even the Russian Government with all its despotic traditions is not so exclusive, and, we fear must add, so senseless, in this one matter, at any rate, as is our own. There are hundreds of fine young men now growing up, the inclusion of whom as officers in India's armies would strengthen Britain's hold on her Indian Empire far more than any possible quarrels the officials can succeed in fostering between different classes of their subjects; but, although the Punjab and Bombay Governments, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and others, have strongly recommended the creation of Military Colleges in view to this, some authorities (alas! that we do not know who, and so cannot characterise them as their folly merits), always block the way to this, as to all the other needful reforms, so persistently, but hitherto vainly, advocated by the Congress.

It is a part and parcel of this jealous, suspicious, policy that they will not allow Indians to volunteer, and that by their indiscriminate disarmament they are doing their utmost to emasculate the people and so render them helpless to support Government in any time of trial. Had this same idiotic policy been pursued for the twenty-five years prior to the Mutiny, 1857 would have seen the end of British rule here. It was the people—the armed people accustomed to handle weapons—who rallied to the British standards in those

\* Detailed Report, p. 26.

dark days of danger and distress and saved the British Empire in the East. Well said\* Mr. Saduruddeen Ahmed, a Mussulman from Allahabad :—

“The taking of arms from the natives and the enforcement of, practically, prohibitive rules regarding the grant of licences is not only prejudicial to the natives of India, but is equally calculated to weaken and cripple the Government itself. Hundreds of millions of people are now under the sway of the British Government in India, none of whom can possibly entertain the remotest feeling of hostility to the Government. On the other hand, they are loyal and faithful subjects, and, as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 amply proved, their attachment did not waver even in those troublous times when every stupid and faithless sepoy broke into open rebellion. Is it under the circumstances advisable to render powerless and emasculate, on mere suspicion, a nation whose loyalty has been tested and tried during the last hundred years, by depriving them of the privilege of carrying arms and keeping themselves in touch with the methods of modern warfare? (Cheers.) If, out of the hundreds of millions that inhabit this vast empire, only a few lakhs were allowed the privilege of carrying arms, the Government would have beside it, without incurring any additional expenditure, a vast array of armed men to support and to assist it in times of need. (Loud Cheers.) The Emperors of old had confidence in the bravery and faithfulness of the people and never deprived them of arms, and derived considerable assistance from the people in return. The martial spirit of the people of the country raised the descendants of Taimur, Akbar in particular, to the highest pitch of supremacy and power. If the people of India with arms in their hands and bullets in their pockets could remain subject to the Muhammadan's empire and accepted its supremacy, does it stand to reason that they would rebel against so just and civilized a Government as that of the British people? (Loud cheers.) No Emperor ever feared the sword of his subject, nor ever emasculated a brave nation by force. The natives of India belong to a race which opposed Alexander and turned him back beyond the Indus. They are descendants of those brave people who, in the battle of Telaveri, made Shahabuddeen Ghori taste the efficacy of a sword, and made him retreat headlong with his army for upwards of forty miles. To convert such brave and faithful people into protectors of the Throne and guards of the State is to invigorate and strengthen the foundations of the Government. You must have read in history that when Nadir Shah once summoned the Nawab of Furrukabad to Delhi for an interview, and the Nawab replied that he could not come without his armour and weapons, Nadir said: ‘Go and tell him he may come with his artillery.’ (Cheers.) What a revolution! There was a time when the Emperors of old were not afraid of the arms of their enemies; a time has now come when we unfortunate, though loyal and faithful, subjects are distrusted even by our own Government. (Loud cheers.)”

\* Detailed Report, pp. 27.

A very strong feeling too exists as to the refusal of Government to grant simultaneous examinations in India and England for the civil branches of the service. A Panjabi, Lala Dharam Dass, remarked\* :—

“It is a matter of regret that our demands have so far been, save in some small matters, practically ignored. It is the educated alone who can fully appreciate the blessings of good government, and who are able to point out its defects. No doubt educated persons do demand a share in the administration of the Government, and have not noble and just British statesmen admitted from time to time the justice of such demands? The people of India want justice—real justice, not sham. The resolution declares the necessity of holding Civil Service examinations simultaneously in England and in India. The Government have practically closed the Civil Service against natives by holding competitive examinations in England only, and there are but very few of the qualified Indian candidates who can succeed in going to England.”

Another gentleman said † :—

“I have a great fancy for one of the passengers in the omnibus, namely (j), ‘the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding simultaneously in England and India examinations, at present held only in England, for the civil branches of the Public Service in India.’ I am not going to give facts and figures; that has often been done. I will only quote a line from the despatch: ‘They have no desire to extend the practical application of this principle further than political necessity requires.’ Now we say that political necessity requires that the Government of a country should at any rate be largely composed of the people of that country, of persons thoroughly conversant with the habits, customs, views, wishes, wants, of the people, of persons whose interests are to a great degree identical with those of the people. Whereas under the existing system the Government is exclusively composed of foreigners ignorant alike of everything that really concerns the people, and whose interests are distinctly, in most cases, antagonistic to those of the country. Having regard to these anomalies, I say it is absolutely necessary that there should be simultaneous examinations in India and England—(cheers)—so that gradually the Government may come to be largely composed of Indians. (Cheers.)”

But these, and indeed all the other questions referred to in the omnibus resolution, have been so exhaustively discussed and so unanswerably reasoned out, that the neglect of the Government to introduce these pressingly needful reforms can only be due either to sheer perversity, or to an unwillingness to face the laborious tasks that the inception of this new departure would, admittedly, involve.

\* Detailed Report, p. 26.

† *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Under either alternative, no intelligent, unbiased, and conscientious, Ruler in India can contemplate the attitude of our existing bureaucracy, busied about tithes of mint and cummin, heedless of weightier matters—*operose nihil agendo*—without some sense of shame and self-reproach; not one, if true to his own better instincts, can escape the humiliating confession, *Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor*.

The next Resolution prayed for the restoration, by the House of Commons, of the old privilege, until recently possessed by India's friends in Parliament, of bringing forward Indian grievances before the Indian Budget was introduced, and protested against the shameless way in which that Budget, involving all the best interests of two hundred and fifty millions of people, is disposed of year by year, at a single sitting, at the fag end of the season, in a House in which often not even half-a-dozen members are continuously present.

"This, sir," said\* Mr. W. S. Caine, "is a resolution which has been submitted at previous Congresses, but which has not had the effect that the Congress desire; for the House of Commons has taken no notice of the petition which was sent from Bombay, and it is, therefore, important that the resolution should be re-affirmed, not in an omnibus, but in a carriage of its own—(cheers and laughter)—so that, if possible, we may secure the restoration of one of the most important rights which India previously possessed. The old principle, which is almost as old as parliamentary institutions in England, that grievance should come before supply, is one of the rights which is held to more tenaciously by members of Parliament than perhaps any other parliamentary right. This resolution craves the restoration of a privilege which is the equivalent, so far as the Indian people are concerned, of that ancient charter of our liberty that grievance shall come before supply. It is also, no doubt, a distinct grievance, and one felt throughout India, that the Budget dealing with the whole finances of the British Empire should be discussed on a single evening at the hottest time of the year, at a period when members of Parliament are weary with six months hard work, and when the bulk of them have left London for their holidays. ("Shame!") It has long been the custom to treat what I consider one of the most important subjects that come before Parliament with such scant courtesy as that which I have now described. There is no doubt that all Indian questions, with the exception of the Budget itself, are shut out from discussion, except under the chances of a ballot. The only mode by which members of Parliament interested in Indian questions can bring them

before the House is by balloting for an opportunity of moving a resolution, on what are called private members' nights—Tuesday and Friday. When you remember that every Tuesday and Friday, while the House sits, from 150 to 200 members of Parliament place down different subjects, in which they are interested, to be balloted upon, you will see that the chances of an Indian question coming on—there being perhaps only three or four members to put such questions down—are about one in fifty. . . . In the old times before 1888, when this privilege was taken away, if we missed our opportunities of bringing Indian grievances before Parliament by resolution on a private member's night, we had the privilege of grievance before supply on the Budget night to fall back upon. That is now gone, and we wish to have it restored. You must remember that the responsibilities of Parliament towards India are increasing every year. More and more India is being brought into touch with England. (Cheers.) During the last five years the interest which has been taken by all politicians, especially by Liberal politicians, in the action of the Indian National Congress, has done much to stimulate the interest of English people in India. But, as our responsibility increases, we find that our powers decrease."

The question need not be pursued further here. The justice of the reclamations of the Congress on these heads is so manifest that, whenever any considerable number of members of Parliament can be induced to look into the subject, the matter will assuredly be put right. Already motions on this point are before the House, which will doubtless be repeated every session, until the desired result is attained.

Mr. D. E. Wacha moved\* the fourth resolution, which may be quoted in its entirety as fully telling its own story. It ran thus:

"RESOLVED: That while recognising the action taken in response to its previous prayers in the matter of excise reform by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase of the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the out-still 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 clauses 103, 104, and 105 of the despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of Clause 103, viz., 'That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of the local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.'"

\* Detailed Report, pp. 28, 29.

\* Detailed Report, p. 30.

Both Bengal and Madras have moved, to a certain extent, in the right direction; but Lord Reay, though a most liberal-minded man, and, in almost every other respect, one of the most popular Governors an Indian Presidency has ever had, allowed himself to be misled by a very clever, but as regards the fundamental principles of excise administration, a wholly wrong-headed, civilian. Thus it happens that it is chiefly against the Bombay Government that Mr. Wacha directs his remarks. After acknowledging the good work done elsewhere, he says:—

“I regret that I cannot speak similarly of my own Province; the Bombay Government has done absolutely nothing. Nay, the Bombay Government, instead of reforming its ways, has become a worse sinner since the date of the orders of the House of Commons. That is to me a matter of great regret, because, after all our efforts, we are no better off than we were three years ago. Indeed, instead of the Government of Bombay taking the lesson to heart, as given by the Resolution of the House of Commons and by the Government of India itself, it has been going in the wrong direction and increasing the consumption and increasing the revenue. (‘Shame!’) For your information I beg, in a very short compass, to put some statistics before you from which you will see that the statement I have made is not a mere haphazard statement, but a statement borne out by official statistics. The revenue in 1881-82 was 38 lakhs; in 1889-90 it had reached 74 lakhs—an increase of 95 per cent. The consumption has also increased from 18 lakhs of gallons to 27 lakhs, an increase of 50 per cent. Then, again, while Madras justly takes credit for having closed 7,000 liquor shops in a single year, what do we find in Bombay? This: That in 1887-88 we had 4,443 shops, and in 1888-89 we had 4,739 shops, an increase of about 300. This, let me say, has reference more to country spirits than to toddy or other liquor. One of the strongest grievances involved in the abkari administration is that regarding new toddy. Toddy in Bombay, as in other parts of the country, is drunk by the labouring classes, for whom Manchester philanthropists have been exerting themselves with so much solicitude. (Laughter.) It is comparatively innocuous, not having the strength of ordinary alcoholic beverages; but it is boycotted in Bombay in order that the consumption of ardent spirits may be stimulated. What is the result? Ten years ago there were lakhs of palm trees tapped in different directions, but now the trees stand yielding nothing from the soil they occupy; not a single tree is allowed to be tapped by its owners. The fact is that the original drawers of toddy have lost their industry, and they are now eking out a miserable subsistence in all sorts of miscellaneous and, possibly some of them, questionable, ways; and I should not be surprised if many of them have gone to swell the large number of people of whom Sir William Hunter speaks as going with half a meal a day in India. This is a sad picture of the disastrous results of the Bombay abkari adminis-

tration. Under these circumstances I think you will agree with the statement in the resolution that it is necessary, at this stage, that the Government of India should actually call upon those provincial administrations, which have not carried out this reform, to do so without delay. The farming system is still flourishing in Bombay; the traffic has been stimulated, and it has brought shops to many villages where there were none. The result has been that intemperance has increased. With regard to the last and most important part of the resolution I believe there is no one who has given two minutes' consideration to this subject who would not say that, in a country like India, sober from ancient times (whatever may be said to the contrary), it is absolutely necessary that the principle inculcated by the House of Commons, so far as local option for India is concerned, should be carried out, even though in some localities it may be necessary to do this slowly and gradually. I cannot better impress you with the importance of this than by a quotation from a statement of the Government of India. They say ‘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.’ I will give you an instance of the reasonable amount of deference paid to such opinion in Bombay. In the centre of the mill district at Ahmedabad the Collector lately gave a license to open a liquor shop. All the owners of the mills asked to have it closed, but the request was not granted. Then, again, these same people at Ahmedabad, fully aware of the evil of intemperance, requested Lord Harris, when on a visit to the town, that local option might be introduced, but this also was refused. This refusal is a matter of regret, firstly, because it was a disobedience of the instructions of the Government of India; and, secondly, because the introduction of the system there—when the people voluntarily asked for it—was an experiment worthy of trial, if only to prove the goodness and sincerity of the intentions of Government. Lord Harris is, no doubt, new to this country, but I do hope and believe that when he has studied the whole question in all its aspects he will at least try to do his best to introduce this system of local option in Bombay, because I believe that on this question the salvation of India, so far as drinking is concerned, mainly rests.” (Cheers.)

It is well to give prominence to this to enable people in England to realise how a single, clever, wrong-headed civilian can nullify the distinct orders alike of the House of Commons and the Government of India. This question of reform in the Excise Administration is exciting the greatest attention throughout the country, in a great measure in consequence of Mr. Caine's and his fellow-labourers' strenuous personal exertions. Hundreds of Temperance Associations are springing up, and now that we have friends and supporters in Great Britain, it is certain that Government will get no peace until it

thoroughly reforms its liquor department. The debate was marked by much earnestness. Mr. Kashinath Natu, from the Deccan, said\* :—

“If one of our forefathers who lived one hundred and fifty years ago, were to stand here and see this august assembly, with what wonder would he regard a sight which, in his own day, would have been an absolute impossibility? But he would be still more wonder-struck to find a proposition being made for which there was no necessity whatever in his day. In the elevated sanctuaries of the Himalayas he devoted his time and thoughts to the contemplation of the infinite and absolute; but the entire devotion of too many of his descendants seems to centre nowadays on a cupboard full of bottles, and he would be astonished to find—not a few outcastes here and there, but—legions of the highest caste men slaves to the grossest of all vices, intemperance. If we are slow in other matters, we have made almost incredible progress in this. Not long ago in our province the income from this source was only Rs. 10,000, but it is now no less than ten lakhs. (‘Shame!’) Where there was no man seen drunk in the streets, there are now hundreds. I have come here to support a proposition that ought, I think, to be self-supporting: certainly it needs no support from one so little known as myself. But I speak from the natural impulses of my own heart, and I have a very strong hope that the day will come when, to adapt the Englishman’s saying, ‘We will not have a single slave to contaminate our soil,’ we shall not have a single drop of spirit to contaminate our sons. Some gentlemen, who are otherwise kindly disposed, say that this is all the result of education. And who has given us that education? I am inclined to allow the Government to stand *in loco parentis*. ‘You are our kind parents and, occupying that position, are you going to open grogshops in every town and street?’ It is a thing about which there can be no two opinions even in the House of Parliament. We earnestly ask the Government to do—what? To lessen that vice, the prevalence of which is owing in great measure to their own policy. They gave us education, no doubt, but they also made us acquainted with the drink bottle. ‘It is you,’ we can truly say to them, ‘who have brought the evil into our country, and to whom, if not to you, shall we go to find a remedy? You cannot say No to us. You *must* close the grogshops. It is said we are not fit to govern ourselves. You have given us the municipal franchise and empowered us to deal with sanitation and other matters; and yet in the same breath you say that we are not fit to regulate our grogshops, to decide on the numbers we will have, or to resolve that we will have none at all.’ I cordially support this proposition, and I hope the day will come when India will say, ‘No liquor, no brandy here, but only Adam’s ale—pure water!’ (Cheers.)”

No less earnest, though in his own quaint way, was Lala Murlidhur, from the Panjab, well known as one of the staunchest Congress-

men in India, and abundantly persecuted in consequence, in past times, by the officials. He remarked.\* :—

“Now I come to the point. I do not know why you blame these grogshops and grogsellers, and those who promote the drink traffic. There is more philosophy in a bottle of wine than in all the schools, because it proves in a minute what sages have taken long ages to solve—the problem of the transmigration of souls. (Cheers and laughter.) It proves how a human being passes into a brute, and can assume the form of a donkey at will. (Laughter.) Yes, even the Theosophists will be puzzled to solve this problem. While the East has taught the West mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences, in exchange the West has given us liquor—damnation instead of salvation. That really is a very good barter. We have bargained away our souls, and what have we in exchange? A bottle of gin or a glass of whiskey.”

In the Punjab, he said, some reforms were being carried out :—

“But, in spite of all this, people have become more addicted to drink, because it has been thought to be an adjunct of Western civilization. It is thought that a man cannot become a perfect gentleman unless he drinks a glass of wine. Now another Governor has come to the rescue of the present generation, and he says that if a person indulges in a glass of whiskey there is no harm in it. Is there no harm? Is that the idea of the Governor of millions of people that there is no harm in throwing temptation in the way of the poor wretched creatures who live on one meal a day? They have their children living in misery—clad in rags . . . lying in the mud; but all this is not enough, there must be these foul liquor shops to tempt them to make things worse! (‘Shame, shame!’) Even our Muhammadan rulers hated and held the liquor traffic accursed. It has been left for our Christian rulers to love it, pet it, stimulate it, and make money by millions out of it. (Hear, hear.) Now we find, even in Burmah, a newly conquered province, we find that liquor shops have been started. And for whose benefit? Not certainly for the benefit of the Burmese, whose creed forbids strong drink, and who are only now, under British tuition, learning to grow into drunkards and beasts. (Hear.) For whose benefit then? The benefit of the British Government, and I marvel equally at the folly and the wickedness of the course adopted. Will a drunken population serve them as well; will it, even in the long run, fill their exchequer as full as a sober one? (Cheers.) How, too, can men, who pretend to believe in God and a future state, thus set to work coldly, cruelly, systematically to seduce the people committed to their charge by Him into all kinds of sin and misery? And what wickedness does not the habit of drinking lead to? It is not for me to speak much about the evils of drinking. You who have been born in this country and have never tasted liquor have always held it to be only another name for—damnation. (Laughter.) With these words

\* Detailed Report, p. 31, 32.

\* Detailed Report, pp. 32, 33.

I support the resolution. (Cheers.) I will only add one word. You laugh at me and think that I am a fool. ('No, no.') Really I am a fool,—(laughter)—and you must thank the Punjab people, because the representative character of this National Congress would not have been perfect without the presence of one fool, at least, to represent them. (Laughter and prolonged cheers.)”

Guru Pratap Singh, one of the spiritual leaders of the Sikhs, made\* a really very remarkable speech which we reproduce :—

“Friends,—With great respect I beg to state that we Sikhs heartily sympathize with the National Congress; for the national blessings which it is conferring, and will confer, cannot be looked for from any other organization or institution. I belong to the family of Sikh Gurus known as Sodhi. I, with my followers, am a supporter of the Congress with body and wealth. My followers are about 25,000 men, and range from Lahore to Candahar. Drinking is positively prohibited in our creed as it is in others. No one dare speak in favour of drink. I am much struck that now-a-days it should be needful to warn people against drinking. There was a time when a drunkard would have tried in vain to force his vile liquor on his neighbours; in vain, for people avoided drink, with very rare exceptions, out of respect for their creeds. Now, alas! it is quite common to find men lying naked, and insensible from drink, about our streets. What are the best loved things in the world for which all people toil? Is it not wife and children? But those given to drinking do not spare even these, but despoil them of their jewels, nay of their very food, to satisfy their accursed craving. The hapless wives and children of this legion of beasts addressed their prayers for succour to God, who listened mercifully and moved the hearts of Mr. Caine and the Congress leaders to espouse their cause and endeavour to rescue the people of India from this great sin and misery that the Government has unwittingly brought upon them. This Congress, bent upon this and other good works for our suffering brethren, is not an assembly of men, but of Devas.† It is a place of pilgrimage which purifies the heart choked by the impurities of a lifetime. The ruler for the time being is the Vicegerent of God on earth. Our Gracious Empress now occupies such a place. It is in her name and encouraged by the sacredness of her position, that we of the Congress lift up our voices against this and other great evils from which India is now suffering. May God incline her heart to listen to our prayers. Since this work of the National Congress has begun, educated men have commenced to labour for the good of their fellows, and especially to devote their energies to rooting out this drink evil. More than one local Government has taken steps in the right direction, and for this we have to thank both Englishmen like Mr. Caine and his supporters in England, and our National Congress here in India. Government revenue will decrease, and some think this will harm

Government; but when the people benefit, as in this case, any wise Government counts all such losses a gain. Nay, where Government got one rupee by the drunkenness of its subjects, it will gain ten by their sobriety. It is very strange that though education has so widely spread, drink seems to have done so equally. Either education has not produced the expected results, or there has not been enough of it, or it is not the right sort, not sufficiently embodying a moral element. I do not rightly understand, but I pray God Almighty to crown the efforts of this Congress, and of all who side with them in endeavouring to save the people from this evil of drunkenness, and may He crown our Queen Empress with the choicest blessings and incline her heart to decree the rescue of her people from this grim monster.” (Cheers.)

The good Guru's perplexity at the untoward results of the education now being diffused amongst us is not unnatural; but the fact is that Western culture is destroying the moral sanctions of the indigenous creeds, and as yet replacing them by no higher law. Social reformers, almost all of them, save those who as Government servants are debarred from this, good Congressmen as well, and pious votaries of many creeds are trying, everywhere, to stem the growing evil; but it is to be feared that, unless some new and vivifying faith grows up in the heart of the nation, the almost wholly foreign and purely secular education, now being poured into the country, will give rise, not only to the expected good fruit, but also to a dire and unexpected crop of noxious weeds. No doubt political responsibility, if the Government could be induced to concede it, and other reforms that we have advocated, would do a good deal towards raising the moral as well as the physical status of the people, but even the most sanguine cannot flatter themselves that these will adequately fill the void left by the extraordinarily rapid decay of religious belief.

The resolution was passed unanimously, and then the Congress adjourned until 11 A.M. on the following Monday.

On Sunday the Social Conference assembled in the Congress Pavilion, and passed, after much discussion, various important resolutions in regard to matters of Social Reform. But the Social Conference will, as in former years, publish its own separate Report, and nothing further need be said of it here. The matter is only mentioned because this year, for the first time, some few persons, belonging to the old Conservative party, addressed a number of representations to the President

\* Detailed Report, pp. 33.

† viz., semi-divine beings.



and General Secretary, and to the delegates as a body, urging them not to permit the Social Conference to use the Congress Hall, and it is satisfactory to be able to record that not one single delegate was found willing to support this proposition.

On Monday, when the Congress re-assembled, the first resolution brought forward prayed for a reduction of the salt-tax. Year by year, as the popular element grows stronger and stronger in the Congress party, the delegates find themselves, compelled by their constituencies, to lay more and more stress upon this subject. The resolution ran as follows:—

“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.”

It was proposed by Mr. Pringle Kennedy, and the subject is of such vital importance to our poorer classes, viz., to four-fifths of the population, that no apology seems necessary for quoting at great length, alike from his speech and from those of other delegates who supported the proposal. Mr. Kennedy said\* :—

“Not everybody in India is a contributor to the abkari revenue, and, if Mr. Caine has his way, the number of such contributors will dwindle by shrinkage to a vanishing quantity. All the inhabitants of India are not fortunate enough to possess Rs. 500 a year, and to have, in consequence, the pleasure of submitting to the income tax. But every man, woman, and child in this country must eat salt, and thus be a feeder of the Imperial Treasury. (Hear, hear.) The salt-tax is an income-tax on all incomes down to the lowest. The poorer a man is, the heavier is its incidence. What that incidence is I shall hereafter show. In England a labourer who drinks neither alcoholic beverages, nor tea, nor yet smokes tobacco, pays nothing to the State. In India the lowliest peasant, the poorest coolie, nay, the very beggar widow in the street, has to drop her mite into the Imperial Treasury. (Hear, hear.) Such a tax needs very cogent reasons to defend it. . . . When I hear that the people do not mind it, the only meaning that I can put to this expression is that people do not speak of it. Gentlemen, an eel is said not to mind skinning. It is used to it. I suppose

it seems to the eels a visitation of an inscrutable Providence; and hence, no doubt, our people, unless questioned, do not, in many parts of the country speak much about it. But when I think of the salt tax, my thought takes me to feudal France, when that existed under the name of the gabelle. They did not mind it, so the rulers said: and, no doubt, even if they did, they rather hesitated to press the point, for, in those days, a gallows was found to be even more disagreeable than a poll tax, and their rulers were quite handy at hanging all who differed from them on such political questions. But, gentlemen, if the wheels of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small, and the end came, I need not say how. Now I come to the incidence of the Indian salt tax. Bear with me while I give you a few figures. I shall try to make them as round and simple as I can. First of all, from enquiry, amongst other places at Her Majesty's jails where luxuries are not likely to be given, I find that nine or ten chittacks a month, or seven seers and a little over—we will drop the little over—are necessary to keep an adult in health. Now, there are more than twenty-five tens of millions of people in India, and making a deduction for children and others who need a less quantity of salt than adults, we may take it that 20 tens of millions rations of salt at the rate above mentioned, or something over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tens of millions of maunds of salt, are necessary to keep the people in health. And this quantity at Rs. 2·8 per maund, the present rate of duty should yield  $8\frac{1}{2}$  tens of millions of rupees. But if I turn to the latest revenue returns, I find that  $7\frac{1}{2}$  tens of millions of rupees, roughly, was the last year's salt revenue. This gives six annas a head; and it shows, since the tax is one anna a seer, the fact that each person has six and not seven seers of salt a year, as he ought to have at the least. (Hear, hear.) As a matter of fact in British territory (they are better off in some of the native States), the Government itself calculates the consumption at not more than 10 lbs., or little less than five seers per head. There is doubtless considerable smuggling on the one side, but on the other it must be mentioned that human consumption is not the sole, though the chief, use of salt, and that many of the people consume a far greater quantity than the minimum we have given. I know perfectly well that many of the people have not sufficient bread either, but the price of that is not artificially raised by Government. Let us look at the subject from a different point of view. In an article in the *Pioneer*, some months ago, by Mr. Robertson, it was stated that a Madras official, who made a careful study of the question, had ascertained that the average monthly income of the agriculturists in the district of Karnool was 12 annas per head, say Rs. 4 for a family of five. Very rough calculations on my part give me similar results for the districts of Durbhangah and Mozufferpore. The *Gazetteer*, published several years ago, gives the expenditure of a well-to-do Tirhoot peasant, and, therefore, I presume the income, at about Rs. 11 per month. This was for a family of five. The poorer, it is said, have to reduce their expenditure to about half of this. Let us say Rs. 5 for a family of five. Now if these five ate twenty-four seers of salt in the year, as in accordance with the official calculations

\* Detailed Report, pp. 35, 36.

already stated, they would do, this would be (leaving out any calculation for the increased price, which, as all economists know, considerably exceeds the amount of the tax itself), at one anna a seer, Rs. 1-8, and so a family having Rs. 60 a year would have to pay Rs. 1-8, as their salt duty. This is a tax of nearer five than four pies a month, and this, too, on incomes not over Rs. 500 a year, but of only Rs. 5 a month. If mine and a Madras civilian's figures be taken, the people of these districts would be paying over six pies in the rupee, and if they ate seven instead of six seers, the tax would be nearly seven pies in the rupee, and that on incomes of less than Rs. 50 a year. Think of these facts ye gentlemen who have incomes over Rs. 500 a year and grumble at the payment of four pies in the rupee! Meditate over them those of you who possess an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year and whine\* at the payment of five pies in the rupee! Now, Sir, only one word about figures. If the tax were reduced to Rs. 2, salt would sell at about thirteen seers instead of ten seers for the rupee as it now does. If the duty were reduced to one rupee, as Lord Mayo, Sir J. Strachey, and, subsequently, Sir Evelyn Baring, desired, salt would sell for twenty seers for the rupee, and if salt were duty free—a blessed day, but I am afraid far away in the millennium—salt would sell at forty seers for the rupee in those places even where it is now dearest, and in many provinces it would be far cheaper. Why the actual cost of producing one maund of salt at the Mayo mines, the Sambhur lake, the Kareghora works and the Madras coast works, is under *two annas!* But, gentlemen, Government, like other people, must live. We do not ask for the abolition of the whole tax. Mr. Caine is for doing away with the alkali revenue, others for reducing the income tax. We say that already the financial situation is so improved—on this point, I believe, a speaker after me will dilate—that a part of the salt tax may be remitted, and, by judicious economy and reduction of military expenditure and home charges, the tax may be still further lowered. When you get your Representative Councils you may be sure that the Government will listen to you when you propose to tax yourselves, if in no other matter. If then this burden is still too heavy for the millions of the land after all economy is made, the only way whereby you can alleviate its weight is by taking some of it on yourselves. Gentlemen, when some fifty years ago, John Bright lay prostrate under one of the greatest afflictions that can befall mortal man, Cobden came to him and said: 'Your grief is great, but remember that there are millions of widows and widows' sons who perish this day in England from lack of cheap bread.' In this great land of India there are millions of men and women and children this day who have their lives shortened, their physique stunted, and with their physique, their moral and intellectual

\* Great indignation is felt, as a rule, by Indians at the selfish outcry of many Europeans, especially in Calcutta, against the income-tax. If they only asked, as the Congress does, that incomes below £70 a year should be exempt from the Tax all would sympathize with them. As it is, all they want is to save their own pockets and get rid of the Tax altogether: already the poor pay far too much, the rich far too little, and, instead of abolishing the tax, Governments should raise it to six pies per rupee on all incomes exceeding Rs. 10,000 per annum.

facilities blunted, from lack of cheap salt. (Hear, hear.) I address many of the great of this land. Will they use all their influence to make this precious necessary of life cheaper? Fellow Delegates, will you show that they accuse you falsely, who say your care is all for yourselves and that this movement is simply one for the substitution of Indian dark-skinned, for European fair-skinned, Brahmins, by saying: 'If in no other way can this yoke be made less grievous, tax us, tax the rich but let the poor go!' I appeal to you, one and all in this Hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity, all the knowledge of this earth is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." (Loud cheers.)

To him followed Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, of Bombay, in a closely reasoned speech which does not admit of condensation. He said:—\*

"You have already heard Mr. Kennedy on the question of the consumption of salt and the oppressive incidence of the salt tax on the people. I will, however, make a few further observations on this part of the subject, before I dwell at some length on the financial condition of the country, which is the ground on which we propose to memorialise the Government of India to reduce the tax. The principal object of the resolution before you is to urge upon the Government the justice of remitting the enhanced salt duty of eight annas per maund, which is no longer imperative, on account of the material improvement which the finances of the Empire have undergone since the date of its imposition. It is needless for me to recall to your memory the pretext under which the enhancement was justified in the early part of 1858, despite the fact that well-informed critics in the press and responsible Associations, at the time, conclusively showed that it was uncalled for. Previous to the imposition of the augmented duty, the Government of India had absorbed in two years eight crores and three quarters of rupees, viz. :—

By Income Tax . . . . .	Rs. 2,75,00,000
Improvements and Economies . . . . .	" 2,00,00,000
Curtailement of Provincial Allotment . . . . .	" 1,00,00,000
Appropriation of Famine and Railway Fund . . . . .	" 3,00,00,000

This colossal amount of nearly nine crores was wasted on the following questionable and hazardous enterprises :—

Upper Burma acquisition . . . . .	Rs. 3,51,00,000
Punjab Field Force . . . . .	" 2,11,60,000
Transfrontier Defences and Railways . . . . .	" 2,00,00,000
Additional Military Expenditure . . . . .	" 98,00,000

But even after the absorption of such a vast amount there was a heavy deficiency which, the Government regretfully urged, necessitated a recourse to additional taxation in the shape of an enhanced duty of eight annas per maund on such a necessary of life as salt. The deficiency was chiefly attributable, according to

\* Detailed Reports, p. 36-39.

Lord Dufferin's statement, to the fall in the value of silver. We need not, however, trouble ourselves much with the past. We are now here to remind the Government that our finances are in a condition to justify the remission of the enhanced duty. For that purpose let me put some statistics before you. I know that statistics are very dry, and that blue books of a dry-as-dust character are never looked at by the public; but, considering the importance of the resolution before you, I hope you will give your attention to the figures I am going to place before you. Previous Finance Ministers, particularly Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring, two of the ablest Ministers since the days of the late Mr. Wilson and Mr. S. Laing, repeatedly declared that the lower the salt duty the better for the country and the better for the Imperial revenue, because a lower duty stimulates consumption and a higher one restricts it. Government itself has admitted the soundness of this doctrine, and I will now proceed to show by figures how a lower or higher duty affects consumption. In 1876-77, when various rates of duty were enforced in the different provinces of the Empire, the total recorded amount which paid the salt-tax was 25,847,830 maunds. In 1878 Sir John Strachey brought about an equalization of the duty, everywhere, by fixing the uniform rate of Rs. 2-8 per maund. It remained in force till 1882. During this period the annual quantity of salt which paid the duty of Rs. 2-8 per maund averaged 27,288,569 maunds. This annual average, compared with the consumption recorded in 1876-77, showed a growth of 5.5 per cent. In 1882, the Government of Lord Ripon reduced the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, at which it remained till it was again raised to Rs. 2-8 by Lord Dufferin in 1888. The quantity which paid the reduced duty of Rs. 2 averaged during the five years 30,830,847 maunds per annum. The increase during this quinquennial period, compared with the average of the previous four years, was 3,542,278 maunds, equal to a percentage of 13. Thus, while in the period when the duty was Rs. 2-8, the increase equalled 1.37 per cent. per annum; in the period when it was Rs. 2 the growth equalled 2.6 per cent. per annum. (Cheers.) It is obvious that, had there been no enhancement, the progress in consumption up to date would have been maintained at that or even a higher rate. But just as this progress was perceptible all throughout the country, the financial embarrassments of the Government led, as they asserted, to the augmentation of the duty and with it to a restricted consumption. In his last financial statement Sir David Barbour has tried to show that the progress of consumption has received no check. According to his own figures, however, as given in the 23rd paragraph of that statement, it is clear that consumption in 1890-91 is estimated at about 31,930,000 maunds, which is less by 900,000 maunds than the recorded figures of 1886-87. Sir David attempts to demonstrate that, in spite of the increased duty, consumption, which had evidently fallen, is again creeping to the old level. But Sir David forgets two important factors: Firstly, that population is increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum; and, secondly, that but for the enhancement, the percentage of progress observable till 1887 might have been better in 1890-91.

Indeed, it is a question whether the consumption per head has not fallen below the average of 10 lbs. per annum. That average is considered everywhere, but in India, to be quite inadequate, especially as we allow nothing in our computation for the consumption of cattle, hundreds of thousands of whom annually lose condition for want of salt and die consequently on the smallest failure of pasturage, and thus cripple to a serious extent the means which mainly contribute to the production of our national wealth. I will give you some figures of the consumption of salt in Europe and America, from which it will be easily perceived how much India falls short of what may be called an adequate consumption of salt. In the United Kingdom there is no duty, and the consumption is 80 lbs. per head, but of course this includes much salt for manufacturing purposes. In France it is 50 lbs., in Germany 25; in Russia 19—Russia, whose economic conditions are in some respects identical with those of India; in Austria 14, in Italy 18, in Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17 lbs. The consumption in the United States is 39 lbs., the average in Europe is 26 lbs. Then, look at the incidence of the duty. The average income per head of the European population is £15 4s. 7½d. per head, while the salt duty per head averages 11d. Now, taking the rupee at 1s. 6d., the average income of the population in India is £2, while the salt duty per head averages 5d. and 1½ farthings. Therefore, in Europe, the salt duty is 0.3 per cent. on the income, while in India it is over 1.1 per cent.—or, in other words, the incidence of the salt tax is now nearly four times as heavy in India as in Europe. Formulated in other terms it means that India, with an income hardly more than one-eighth that of Europe, pays nearly half as much as a tax on a necessity of life like salt. Thus the duty operates as a real hardship on the poorest people, who constitute the large majority of our population. How great is the hardship may be realized by taking a concrete example. A family of five consumes on an average, say, 50lbs. of salt annually. But there are only two bread winners, man and wife, the rest being young persons or children. Taking the average income of each earner at the official computation, *vis.*, Rs. 27 per head, and calculating the lowest retail bazar price at Rs. 5, per maund, it will be found that there is a burden of nearly 4 per cent. on the combined income per annum merely for salt. Imagine an income-tax of 4 per cent. on a poor family of five, and nearly one-sixth of this is due to the extra eight annas. Thus the enhancement of the duty, however small, operates with great hardship on the masses. Under these circumstances it is a matter of deep regret to us all that the two\* native gentlemen who were present at the meeting at the Viceregal Council when this Enhancement Bill was passed, should have observed that increased duty would not be felt by the people! I believe that statement was directly opposed to the all but absolutely universal opinion outside the Council Chamber. The statement was more to be regretted because it misled Lord Dufferin into observing, later on in his speech, that the Council were 'glad to hear' that the enhancement of the duty would not be considered a hardship. This

\* Rajah Peary Mohan Mookerjee, one of the two gentlemen referred to, was on the platform.

is the way in which nominated members of the Vice-regal Council fulfil their trust. It is evident that had there been elected representatives of the people, as proposed by us for the reformed Legislative Councils, no such opinion would have been allowed to prevail and mislead the Government. (Cheers.) Eight annas may appear trifling to most of us; but they mean a great deal to the poorest. What they signify may be best stated in the substance of the words of Sir Evelyn Baring: 'Eight annas to the poor ryot means the purchase of either three yards of cloth or a little lota.' Gentlemen, all through the history of the salt tax it has been said that it is a poll tax and that it falls heavily on the poor. My personal opinion is that it should have no place in our fiscal system, for it is a tax on a necessary of life, and is, moreover, at its present rate, fully twenty-five times the actual cost of production. Eminent statesmen, from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Ripon, have disapproved of it. But it is now too late to abolish it altogether. It is of no use contending with existing facts. All that we should strive for is a low duty, on the sound principle that it is conducive to greater consumption both for men and cattle. I now pass to the second part of the resolution. I hold in my hand a copy of the explanatory memorandum by the Under Secretary of State for India, presented to Parliament in August last. At page 50 there is a table of Net Revenue and Expenditure for the three years ending 1889-90, and also Budget estimates for the current official year. Comparing the complete accounts of 1887-88 with the estimates of this year, what do we find? This only, that there is a satisfactory growth of revenue under all the principal heads. Leaving alone opium, salt, and provincial rates, I find that the increase under the other heads amounts to 143 lakhs of rupees as under:—

	Accounts. 1887-88.	Budget Estimates. 1890-91.	Increase. 1890-91.
Land Revenue Rx.	19,653,000	20,119,000	466,000
Stamps ..	3,669,000	3,846,000	177,000
Excise ..	4,374,000	4,645,000	271,000
Customs ..	1,182,000	1,378,000	196,000
Assessed Taxes ..	1,383,000	1,514,000	131,000
Forest ..	402,000	565,000	163,000
Registration ..	123,000	150,000	27,000

Thus, apart from salt, which now yields a larger revenue on account of a higher duty; apart from opium, which is precarious in its yield; and apart from provincial rates, which are mere transfer receipts, there is a growth in four years of 143 lakhs. But, beyond this improvement on the revenue side, there is, gentlemen, a material saving in one item of Imperial expenditure. I refer to the interest charge on the ordinary debt. In 1887-88, the net charge under this head was Rs. 46,950,000. In the estimates of expenditure for 1890-91 it is put down at Rs. 35,060,000. The saving in four years amounts to 118 lakhs. While we note this improvement in our national expenditure with great satisfaction, we cannot but feel aghest when we discover that expenditure under other heads had risen by leaps and bounds by no less than 306 lakhs.

	Accounts. 1887-88.	Budget Estimates. 1890-91.	Increase.
Civil Department Rx.	11,410,000	12,075,000	665,000
Miscellaneous Charges ..	3,155,000	3,702,000	547,000
Buildings and Roads ..	4,859,000	5,128,000	269,000
Army Services ..	19,357,000	20,522,000	1,165,000
Special Defence Works ..	456,000	892,000	436,000

Thus in four years they have managed to run up Civil and Military charges, including defence works, by the enormous extent of three millions. The army services alone have increased by a crore and sixteen lakhs! not to speak of defence works having been run up one hundred per cent.! It is these stupendous charges which eat up your growing revenue. It is the so-called defence policy, the safeguarding of our frontiers and transfrontiers from a bugbear of their own creation, created to find staff appointments, and employments to the already monied European classes, which is at the root of the financial embarrassments of the Government and at the root of the starvation and misery which are eating away the lives of tens of millions of our pauper Indians.\* There are military and other critics who disapprove of that policy. Our late lamented friend, Mr. Slagg, characterised it two years ago, as you may remember, as a 'mad' policy, when speaking on the subject in the House of Commons. I believe that it is a 'mad' policy. I know that it is a wicked policy, and, as long as it is pursued headlong, it will continue to embarrass the finances and add millions yearly to our already alarming death roll. The embarrassments arising from the fall in the value of silver are, in my opinion, nothing—a mere fleabite—compared with the financial difficulties in which the Government of India is plunged by this insane military policy. I repeat, that unless a great effort is made at future Congresses to force the Government to desist from these reckless and indefensible operations beyond the natural lines of Indian defence, there can be scarcely any hope of pecuniary relief to the tax-payer—scarcely any hope for the amelioration of the miserable condition of our starving millions. Since the Penjdeh scare they have spent, according to the official statements, full thirteen crores on the so-called trans-frontier defences; but we have not yet seen the last of them, for in the last financial statement reference is made to a further probable expenditure of a crore! I now come to the practical part of the resolution. Of course, we have to submit resignedly to this ruinous, this unprincipled, trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the consciences of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects, now, of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren never awake? Meanwhile, more ammunition, more explosives, more fireworks, and even more troops, are being requisitioned. These costly pastimes, amusements to our rulers, death to our people, may deter the authorities from giving ear to our prayers and protests. But it is well, none the less, to remind them of their own declaration that the enhanced duty 'must go' as soon as the finances permit. One of the principal grounds on which Lord Dufferin stated that he was obliged, 'with the greatest reluctance,' to increase the duty, was the loss by exchange. I quote from the speech he made about the beginning of 1888: 'Unfortunately, it has become my lot on several occasions to add to the taxation of the

\* It is impossible to emphasize too strongly these pregnant words which embody the convictions of all the best and most earnest of our Indian thinkers.

country, but in justification of this hard necessity, it is sufficient for me to remark that since my arrival in India, owing to the depreciation in the price of silver, the annual accumulation of loss to the Government has progressively increased yearly by a million.' He goes on to say: 'The loss in 1884-85, when I first took up the reins of Government, stood at 3.40 crores; in 1885-86 at 4.40 crores; in 1886 at 5.40 crores, and in 1887-88 at 6.60 crores.' The latest financial statement gives the loss on exchange at seven crores. It was, however, promised by both Lord Dufferin and Mr. Westland that the duty should be remitted on the first opportunity that the finances were relieved of this embarrassment. That opportunity has now arrived. Since the publication of the last Budget you are all aware that exchange has greatly improved, partly in consequence, possibly, of the action taken in regard to silver in the United States. Though we had violent fluctuations in August and September last, exchange still stands to-day at about 1s. 6½d. The amount to be remitted this year to the Secretary of State is nearly fifteen millions sterling. The rate of exchange was estimated in March last at 1s. 4½d., and the probable loss at that rate was computed to be seven crores. But already eleven millions have been remitted at an average rate of 1s. 6½d., and there is no reason to doubt that the balance of the remittance will be made at or about the same rate. Sir John Gorst himself stated, when presenting the Budget in August last, that the rate would probably be maintained at 1s. 6½d., so that it may be taken for granted that the loss by exchange will be very much less than the Budget estimate of seven crores. I compute it at only about 4.66 crores. Thus, apart from all other fluctuations of revenue and expenditure, there would be a saving under this head alone of nearly 2½ crores. Sir John Gorst counts on a surplus of 1.87 crores. Taking his figures and the actual surplus of two crores of last year, it may be reasonably expected that there will be available a surplus of not less than four crores in all. And, unless the authorities persevere in muddling it away on military mischief, that surplus should suffice, not only for the remission of the enhanced duty, but for the reduction of this latter to Rs. 1-8. (Loud cheers.) But I beg to bring to your notice two more facts which will convince you that, even apart from these surpluses, the financial condition of the Imperial Treasury has so far improved as to justify our demand for a remission. The additional duty yields, it is asserted, 1½ crores (it is not really so much), and I say that 1½ crores could be dispensed with easily for some years to come. According to Sir David Barbour's statement, there has been a permanent growth in the principal heads of revenue of three-quarters of a crore per annum; exchange, again, is unlikely to go back to 1s. 4½d. for some time to come. Looking at current events and the further agitation on silver in America, it seems that a rate of 1s. 6½d., or even 1s. 6d., will be fully maintained. But even if exchange could be maintained at 1s. 5½d. that would diminish the loss on the Secretary of State's bills in future to the extent of 1 crore, roughly speaking, for an improvement of a penny in exchange gives a saving, according to official estimates, of just that amount. This saving, plus the permanent increase of ½ crore in

the principal sources of revenue, make up 1½ crores, so that the Government is in a position to safely give up the 1½ crore now supposed to be derived from the additional duty of 8 annas per maund; as a matter of fact the loss, owing to increased consumption, would, after the first year, be less than one crore. Both financial conditions and the justice of the case demand, imperatively, that a remission should be made. I think, gentlemen, I have now shown substantial reasons for the remission. And, if you think I have made out a substantial case on which to base our representation to Government to remit the duty, I am sure that that representation will, at any rate, deserve an attentive and favourable consideration at the hands of the authorities." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Then followed Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who spoke\* as follows:—

"I have been asked to support this proposition that has been ably proposed, seconded, and explained by previous speakers. My predecessors have dealt with certain aspects of the question, and I will with your permission deal with one or two others. I say that the measures for the enhancement of the duty on salt in January, 1888, by a mere executive order of the Government of India was a cruel departure—I might almost say a criminal departure—from the wise policy long since laid down by the Government of India and reaffirmed, strange as it may seem, when Lord Lytton was our Viceroy and Sir John Strachey our Finance Minister, namely, the policy of raising a revenue from salt by a low rate of duty and unrestricted consumption instead of by a high rate of duty and restricted consumption. I say that this new departure was extremely unjust, that as a measure of statesmanship it was extremely impolitic, and that its consequences have been simply disastrous. I know these are serious charges, but I think I can substantiate them. First, with regard to the charge of injustice. When Lord Dufferin's Government passed the Income Tax Act of 1886 his Lordship said that the measure was not brought forward in any spirit of apology; that the masses of the country were already contributing more than their proper share to the expenses of the country, and that the income-tax would only equalize the burdens on the various classes. Well, the burdens being thus equalised in 1886, I ask on what principle of justice and equity was it that when, two years afterwards, a new emergency, as Government were pleased to call it, arose for additional taxation, it was the poor masses who were selected? How was it that when it was found necessary to create a fresh inequality in the taxation of the country, matters were so arranged that the inequality was again prejudicial to the toiling masses? I do not know whether it was because the masses were almost certain to suffer silently without protest—I would even say without complaint—whereas their wealthier brethren were as certain to denounce any taxation on them in the public press and at St. Andrew's dinner speeches. So much with regard to the injustice of the measure: now with regard to its

\* Detailed Report, pp. 39-40.

impolicy. We have on our side an authority not only infinitely greater than myself, but one to which the Government of India ought to bow—I mean the authority of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross himself. Three months after the measure of enhancement his Lordship wrote a despatch to the Government on the subject. It was dated April 12th, 1888, and in it he expresses his great regret at the enhancement of the salt duty, and directed the Government of India in very distinct, unequivocal, and I would say peremptory, terms to take off the additional eight annas on the first opportunity afforded by the finances. He then went on to say that even from the point of view of expediency the enhancement was extremely undesirable, because in the case of so vast an empire as India it was absolutely essential for the Government always to hold in hand some financial reserve which they might utilise on occasions of any sudden and dangerous crisis. So much with regard to impolicy; now with regard to consequences, I am going to show that consumption has actually been restricted by this measure. In 1888 Mr. Westland, our Finance Minister, said that the enhancement would not affect the consumption of the country. The figures supplied by Sir David Barbour himself belied that prediction. The last year unaffected was 1886-87, and then the consumption stood at 3 crores and 10 lakhs of maunds. The next year, 1887-88, the first year affected by the measure, there was a fall of 6 lakhs of maunds, the figures being 3 crores 4 lakhs. The next year there was a further fall of 6 lakhs, the figures being 2 crores 98 lakhs. It is true that the figures have now gone up to those of 1886-87, but that does not show that the restrictive operation of that enhancement has ceased, because we have to take into consideration the important factor of the increase in the consumption of salt owing to the normal growth of the population. That normal growth is one per cent. per annum, and taking the consumption at 10lbs. per head, you find that every year there ought to be an increase of fully 3 lakhs of maunds in the consumption of salt. Taking this into account you will see that in the first year affected by the enhancement there was a fall of 9 lakhs, in the second of 18, and in the third of 9. Altogether in the last three years 36 lakhs of maunds less have been consumed by the people than they would have consumed if there had not been the enhancement. (Cheers.) Sir John Gorst speaking the other day in the House of Commons, said that the diminution in the consumption of salt was not appreciable—that was the term he used. I do not know what dictionaries would justify the use of the term, but Sir John Gorst is welcome to use the word in this connection. But I ask him, and those who think with him, who are the persons affected by this diminishing consumption? I daresay there is not a single person present, not a single member of those who are called the middle and upper classes, who have consumed, during the last three years, one grain of salt less than he would have done if there had been no enhancement. Who are the persons affected? They are those who have been estimated by Sir William Hunter at 40 millions, and by Sir Charles Elliott at 70 millions, who always exist on the borderland of famine, so that, directly there is the least failure, down the precipice they go. The persons affected by this enhancement are they to

whom the lines of the Corn Law poet might aptly be applied:—

'Landless, joyless, helpless, hopeless,  
Gasping still for bread and breath,  
To their graves by trouble hunted  
India's helots toil till death.'

(Loud cheers.) When you call to mind the thin emaciated figures of these unhappy, miserable, brethren, who have as much right to the comforts of this, God's, earth, as you or I or any one else; when you remember that the lives of these brethren are so uniformly dark and miserable, that they are hardly cheered by a single ray of hope, or relieved by a single day of rest; when further, you remember that a person does not generally trench upon his stock of necessities before he has parted with every luxury, every single comfort that he may allow himself; when you recall all these things, you will clearly understand what grievous and terrible hardship and suffering and privation this measure of enhancement, which has curtailed the poor man's consumption of salt by thirty-six lakhs of maunds, has really entailed." (Cheers.)

Space will not allow us to reproduce much more of these earnest and eloquent appeals on behalf of our suffering masses. We will therefore only quote further one short passage from Lala Murlidhur's speech.\*

"If you deny," he said, "salt to these poor people, you may as well deny them air to breathe, light to see, and water to drink. What does the salt duty mean? It is a tax on hunger and on thirst; it is a tax on one's life. It is a wrong which presses hard on these people. Place yourselves in the position of these poor men; go to their homes and see for yourselves what sort of life they lead; and then say if you will deny them the last thing which makes the scanty insipid scraps of food, which is all they can ever compass, at all palatable to these wretched creatures. (Cheers.) For God's sake, I say, do not deny them this one luxury which they stand much in need of. Do any of us approve this cruel grinding of our pauper brethren? Do I, do any of us?"

No! Certainly no one then present, unless indeed it might be Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee, who, in the Viceroy's Council, supported this cruel enhancement in 1888. But, to him, doubtless, these vehement and unanswerable condemnations of the policy he had supported were unpalatable, and it happened that, at this juncture, a gentleman rose to propose an amendment, which, if entertained seriously by any appreciable section of the assembly would, to a certain extent, have excused his action.

The purport of the amendment† was that

\* Detailed Report, p. 42.

† Detailed Report, p. 43.

there was no necessity for reducing the tax, but that Government ought to make special rules for special localities regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and industrial purposes. Mr. Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari's speech\* which may be read, was not devoid of cleverness; he had a bad case and was absolutely ignorant of the salt question, and yet he spoke fluently for a quarter of an hour, making at least some semblance of defending his amendment. To his head, as a lawyer, his address may not do discredit, but where his heart as a citizen is concerned the verdict must be different.

To the astonishment of all present, Mr. R. D. Mehta, of Calcutta, rose to second the amendment. He clearly had never considered the subject, and his main point† was that there was no substantial difference between the original proposition and the amendment! He appears to have been actuated by a chivalrous feeling that every opinion ought to have a hearing, and that as no one else would second the amendment, he would. He was followed by Mr. Mohini Mohan Chatterji who took him and his leader, and Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee, properly to task. Some passages‡ from his speech we may usefully reproduce:—

"Mr. Mehta asks what is the substantial difference between the original proposition and this so-called amendment. (Cheers.) They are utterly different and distinct. (Cheers.) We say that the salt-tax generally should be reduced, so that all our pauper millions, who chiefly feel the tax, throughout the Empire, should be relieved *pro tanto*. He says, Make special rules for special localities, so that some small isolated communities may be benefited. Our proposition is simple and practical—his absolutely impracticable. (Cheers.) Of course, he has not studied the question. Of course he does not know that differential rates of duty involving cordons to keep the cheaper salt out of localities where it is not intended to be used, are absolutely indefensible; that from Lord Mayo's time the whole aim of every reformer has been to get rid of those cordons by having one uniform invariable rate of duty throughout Hindustan; that this by infinite pains has been accomplished; and that his resolution proposes to resuscitate all the evils inseparable from differential rates. Our resolution asks for a practical reform—his for an impracticable retrograde movement; that is the substantial difference! (Loud cheers.) As far as I can understand its scope the amendment proposed, with the exception of the verbal alteration suggested, comes to this: Let rules be made

enabling particular communities of men in particular localities—I don't think it can mean the country generally, or there would be an end of salt taxation—to make their own salt, never mind how unwholesome it may be. Rules it seems are to be made with reference to local peculiarities, which to my mind, only means, let those who are living on the sea coast make their own salt; and how is this salt to be prevented from going inland? But if these rules are to be general, then every man living anywhere where there is even salt earth may make his own salt cheap and nasty; and we do not want that; moreover, nothing short of millions of preventive officials can prevent this cheap and nasty salt, once made, from circulating over the entire country; and we don't want a new army of licensed blackmailers; and without this army the cheap salt will circulate and salt taxation come to an end; and we don't want that even, as yet; we can't afford it, though we can afford to reduce the rate by eight annas, and thus no doubt sacrifice about one million sterling of revenue which Mr. Wacha has shown that we can well spare if there be no new frontier extravagances. (Loud cheers.) The salt-tax is objectionable because it is a tax on life. It is not an income-tax, but a tax on life itself. (Cheers.) As to the remedy proposed by the amendment, it is worse even than the malady. (Hear, hear.) Independent of the army of blackmailers, the salt thus made will be bad salt, full of sulphates and nitrates, not only of sodium, but also of lime and magnesium. It is really better that the people should have no salt than have salt which will introduce disease into the system. There is one other point in connection with the amendment to which I wish to make reference. If it were practically carried into effect in the manner in which I believe it to be intended, the result will be great inequality in the taxation levied upon salt in different parts of the country. If we could exempt classes and so arrange that the poor should get their salt free, there would be something in it. But that is impossible; even with differential rates they can only be applied to localities; all in which, rich or poor, must enjoy the cheaper salt—to me an absurd proposition. I do not know what you think, but certainly I should think that this would be a great evil. Why should one locality pay Re. 1 and another Rs. 3 duty per maund on its salt? This was the old vicious exploded system. Are we to go back to this? We do not want that some parts should have a plentiful and cheap supply, while in others salt should be scarcer and dearer even than at present. What we want is wholesome salt, cheap, and plenty of it; and that, as I have tried to show, the amendment does not provide for. . . . When, gentlemen, occupying high positions, coddled in the lap of luxury, say, 'Oh! the poor won't feel it,' there is something so chilling, so discouraging, so sickening in this cynicism that the power of adjectives is quite unable to properly characterize such base and selfish utterances." (Cheers.)

Other speakers followed exposing the fallacy of Mr. D. P. Sarvadhikari's verbal meanderings (they really cannot be called arguments); then the amendment was put, no one but the proposer and seconder voting for

\* Detailed Report, pp. 43-44.

† *Ibid.*, p. 44.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

it, and finally the resolution was carried unanimously, not even Messrs. Mehta and Sarvadhikari seeing their way to oppose it.

The next resolution referred to a question, the permanent settlement, in which the entire population of India is almost as deeply and actively interested as in the reduction of the Salt Tax. No doubt the idea is very prevalent that this question only interests the Zemindars and Taluqdars and other wealthy people, and hence outsiders speak of this as a mere class question. But no greater misconception could exist. In the first place the great bulk of the agriculturists throughout the Bombay and Madras Presidencies are peasant proprietors, and elsewhere the cultivators are strongly of opinion, and we believe rightly so, that were the Government to leave off screwing the Zemindars, these would, for the most part, deal more liberally with their cultivators. All classes know well that, once a permanent settlement is secured, a much larger yield can be obtained from the soil and all classes reckon on sharing in the enhanced profits.

The resolution was thus worded :—

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 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 permanence 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.”

This was proposed by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar in an admirable speech. He said\* :—

“ I confess that the question with which this resolution deals is one of vast importance, and at the same time one of considerable perplexity, and the time allotted to a speaker by the rules will not enable me to do full justice to it. I will, however, lay before you, as briefly as I can, certain considerations which go far to justify and support the demand we make. As I have said, India is an agricultural country. ‘ The wealth of India ’ of which the poet speaks has vanished. The gorgeous fabrics which India produced are now

reduced to an almost inappreciable quantity. Whenever you go you find that the people are being thrown on the soil. Take the estimates framed by the Famine Commission, and you find that 90 per cent. of the rural population is closely connected with the soil, and 80 per cent. of the whole population is wholly dependent upon the soil. Taking later calculations, you will find that the proportion has risen to as much as 86 per cent., and, with our indigenous industries dying out, this pressure of the population upon the land is growing every day, and you find that vast tracts which were at one time considered as not being fit for cultivation are being taken up for this purpose. The arable area under cultivation has increased vastly; and though this industry is not in many places paying, through sheer necessity people are compelled to have recourse to poorer and poorer soils. The effect of this has been that land which was required for grazing purposes is now taken up for agricultural purposes, and the result of that you see in the deterioration of your agricultural stock. If you compare this area with the amount of population, you will find a state of things which must make us really very anxious; that is, that while the area under cultivation is estimated to be a little less than 190 million acres, the population which it has to support is nearly 197 millions. I take my figures from the latest Government statistics. This means less than an acre per head, and, according to Sir William Hunter, at least an acre per head is required to maintain a man sufficiently. Here, therefore, is this one great problem before you. You find that the only industry by which you can maintain your people is in a very unsatisfactory condition. You may almost say that the widest limit of cultivation has been reached, and the question is, What are we to do? The only solution is improvement in cultivation itself, and here it is that the question of permanent settlement becomes of the greatest importance. If the oldest industry we have is to be maintained, in a state of prosperity, it is necessary that that industry should be improved. But here, throughout the major part of the country, you find that there is an almost insuperable obstacle to all improvement interposed, and that is on account of the temporary settlement and the fatal discouragement of improvements which this involves. The policy with regard to land tenure followed by the Government for nearly one hundred years has been one of violent oscillation. Whenever there is a crisis in the agricultural history of the country you find that the heads of the Government are quite willing to accept statesmanlike and broad views; but when the crisis is past and the danger is over, for a time, there is a return to a huckstering policy,—a policy of trying to make as much money out of the landholder as possible. The famine in Bengal in 1770 secured to Bengal the permanent settlement. In 1860 there was a famine in the N.-W. Provinces, and the gravity of the famine and the danger which the Government saw in the recurrence of such famines led to the appointment of a Commission. That Commission took evidence and went carefully into the matter, and came deliberately to the conclusion that in the interests of the country it was absolutely necessary that fixity and permanency of tenure should be granted. This is what the Commission say in the report submitted by their President:

\* Detailed Report, pp. 47-49.



‘Entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests and popular interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first and, as I believe, most important measure I have respectfully to submit for consideration, is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity.’ This recommendation of the Commission was endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, and it met with the approval of the Viceroy, that great man, Lord Canning. The Governor-General said: ‘His Excellency believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to British rule; while under poorer regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire.’ This report of the Commission, with the recommendation of the Viceroy, was sent to the Secretary of State, and this was what Lord Halifax laid down in his famous despatch of 1862: ‘After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty’s Government is of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be, fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects in the country.’ A more satisfactory resolution, a more statesmanlike wish, a more just and humane conclusion could not have been arrived at. But it has been our misfortune that, when a thing has been offered by one hand, the other hand has always been ready to snatch it away. There was a change of Government in England, and pressure was brought to bear by the members of the India Council to prevent the carrying out of the recommendations in the despatch of 1862. The clear promise, however, and the generous principles laid down in that despatch were such that they could not be abrogated; and what was sought to be done was to saddle those recommendations with further conditions. The only condition laid down in the despatch of 1862 was that its terms were to be extended to those provinces where four-fifths of the land was brought under cultivation. It was found that this condition was satisfied by a number of estates, and it was also found that other persons were willing to carry out the terms of the resolution. Here it was that mischief was done. A new condition was imposed in the despatch of 1865, and that was that the recommendations in the despatch of 1862 should be extended to estates only if, in the opinion of the executive authorities, the public works of the Government were not likely to be so extended within the next twenty years as to benefit the estates to the extent of 20 per cent. Well, you will find that those conditions have

been satisfied; nearly twenty-seven years (certainly twenty-five years) have elapsed, and as to public works you find that all the main lines and feeder lines of railways have been constructed, and the main irrigation works have also been completed. You see, therefore, that the conditions have been carried out, and yet the same system continues—that system which has been stigmatized by Government itself as one which is harassing to the people, as one which unsettles all relations between landlord and tenant, and as one which causes the greatest uneasiness. I am not using my own expressions, but the words used in the resolution of Lord Ripon in 1883. The view which was laid down in 1862 was, as I told you, opposed by Government officials in India and England; but a justification of those recommendations was supplied by stern facts which happened later on. In 1874 the riots in Bombay resulted in considerable loss of property and damage to person. Then there was the famine of 1877, and the Government officials were obliged to admit that nearly forty millions of people belonging to the agricultural population were on the brink of starvation. Still you find that there was a disinclination to carry out the principles laid down over and over again, and the justice of which was admitted. I will only refer to two authorities, whose eminence in these matters is not disputed, Sir Louis Malet and Sir James Caird, both of whom stigmatize the present system. Sir James Caird moreover distinctly says that a thirty years’ settlement cannot be expected to produce sufficient stimulus to ensure improvement in the agriculture of the country; that is the deliberate opinion of the President of the Famine Commission. In spite of these things we find that the system is continued. The evil is to be deplored in more respects than one. In the first place rent in India, or revenue, has nothing like it anywhere. Take the proportion of rent to gross produce in any country in Europe, and you will find that India is placed on a basis of its own. In Great Britain the proportion of gross produce to rent is 1 to 33; in Europe generally 1 to 50. The lowest in Europe, Denmark, is 1 to 27. In India it is 1 to 3 or 1 to 4. That is, for every four rupees you get from the land you give one rupee to the Government; whereas in Europe, out of 50 rupees coming from the soil, only one goes to the landlord. Then it is not only the high rate, but the uncertainty of the enhancement. You do not know in what way the enhancement may come. There is the re-classification of soils, which means raising the soil of an estate from the third class to the second or the second to the first, and so on, and the consequent raising of the land revenue itself, and there is the enhancement of the revenue independent of any such supposed change in the status of the soil. All these operations have been productive of the great mischief of putting an end to all improvements. These are facts that require serious consideration. I admit that there are grave difficulties in the way of Government from the rupee going down. Of course, it would be difficult to settle the question in an off-hand manner; but I do not think the difficulty is such as to baffle the resources of statesmanship, nor do I think that our administrators are so devoid of statesmanship as to be unable to grapple with it. What we ask is that there should be some fixity. That fixity

need only be as regards production. *If the proportions of produce to rent were fixed; if it were laid down once for all that each plot should pay yearly the money value, settled quinquennially, on the basis of the preceding five years' local prices, of so many maunds of jowar, bajra, wheat, barley, cotton, sesamum, as the case might be, due reference being had to the culture prevalent in each village, I suppose that would satisfy the requirements of the people.\** It is a problem which can be solved. I appeal to Great Britain and to our administrators here to make a real effort to solve it, and thus carry out the principles laid down by successive Governments in England—principles which have their greatest justification in justice and in humanity.” (Cheers.)

Mr. Boikantha Nath Sen followed, in another excellent speech,† which we reproduce *in extenso* :—

“ This is a resolution in which there is no question of sentiment. It is a question which affects materially the prosperity of the country and which affects the Government also in a very material way. It has been observed that this is a resolution not for the benefit of the delegates, but for the benefit of the people. I go further and say that it is a resolution which, if carried, and accepted loyally by the Government, will bring benefits to the Government itself. (Cheers.) Let me notice the way in which the resolution has been divided. It refers, you see, to the despatch of 1862, confirmed by that of 1865. It says that the Government is ‘ now in honour bound.’ Observe the force of the word ‘ now.’

\* We italicize this passage because we believe that it affords a solution of one of the greatest difficulties that Government recognizes in dealing with this question. This question was strongly urged at the Allahabad Congress (*vide p. 83* of the Detailed Report of the Fourth Congress) by Saeikh Raza Hoossein Khan. This is what he said:—“ When I say a permanent settlement, I do not necessarily mean a permanent settlement precisely similar to that in Bengal. In the first place, we are wiser now than we then were. The experience of eighty years has shown us how we can improve on that settlement in many particulars. In the second place landed tenures vary all over the country, and in each place the permanent settlement must vary accordingly. And, again, when I say a permanent settlement and speak of a fixity of the Government demand, I do not necessarily mean that that demand should be settled in Rupees. On the contrary, I am disposed to believe that it would have to be fixed in quantities of the three or four chief local staples of produce, in terms of regard to which a cash re-valuation might be made at intervals of, say, every three, five, or seven years, based upon the average local prices of those staples during the preceding period. Thus, if the Government demand in any village were fixed at 50 maunds of wheat, 100 maunds of jowar, 100 maunds of bajra, 50 maunds of gram, and 50 maunds of urhar, this would remain the demand for all time, but every three, five or seven years the actual number of rupees would be fixed by a calculation based on the average local price of these articles during the past three, five, or seven years. I can only say that, unless some such fixity is given to the Government demand in our province, cultivation will never keep up with the growth of population. Grant it, and hundreds of thousands of weirs will be dug within the first five years, and millions of acres that now yield only small irrigated crops would yield double and treble the amounts of far more valuable staples. By one way or another people would manage to put double the amount of manure they now do into the ground. But no great improvement can take place so long as the people are for ever on the look-out for the recurring sweep of the settlement officer to sweep the fruits of their labours into the official net. Mr. Howard spoke of the ‘ unearned increment,’ which is explained to me to mean profits that a person has not made for himself, and he tells us that a great political economist says this should belong to Government. Well, if this is a political economy, our system must be perfection, for at every session Government appropriates the profits that it never earned, but which the cultivators of the soil have earned. (Laughter.)”

† Detailed Report, pp. 50, 51.

Let me place before you another fact, that a permanent settlement was accorded to Bengal in 1793, when you will find a Minute by the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, delivered by Mr. White, and approved of by a Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the affairs of the East India Company. That approval was made in 1812; that principle was recognised, and emphasized, and a line of action was formulated fifty years afterwards in 1862, in the despatch of the Secretary of State. Twenty-seven years have now passed, and we are where we were in 1812, because there is no indication of a permanent settlement being carried out in those provinces where it was not conceded very nearly a century ago. Why is it so? We all know that land revenue forms the central figure in the group of English taxation, and there is an apprehension of a loss of prospective increment in the Government revenue, based on what is supposed, in a mistaken way, to be the results of the permanent settlement in Bengal, and what is still erroneously considered to be a wanton sacrifice, as it were, of the resources of the State by Lord Cornwallis, for the sole purpose of giving satisfaction to the landed proprietors. Now, it is on account of apprehensions and misapprehensions like these that effect has not been given to the despatch of 1862. Before I proceed further let me place before you further statistics. The territories which are under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal extend over an area of one hundred and forty thousand square miles, of which one hundred and twenty thousand enjoy the benefits of the permanent settlement. But at the time when the permanent settlement was granted to Bengal only one-third had been brought under cultivation. The land revenue from Bengal is about four crores and the gross rental is about twenty crores (I make a technical distinction between revenue and rental). Then the incidence of the land revenue in Bengal is Rs. 55 to one hundred persons of the population; in the Punjab, Rs. 109 to one hundred persons; in the North-Western Provinces, Rs. 129 to one hundred persons; in the Madras Presidency, Rs. 134 to one hundred persons; and in Bombay, Rs. 234 to one hundred persons. Now, apart from other questions which are undoubtedly of a very weighty nature, and which, in summing up, I shall have occasion to refer to, I venture to think that the high standard of revenue which has been attained ought of itself to be considered a sufficient reason for the Government according a permanent settlement to those provinces where it has not been extended. You have heard from the able mover of the resolution what area has been actually brought under cultivation, and what little—and that of the poorest quality as a rule—yet remains to be cultivated; so that the time has surely arrived when, apart from other questions, this high ratio of cultivation would justify the Government in giving fixity to their demands. Let us see a little further how the matter stands. There is much more to be said. The experiment of one hundred years in Bengal furnishes us with certain data which will enable you to solve the problem in a satisfactory way. This permanent settlement must be considered as the very best manure you can give to the land: for shortly after the permanent settlement of Bengal there was a wonderful increase in the cultivation. Before the permanent settlement only

a third was under cultivation, but now you will scarcely find one-thirtieth uncultivated. Then you may look upon this permanent settlement as a very important agent in the distribution of the proprietary interest in the soil among the various classes. It has also been a very important factor in bringing about social reform. Who ever had an idea of a middle class? I say this middle class is to a great extent the growth of the permanent settlement. Where is it anything so strong in numbers and in wealth as in Bengal—(cheers)—although now the example of Bengal has more or less pervaded the entire Empire? But for that permanent settlement India would have had, as in Russia, the poor and the rich, but no middle class such as you find crowding this great hall. These, then, have been the direct benefits of the permanent settlement. Now let us see what can the Government expect more. Would it be a sufferer in the long run? Look at the case of Orissa. Orissa was temporarily settled for thirty years, and the lease expired in 1866. There was then, as you all know, a famine, and the Government could not possibly on that occasion think of enhancing the revenue by making a re-settlement, so that it had to renew the settlement for another thirty years. That settlement is still going on, and it will expire in 1895. Progress has been kept in abeyance for sixty years. No capitalist would venture to invest his money in land in Orissa. For sixty years progress has been retarded by the inactivity (if nothing else) of the Government. We find that from that portion of Bengal which has not received this boon Government does not expect much. There are authoritative reports to Government that if a permanent settlement be withheld from those other provinces, there would be at best (as I had occasion to remark on the last occasion) a gain to the Government of thirty lakhs of rupees. Now let us see how we fare in Bengal. In the Civil Administration alone, in the whole of India, there is a loss of twelve lakhs, the expenditure exceeding the receipts by that amount. But in Bengal there is a surplus of fourteen lakhs, and what is this owing to? In education, in Bengal, 83 lakhs are spent, out of which only twenty-one lakhs are spent by the State, the balance being spent by private individuals who are able to pay on account of the permanent settlement. See how the Government has been gaining in this way. If, then, the permanent settlement be extended to other provinces, I venture to submit that there is not the least reason for the Government suffering in any way in its finances. Whatever it may apparently suffer, from a purely Treasury point of view, in the matter of a direct loss of future enhancements of land revenue, will be more than compensated by gains from other sources through new channels which will be created by this permanent settlement of its own force. Now, while the Government has pledged itself by its despatch of 1862, confirmed by the despatch of 1865, it is undoubtedly in honour bound to redeem its pledge. By according this concession the Government will derive benefit in two ways: in the first place by saving its honour by the redemption of its solemn pledges; in the second, even financially, as sharing the enhanced prosperity of its people. Its good deed may directly diminish by a few lakhs the land revenue of fifty years hence; but crores to replace these will have poured down from the happy

consequences of that honest policy. As Kal...sa says:—The sun draws the water from the soil, but this is returned a thousandfold in the shape of rain." (Cheers.)

Mr. Janoki Nath Bose, from Orissa, next spoke:

"What do we see," he urged,\* "in the province of which I am a representative? The zemindars are almost all deeply involved in debt; they cannot pay the Government revenue at the proper time; often you see their properties being sold at public auction to meet the demands made upon them; they have no resource but to incur debts at a very high rate of interest.\* If we look at the condition of the ryots what do we see? That they are being rack-rented; they cannot get a full meal in two days; they cannot get a waistcloth even once a year. Such is the condition to which Government has reduced the zemindars and ryots through their unwillingness to introduce a permanent settlement, and through the consequent impossibility of the vivification of this national industry by capital. Contrast the state of Bengal with that of other provinces where there is no permanent settlement. Here we find the zemindars occupying a high place, but in other parts they are poor men and cannot take part in any national undertaking that requires money. Look at the ryots. We have some poor, no doubt, but look at the millions of well-to-do tenants of all grades. In what other province do you find any large proportion of such? For fifty years, at least six millions sterling have yearly gone into the pockets of the people that would, under the temporary settlement system, have gone into those of the Government, to be wasted doubtless in frontier defences,—(cheers)—and I venture to say that those six millions have profited the country ten times more than they would have done had they gone into the coffers of the State. (Cheers.) The temporary settlement system is everywhere ruining the zemindars. It has been said, let the zemindars be ruined, we do not care, provided we have got peasant proprietors. But that is a very idiotic and narrow policy. In the first place, the zemindars, the landed aristocracy of our country, constitute, in many provinces, a definite and important institution which has taken deep root and cannot hastily be done away with, and in the second place the same cause that wrecks the zemindars will, as time runs on, ruin even peasant proprietors. There are many who say, 'If the permanent settlement can give rise to peasant proprietors it is all right, but if it will only enrich the zemindars we are not for it.' I submit that that is a ridiculous view of the case. In the first place, all through Bombay and Madras, it is just with peasant proprietors that we desire to see a permanent settlement. Again, where we have zemindars they are none the less a portion of the people, and from their position whatever affects them injuriously affects all subordinate classes of agriculturists equally injuriously, while what benefits them, benefits equally, directly and indirectly, not only all subordinate holders of land but, in a country like this where everything hinges on the land, the entire community. Now, what do we see

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\* Detailed Report, pp. 51, 52.

in Orissa? We see that the zemindars are mostly over head and ears in debt, and that what with their irrigation tax and the rent, the poor ryots are being trodden under foot; their condition is most deplorable; they have not a full meal every two days; they have nothing in times of scarcity to fall back upon; they are perpetually on the verge of starvation. I am sure that if the permanent settlement is introduced into that province, if there is no more Government rack-renting, if the Government ceases to threaten them with periodical re-assessments, you will find that capital will flow into the land, that cultivation will improve, and that in thirty years the condition of the zemindars and ryots will be so much improved that no one in that flourishing land will be able to recognize this now backward, miserable, poverty-stricken, region. Moreover, apart from the consequences, on abstract principles only, the action of the Government in increasing the land revenue every twenty-five and thirty years is not just. It is a case of reaping where they have not sowed, of greedily grasping the fruits of the tiller of the soil's persistent labour, of arbitrarily confiscating the fruits of its subjects' industry, it is unjust, I say, in principle, and, like all injustice, it is thoroughly bad policy in the long run." (Cheers.)

Lala Jaishi Ram, from the Punjab, declared equally strongly the urgent necessity for a permanent settlement in his province, and concluded his speech in words that deserve the most careful consideration.

"It may be said," he remarked,\* "that the finances of the Government will suffer by conceding a permanent settlement. But this argument can be at once overthrown by the long experience of a hundred years in Bengal. Has the Government of India, has the country at large suffered in consequence of even this badly arranged and prematurely conceded permanent settlement in Bengal? Look to the commerce of Calcutta; look to the density of the population; look to the great spread of education and the enormous masses of well-to-do people, the like of all of which is to be seen nowhere else, and then let any man dare to deny that even this crude, imperfectly carried out, settlement, conceded before more than one-third of the culturable area was under culture, has been, solely in virtue of the attribute of permanence, an immense boon to the people and a gigantic source of strength to the Empire." (Prolonged cheers.)

The next speaker reiterated the expediency of extending the permanent settlement, now confined to Bengal, to other Provinces. In the course of his speech he remarked †—

"I should like to be permitted to read one or two passages from a paper read some time ago by a very high official of the Revenue Board of this province in England: 'An examination of those results (of perma-

nent settlement) will, perhaps, lead us to the conclusion that the permanent settlement was a wise and statesmanlike measure; that, politically, it has been a tower of strength to the Empire; that, from a social and economic point of view, it has stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the province; and that, even from a strictly financial standpoint, the surrender of an increased land tax has been in some measure compensated by the steady development of other branches of the public revenue.' He has given some figures, which one of my predecessors has referred to, showing how the Province of Bengal has been benefited financially by the permanent settlement. I will not, therefore, read any more passages. The same gentleman lays down that the creation of an independent middle class is not an evil, but a blessing. (Cheers.) It is the middle class that has taken advantage of all the reforms introduced by British rule in India. It is that middle class which mainly fills this pavilion, and the authority I have quoted says further that it is a fruitful source of strength to the State. The creation of that class is not to be deplored. Suppose, for instance, though this can never be generally true, that the permanent settlement does not benefit the ryots, or say some classes of the ryots in a poor agricultural district. What is the practical effect? Is it undesirable that the land should be held mainly by those who can afford to improve it? Is it desirable that the land should be generally cultivated by poor hand-to-mouth cultivators? Is it not better that those agriculturists, who are so poor that they can give nothing to the land, should be labourers rather than holders of the land? Is this not better for these men themselves,—better for the land, better for the country? If the permanent settlement has the effect of converting in some places starving tenants into well-fed labourers, of creating a strong middle class, is this any argument against a permanent settlement? Is it not desirable that the material wealth of the country, for the increase of which our British Government is so anxious, should be increased? And how can that material wealth be more certainly increased than by the creation of a class of small capitalists—a middle class in fact. These two objections then are invalid. All we ask is that the Government should open a discussion on the subject. We say to them: 'You have closed discussion for a quarter of a century, don't close it any more.' I come from Berar. You know it is, by an official fiction, not under British rule; but all the same it has British rulers, British missionaries, British laws, and the advantages and disadvantages of British rule. We have no legislation for ourselves, nothing like it. If a permanent settlement is granted to other provinces, we know, of course, that we shall not get it as soon as you do, if at all; my friends, we shall be left behind lamenting, I fear. But this is no reason why we should hesitate to join you in reasonable demands. We Berarese are first of all Indians, and we have joined the Congress not because, perhaps, any direct benefit will be gained by Berar even when the Congress triumphs, but because this triumph will benefit our country; because we are all one; because your happiness, your prosperity, means the advancement of our native land, and a source of perennial rejoicing to us; even though

\* Detailed Report, p. 52.

† Detailed Report, p. 53.

we poor Berarese have to sit in darkness outside the banquet hall." (Loud cheers.)

The pathetic earnestness of Mr. Devarao Vinayek's concluding words should not pass unnoticed. They embody those noble sentiments of national unity which it has been one function of the Congress, not indeed to generate, but to crystallize into practical life.

Many other excellent speeches followed, notably one\* by Mr. R. P. Karandikar (which should be read) showing how disastrously the temporary settlement is working in the Bombay Presidency, but we shall only reproduce one more extract, and that from a speech by Mr. A. Nundy, a barrister, of Jubbulpore, which, though delivered in connection with the salt question, more properly pertains to the present one.

"You are all aware, gentlemen," he remarked,† "that the temporary settlement prevails in the Central Provinces. I am not going to speak on the advantages of a permanent settlement, for I should thereby be encroaching on the duties of the speakers on the resolution which follows this; but I wish merely to point out that, owing to the new settlement, which is now in progress, a state of things is being brought about which demands that relief, of some kind at least, should be given to the impoverished masses of the Central Provinces, and that this relief can, to some extent, be obtained by a partial reduction of the salt-tax. As most of you are aware, the periodical settlement took place in 1864-65, and it shortly expires. For the last three years survey and settlement officers are traversing the country, and what has been the result? The Government revenue has been increased as regards some villages forty per cent., fifty per cent., and even one hundred per cent. This, gentlemen, let me assure you, I say on the highest authority possible. Now, who is to pay this increased revenue? I shall show you that eventually it is the poor ryot who will have to pay it. I ought here to remind you that besides the Government revenue, the Malguzar, that is the owner of the village, has to meet a variety of other demands. He has to pay the education cess; he has to pay the putwaricess; he has to pay for the maintenance of the hospitals; and, lastly, he has to pay the roadcess. The Imperial Government requires him to pay these cesses; but there are other local demands which he has to satisfy. The District Officer proceeds on tour, the unfortunate Malguzar has not only to see that the road is carefully prepared for his progress, but he has to meet the hundred and one demands of his camp-followers whose requirements it is not easy to satisfy. So great does this evil become sometimes that the Malguzar dreads nothing more than the dubious honour of a District Officer passing through his village.

Having met these Government and other demands what is the financial position of the Malguzar? I have been assured not by one, but by a number of these Malguzars, that after paying up these demands they find that sometimes there is hardly any surplus left for themselves—and they, too, must live—and if any, a very small one indeed. And now the Government steps in and increases the revenue by 40, 50, and 100 per cent. When this last settlement took place it was declared that the revenue then assessed would not be increased for a period of 30 years; but what did the Government do? It did not directly increase the revenue; it dared not be guilty of such a shameless and open breach of faith, but by means of incidental charges and cesses it has indirectly increased the charge by 25 per cent. Besides, there are a number of other indirect demands which the Malguzars have to meet; there is the imperial roadcess of which I have spoken, but besides this there is another road-cess, the District Officers' roadcess. When a District Officer goes on a tour through the country, or goes on a *shikar* (or shooting) expedition, they have to prepare the road for him and have to provide the incidental expenses which the followers of the camp are put to. There are also other demands. Last year I asked one of the Malguzars for a subscription to the National Congress Fund; but he said it was a very inconvenient time, for shortly before he had been giving a sum of money for a memorial to one of the officials. I asked the official's name, and he said—let us say—'John Smith.' I asked 'Of what service?' and he mentioned the service. 'Why did you give it?' I asked. 'Well,' he said, 'I never had the pleasure of meeting the officer, but I gave the money at the instance of the tahsildar, who had been asked by the officials to get contributions towards the memorial.' Now I put it to you, was that a voluntary contribution, or was it not a species of tax? This then being the case with the Malguzars, the question arises, are they in a position to meet any extra revenue which the Government imposes? Many of them have proved to me that after all these demands are paid there is scarcely any surplus left to them; if there is any it is very small. To what then will the Malguzar be reduced? To either one of two alternatives; either to quit their villages or to increase the rent of their tenants. It is impossible to expect them to quit, and the necessary consequence is that the poor will have their rents raised. And who are these? Not the well-to-do ryots, but those who have small holdings and live from hand to mouth—these will have to pay the enhanced revenue, and will have starvation facing them. I, therefore, put it to you whether the position of the Central Provinces does not demand that this resolution should be carried and that some response be made to it by the Government. The Government has the right, as the law stands, to arrange periodically the revenue imposed on each village, and they are not likely to give up exercising that right so long as a permanent settlement is not conceded. So long as they exercise that right, the landholder already pressed for means will accept no share of the new burthen. The well-to-do cultivators, with occupancy rights and means to defend these rights in the Courts, will allow no portion of it to be laid upon their shoulders, and all enhancements will have to come

\* *Vide* Detailed Report, pp. 53, 54.

† Detailed Report, pp. 41, 42.

from those who have only small holdings, who have no fixed tenures and no means, from the very poor in fact, the members of that army of martyrs, our starving fifty millions, on whom it is that this heavy salt tax presses heaviest."

The resolution was, it is almost needless to say, carried unanimously and with great enthusiasm, but if any of our English readers, realising the justice and the wisdom of the people's demands in this matter, conceive that the result of these discussions will be that Government will take the subject in hand, they wholly misunderstand the temper and character of the Indian official classes of the present day. For many years now the Covenanted Civil Service, as a body, appear to have utterly lost that noble desire to raise, and advance the prosperity of, the people (committed, alike by England and by Divine Providence, to their charge) that once characterized their predecessors. To draw their handsome salaries, the largest enjoyed by any body of civil officers in the world, to save money, keep things quiet on the surface, do as little as possible outside their ordinary routine work, and get away to England to spend, there, the money of the people of India, appear to be the most cherished objects of the great majority. They are not now, with rare exceptions here and there, the men that civilians once were—men who were completely in sympathy and touch with India's people, and freely gave for them their time, their money, their brains, and even their lives; it may be that many of them are disappointed men, whose careers in India have not furnished them with those openings for advancement that they believe that they would have been able to secure in England; it may be that the increased facilities for visiting England and the startling contrast between the happy homes they revisit and the squalid misery of their surroundings in the outstations at which so much of their service has to be passed, disgusts them both with the country and with their work; but, be the cause what it may, too many of them seem, unfortunately, to degenerate into mere hirelings, as the Christian Scriptures put it, caring nought for the flock. *Super antiquas vias stare*, wherever the real interests of the people demand an advance (there is abundant mischievous activity where patience only is really needed); *quieta non movere*, no matter what lies hidden beneath, so long as there are hopes of its con-

tinuing hidden for their time. These are their mottoes, and wrapped in an impenetrable mantle of self-sufficient ignorance (for there is no class in the country, whether missionaries, merchants, or military men, who know so little of the real wants and wishes of the people), nothing can move them from their ignoble apathy and fixed determination to cling, limpet-like, to the dreary *non-possumus* cliffs of officialism, but the trumpet call of a debate in, or better still a Resolution of, the House of Commons.

It is the conviction of this fact, coupled with the underhand persecution that the Congress party have been subjected to by so many of the officials, that has hitherto embittered the struggle for reform. To that persecution Lord Lansdowne has now, as we shall see directly, authoritatively put a stop, and if he can also infuse a little of the old spirit into the officials, if he can awaken something of the old unselfish desire and resolve to help, befriend, and raise, our people, no matter at what sacrifice of personal interests and comfort, which once made the Indian Covenanted Civil Service the noblest in the world, he will merit and earn a place in the affections and respect of India second to that of no other Viceroy.

The next resolution tells its own story. It ran thus\* :—

"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 Honour 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

\* Detailed Report, p. 57.

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.

‘Yours faithfully,

‘P. C. LYON,

‘Private Secretary.

‘To J. Ghosal, Esq.,

‘Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.’

authorises and instructs its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, 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 inquire, most respectfully, whether His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.”

Naturally the Congress party viewed these manifestoes with considerable indignation, and after two speeches, which may be read, the one\* by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, the other† by Mr. George Yule, the resolution was carried by acclamation. The Anglo-Indian journals were, of course, jubilant at the emphatic snub that had, they conceived, been administered to the Congress people, but they were not quite so jubilant over the reply that our reference elicited from H. E. the Viceroy. The following is the text of the letter addressed by H. E.’s Private Secretary to the General Secretary of the Congress :—

“With reference to the communications which have recently taken place, first between Mr. Mehta and the Viceroy, and, after Mr. Mehta’s departure from Calcutta, between yourself and His Excellency, upon the subject of the letter received by the Secretary of the Reception Committee from the Private Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in reference to the attendance of Government servants at meetings of the Congress, I am authorized by his Excellency to say that Mr. Lyon’s letter of December 26th, in which it was stated that ‘the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings,’ and the Circular in which that letter was communicated to the heads of departments under the Bengal Government, were issued under a misapprehension as to the purport of the orders of the Government of India. It was at once recognised both by the Government of Bengal, of its own motion, and by the Government of India, that the letter in question went

beyond those orders, and an amended Circular, in which it was pointed out that the expression ‘absolute prohibition’ had reference only to the participation of Government officials in the proceedings of a political meeting, was subsequently issued by the Bengal Government to the heads of departments. I enclose herewith a copy of the orders of the Government of India.

“These orders, which arose out of a totally different matter, had no special reference to the Congress movement, and were certainly not framed in a spirit of hostility to it. The publications of some of the supporters of the Congress have, in the opinion of the Government of India, been open to serious question; but, apart from this, the movement is regarded as one of those which, in the words of the Circular, are ‘perfectly legitimate in themselves, and which private persons are free to promote,’ but from participation in which Government officials are, for the reasons specified in the orders, necessarily debarred.

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

“They intend that all Government servants shall preserve a similar attitude of neutrality, and shall abstain from active participation in political or *quasi*-political movements of all kinds; and also from putting pressure upon others in order to induce them to take part, or not to take part, in any movement which is legitimate in itself. It was with the above objects that the orders of March, 1890, were issued.

“In reference to a specific question which you addressed to his Excellency, I am to say that the orders apply only to those who are actually, at the time being, Government servants, but not to pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good.”

\* Nothing could be more satisfactory. The Viceroy has formally declared that the Con-

↪ Detailed Report, pp. 56, 57.

† Detailed Report, p. 57.

gress is a perfectly legitimate movement; that every one not a Government official, is perfectly free to join it; and that all officials are explicitly enjoined not to impede the movement in any way, and not to put any pressure on any one to induce them to abstain from aiding or joining it. The most enthusiastic Congressman never desired anything better; and widespread indeed has been the satisfaction engendered by Lord Lansdowne's straightforward and manly vindication of popular liberty of speech and action in political matters. As has been happily said:—"Under any circumstances this candid and characteristically British declaration in favour of freedom of opinion and action in political matters in the case of all private persons (no less important in its way than Lord Metcalfe's in favour of freedom of the press) ought to go far to bridge the gulf which for years, unhappily, has been widening between the European official classes and the Indian public."

And so it assuredly might, if Lord Lansdowne can persuade the officials, besides ceasing to persecute us, to set to work in hearty earnest, forgetting their recently evolved dogma of apathy, to ameliorate the hapless lot of the fifty odd millions of our half-starving brethren, in whose interests, and on whose behalf, the Congress has been ceaselessly, but thus far almost unavailingly, pleading and labouring, from its very inception.

This resolution disposed of—of course, although we have anticipated results to make the case compete, the letter did not come to hand until after the Congress closed—the Congress adjourned until the next day, Tuesday, the 30th.

The first business dealt with when the Congress re-assembled was a vote of thanks to Mr. Bradlaugh, to the members of our British Committee, and to others who, during 1890, have rendered good service to the Congress cause not forgetting "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 our delegates."

The delegates to England, of course,

were not forgotten. Said\* the Hon. Pand Ajoodia Nath:—

"Our delegates met with a splendid reception in England, not only from the constituency of Mr Bradlaugh whom I have recommended to you for your warm acknowledgments, but also from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and a great many other communities. These delegates have done us good service, and indeed it could not be otherwise when you think who they were."

Mr. Hamid Ali, a Muhammadan barrister from Lucknow, added†:—

"To serve, is a far higher and nobler law of life than even to rule—(hear, hear)—and this principle has been well expressed in the lives of those gentlemen who have done so much for our country. In the words of the Poet Laureate:

\* Not he who breaks the dams, but he  
Who through the channels of the State  
Conveys the people's wish, is great,  
His name is pure, his fame is free."

(Cheers.) I have not the slightest doubt that their names and fame, inscribed on the page of time in deathless characters of gold, with this noble inscription 'These were the workers who knew how to serve,' will be handed down to a far distant posterity." (Cheers).

Said‡ Mr. Hem Chunder Rai:—

"Nor, in making this public acknowledgment of the services of our English benefactors, must we omit to couple the names of, and pay our humble tribute to those distinguished countrymen of ours who, at considerable sacrifice of time, money, and energy, undertook a trip to England to enlighten the British public as to our wrongs and disabilities, our needs and aspirations. Doubtless they—

\* Have sown some generous seed  
Fruitful of further thought and deed."

But their work needs a healthy continuity, and we only hope that the work so auspiciously commenced will evoke widespread response, and that round this little group of Indian patriots there will be formed a large company of patriotic gentlemen ready to undergo similar sacrifices on similar errands. And, in return for their noble services, let us offer them our humble, yet heartfelt thanks, and that which is, indeed, the highest reward that a public man can aspire to—the deep and lasting gratitude of a United People."

There was a good deal of speaking,§ but further quotations are needless and the resolution was passed by acclamation.

Next followed a vote|| of thanks to house proprietors, including Sir Romesh Chander Mitter, who had kindly lent to the Congress houses and grounds, both for the erection of the pavilion and the accommodation of

\* Detailed Report, p. 60. † Ibid., p. 61. ‡ Ibid., p. 63.  
§ Ibid., pp. 59-65. || Ibid., p. 64.



the delegates, no easy matter in a city like Calcutta.

The holding of the Seventh Congress at Christmas, 1891, at either Nagpore or Madras (the former has subsequently been definitely fixed upon) was resolved\* and then a quite new departure was taken in the following resolution :—

“ 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.”

Only six years ago, before the first Congress met, such a proposal would have been indignantly repudiated, so strong was the religious objection to crossing the seas by a majority, of even the educated classes. Now, such has been the educational effect of these gatherings that not one single man present had one word to say against the suggestion; on the contrary it was received with enthusiasm, and besides one European, one Sikh, and one Muhammadan, who spoke for their respective communities, eleven† orthodox Hindus, all leading and representative men, so far from banning, altogether blessed, the idea.

In moving the resolution Babu Norendro Nath Sen said :—“ I have only to remind you that, after all, it is England that is the last resort of appeal on all Indian questions. Our ultimate judges are the British public, the British press, and the British Parliament.”

Mr. Vira Raghava Chariar, a Madras Brahmin, remarked in the course of his speech :—“ Had it not been for this Congress, Madras would have been nowhere. It has been greatly helping the people in Madras. Before that time Madras was called benighted. Now we have, all throughout the Presidency, Standing Congress Committees to help the Central Committee at Madras. Much has been said about the orthodox opinions that would prevent our undertaking a sea voyage to England. On behalf of my province I venture to say that we have never allowed and never shall allow orthodoxy, or any other doxy, to stand in the way of our political advancement.” (Cheers.)

This is the true doctrine of caste. When one is in for a real fight, caste must give way to the cause. Many years ago, late in May 1858, a long line of Indian soldiers lay, under a heavy but ill-directed fire, sheltered behind a low mud bank that stretched far away to the right down to a huge many-flighted well. On the extreme left knelt an European officer, beside him lay an old Brahmin Subedar. Some one hundred and fifty yards in front, on the other side of a narrow plain, hidden by dense bushes and clouds of smoke, cowered a large force of the enemy. Sporadic pops danced along the line as from moment to moment glimpses of glittering bayonets or brightly-coloured turbans gleamed out in the jungle, from time to time swelling, for a brief space, into musketry tempests, when bodies of men suddenly emerged for a few seconds in the open, which they lacked the pluck to cross. It was past noonday; the scorching wind tore in gusts along the line; above the little plain the air twisted and quivered, glazed and glassy; the barrels, all metal equipments, even the black leather belts, burnt fingers that stayed heedlessly on them, and the old muskets (Enfields were only just then coming up and not even all European Regiments yet had them) rung out, as they only could when the powder was nearly red hot; water vessels were being continually passed along the line, but at last one man crawled up bringing a large lota of cold clear water for the Subedar. “ Subedar Sahib,” said the European, “ if you can spare any of that water, I am just dying of thirst.” “ Drink, Sahib,” said the Subedar, and the officer placed his joined hands beneath his mouth, so that the water might be poured into them, and he drank without touching the vessel. “ No, Sahib, take the lota.” “ But I shall spoil your caste if I touch it.” “ Drink, Sahib,” the old Brahmin repeated, handing the lota. “ In war there is no distinction of caste. We are all caste brothers who fight for the same cause.” So the European officer and the Brahmin Subedar both drank freely out of that self-same lota, and the Subedar was none the worse for it and the officer much the better, and thereby was forged one more link of that golden chain which for ever binds the heart of that European officer to the cause of the people of India.

\* Detailed Report, p. 65.

† *Ibid.*, p. 65.

To return. The debate, if such this long discussion without a difference can be called, lasted for some time, but it seems scarcely needful to reproduce much of it. Said Devarao Vinayek\* :—

“Socially speaking there is no difficulty. No duty is superior to our duty to the country in which we were born. We have all of us duties to discharge to our countrymen and friends, and if we do not discharge them we do not fulfil the noble purpose by which alone our existence is justified. Some social objections there may be. If you want to go to England for your profit, for pecuniary purposes, your people may or may not object to take you on your return back into your own caste; but, when you take a nobler duty in hand, when you have gone forth and crossed the stormy ocean solely to serve your country, even the old people, let alone younger generations, are not so blind as to think of putting an obstacle in their patriot brethren's noble course, and they will not only receive you on your return into the bosom of your caste, but receive you with open arms, with rejoicings, praise, and gratitude.” (Loud cheers.)

Most of the speeches re-echo in different keys these sentiments, but Pandit Shyam Narayan Masaldan's address, as coming from a purely orientally educated and entirely orthodox man, deserves special attention.

“I come before you,” he explained, “not only to give a formal support to the resolution which is now before you, but because I think that it is really a useful resolution. We, the delegates of the Congress, enjoy perfect freedom of thought and speech, and when we give our opinion upon any subject, we do so after much careful consideration. We are not like the members of the Viceroy's Council, who would support any measure that is introduced by the Government. (Cheers.) And this is not a mere opinion which may or may not be true, but the statement of a fact which rests upon the authority of some of the highest statesmen who have been in charge of Indian affairs, and which is one of the principal reasons why we are desirous of passing the present resolution. Some twenty years ago, the Duke of Argyle, who was then our Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy to the effect that ‘the Government in India were merely Executive Officers of the Home Government, who hold the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the official members to vote for it.’ Some fifteen years later this doctrine was emphasised by Lord Dufferin in words of wider and clearer significance. In his Minute on Council Reform, which, fortunately, saw the light, before the Official Secrets Act came into existence, the following remarkable words occur: ‘The executive that represents her (the Queen's) *Imperium* in India is an executive directly responsible, not to any local authority, but to the Sovereign and to the British Parliament. Nor could its members divest themselves of this responsibility as

long as great Britain remains the paramount administration in India. Now without wishing to say one word as to the morality of the doctrine which has been so authoritatively propounded, and which divests the Government of all responsibility to the people whom it governs, I may invite you attention to the position in which this theory of the British Government places us. The fountain-head of our legislation in the Supreme Council. Every measure that is introduced therein is passed by the vote of the appointed members who form the majority. But their vote is controlled by the Secretary of State, who in his turn is controlled by Parliament, and Parliament reflects the opinion of the British nation. In the last resort then the responsibility rests upon the British nation, who know little about Indian affairs, and whose knowledge of India is confined to purely official sources. Now, the principal source of such knowledge is, of course, the Secretary of State, but he himself has to rely upon the India Council; and yet what is this India Council? It is composed of Anglo-Indian Officials who are at least thirty years behind the age, whose knowledge of Indian matters consists of things which existed a generation ago, but which have entirely changed now, and who, therefore, have little sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of New India. These, gentlemen, are the Secretary of State's Councillors, and they have to sit in judgment upon their own past acts. It is not likely that these old officials would take an unfavourable view of things of which they themselves were the authors, or of the system under which they have passed the best years of their lives. Thus, then, the knowledge of Indian matters which the Secretary of State derives from them is such as is allowed to pass through the hands of his Councillors who, of course, on all occasions rely on official blue books which give a purely imaginary and rose-coloured view of Anglo-Indian administration. The value of even this one-sided information and advice is very much diminished when we remember that the India Council gives its advice to the Secretary of State under no sense of responsibility to the public or the Government, since their Minutes are not published, nor the Secretary of State bound to follow them. But, nevertheless, they exercise a decisive influence upon his judgment, even in their irresponsible position, because, although not bound to follow their advice, yet, as a matter of course, the Secretary of State, having no better guides and assistants upon whom he may rely for Indian experience, has to follow them and shape his Indian policy, as a rule, in accordance with their suggestions. Thus, the position of Indian politics is this: The Viceroy cannot do anything without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State either will not move unless some Parliamentary pressure is brought to bear upon him, or, if he moves at all, it will be in the direction of Anglo-Indian opinion. Parliament won't move unless the nation compels it to do so; and the British nation won't move unless it is made alive to the real grievances of the Indian people, and its mind is disabused of the delusive accounts it has heard through official sources of the so-called peace and prosperity of this country. At present, Parliament is not much interested in Indian matters. Our Budget is placed before it at the fag-end of the Session, and those

\* Detailed Report, p. 67.

who speak upon it have to address empty benches. And yet it was the Duke of Argyll who, in a remarkable pamphlet on the Administrations of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, which he published some thirty years ago, said that at a time when the Indians had no representatives of their own in the Council, and when there was no strong public opinion to check the despotism of the ruling class, it was the duty of Parliament to keep a vigilant eye over Indian matters, and to act as the protector of the people against the aggressions of the Anglo-Indian community. (Hear, hear.) Thus, it is our first duty to acquaint Parliament and the British people with that side of the picture which is generally concealed by the official class, and to remind them of the sacred and solemn task which God, in his inscrutable wisdom, has imposed upon them of governing two hundred and fifty millions of human beings. Therefore the step which you propose to take by holding a future session of the Congress in London is dictated alike by our present political necessity and by the constitution of our Government. It will be, indeed, a grand day in the history of this country when the representatives stand face-to-face with the great British nation, not as State prisoners used to stand before oriental despots with halters round their necks, but as fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens with the charter of liberty in their hands, able to state their grievance before it and entreat it to extend to them the same principles of justice and generosity which it has extended to the Colonies. (Cheers.) It is said that the people are not fit for the reforms they advocate; that the desire for political progress is confined only to the educated classes who form but a mere fringe of the whole society, and that the vast bulk of the people are perfectly satisfied with their present lot. Now this is, I submit, a mistake. Whatever may be the aspirations of the English-knowing classes, I stand before you as a specimen of that vast body of Indians who have not received the light of Western knowledge, but, while speaking on behalf of such men, I can assure you that, call them what our critics may—ignorant, bigoted, semi-civilized, old-fashioned, 'black men'—they are as ardent advocates of reform as the educated classes themselves, and possess among them materials of political knowledge, which can never fail to be of use to the Government and the country." (Cheers.)

Note specially the concluding sentences. It is a fatal misconception of our Anglo-Indian opponents that the desire for justice and freedom, of which the Congress is the mouthpiece, exists only amongst those conversant with the English language. But it is not so; the sacred fire burns brightly in the hearts of millions on millions of thoughtful men like our Pundit, who, like him, know next to nothing of English, and it is this vast body of thinking Indians on whom, as a broad and adamant base, securely rests that, as yet, comparatively miniature work of art, the English-educated class.

This resolution unanimously passed; others\* relating to the financial arrangements of the Congress, the reappointment of the General and Joint General Secretaries, and the appointment of delegates to England, merely formal matters, were duly disposed of. It is needless to reproduce any of the speeches *apropos* of these, but the Rev. Ram Chander Bose's thoughtful remarks in regard to things in general, rather than upon the particular resolution he was called to support, may be quoted. He remarked†:—

"The resolution I have to second is not a source of such great pleasure to me as the resolution you have just passed. The idea of holding a Congress in London is, I believe, the grandest that has flashed on the collective intellect of the National Congress. (Hear, hear.) Why? Because we are sure to have in England the sympathy, the encouragement, and the co-operation which we have failed to elicit in this land. There is between England, ourselves, and this National Congress what may be called a community of aim. To explain this I must go down to one of the fundamental principles of political science. Several accusations have been preferred against us, and these are obviously ridiculous. If we were accused of idealism, I might be disposed to plead guilty to the soft impeachment. There can be no realism without pre-existing or precedent idealism. All our demands are realistic, but I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that they have all emanated from an ideal. A great writer in view of the common saying 'Man is metaphysical *volens volens*,' says that 'Man is a politician *volens volens*.' Sensible, thoughtful, men have before their mental vision an ideal of political development. What is that ideal? The ideal is government of the people by the people and for the people, not government by a monopoly and for a monopoly. Towards this ideal all the best Governments and most enlightened countries of the world are working, and especially England. In the home of constitutional liberty all the foremost thinkers are working up towards this great ideal; and my friends, we aspire to see our Government working up to it also. England is taking grand steps towards this ideal. We ask our Government to take incipient steps towards it. But the step, whether incipient or matured, is one and the same, or has one and the same object in view. The goal is one, and therefore the aim of England and the aim of this Congress are one and the same. (Cheers.) But there is between England and this National Congress not only a community of aim but community of interests. The destinies of this country are inseparably bound up with the destinies of England. A prosperous India is to England a source of strength; a weakened, debilitated, impoverished, India is to England a weakness. What will be the upshot of the Congress? The National Congress is the great lever, and is fitted, eminently fitted, to raise this country in intelligence, in wealth, in prosperity, and in glory. (Cheers.) And when the country is raised in glory, in strength, and

\* *Vide* Detailed Report, pp. 69—71. † *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

prosperity, it will be a source of strength to England. Therefore, between England and the National Congress there is a community of interest and, therefore, a community of method, if you will allow me the expression. The methods utilised by us are the very methods that have been utilised in England by its great political agitators. I do not for a moment maintain that English political agitators have never gone beyond the hallowed line of legitimate and constitutional methods. I am aware that at times these agitators have broken windows and smashed chandeliers—(laughter)—and these are vagaries that we could never tolerate. (Cheers.) But the methods utilised there, are, on the whole, constitutional; and our methods are constitutional. There is then a harmony between the methods employed there and the methods employed by us. (Cheers.) And, lastly, between this Congress and England there is a community of hope. What is England's grand mission in the world? It is to spread constitutionalism, and the glory of civilisation that has evolved from it, throughout the world. And when the National Congress shall have done its work in India, India's glorious mission will be to spread constitutionalism and the civilisation emanating from it, throughout Asia, throughout Africa, nay, throughout the whole world. . . . These remarks, of course, are not on the subject of the resolution. (Laughter.) When I was in America, a gentleman was going to a meeting, and a friend of his met him and said 'Are you going to speak on the subject?' 'No,' he said, 'I am not going to speak on *the* subject, but I am going to speak on *some* subject.' Now I have spoken on *some* subject, if not on *the* subject.' (Laughter and cheers.)

Then followed the usual vote of thanks to the President, proposed\* this year by one of the lady delegates, Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooly, B.A. and L.M.S.; a Lady Doctor, and acknowledged in a few felicitous words† by Mr. Mehta, and then with its wonted hearty and oft-repeated cheers for our Queen-Empress, the Sixth Indian National Congress dissolved.

Having thus sketched the proceedings of the Congress we may now say a few words about its composition. This year the Congress was a very small one; last year the Congress, by a special resolution, restricted the number of delegates to be elected this year to five per million of the population (199 millions) represented. Rather more however than 1,000 (the proper number was 995) were elected, but only 702 actually attended, of whom only 677 were properly registered under the special certificates now required. The three hundred odd elected delegates who failed to appear were deterred, some, as in the case of Sindh (the only district that did

not send a single delegate), by the great expense and great length of the journey; by sickness and, in three cases, death; by the death of relatives and the consequent inability (in the case of Hindus) to participate in public business, and by pressing personal business. Next year different arrangements will be made, by electing subsidiary delegates to insure the attendance of the full thousand, but this year the gathering itself was not much larger than a very full House of Commons, which has, we believe, on one occasion mustered 650. On the other hand the number of spectators, though all had to pay for admission, exceeded that at any previous Congress, more than 7,000 being present on the first day and the number never falling at any time below 4,000. Indeed, a very large number of these latter came from other provinces and would have been delegates had our last year's rule not been strictly enforced.

Of the 677 registered delegates 505 were Hindus, 116 (or rather over 17%, against 18% at Allahabad, and 13½% at Bombay last year) were Mussalmans, three were Jains, seven Parsis, three Sikhs, eighteen Brahmos, fifteen Indian, one Armenian, and seven European, Christians.

As regards occupations some 250 were zemindars, talukdars, landholders of various kinds, and cultivators; some 30 were bankers. There were 70 merchants and traders; nearly 300 barristers, advocates, solicitors, pleaders, and mukhtears; 41 principals, professors, and masters of colleges and schools; the same number of journalists and newspaper proprietors; 31 medical men; 6 engineers, a few mill owners, contractors, indigo and tea-planters, etc.; and 16 missionaries and religious teachers of various creeds.

More than two hundred of these gentlemen were Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen or Members of District and Local Boards or Municipalities; showing that, despite the widespread, though not universal, local official opposition to, and discountenance of, Lord Ripon's noble scheme of local self-government, these bodies do yet manage to secure the services of a considerable number of our most enlightened citizens; nearly one hundred were honorary magistrates, a position akin to that of Justices of the Peace in England, further confirming what Lord Lansdowne's letter has gone far to

\* Detailed Report, p. 74.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

establish, viz., that, however great the hostility of certain sections of the rank and file of the Service, the more enlightened officials have no wish, actually, to boycott the Congress party.

There were several members of the Viceroy's and other Legislative Councils, many Fellows of Universities, ten Nawabs, two or three Rajahs, and so forth. This year only 160 were graduates, against 250 last year, but then they were 160 out of 677, or over 23 per cent. against 250 out of 1889, which is less than 14 per cent. On the whole, law and the learned professions mustered more strongly, proportionally, than at Bombay, and the mercantile classes markedly less strongly, and this was only what might have been expected, seeing that this year Bengal, alone, sent its full quota, while last year the majority of the delegates were from Bombay and Madras.

Looking back at the proceedings of the late Congress the fact that chiefly strikes us is, that the most important advances made this year were in the direction not of political, but of social, reform. Times without number we have urged that, although not directly concerning ourselves with social questions, indirectly the Congress must prove the most important of all factors in the social regeneration of the country.

This last Congress must have convinced all impartial judges that the claims thus made on behalf of the movement are not unfounded.

Last year we had many lady delegates, but it need no longer be a secret, that at the time, although a large majority of the delegates approved the measure, a considerable section of the more conservative members viewed the prospect of the intermingling of the sweet voices of women in the debates, with the manly accents of the robust sex, with considerable repugnance. Accordingly, as one of the basal principles of the Congress is to take no important step until practical unanimity in its favour has been secured, a covenant was entered into with the ladies, that they should be seen, but not heard. This year the innovation has become so thoroughly familiarised to the mind of the country that any number of lady delegates might have attended, in full confidence of receiving the warmest welcome from all sections of the delegates. But the

dear ladies resented, and, we think, justly, the silence imposed upon them; they refused to recognise, as having any practical value, the æsthetic charm which their presence on the platform conferred on the entire gathering; they said, "We have no '*cacoethes loquendi*,' that is merely one of your unmanly male slanders on our sex, but if we are not allowed to speak, in case we so desire, as several of us did on one occasion at the last Congress, what is the use of our attending? Better have some pretty wax figures, nicely dressed, on the platform; they will serve your purpose equally well!" Consequently since, until the Congress met, no assurance could be given as to what its views on this point might prove to be, only four lady delegates honoured the assembly with their presence. But this year, thanks, primarily, to our President, to Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose and to Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, the remaining step towards the political enfranchisement of the women of the Congress party was taken, and a woman was not only allowed to speak, but was selected for the honourable post of proposing the vote of thanks to the President, and was rapturously received by the entire gathering. Thus was initiated, without one single dissentient voice, a reform, which, in its ultimate consequences, will greatly facilitate the labours of our Social Reformers in their efforts to raise the status of our Indian women; and if the Congress had never done anything beyond bringing about, with the full consent of all parties, this one reform, it would have deserved well of the country.

But it did more, and achieved another equally important step, also in the direction of Social Reform. A few years back the few men who visited England returned in fear and trembling to their native land. The religious or socio-religious prejudice against crossing the black waters of the ocean was so strong that most of these were virtually outcasted, or had to become Brahmos, or join some other sect to avoid this. Some few performed expiatory penances and were re-admitted to caste, while a very few, by judicious silence and by keeping carefully in the background, aided by influential fellow-castemen, crept back unchallenged into their old places. When, however, our troops returned from Abyssinia, Malta and Egypt, the people who, whatever their feelings towards the local

bureaucracy (and there are individual members even of this body whom they greatly respect and like), are intensely loyal to the Crown, felt that they could not outcaste brave men who had been abroad to fight for their Sovereign, and with very rare exceptions the native officers and men of these regiments were welcomed back in their homes as if nothing had happened. But the prejudice remained, and private persons still felt that a voyage to England involved a very serious risk of a practical forfeiture of caste status. When our delegates, however, returned last year from England, common sense taught even the most orthodox that a grateful recognition of the spirit of self-sacrifice in which these men had gone forth to plead India's cause before the British public, was a necessity, and that any talk, even, of outcasting them, would be treason to their own and their country's best interests.

Taking advantage of this feeling, now grown general, the resolution for an English Session of the Congress in 1892, was brought forward and received with unanimous approval; and, whether that Session ever takes place or not, a formal public enunciation has been made, once and for ever, by orthodox leaders from all parts of the country, that no penalties of caste are necessarily incurred by a visit to England, and that, taking proper precautions, the most orthodox may safely proceed thither. Five years ago any such unanimous verdict would have been impossible, and that it has now become an accomplished fact is mainly due to the indirect influence exerted by the Congress movement.

Nothing, nowadays, is more desirable than that numbers of educated Indians should visit Great Britain, and there learn for themselves what good English middle-class home and family life really are. As it is, the great majority of the young Indians who have visited England, and become familiar with only one side, and that a sadly seamy side, of London life, return to India, impressed, and not without good cause, with a conviction of the superiority of Indian domestic customs and Indian social morality. So it may not be out of place to suggest to those philanthropic English ladies and gentlemen, who are importuning our Government to legislate rashly in regard to the social customs (of the real

character of which they are ignorant) of a foreign people (of whom they know nothing), that they might employ their time, money, and superfluous energies far more profitably, even to the cause they have at heart, by welcoming kindly and cordially all Indian gentlemen who visit England, receiving them at their houses, not once in a way and formally, but habitually, as real friends, and thus providing them with object lessons of that higher, freer, domestic life, which is alike the strength and glory of Great Britain.

But we are trespassing on the province of our colleagues, the Social Reformers, and must revert to the even more vital questions with which the Congress, as such, has to deal directly.

Although our present Viceroy seems not only desirous of seeing and judging for himself, but thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of Liberalism; although in every province there remain still some faithful few, who deprecate and deplore all the evil that is on foot; although throughout Great Britain signs appear that, here and there, her people are commencing to realise the grave responsibility in regard to India which has devolved upon them, the administration of India still remains, alas! as a whole, "linked with some virtues but a thousand crimes". Millions of educated and patriotic men (than whom no more loyal or loving subjects are numbered in the vast Empire that owns the sway of our beloved Queen Empress) are treated as political helots to gratify the class prejudices and *amour propre* and fill the pockets of a handful of bureaucrats, the average men amongst whom are, positively, less qualified for rule, in India,\* than a very considerable

\* Pay, promotion, and polyliteral affixes appear to be the sole things in which most of our modern civilians take any real interest. They are mere professional administrators, who take up the work simply as a matter of business as a means of making money. They are, consequently, wholly out of touch with the people to whom, with rare exceptions, they are bound by no earnest unselfish desire to do good, no real heartfelt interest in their welfare and progress. How is it that, while the civilians are comparatively well-to-do, and very powerful, and the missionaries poor and powerless, while the missionaries fearlessly attack the indigenous faiths with which the civilians never meddle, the people yet look up to so many of these missionaries with gratitude and respect, while we can number on our fingers the civilians of whom this can be said? Simply because in the missionaries the people recognise an earnest, unselfish (even if, in their opinion, misdirected) desire to help, raise, comfort, and befriend them, while in the majority of the civilians they can only discover dislike of themselves, hatred of their country, and a purely selfish eagerness to "get on" in the service! Thus represented how long can Great Britain expect to maintain, unshaken, the vital hold she still, by God's blessing, retains upon the hearts of the people of India? The competitive system has failed; it has brought us shoals of well-educated men, no doubt,

proportion of those whom England permits them to misgovern.

India's people, free born British subjects, are denied the smallest fraction of those fundamental political privileges which, as British citizens, are their inherent birthright.

Ninety-five per cent. of all the most important and responsible offices in the country are monopolised by Europeans, on salaries fully double of those that would secure quite as, in many cases far more, competent Indians for the majority of these posts.

One-fifth of the entire population tremble on the verge of starvation, to perish by millions whenever the smallest natural calamity of drought or flood increases by one iota the insecurity of their position; and the money wrung from our pauper population, by the cruel taxation of the first necessities of life—the money which is all our Government has had to show for the twenty odd millions who in recent years have succumbed to famine and its consequences—is ruthlessly squandered in bloodshed, and in wicked, and idiotically mismanaged, aggressions on feebler neighbours, to gratify the ignoble cravings for personal distinctions and titles, of individual members of a Simla cabal.\*

scarcely, in all these years, a score of faithful friends. The moral standard amongst politicians in England is so low that we can suggest no better system for appointing men there, and the only remedy, therefore, is so to work this system by granting examinations in India as well as in England, that all those offices, directly in touch with the people, shall soon be mainly filled by Indians, who not only love England far more truly than most of her perpetually grumbling children here, but sympathise with every emotion of the hearts of their fellow-countrymen, as even the very best of foreigners never can nor could.

\* All this is fully exposed in the naive revelations, contained in Sir C. Macgregor's Memoirs. No wonder the officials waxed indignant at this ruthless, though wholly unintentional, *exposé* of that iniquitous Afghan campaign. Nothing more damnatory of any Government ever appeared than these cruel revelations of the Lytton administration. As to Macgregor himself a couple of passages, culled almost at random, will show the spirit in which, with light hearts, some of our modern Indian military heroes enter on the work of slaughter: "I do hope we shall make a good thing of it, as it will be the making of me. I should like to get one or two not very bad wounds, which would necessitate my going home. I think it is a great shame they have not brought out some honours before this. We all lose by it, and it shows a great want of appreciation of the way to manage soldiers, who should get frequent fillips during a campaign, especially a long one." Much in the same strain he writes on the 5th August: "Oh that I may get it (the vacant Brigade)! I feel sure I shall succeed, as I will anywhere on my own resources. This staff work does not suit me; it cramps and cabins one's energies and leaves me no initiative. It has played the devil with me, and if I can only escape I shall do so; if we go to Candahar and on to Herat I might possibly end by getting a V.C. after all." Here was no thought of the starving millions in India, of the honest British and Indian soldiers sent up to die at a cost that would have fed those millions; of the Afghan homesteads ravaged and burnt, and honest Afghan peasants butchered, because they fought to defend their country against utterly unprovoked foreign aggression. No, the only thought in Macgregor's mind was, "I might possibly end by getting a V.C. after all." What some of

Almost every indigenous art and industry has been crushed, and agriculture, the one art on which now depend nearly 90 per cent. of the population, is slowly deteriorating under a grasping rack-renting system of temporary settlements, and, with it, our crops and our cattle.

The masses are being persistently demoralized; despite the distinct orders of the House of Commons, an iniquitous system of excise, calculated to stimulate drunkenness and all its attendant crimes and vices, is still retained, only slightly and superficially reformed in some provinces, in all its original iniquity in others.

Under a barbarous and obsolete system, miscalled, of Justice, Executive and Judicial, Fiscal and Police powers are so confined in one functionary, that powers professedly granted for one purpose are practically utilized in furtherance of others, for which no civilized Government in the world would, now-a-days, dare to confer them.

There is practically no justice in India for the poor against the rich, or the non-official against the official, and the Police, who should be the protectors of the poor and the honest, are their terror and their worst oppressors.

What wonder, if some of us, who come of sterner sires, at times, despairing of justice at the hands of man, cry out in bitterness of heart: "How long, Oh! Lord, how long?" But the patient East, sublime in its resignation and charity, longs only to forgive and to forget the *past*, and prays only for justice, however tardy, in the *present*; and wrongs that long since

our nobler soldiers thought of the matter may be gathered from what another writer tells us of Sir F. Maude: "Well, one day he (Sir F. Maude) came in a state of evident irritation; he was shocked and very angry at the barbarous order which he said he was compelled to issue. 'I never thought it possible,' he said, 'that the General in command of an English force would have had to do this sort of thing; but though I must promulgate the orders I shall take care that no one is shot or hanged by me or by my order, merely because he is found with arms in his hands.' He went on to say that, so far from regarding the Afghans as criminals, he considered that the Afghans had every right to repel by force of arms 'the invaders of their country.' He was so angry—so utterly disgusted (and I could see that, though he did not mention them, he had in his mind the various barbarities of burning villages, etc.), with these practices which no civilised nation would tolerate in Europe for an instant—that he went on to say, 'They would never dare to do this sort of thing in Europe.' 'Even the Russians would not resort to practices of this kind,' he said; and he then went on to add sadly that it was perfectly useless his pointing out the barbarity of these things, for the 'Mutual Admiration Society' at Simla would never listen to him; and he did not belong to it, and they would pay no heed to anything he (Maude) might say. Colonel Limmond, whom I had had the honour of serving under years ago, when I was an Assistant Engineer, also spoke to me of this order in terms of the utmost indignation."

would have roused Teutonic or Gallic nations to frenzy, tolerated in remembrance of the civic peace and order, education and other benefits, unquestionably conferred by England, awaken in the mind of India's people (far truer Christians, though they know it not, than that proud nation which permits all this evil, and is answerable for it, before God and man) only the mild reproaches embodied in the words with which we headed this article,

"Of course we have to submit resignedly to this

ruinous, this unprincipled, trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the conscience of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects, now, of our free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren never awake?"

Alas! No mortal can reply. Their slumber has been long, but they may yet awake.



# RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

## SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

*Held at Calcutta on the 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th December, 1890.*

### 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 the 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 provi-

sion 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 interests 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 subsection 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 permanence 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 Honour the Lieut.-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.

“ Yours faithfully,

“ P. C. LYON,

“ Private Secretary.

“ To J. Ghosal, Esq.,

“ Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.”

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 inquire, most respectfully, whether His Honour the Lieut.-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 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 the 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 Honourable Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

### RESOLUTION X.

RESOLVED — That the Seventh Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1891, at either Madras or Nagpore, as may be hereafter settled, in consultation between the Madras, Central Provinces, and Berar Committees, and the Joint General Secretary.

### RESOLUTION XI.

RESOLVED—That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient, in 1892, and that the several standing Congress Committees be directed to report, at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles.

### RESOLUTION XII.

RESOLVED—That of the Funds now in the Joint General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed on fixed deposit, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee

of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and, ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

RESOLUTION XIII.

RESOLVED—That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee.

RESOLUTION XIV.

RESOLVED—That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, 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.

PHEROZSHAH MEHTA,  
President of the Sixth Indian National Congress.

Calcutta, December 31, 1890.

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

On the 26th, 27th, 29th, and 30th of December, 1890.

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FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE Sixth Indian National Congress assembled for its first sitting early in the afternoon of the 26th of December, in a vast pavilion, erected for the purpose in the Tivoli Gardens, Calcutta, a well-known place of amusement, most generously placed by the proprietors (together with a large two-storied house standing in the Gardens) at the local Committee's disposal.

The pavilion, the largest yet constructed for the Congress, measured 250 feet by 150 feet, and provided ample sitting-room for over five thousand visitors and delegates, but as a matter of fact, on the opening day, nearly eight thousand persons were gathered together in the Congress Hall.

At 2 P.M. the Chair was taken by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, on whom, in accordance with precedent, it devolved to open the Congress, welcome the delegates from other provinces, and to call upon the assembly to elect a President.

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Mr. MANO MOHAN GHOSE (Calcutta) rose and said: Delegates to the National Congress,—It has devolved upon me to offer you our most hearty welcome on this great occasion. It has been impossible for me to decline the honour which the Reception Committee have thought fit to confer on me by asking me to be their Chairman, and, in that capacity, to welcome you in their name and on their behalf. That honour, you will, I am sure, all agree with me, could not have been possibly conferred, in the first instance, upon any abler or worthier member of the Bengali Community than my esteemed friend

THE HON. SIR BOMESH CHANDER MITTER.

(Cheers.) It is a matter of congratulation to all of us

that, although the cause of the administration of justice in these provinces has suffered by his retirement from the high office which he lately held, he is now in a position to take an active interest in the proceedings of this great national demonstration, and to guide us by his varied experience and by his sound judgment. When I learnt that the state of his health precluded him from occupying the position which legitimately belongs to him, and that it was his especial desire that I should perform that duty, which of all men in our community no one could have performed more gracefully or fittingly than he, I felt that I had no right, by reason of my own incompetency and unworthiness, to decline the high honour which my colleagues had decided to bestow on me. I conceive it is not only an honour, but a duty, which every citizen owes to his country, to respond cordially to any call which may be made upon him to assist in an undertaking which has for its object the welfare and the happiness of one's fellow-countrymen. (Cheers.) On the last occasion when you assembled in this city you were welcomed by one of the most distinguished citizens of Calcutta, who, by reason of his profound scholarship and wide reputation, was eminently fitted to be the spokesman on behalf of the people of these provinces. It is a matter of sincere regret to us all that long continued illness should have prostrated our distinguished friend

RAJA RAJENDRA LALA MITRA;

but it will be a source of gratification to you all to be assured that, though tied down to his sick bed, and therefore unable to greet you once more on behalf of the people of Bengal, his heart is entirely with us (loud cheers), and that he continues to be as staunch a supporter of this great movement as ever. (Cheers.) It is my painful duty to express to you, on behalf of the Reception Committee, our sorrow at the irreparable loss we have sustained in the course of the year by the death of one of our ablest and most zealous workers—I mean

THE LATE BABU MOHESH CHANDER CHOUDHRY.

(Loud cheers.) In him Bengal has lost one of her truest patriots, and the National Congress one of its most earnest supporters and active workers. I had the high privilege of enjoying his friendship for many years, and I can unhesitatingly assert that this presidency has not yet produced a man whose memory ought to be more dearly cherished by us than that of my lamented friend Moheah Chander Choudhry. (Cheers.) In simplicity of habits and purity of life he was essentially what a pious Hindu ought to be, while in breadth of views, in honesty of purpose, and in general culture, few men excelled him even among the more favoured races of the West. Such a man the hand of death has somewhat prematurely removed from us, and, before we had quite time to recover from the shock, we found ourselves deprived, though temporarily, of the valuable assistance and co-operation of two of our most energetic workers, one of whom, I regret to say, is unable, by reason of continued ill health and domestic affliction, to be present to-day—I mean our distinguished friend

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE

—(loud and continued cheers)—while the other, after suffering from severe illness for some time, is, I am glad to find, able, at any rate, to encourage us by his presence though still too weak to cheer us by his eloquence—I refer to my friend

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANNERJEE.

(Loud cheers.) It is now four years since the National Congress met in this city; since then you have assembled in the great cities of Madras, Allahabad, and Bombay, in every one of which places the reception accorded to the delegates has been of such a character as to make us in Calcutta feel that, after all, we are able to do very little in connection with the Congress of 1890, to deserve the high rank which is popularly assigned to Bengal as the most advanced and the wealthiest province in India. I am afraid, that, with all our efforts this year to give you a fitting reception, our arrangements are defective in many respects; but this I can assure you, on behalf of the people of Bengal, that they yield to no other Presidency in the heartiness and the cordiality of the welcome which they wish to offer to the distinguished representatives of the different parts of this great country, who have honoured us with their presence to-day. It is not within my province to discuss any of the topics which are likely to engage your attention this Session; but it is, I think, fitting that I should not sit down without making some general observations as regards the real aims and objects of the National Congress and our course of action in the future. Our proceedings have been subjected to much and varied criticism, and for my part I am glad that such should have been the case. All our proceedings, our discussions, and our resolutions are public property, and it is only right that they should be subjected to public scrutiny, for I believe we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from honest criticism—(cheers)—however unfavourable such criticism may be. That, besides legitimate criticism, the proceedings of such a body as ours should be subjected to unworthy attacks, and our aims misrepresented and distorted, is a matter which, however painful to us all, ought not to discourage and dishearten us. For

what great cause in the history of this world has ever triumphed without, in the first instance, having met with unworthy and even rancorous opposition? Our opponents have not even hesitated to accuse the promoters of this movement of

DISLOYALTY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

If I could bring myself to believe that the accusation, however unfounded, had been honestly preferred by those who are responsible for starting it, I should have felt myself called upon to deal with it seriously; but

THE CHARGE HAS ALWAYS SEEMED TO ME SO PREPOSTEROUS AND SO DISHONEST

on the part, at any rate, of a large portion of our detractors, that I think every speaker in this hall ought to treat it with silent contempt. There is, I believe, no one present here who, in his heart of hearts, does not feel that at no period in the history of India were life and property more secure than they are at the present day. If English rule in India had done nothing more than that, we should, even then, have had ample reason to be grateful to England, for, as you know, the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and order are the first requisites for the happiness of a people. To my mind, our allegiance to the British Government is based, not only on the feeling of gratitude which the benefits conferred upon us must evoke in our hearts, but also upon the highest grounds of expediency; for every sane man in India, who is capable of thinking, must feel that any change of Government at the present time would be the greatest calamity that could befall the people of this country. (Cheers.) That we should have been

BETTER PLEASED IF WE COULD HAVE GOVERNED OURSELVES

as well as we are governed by England, is a sentiment which we need not in the least shrink from avowing, because not only is such a feeling natural, but it is perfectly consistent to my mind with true loyalty to England. (Hear, hear.) The National Congress movement was fittingly described last year by my friend Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, while welcoming the Delegates in Bombay, as "the grandest outcome of British rule in India." To that description I will venture to add that it is also the natural and, indeed, the inevitable outcome of the generous policy pursued by England in this country. The fact which we all gratefully acknowledge, namely, that India is now better governed than before, or the fact that no other Asiatic country is at the present time better governed, furnishes no argument whatever against the demands made by us with the sole object of improving the administration of the country. The English people have no right to complain if we refuse to judge of their acts and professions, as rulers of this country, by any standard lower than what they themselves have taught us to respect and admire. If England has been instrumental in teaching an Asiatic people a higher code of political morality she can scarcely complain, with any show of reason, if we expect her strictly to adhere to that code in the government of her own dependencies, and

TO CARRY OUT THE PROFESSIONS AND DECLARATIONS

which have from time to time been made in her name and on her behalf. The great demonstration of to-day, I think, we are all agreed, implies nothing more than this, viz., that, much as England has done for us, she has

much more to do, or, in other words, that the administration of India is not perfect, but that there is still considerable room for its improvement and reform. This, I believe, to be the keystone of this great national movement. It is not a movement intended in the slightest degree to embarrass or hamper the Government of the country, but to assist that Government by every means in the great and difficult task in which it is engaged. Viewed in this light—and I am sure you all agree with me that it is our most anxious desire that it should be viewed in no other light—I fail to understand how it is that we have not yet met with a sympathetic recognition at the hands of those who are responsible for the good government of this country. It is impossible, in any country, to carry on the work of government for any length of time, without consulting the wishes and wants of those who are governed; and it is obvious that when the Government of a country is practically in the hands of a foreign people, it is all the more necessary for that Government, and, indeed, it is its duty, if it is to exist for any good purpose, to ascertain the wishes and even the aspirations of those who are governed. If such is the duty cast upon those who are called upon to govern, it is equally the duty of the people themselves to acquaint the Government by all constitutional means with their own wishes and their requirements. We are not so unreasonable as to expect that all our suggestions should be at once carried out, or that all our demands should be at once granted without due consideration. All that we desire is that

OUR SUGGESTIONS SHOULD BE HONESTLY AND  
SYMPATHETICALLY CONSIDERED,

and that if difficulties, which we ourselves may fail to perceive, should deter the Government of the day from acceding to any of our wishes, we may be taken into the confidence of the Government, so to speak, in order that we may be in a position to help it, if we can, in grappling with those difficulties. (Hear, hear.) This, I believe, is the true position which the National Congress in India desires to occupy. An idea is said to prevail among certain officials in the vicinity of Whitehall as well as in this country, to the effect that the supremacy of England in India is mainly based upon the disunion of the different races existing in this country, and that any attempt to unite them, even to a limited extent, upon a common political platform, is fraught with ultimate danger to the safety of the British Empire. I cannot for a moment believe that any Englishman, having any claims to statesmanship, can seriously entertain such an idea, based as it is altogether upon a superficial, and, I venture to think, an erroneous conception of facts. "To divide and rule" is a wicked policy, as unworthy of the great English people as it is practically impossible after what they have themselves done for us; because you can no more, now, keep the different races of this country disunited in feelings and sentiments, for any length of time, than you can abolish your schools and colleges, your railroads and telegraphs. But then, it is asked, "Whom does the National Congress represent? What right has it to speak on behalf of the masses of the people who know nothing about the Congress?" My answer is,

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS REPRESENTS THE THINKING PORTION  
OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

(Cheers.) The Delegates present here to-day are the

chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people who have learnt to think, and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity. It is perfectly correct that the ignorant masses, whom we seek to represent, are still unable, in many provinces, to take an active interest in the great social and administrative problems which are now engaging the attention of the educated classes; but history teaches that, in all countries and in all ages, it is the thinking classes who lead the unthinking, and in the present state of our own society we are bound, not only to think for ourselves, but also to think for those who are still too ignorant to exercise that important function. (Cheers.) If, by reason of the peculiar intellectual condition of the people of India whom we are seeking to represent, not only some of those who have actually chosen us as their delegates, but also many others, are still incapable of exercising any choice in the matter, I am sure we are not insensible to the grave responsibilities which we are incurring in speaking and acting on their behalf. Our duty to our less favoured countrymen requires that we should not shrink from incurring those responsibilities. I believe we are all agreed that it is our duty to educate our ignorant countrymen not only to think, but to think rightly, and to instil into their minds the fundamental doctrine that the happiness of a people primarily depends upon the maintenance of law and order in the country, and that if they have any grievances the only way to obtain redress is to agitate by peaceable and lawful methods. In trying to discharge so obvious a duty we can well afford to be ridiculed as self-styled delegates or as belonging only to "a microscopic minority." (Cheers and laughter.) Gentlemen, I feel I ought not to trespass much longer on your patience, but there is one other accusation to which I cannot help alluding, although it has been satisfactorily answered at more than one of our previous gatherings—I refer to

THE CHARGE, SO OFTEN REPEATED, THAT THE NATIONAL  
CONGRESS, AS A BODY, IS OPPOSED TO SOCIAL REFORMS.

Such an accusation is based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and functions of the National Congress, whose object, as I have already explained, is to point out to the Government what we conceive to be the defects in the administration of the country, and to ask only for such reforms as we are ourselves absolutely incapable of introducing without the aid of the Government, and in regard to the necessity of which we are all practically of one mind. Now, the many questions of social reform which are at present engaging the attention of the educated classes throughout India, are questions the solution of which is entirely in the hands of the people themselves. It is open to all of us to live as we like, or to eschew or alter at any time any custom which we may consider inconvenient or mischievous. The remedy being entirely in our own hands we can apply it whenever we choose, and on the majority of points we are, unfortunately, by no means all of one mind yet. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Congress is composed of diverse communities, each having its own religion and its peculiar usages, and it would be impossible for such a body to discuss the social customs of a particular community, based as they often are upon religious ideas, regarding which the members of another community professing a different religion have no adequate knowledge or information. (Hear, hear.) But, it by no means follows that the

promoters of the National Congress are not as keenly alive to the importance of social as they are to that of political reforms. The same educational agency which has given life to the National Congress has already helped to bring about enormous social changes throughout India. Half a century is but a day in the life of a nation, and any one who compares the state of Indian society of the present day with what was the case even thirty years ago, cannot but be surprised at the rapidity with which we have moved in social matters during that period. If there are some who think we ought to have moved still faster, they, in my opinion, ignore altogether the enormous difficulties against which we have to contend in this matter. There are movements of a very important character already on foot amongst the different communities of our people to promote the cause of social and religious reform, and in my humble judgment

WE SHOULD BE TRAVELLING OUT OF OUR LEGITIMATE PROVINCE IF WE WERE TO DEAL WITH SUCH QUESTIONS IN THIS ASSEMBLY.

Those who know my own views will readily believe that I yield to none in the country in attaching importance to the question of social reform; but at the same time I cannot but feel that it is our duty, however keenly we may feel on the subject, to remember that any precipitate or inconsiderate action, before the creation of a healthy public opinion in a community, is often apt to retard progress and to defeat the very object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) We ought to be thankful to our English friends for any suggestions they may be disposed to make to us on the question of social reform, so long as those suggestions are made in a sympathetic spirit; but, at the same time, we must ask them to bear in mind, that it is impossible for an outsider or foreigner to realize adequately the difficulties which the different Indian communities have to contend against in matters of social reform. Our English friends, whose kind sympathy and advice our social reformers are always delighted to have, may also be asked to remember that the decision of the question as to what reforms should or should not be introduced must, from the very nature of the case, rest with the Indian people themselves, and that, therefore, the true remedy lies in educating the people and creating a healthy public opinion on questions of social reform. To my mind,

THIS GATHERING

itself must have, and indeed already

HAS HAD, THE EFFECT, DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY, OF GIVING A GREAT IMPETUS TO THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

It is true that there are social problems connected with our domestic life of so important and pressing a character that, in my opinion, the sooner we direct our attention to them, and deal vigorously with them, the better for our country; but all I say is, that those are questions with which the Congress, composed as it is of different communities, ought not at present to have any direct concern. (Cheers.) I have thus far dealt with criticisms which have emanated chiefly from members of the Anglo-Indian community and the English press; but, before I conclude, I may be permitted to allude to one argument which I have sometimes heard used by some of our own people who are in sympathy with the Congress. I have heard it asked: "What good result has the Congress secured to

us?" To those desponding spirits among us who are apt to indulge in such an argument, I cannot do better than reply in the words of one who spent his noble life in agitating for the good of his own country, and of mankind in general, and whose name is deservedly cherished by us all in India. In 1885, when I had the honour of a long interview with the late Mr. John Bright (loud cheers) at Birmingham, he told me, as I was coming away: "Tell your people, on your return home, that they must not expect immediate results, nor must they lose heart if they do not get what they want. The English people themselves have not obtained any concession from their own Government without long and persistent agitation. It took Cobden and myself thirty years to get the Corn Laws repealed. Tell your people, as coming from me, that they do not deserve to succeed if they expect immediate results." I trust that this message, sent to us by that great champion of our rights a few years before his death, will encourage you all to persevere in the great cause which you have taken up. Remember that

THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF A GREAT STRUGGLE,

and that these annual gatherings of ours are but physical representations of that great and wonderful national awakening which is taking place everywhere in India. (Cheers.) The sight that we witness to-day may well justify any one of us indulging in the reverie of the great English poet when he exclaimed: "Methinks I see in my mind's eye a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible looks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzl'd eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and scaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what this means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." Gentlemen, I once more beg to offer you a hearty welcome, and I ask you to proceed to the business of the day by electing a President for this Sixth Indian National Congress. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Sir ROMESH CHUNDER MITTER (Calcutta, late acting Chief Justice of the High Court, Calcutta) rose and said:—Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel great pleasure in being called upon to move the first resolution, and probably the only resolution that will be placed before you this day, viz., that in regard to the election of a President for this great national gathering, here this day assembled. I am extremely thankful to the Reception Committee and its Chairman for having assigned to me this duty—a very agreeable duty to myself, and one that will involve very little labour on my part. It affords me great pleasure to be allowed an opportunity of taking a very small part in the proceedings of this great national gathering. The duty assigned to me, though, as I have said, involving very little labour, is an important one, because it will secure to you a leader who will guide your deliberations; and when I simply mention the name which I have to propose I feel assured that it will be received with general acclamation.



By his distinguished career at the Bar of the Bombay High Court, and the conspicuous part which he has borne in so many important movements and questions, the name of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta—(loud cheers)—has become almost a household word to all educated persons in India. He enjoys the confidence, not only of the province to which he belongs, but also of the sister provinces. With these few words I beg to propose that Mr. Pherozshah Mehta be elected president of the Indian National Congress for the year 1890. (Cheers.)

NAWAB SHAMSHOOD DOWLA (Lucknow), seconded the motion.

Mr. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras): I beg to support the motion. Were I to fulfil the ordinarily understood duties of my position as a supporter I should have to set to work on the proverbially needless task of painting the lily. But that is quite unnecessary, you will all, I think, agree. If Mr. Pherozshah were not well known to all of you—and to all India equally—having myself known him pretty intimately for a long time, I might be able to say something worth listening to; but as he is so well known to you all, I will do no more than ask permission to support the proposition that has been made, that he be elected President of the Sixth Indian National Congress. (Cheers.)

NAWAB GOULAM RUBBANI (Calcutta), also supported the motion, which was unanimously adopted with loud acclamations.

Mr. MANO MOHAN GHOSE (Calcutta): I now declare Mr. Mehta to have been duly elected.

## THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Mr. PHEROZSHAH MEHTA (Bombay), then took the Chair, and delivered the following address:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to tender to you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in calling me to preside over your deliberations this year. I cannot imagine a greater honour for a native of this country than to be elected, by your free and spontaneous suffrages, President of an assembly which is now

### ONE OF THE RECOGNIZED INSTITUTIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

An unconventional Convention of the Empire which, we may say without undue ostentation, has already earned a place in history—not less surely, let us trust, than the famous St. Andrew's Dinners of this city,—as making an epoch in the march of events moulding the lofty destinies of this magnificent land. In speaking of myself as a native of this country, I am not unaware that, incredible as it may seem, Parsis have been both called, and invited and allured to call themselves, foreigners. If twelve centuries, however, entitle Angles and Saxons, and Normans and Danes, to call themselves natives of England; if a lesser period entitles the Indian Muhammadans to call themselves natives of India, surely we are born children of the soil in which our lot has been cast for a period of over thirteen centuries, and where, ever since the advent of the British power, we have lived and worked, with our Hindu and Muhammadan neighbours, for common aims, common aspirations, and common

interests. To my mind, a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsi, as a Muhammadan or a Hindu is a better and truer Muhammadan or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes

### THE FRATERNITY OF ALL THE NATIVE COMMUNITIES OF THE COUNTRY,

and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government. Is it possible to imagine that Dadabhai Naoroji, for instance, true Parsi that he is, is anything but an Indian, living and working all his life for all India, with the true and tender loyalty of a son? Can anyone doubt, if I may be allowed to take another illustration, that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was greater and nobler when he was devoting the great energies and talents with which he is endowed,—if, for the benefit of Muhammadans in particular for the benefit of all Indians in general—than when, as of late, he was preaching a gospel of selfishness and isolation? The birthright, therefore, gentlemen, which the Parsis thus possess of so indefeasible and glorious a character, they have refused and will always refuse to sell for any mess of pottage, however fragrant and tempting. (Loud cheers.) More especially, therefore, as an Indian, it is that I return to you my grateful thanks for the honour you have done me. I have ventured, gentlemen, to ascribe to the Congress the credit of making an epoch in Indian political progress. A very brief survey of the incidents of the twelve months that have elapsed since we last met will amply justify our title to that distinction. In the admirable address which was delivered by my predecessor in this chair at Allahabad, Mr. Yule pointed out that all movements of the kind in which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run their course. The first one is of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession and misapprehension of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking "big jumps into the unknown". The final stage of all is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement, with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. Well, gentlemen, we have pretty well passed the first two stages. We have survived the ridicule, the abuse, and the misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have also survived the charge of being a "microscopic minority". We have survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise. (Laughter and cheers.)

### THE QUESTION OF OUR LOYALTY IS SET AT REST FOR EVER.

In the debate on Lord Cross's India Reform Bill in the House of Lords, ex-Viceroy after ex-Viceroy bore emphatic testimony to the loyal and peaceful character of our aims and efforts. Within the last few days the voice of no less a personage than one of our former Secretaries of State has confirmed this testimony. Lord Randolph Churchill—it is to no less distinguished a public man that I refer—has publicly declared that "he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and

the welfare of the Indian people." Then, gentlemen, it is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly as to demand the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which, in England, have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that

WE HAVE NOT ASKED EVEN FOR REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS OF A GOVERNING OR RULING CHARACTER

at all. Indeed, so far as this historical argument is concerned, we have not alone, proved that we have not been guilty of disregarding it, but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they who defy the lessons of history and experience when they talk of waiting to make a beginning till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia—in fact, till a millennium has set in, when we should hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk have never understood the law of human progress, which, after all, is a series of experiments, in which men and institutions react upon each other for their mutual improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the "microscopic minority" can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and aspirations of their own countrymen, than the still more "microscopic minority" of the omniscient district officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed, for instance, by French waiters at Paris hotels which proudly blazon forth the legend—"Ici on parle Anglais;" and whose knowledge of native domestic and social life, and ways and habits of thought, seldom extends beyond a familiarity with flattering expressions of the Sahob's greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy and sometimes by interest. An amusing story was related to me of a little incident that occurred only the other day which is not without instruction as illustrating the amount of knowledge possessed by Anglo-Indians of the people among whom they have moved for years. The wife of a member of Parliament, who has come out on a visit to India this year—herself as distinguished as her husband for her kindly sympathy in Indian welfare—was sitting at dinner next to a learned member of my profession, who, in the course of conversation, grew humorous and sarcastic by turns, in the fashion of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, on the ridiculous and outrageous pretensions of globe-trotters to know the country and its people better than Anglo-Indians who had lived in it for years. He was rattling away, well satisfied with himself and the impression he thought he was producing on the lady, when, with the sweetest of smiles, she gently asked him how long he had been himself in India. "Fifteen years—more or less" was the answer. "I suppose you know well Mr. —," naming a gentleman whose recent elevation to the Bench of one of our High Courts was received everywhere with pleasure and approbation. "Of course, I do," said his brother in the same profession. "Can you tell me if he has only one wife or more than one?" Slowly came the answer, "No; I fear I can't." "Well, I can tell you. You see I have been

only a few days in the country," said the lady quietly, "and yet

I THINK I KNOW A THING OR TWO WHICH YOU DON'T."

I trust my learned friend, who is the hero of this story, was properly grateful to the lady for giving him some serious food for reflection. Then, gentlemen, our right to the designation of a national body has been vindicated. It is so admirably set forth in an article which appeared in a Conservative Review—*The National*—from the pen of a Conservative who, however, speaks from the fulness of intimate knowledge, that I cannot resist the temptation of borrowing from it. "The supposed rivalry", says the writer, "between Mussulmans and Hindus is a convenient decoy to distract attention and to defer the day of reform. I do not wish to affirm that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do most positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political paper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress. The members of the Congress meet together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one Power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to weld a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason the organisation has been called the Indian National Congress; not because, as many besides Mr. Keane have assumed, that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with

RIGHTS AND INTERESTS WHICH ARE NATIONAL IN CHARACTER,

and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned." I think we may take it, gentlemen, that we have passed through the first two stages, and that the loyalty, the moderation, the propriety, and the constitutional and national character of our mission, are now established beyond a doubt. But, however arduous and however provoking some of the experiences of the trial through which we have passed, they should not leave any trace of bitterness behind. For let us not imagine that they were devoid of chastening and beneficial effects upon ourselves. Let us frankly acknowledge that they also must have had their share in contributing to add clearness to our thoughts, sobriety to our methods, and moderation to our proposals. If I might use a proscribed, but not unscriptural, phrase, we must give even the Devil his due. (Laughter.) It is on the third stage—the era of achievement—that we have now entered. It is true that a majority of the Congress proposals do not still seem to have made much headway. Even as regards the proposal to separate the executive and the judicial functions, lauded by Lord Dufferin "as a counsel of perfection to which the Government were ready to subscribe," Government are yet so absorbed in admiration of it that they have not recovered themselves sufficiently to take action. There is, however, no reason to despair. It was once proved upon sworn testimony in the

Bombay High Court, before the late Chief Justice Sir M. Westropp, that a woman required twenty-two months for parturition in the air of the province of Kattyawar. It is not impossible, gentleman, that the air of Simla may similarly necessitate a more than ordinarily long period of gestation to perfect even counsels of perfection; and therefore we must possess our souls in more than ordinary patience, lest any precipitate pressure might occasion a miscarriage. (Laughter.) In one little matter, complete success has attended our efforts, viz., as regards the duty on silver plate.

THE ABKARI CAUSE IS ALSO SAFE

in the custody of that redoubtable champion, of whose formidable prowess you can form some idea, when you remember that it was he who so completely put to rout Mr. Goschen's Compensation Clauses. It is a matter of no small congratulation to us to

WELCOME MR. CAINE AS ONE OF OUR OWN DELEGATES.

He first came out to this country with a free and open mind on the Congress question. With that fearless independence which characterizes him, and which always, when I see him, recalls to my mind those famous lines of Burns, "The man of independent mind is king of men for a' that," he went for his education to Aligarh. Thanks to Mr. T. H. Beck and Sir Syed Ahmed, he has come to us, not only a staunch Congressman in principle, but, as one of the members of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, he has thrown his indomitable energy and his high-souled advocacy into active support of the movement. Mr. Caine can truly boast that, if he has not succeeded in extorting from Mr. Pritchard and all the most zealous Abkari officers the confession that they are Bacchus and his crew in disguise, they dare not, at least, throw off their masks while his watchful eye is upon them, but must continue to do penance in the assumed garb of uncomfortable and uncongenial principles. Leaving Christian to continue his combat with Apollyon, it is when we come to the central proposal of the Congress regarding the Legislative Councils, for the purpose of expanding and putting life in them, that we can congratulate ourselves on being on the verge of an important step. Many have been the circumstances, and many the forces and influences, that have contributed to this result. First and foremost among them is the circumstance that, without legal votes and legal qualifications, we have had the good fortune to become possessed of a member of our own in Parliament. Do not imagine, gentlemen, that Dadabhai Naoroji or Lalmoohan Ghose has at length been returned. But

WHAT MEMBER,

even if we had the direct franchise,

COULD HAVE SERVED US AS MR. BRADLAUGH HAS DONE DURING THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS?

To say that the whole country is grateful to him for the untiring energy, the indefatigable care, the remarkable ability with which he has watched and worked for its best interests in that House, where he has achieved so honourable a position for himself, can only most imperfectly express the depth and extent of the sentiments that are felt for him throughout the length and breadth of the land. His name has literally become a household word.

He is raising up to himself a memorial in the hearts of the people of India, which will reflect more lustre on his name than titles and orders, and endure longer than monuments of brass or marble. (Loud cheers.) We have been fortunate indeed in securing the sympathies of such a champion. No sooner did he return to England than he at once proceeded to redeem the promise he had made on that behalf, by introducing in the House of Commons his India Councils Reform Bill, drawn on the lines which were sketched and formulated at the last Congress, and with which you are all familiar under its justly deserved brief designation of the Madras Scheme. Two important results were the immediate outcome of this step. The scheme which was thus propounded was in its nature a tentative measure, so far as its details were concerned; and it at once drew forth useful and guiding criticism. In several respects its scope was misunderstood, especially as regards its supposed sweeping character, which might have been avoided had we specified in the Congress skeleton sketch the restrictive limitations hedging the qualifications of the electorate. The criticisms of men like Sir William Hunter and Sir Richard Garth, for whose thoughtful, sympathetic, and friendly attitude towards Indian progress we are always so deeply grateful, exposed, however, one defect demanding serious consideration, viz., that the scheme was laid on new lines, and had a somewhat theoretical air, which Englishmen rather fight shy of in practical politics. In justice to the scheme, however, it should be said that

SIR RICHARD GARTH PUT HIS FINGER ON A POSSIBLE, RATHER THAN A PROBABLE, RESULT.

when he thought that it would enable the Hindus to submerge the other Indian communities. Experience has shown that even in a preponderating Hindu electorate it does not happen that Hindoos only are elected, as so many other, besides racial, forces and interests concur in influencing the selection. If we may apply the lessons learnt from experience in municipal elections, I may mention the remarkable fact that in the Town Council, or what is now called the Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation, composed of twelve members, there have been frequently five Parsis, three Europeans, two Hindus, and two Muhammadans. Sir Richard Garth's criticism on this point, however, throws out a warning which should not be hastily disregarded. But the next result, which the introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill achieved, was gratifying in the highest degree. It at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation, in which men at the head of Indian affairs are so apt to be lost that they can never spontaneously recover from it.

LORD CROSS'S INDIAN COUNCILS BILL PROMPTLY SAW THE LIGHT OF DAY

in the House of Lords. It was at once the official recognition of the *raison d'être* of the Congress, and the first fruits of its labours. In itself, however, it was a most halting and unsatisfactory measure. In framing it, the Prime Minister and the Indian Secretary of State seem to have been pervaded with a conception of the Indian people as a sort of Oliver Twist, always asking for more, to whom it would be therefore a piece of prudent policy to begin with offering as little as possible. The Government Bill may be aptly described as a most superb steam-engine, in which the necessary material to generate steam

was carefully excluded, substituting in its place coloured shams to look like it. The rights of interpellation and of the discussion of the Budget were granted, but

#### THE LIVING FORCES OF THE ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE,

which alone could properly work them, were not breathed into the organization of the enlarged councils. The omission of the elective principle from the bill was boldly justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that "the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds." I wish to speak of his Lordship with all the respect to which his high talents and great intellectual attainments justly entitle him; but it is not a little surprising as well as disappointing to find the Prime Minister of England, a statesman who was once Secretary of State for India, displaying such profound ignorance of the history of the Indian people and the genius of the Indian mind. The late Mr. Chisholm Anstey, a man of immense erudition, once pointed out at a meeting of the East India Association in London, that "we are apt to forget in this country when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government, that

#### THE EAST IS THE PARENT OF MUNICIPALITIES.

Local Self-Government in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of a great system of representation." Sir Henry Maine has shown that

#### THE TEUTONIC MARK WAS HARDLY SO WELL ORGANIZED OR SO ESSENTIALLY REPRESENTATIVE AS AN INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY,

until the precise technical Roman form was engrafted upon it. (Cheers.) But leaving village communities alone, what do we find at the present day over the whole country but all sorts and conditions of people, from the highest to the lowest, meeting together and transacting the business of their numberless castes, in assemblies which, in their constitution and in their mode of working, are the exact prototypes of the Saxon Witan from which the English parliamentary institutions have sprung. It is true that circumstances never allowed the representative genius of the people to develop forms and organizations for higher political functions. But it is no less true, that the seed and soil are there, waiting only for the skilful hand, and the watchful mind, which we of the Congress firmly believe we have secured in the presence of Englishmen in this country.

#### THE DISDAINFUL ATTITUDE OF LORD SALISBURY

as to our aptitude for representative institutions need, however, bring no despair to our minds. His late chief, Lord Beaconsfield, said of him, on a memorable occasion, that he was a man who never measured his phrases or his sweeping assertions. On the contrary, I draw an augury of good hope from his pronouncement and that

made by his son, Lord Hugh Cecil, that "the Indian was not only a good Government, but it was probably the best conceivable Government that the population could possibly live under." On the eve of the passing of the great English Reform Bill, the Duke of Wellington, then the Tory Prime Minister, proclaimed in the same House of Lords that the existing constitution of the House of Commons was perfect, and that the wit of man could not *a priori* have devised anything so perfect. The declaration was received by the Liberals as a sure portent of victory; and the Reform Bill was passed within little more than a year after. I trust that the Salisbury pronouncement may prove prophetic in the same way. (Cheers.) It is needless to discuss Lord Cross's perfunctory measure any further; even with the amendment which Lord Northbrook succeeded in getting accepted, it left the House of Lords in the same lifeless condition in which it entered. As soon as it reached the House of Commons, Mr. Bradlaugh fastened on it at once. It was true that he had got there his own Bill, but

#### MR. BRADLAUGH IS A MASTER OF PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS,

inferior, if to any, only to Mr. Gladstone. He at once perceived that the supreme struggle was to be no more between one scheme and another, between territorial electorates or Local Boards, but that every nerve would have to be strained and every resource husbanded, to obtain, in the first place, recognition of the elective principle. That secured, everything else would follow in its own good time. With a masterly comprehension of the situation, he placed before the House amendments to the Bill, directed to substitute the process of election for that of nomination. The Bill and the amendments have, however, all gone the way of the majority, and the session closed without the opportunity of discussing them. Profiting, however, by the lessons in which the experience of the last twelve months was prolific, both without and within the walls of Parliament, Mr. Bradlaugh has hit upon the notable expedient of

#### PLOUGHING WITH LORD CROSS'S HELPER.

He has already introduced a new Bill, based on the same lines as Lord Cross's Bill, but vivifying it by the affirmation of the principle for which we are fighting. That Bill will be laid before you for your consideration. It will be for you to deal with it in your wisdom. However you may decide, of one thing I am certain, that you will maintain your character for moderation, sagacity, and practical good sense which you have so arduously acquired by your self-sacrificing and noble labours during the five years of the existence of the Congress. It is not for me to anticipate your verdict. But I am sure you will allow me, out of my anxious solicitude for the triumph of the cause we have all so earnestly at heart, to state the reasons which, to my mind, make so imperatively for the acceptance of the new draft, in which I cannot but recognize the statesmanlike craft and thorough knowledge of the shifting phases of English politics which Mr. Bradlaugh so eminently possesses, and which, as we all earnestly pray, promises to place him at no distant date in the front ranks of politicians in office, as he already is in the front rank of those not in office. The old draft, admirably devised in some respects,—with many virtues and a few faults,—has not proved congenial to the English political mind, averse to new departures, and looking askance at

theoretical airs of perfection. The new Bill has, on the other hand, all the elements of success, in its favour. Its most striking merit is that it gathers round it the cautious, the carefully weighed, and responsible opinions of some of the best Viceroys we have ever had. Lord Northbrook has pronounced in favour of a properly safe-guarded application of some mode of election. The righteous sympathies of the Marquis of Ripon are as warmly with us as ever, and his great authority weighs on the same side. Still more valuable, as coming from a Viceroy who left India only the other day, is the measured and calculated approval which Lord Dufferin has recorded in a despatch, in referring to which I hope I am not making myself amenable to the terrors of the Official Secrets Act. In mentioning Lord Dufferin, I will frankly say that we have not sufficiently recognized the great debt of gratitude which we owe to him in this respect, partly, I believe, through ignorance, and partly through misappreciation of the course he adopted to neutralize opposition against the measures he recommended. An unrivalled diplomat, his wary statesmanship was apt to assume the hues of the craft of which he is so accomplished a master. He sought an occasion when he could launch his proposals without provoking disagreement, endeavouring rather to conciliate it. The epoch-making St. Andrew's Dinner of 1888 offered him the needful opportunity. He knew Scotchmen and their matter-of-fact character so inimitably delineated by Charles Lamb. He knew, as that charming essayist tells us, that "surmises, guesses, misgivings, half intuitions, partial illuminations, dim instincts, embryo conceptions had no place in their brain or vocabulary." He drew before his hosts a vivid and alarming picture of imaginary Congress proposals—of "an ideal authoritatively suggested of the creation of a representative body or bodies, in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will." But, while his excited and valiant hosts rushed off, crying "Scotchmen to the rescue," to tilt at windmills, he quietly threw in a sympathetic recognition of our just and legitimate aspirations, and proceeded to record a minute in which he

SUBSTANTIALLY BACKED UP THE VERITABLE CONGRESS  
PROPOSALS.

In this despatch Lord Dufferin has briefly described his scheme as a plan for the enlargement of the Provincial Councils, for the enhancement of their status, the multiplication of their functions, the partial introduction into them of the elective principle, and the liberalisation of their general character as political institutions. At this year's St. Andrew's dinner, Sir Charles Elliott eulogized Lord Dufferin's speech as epoch-making and fixing the bounds and limits of our demands "so far and no further." We are quite content to go as far; we have never asked to go very much further. We may, therefore, fairly infer from Sir Charles Elliott's speech that he is in accord and in sympathy with the main underlying principles of Lord Dufferin's scheme, and we can therefore congratulate the people of Bengal on their good fortune in possessing a ruler whom we can justly claim to be a true Congress-wallah at heart. (Laughter and cries of "Oh! oh!") I will not speculate, without official sanction, on the views of the present Viceroy. But I may permit myself to

remind you that it was to Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, that Macaulay dedicated those speeches, in one of which, dipping far into the future, he spoke about the coming Government of India in that noble passage with which we are all familiar: "The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own." The dawn of that day which Macaulay foresaw, in dim but prophetic vision, is now breaking on the horizon; the curtain is rising on the drama which unfolds the vista to that title to glory. Let us earnestly hope that

THE PRESENT ILLUSTRIOUS BEARER OF THE GREAT  
HISTORIC NAME OF LANSDOWNE,

who, by a wonderful ordering of events, has now come to rule over us, may watch the glowing streaks of light with generous sympathy, and may preside over the march of events with timely and provident statesmanship. (Loud cheers.) This weighty consensus of the best viceregal opinion which I have placed before you, in favour of the principle of the new draft, we may expect to be backed up by the potent voice of that Grand Old Man, whom we reverence, not only as the greatest Parliamentary leader of modern times, but as the individual embodiment of the highest conception of moral and political duty which English statesmanship has reached in the nineteenth century. You are aware that Mr. Bradlaugh has recently declared that he was authorised to say that the course pursued by him in reference to the Government Bill, in endeavouring to obtain a recognition of the elective principle,

WAS APPROVED BY MR. GLADSTONE,

who intended to have supported him by speech. It would require considerations of overpowering force, indeed, to persuade us to any course by which we might run the risk of losing such an almost certain pledge of ultimate victory. (Cheers.) Another potent factor has come into existence within this year, which is calculated to help us materially—if we confine our efforts to the simple issue of election *versus* nomination—in the force of English public opinion which, without undertaking to pronounce on questions of detail, has now declared itself to a very considerable extent emphatically in favour of the vital principle of election. The credit of informing the English mind and stirring the English conscience on this momentous question belongs to that small band of noble workers who were appointed at the last Congress to plead the cause of India before the great English

people in their own country, and who cheerfully crossed the seas in obedience to such a call of duty, without counting the inevitable cost and sacrifice. The task which they undertook was a formidable one; they have discharged it in a manner of which it is difficult to speak too highly. Of the leader of that band I cannot trust myself to speak with sober moderation, when I remember that it is to his genius we owe that flash of light which pointed out the creation of a body like the Congress, as fraught with the promotion of the best interests of English rule in India. I know there are numerous claimants for the credit of the idea, but if I may be pardoned for employing the rudely forcible language of Carlyle, "The firepan, the kindling, the bitumen were his own; but the lumber of rags, old wood, and nameless combustible rubbish (for all is fuel to him) was gathered from hucksters and of every description under heaven. Whereby indeed hucksters enough have been heard to exclaim: 'Out upon it, the fire is *mine*.'" He brought to bear upon his new enterprise the same zeal and fervour, combined with thoughtful judgment, that he has unsparingly bestowed for so many years upon the cause to which he has devoted his life. His presence on the Congress Deputation entailed a further sacrifice and affliction for which we can offer no consolation or reparation except our deepest and most respectful sympathy. In his great and noble mission,

MR. HUME

(loud cheers)—had the entire co-operation of a man of no ordinary powers and capacity. The rare and unrivalled powers of oratory which we have learned to admire in

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE

—(cheers)—for it is of him I speak—never shone with more brilliant effect than when he was pleading the cause of his countrymen at the bar of the English people, with a fire and energy that extorted universal respect and admiration. They had a powerful coadjutor in my friend

MR. EARDLEY NORTON,

who has known so well how to make splendid use of the heritage of great thoughts and noble deeds which he received from his distinguished father.

MR. MUDHOLKAR

from the Central Provinces did yeoman's service in the same cause, and his sober and thoughtful eloquence did not carry less weight than that of his brilliant colleagues. There is no need for me to say anything of the services of

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI,

and our other friends in England. But I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without grateful acknowledgment of the unceasing toil, the prodigious energy, and the organising capacity contributed by

MR. WILLIAM DIGBY.

The delegates assembled here might render no inconsiderable service to our cause if they exerted themselves to stimulate by thousands and tens of thousands the circulation of the Congress paper entitled *India*, started under the auspices of our British Committee, and conducted with such marked ability by him; and which has done, and promises to do more and more, such incalculable benefit

to the object we have at heart. The result of the English campaign clearly shows the wisdom of the new plan of operations suggested by Mr. Bradlaugh. It seems to me that success is well within our reach if we resolutely apply ourselves to obtain, in the first instance at least, the recognition and application of the principle of election in the organization of our Legislative Councils. Let us, then, strive for it with the sagacity of practical men, who have not learnt in vain the lessons taught by English political history, and who know the value of moderate, gradual, and substantial gain. To the many reasons which have been set forth in Congress after Congress, proving the imperative need of reformed Councils, another has been now added. The discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was always more or less of a sham; but it was a sham for which the officials of the India Office thought it at least a matter of decency to shed a tear of remorse. But now Sir John Gorst has boldly and candidly declared in his place in the House that there need be no sham regret at all; that, if anything, it was rather to be hoped and wished for, that

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SHOULD NOT WASTE ITS TIME OVER  
THE WEARY FARCE.

("Shame, shame!") It is now officially declared that it is right and proper that Parliament should—to use Mr. Yule's happy way of putting it,—throw "the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence" back into the hands of Providence, to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best, with such grace as Providence may choose to pour on the heads of Sir John Gorst, his heirs, successors, and assigns. I think you will agree with me that, when the responsible advisers of the Crown on Indian matters propound doctrines of such a character, it is high time that we should raise our united voice to demand Local Councils possessing some guarantees for energy and efficiency. (Cheers.) It has been said that our united voice is the voice only of a certain portion of the people and not of the masses; and that it is even then the voice of indifference, and not of urgency and excitement. These remarks are intended to be cast as matters of reproach against the Congress; properly understood they constitute its chief glory. If the masses were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would have arrived, not for consultative Councils but for representative institutions. It is because they are still unable to do so that the function and the duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand, and to interpret their grievances and requirements, and to suggest and indicate how these can best be redressed and met. History teaches us that such has been the law of widening progress in all ages and all countries, notably in England itself. That function and that duty, which thus devolve upon us, is best discharged, not in times of alarm and uneasiness, of anger and excitement, but when the heart is loyal and clear, and reason unclouded. It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude, which they owe for the priceless boon of education, by pleading, and pleading temperately, for timely and provident statesmanship. (Cheers.) I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and

English civilization. It may be that, at times, the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may seem fierce and uncompromising. But

MY FAITH IS LARGE, EVEN IN ANGLO-INDIANS.

As in the whole universe, so in individuals, in communities, there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps some of you have read a little novel, called Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the plot of which hinges on the conflict between the two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower, embodied each, for the time being, in a separate and distinct individuality. If the lower tendencies are sometimes paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian society, if, as our last President, Sir W. Wedderburn, said, the interests of The Services are antagonistic to, and prevail over, the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle; it is still only one side of the shield. They cannot permanently divest themselves of the higher and nobler nature, which, in the end, must prevail, and which has prevailed in so many honourable, distinguished, and illustrious instances.

THEY ARE, AFTER ALL, A PART AND PARCEL OF THE GREAT ENGLISH NATION,

bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must even work along the main lines of that noble policy which Great Britain has deliberately adopted for the Government of this country. When, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: "Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God: a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye have not known." All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are, if slowly, yet steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will

MAKE THE CONNECTION OF ENGLAND AND INDIA A BLESSING TO THEMSELVES

and to the whole world, for countless generations. Our Congress asks but to serve as a modest handmaiden to that movement, asks but to be allowed to show the pits and the falls, asks but to be allowed to join in the blessing which England will as surely earn as there is an "Eternal that maketh for righteousness." (Cheers.) I appeal to all true Englishmen—to candid friends as to generous foes—not to let this prayer go in vain. It may be that we sometimes speak in uncouth and outlandish ways; it may be that we sometimes stray in some confusion of thought and language; still it is the prayer of a rising, growing, and hopeful nation. I will appeal to them to listen to the sage counsels of one of the most careful and observant of their modern politicians, who, like the prophet Balaam, called, I will not say exactly to curse us, has, however, blessed us utterly. In his "Problems of Greater Britain," Sir Charles Dilke thus sums up his views on the Congress: "Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not invective, and there is so much reason to think that

THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT REALLY REPRESENTS THE CULTIVATED INTELLIGENCE OF THE COUNTRY,

that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests

of Great Britain, bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met half way. (Cheers.) The official class themselves admit that many of the natives who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and to push their claims for decorations. (Hear, hear.) Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention." So careful an estimate of the work and spirit of the Congress movement cannot but commend itself to all thoughtful minds. However that may be, our duty lies clear before us, to go on with our work firmly and fearlessly, but with moderation, and above all with humility. If we might be permitted to adopt those noble words of Cardinal Newman, we may say—

Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,  
Lead thou me on!  
The night is dark and I am far from home,  
Lead thou me on.  
Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see  
The distant path, one step enough for me.

(Long and enthusiastic cheering.)

I will now ask you to elect the Subjects Committee.

## ELECTION OF A SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

After some discussion and the reading out of all the names proposed by the several circles and their acceptance by the Congress as a body, the following Subjects Committee was declared to have been duly constituted:—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE (includes the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Orissa, Assam, Sylhet, and Cachar).

- |     |                              |              |
|-----|------------------------------|--------------|
| 1.  | GEORGE YULE, Esq.            | Calcutta.    |
| 2.  | C. SWINHOE, Esq.             | do.          |
| 3.  | R. D. MEHTA, Esq.            | do.          |
| 4.  | A. CHOWDHRY, Esq.            | do.          |
| 5.  | THE REV. KALI CHARAN BANERJI | do.          |
| 6.  | DR. TROILOKYA NATH MITTER    | do.          |
| 7.  | PANDIT PRAN NATH SARASVATI   | do.          |
| 8.  | BABU NARENDRO NATH SEN       | do.          |
| 9.  | " BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE        | do.          |
| 10. | " DEVENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE     | do.          |
| 11. | " MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI     | do.          |
| 12. | " MOTI LAL GHOSE             | Jessore.     |
| 13. | " KALI SHANKAR SIKUL         | Narail.      |
| 14. | " NAFAR CHANDRA PAL CHOUDHRY | Nuddea.      |
| 15. | " HEERUMBA CHANDRA MOITRO.   | do.          |
| 16. | " BOIKANTHA NATH SEN         | Murshidabad. |
| 17. | " TARA PROSONNO MUKHERJI     | Burdwan.     |
| 18. | " BISHNU PODO CHATTERJI      | Hooghly.     |
| 19. | " NURSING CHANDRA DUTT       | Howrah.      |
| 20. | " JOGENDRA CHANDRA ROY       | Midnapur.    |
| 21. | " DHRONE KRISTO GHOSE        | Birbhum.     |

22.	BABU GOVIND CHARAN DASS	Tipperah.
23.	" BEPLIN CHUNDER PAL	Sylhet.
24.	" BARODA CHANDRA HALDAR	Assam.
25.	" JANOKI NATH BOSE	Orissa.

**DACCA CIRCLE** (includes the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions).

1.	BABU KOLASH CHANDRA SEN	Dacca.
2.	" KISHORI LAL SIKKAR	do.
3.	" DWARKA NATH GANGULI	do.
4.	" PEARY LAL ROY	Bakergunge.
5.	" RADHA BALLABH CHOWDERY	Mymensingh.
6.	" PROSONNO KUMAR BOSE	Tangail.

**RAJSHAHYE CIRCLE** (includes the Rajshahye Division).

1.	BABU RAJKUMAR SIKKAR	Rajshahye.
2.	" KALI KISHORE MUNSHI	Bogra.
3.	" GRISH CHUNDER ROY	Pubna.

**BHAGALPUR CIRCLE** (includes the Bhagalpur Division).

1.	RAI SUBYA NARAIN SING BAHADUR	Bhagalpur.
2.	" TEJ NARAIN SING BAHADUR	do.
3.	" DR. LADLI MOHUN GHOSH	do.
4.	BABU PARVATI CHARAN DASS	Purnea.
5.	" AKHILESHVAR PRASAD	Monghyr.

**CHOTA NAGPUR CIRCLE** (includes the Chota Nagpur Division).

1.	RAI JADUNATH MUKHERJI	Hazaribagh.
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**BEHAR CIRCLE** (includes the Patna Division).

1.	MOULVIE SHURFUDDIN	Bankipur.
2.	" ABDUL HAMID	do.
3.	BABU SALIG RAM SING	do.
4.	PANDIT SHAM LAL NARAIN	Patna.
5.	BABU RAGHUBHUS SAHAI	do.
6.	FRINGLE KENNEDY, Esq.	Mozufferpur.
7.	BABU RAMDHAN SAHAI	do.

**BENARES CIRCLE** (includes the Benares Division).

1.	SHEIKH NUSSEERODDIN	Benares.
2.	BABU GOVIND DASS	do.
3.	" UPENDRA NATH BOSE	do.
4.	LALA SREE RAM	Mirzapur.
5.	LALA BENI PERSHAD	do.

**NORTH-WEST PROVINCES CIRCLE** (includes the whole N.-W. Provinces except the Benares Division).

1.	PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA	Allahabad.
2.	" BULDEO RAM DAVE	do.
3.	MUNSHI MADHAVA PRASAD	do.
4.	" SADE UD DIN	do.
5.	BABU CHABOO CHANDER MITTER	do.
6.	HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM	Allypore.
7.	PUNDIT PRITHI NATH	Cawnpore.
8.	HAKIM FAKE UD DIN	do.
9.	LALA DWARKA DASS	Agra.
10.	PUNDIT DAMMI LAL	Mainpuri.
11.	" RAGHUBHUS SARAN	Meerut.
12.	" HARI RAM PANDE	Almora.

**ODDH CIRCLE** (includes the whole Province of Oudh).

1.	SYED HAMID ALI KHAN	Lucknow.
2.	MUNSHI GUNGA PERSHAD VARMA	do.

3.	PUNDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DHAR	Lucknow.
4.	RAI KAKU MULL BAHADUR	Fyzabad.
5.	LALA GOKAL CHAND	do.
6.	BABU PITAM ROY	Sitapur.

**PUNJAB CIRCLE** (includes the whole of Punjab except the Delhi Division).

1.	LALA DHURM DAS SURI	Lahore.
2.	DR. PRAMANAND	do.
3.	BABU JOGENDRO CHANDRA BOSE	do.
4.	BABA NARAYAN SING SODHI	Amritsar.
5.	DR. GUNGADIN	do.
6.	CAPTAIN A. BANON	Kangra.
7.	LALA MURLIDHUR	Umballa.
8.	BAKSHI JAISHI RAM	Julundur.

**DELHI CIRCLE** (includes the Delhi Division).

1.	MOULVIE M. RUKUN UD DIN JADOO	Delhi.
2.	" SHAHABUDIN SAKEL	do.
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4. A. O. HUME, Esq., C.B., General Secretary, Punjab.
5. THE HON. PUNDIT AJOODHA NATH, Joint-General Secretary, N.-W. P.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY.

THE PRESIDENT: The Subjects Committee will now proceed to perform their proper functions; and I therefore adjourn this meeting till to-morrow, at 1 o'clock.

Half an hour later, when the Hall had been cleared, and the lamps lighted, the Subjects Committee met and sat until late. Next morning it re-assembled at 10 A.M., and sat until shortly before the re-assembling of the Congress.

## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, 27th December, 1890.

The Congress reassembled at 1.30 P.M.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, in appointing the members of the Subjects Committee, yesterday, two names were inadvertently omitted—the names of two delegates from Assam—Mr. Bipin Chundar Pal and Mr. Majumdar. I beg to propose that these gentlemen's names should, now, be duly entered in the list of the Subjects Committee.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT: In commencing the proceedings of to-day I have to make the announcement customary at all our Congresses as to certain rules to be observed in our procedure. It is absolutely necessary that some definite time should be allowed to the speakers, or the Congress might go on for ever. According to our established usage every mover of a resolution will be allowed ten minutes, and the seconders and supporters five minutes; and if speakers will only go straight to the point I am sure they will find that time sufficient. I will now call upon Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose to move the first resolution.

## EXPANSION AND REFORM OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

Mr. LAL MOHAN GHOSE (Calcutta): Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing for your acceptance the following resolution:—

“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.”

It seems to me, sir, that this new and modified Bill affirms all the great questions of principle upon which we are all agreed, and I venture to think that it stands a much better chance of receiving a favourable consideration at the hands of Parliament than the scheme embodied in Mr. Bradlaugh's original Bill. There are, I believe, certain points on which there prevails an almost absolute unanimity of opinion amongst the thinking and educated classes of our countrymen. We are all united in demanding that there should be some substantial expansion of our Supreme and Local Legislative Councils; and this Bill provides for that expansion by proposing to raise the number of members of the Governor-General's Council to something between forty and sixty, and that of the

Council of the various Lieutenant-Governors and Governors of Provinces to something between thirty-six and forty-eight. Now there is no particular magic in any given number; but it seems to me that this proposal is so reasonable and modest that no honest or candid critic can accuse us of

## DESIRING SUDDENLY TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE GOVERNMENT

of this country. (Cheers.) On the other hand, if there be any amongst us who think that the Bill does not go as far as it might have done in this direction, I would beg of them to remember that it is impossible for us to err on the side of moderation—(hear, hear)—and that the more cautiously these changes and reforms are introduced, the greater is the chance of their ultimate success. (Cheers.) The other point upon which we are also agreed is this, that there should be some fair share of popular representation in these Councils, and, further, that this popular representation should be based upon some application of the principle of election. Now, I have always been of opinion that, wholly irrespective of the capacities or qualifications of the persons whom the Government might nominate under the present system, even when the choice of the Government happens to fall, as I admit it does frequently fall, upon the very men whom we would ourselves be the first to elect—take, for example, the latest instance before us, the nomination by the Viceroy of our distinguished friend, Sir Romesh Chander Mitter—(cheers)—even in such cases I have always felt that it would greatly improve and strengthen the position of our Members of Council if they held their seats by the suffrages of their fellow-countrymen rather than by the grace and favour of the Government. With your permission, sir, I will read one short sentence from a memorial that was presented to Lord Hartington by a large deputation of English and Indian gentlemen, of whom I had the honour to be one, ten years ago, just after the great Liberal victory of 1880: “Although some of these members” (alluding to the nominated members of Council) “render useful services to the State, it is obvious that so long as all the members are nominated by the Government, however carefully the selection may be made, the members so appointed cannot feel or be credited with that independence which it is essential they should enjoy,

## NOR CAN THEIR OPINIONS POSSESS THE WEIGHT AND AUTHORITY

which belongs to the voice of representatives elected by the people.” That short sentence, I believe, expresses the unanimous opinion of us all—(cheers)—and for my part I am unable to conceive, the possibility even, of any differences of opinion upon this great question of principle. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, the question of representation is such a large one, and it is, moreover, so complicated by the existence among us of a variety of interests apparently conflicting with each other, which nevertheless have to be reconciled and safeguarded, that

we must all be prepared to admit that there is very considerable room for honest differences of opinion when you come to discuss any particular method or scheme whereby effect is to be given to those principles to which I have referred. We must bear in mind that in a matter like this we should be prepared to make large and generous concessions to each other. We should be prepared to give and take. We should be ready, even, to make large allowances for

THE UNREASONABLE PREJUDICES OF OUR POLITICAL  
OPONENTS,

whom we should constantly endeavour to conciliate and win over. Speaking for myself, and having regard to these considerations to which I have briefly adverted, I must frankly tell you that I venture to think that the present modified Bill is a great improvement upon its predecessor. As I said the other day at the Town Hall, at one of our meetings, I thought it my duty to abstain from any public criticism of that old Bill so long as it held the field; but now I am free to admit to you that the scheme of creating an Electoral College never commended itself to my judgment. I may be right or I may be wrong. I desire to speak with the utmost respect for those who may have been the authors of that scheme, and also for those who may still cherish some preference for it; but, in my humble judgment, it seemed to me to be neither a practicable nor a workable measure. I found no precedent for it in the country whose political institutions seemed to me to furnish the worthiest models for imitation, the country with which our own political destinies are inseparably intertwined. But, gentlemen, what is of much greater importance is this, that scheme was adversely criticised, not only by leading influential and friendly newspapers in this country, such as the *Statesman* and the *Indian Daily News*, but we have the authority of Mr. Bradlaugh himself, who, in his letter to the British Committee of the Congress, tells us that in England the Bill as read a first time has, with some exceptions, been disapproved by the press of all shades of opinion, and has not been very warmly supported by any considerable number of members of the House. Under these circumstances I myself believe, and sincerely hope and trust, that you will all be of opinion, in spite of any private predilections of your own (because we must be prepared to accept what there is anything like a prospect of getting), that

MR. BRADLAUGH HAS EXERCISED A VERY WISE DISCRETION.

in recasting the Bill in its present shape, so as to make it more acceptable to the press, to the people, and to the Parliament, of England. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, if this Bill passes into law, as I hope it may, the duty will be cast upon the Government of India of framing a scheme for election subject to the final control and approval of Parliament. And it seems to me that there is at least one great advantage in thus casting this duty upon the Government itself. We have in our midst, as you are aware, a variety of communities who, being in a minority in point of numbers, are, or at least some few members of them profess themselves to be, greatly alarmed at any proposal to introduce the elective principle into the institutions of this country. Well, gentlemen, these communities, or, more properly speaking, such of the leaders of those communities as have been sounding the

note of alarm, can hardly profess to apprehend anything like these dangers from a scheme to be drawn up by the Government of India itself, which surely may be trusted to safeguard to the fullest extent the legitimate rights and interests of all the minorities in this country. (Cheers.) On the other hand, the Hindu community all over India who form the great majority in the population of this country, ought to be

PREPARED TO MAKE VERY LARGE AND GENEROUS  
CONCESSIONS:

they ought to be prepared to have the largest amount of toleration for those of their brethren, for those of their Muhammadan or Parsee or European fellow subjects, who may fancy that their own special interests are in any way likely to be threatened or invaded. Let us have a spirit of entire toleration; let there be no attempt whatever at dictation; and, above all, let there be no abuse or condemnation, whether of individuals or of classes, simply because, as yet, they are unable to agree with us upon every point of our political programme. (Cheers.) I think if you approach this great question in that generous spirit there is nothing that can prevent the ultimate triumph of the great cause we have at heart. All the signs of the times seem to be entirely favourable. I find gathered together under this great pavilion representatives of all nations, of all communities, inhabiting this great country—a sight which, only a few years ago, nobody would have dreamed of as possible. We have, across the seas in England,

A BRITISH PEOPLE WILLING AND ANXIOUS TO EXTEND  
TO US THE RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP.

Of late they have given us the sincerest, the strongest, the most convincing, proofs of their sympathy. British constituencies have emphatically endorsed the great doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation, the doctrine of the equal rights of all Her Majesty's subjects; they have endorsed them by going so far as even to invite some of your own fellow-countrymen to stand as their parliamentary representatives. Who among us would have thought twenty, or even ten, years ago, that such a thing was within the bounds of possibility? I ask you, gentlemen, if these things are not sufficient to cheer us, to encourage us to go on labouring firmly, generously, and steadfastly, through good report and through evil report, until we have at last succeeded in convincing the people and Parliament of England, that the reforms we ask for are just, moderate, and legitimate, and calculated greatly to improve the administration of this country and to broaden and strengthen the foundations of the British Empire in India. (Cheers.) Gentlemen,

OUR MOTTO IS REFORM AND NOT REVOLUTION

—(hear, hear)—and my own experience of the just and generous instincts of the English people convinces me that a measure which, like this Bill of Mr. Bradlaugh's, proposes to concede to us some share in the management of our own affairs and some voice in the administration of our own country, some representation in our Councils, cannot fail to commend itself to the approval of the English nation. (Cheers.)

Mr. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras), seconded the motion. He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen, within the five minutes allotted to me I propose to undertake the task,

not of amplifying, but of abridging and bringing to a focus, the position to which this question has advanced. It is said that a poet's best thoughts are his first thoughts; and it so happens that the first thoughts of the Congress on this question appear to have been its best thoughts. If you will look at the Bill, which is submitted to our consideration, and compare its provisions with the resolution adopted at the First Congress, you will agree with me that the Congress deserves the praise bestowed upon the poet. The Bill before us is thus briefly described in a report which has been drawn up: "The electorate to be constituted for the purposes of representation is not defined. Mr. Bradlaugh has merely indicated in the Bill that the franchise should be conferred on at least two per cent. of the population of this country. Whether those who possess the franchise are to elect directly the members of Council or are to have intermediate representation through an electoral college or colleges, or municipal bodies, or in any other manner, is left undetermined by the Bill itself.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THIS COUNTRY WILL FRAME  
THE RULES,

and they will be subject to the sanction of Parliament. The people of India will have the opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the rules so framed, and we may well hope that the sanction of Parliament will not be given to rules that do not command the general assent of the people here." That, in brief, is the position of the Bill. If you will look at the resolution adopted on this subject by the First Congress you will find that it only advocated and emphasized the admission of a considerable number of elected members into the various Councils. But after the First Congress it so happened that there was a howl raised that the proposition was vague, that there was no system propounded by it, that it was very easy to assert that a certain principle ought to be given effect to, but that the task of systematizing the method and giving effect to it was the real difficulty. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it was that the Congress did what was really not of much immediate practical use. We were tempted to go into particulars. At the Second Congress, by resolution we, no doubt, affirmed and emphasized the resolutions arrived at at the previous Congress, but we went further and set forth in what manner the electorate might be constituted, and we went even further for the purpose of making clear what, in our opinion, the various powers of the Councils ought to be, and so on. That, I considered at the time, and I still consider, and am glad to say we shall all now consider, was a work of supererogation. We abdicated a perfectly impregnable position

FOR THE PURPOSE OF SATISFYING AN UNREASONING HOWL;

though, inasmuch as no notice was taken of the resolution first adopted, probably we were not far wrong in considering that we might make a move to attract attention on the part of those who were apparently unwilling to hear. With that view it was that at the Second Congress an amplified system was submitted and adopted. In the Third and Fourth Congresses we proceeded no further. We merely contented ourselves with re-affirming the resolution adopted at the Second Congress. But at the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses we equally enunciated the principles on which we relied; and, though we endeavoured to gratify the demand for practical suggestions that was raised, still our voice was as a cry

in the wilderness—we were, as it seemed, only beating the air. At that juncture Mr. Bradlaugh came to our help. No question, be it ever so good, will be taken up by persons in authority until it is brought within the domain of practical politics. That was our position before Mr. Bradlaugh came to our help. Before the last Congress came off, however, Mr. Bradlaugh drew up a Bill on the basis of the Calcutta, Madras, and Allahabad resolutions, which were practically one, and it became pretty clear that before long the Bill would be introduced into Parliament. That was an immense step, and a very useful step, in bringing the question within the domain of practical politics, for, as we saw later, as soon as that step was actually taken

IN CAME THE GOVERNMENT WITH A BILL OF ITS OWN;

the Bill known as Lord Cross's Bill. To return: Mr. Bradlaugh drew up a Bill in accordance with the resolutions arrived at by the Congress in previous years. Before the last Congress was held that Bill was widely circulated, and it was sent to the various Congress Committees in this country. It was carefully looked into, and a scheme was submitted going into further particulars. Now that there was somebody to listen to us, now that there was somebody to give the matter a push in the proper direction, it was felt that, having gone so far, we must complete our work; and the last Congress adopted a resolution still further amplifying previous resolutions. Then Mr. Bradlaugh drew up and introduced a Bill in accordance with this our latest resolution; Lord Cross at once came forward with his Bill and blocked this Bill, while our supporters in Parliament blocked Lord Cross's Bill, and nothing came of either. Now

A FRESH START HAD TO BE MADE,

and it became necessary to pause and consider whether it was worth our while, whether it was wise, to adhere to the position we had taken up by the Bombay resolution. That resolution set forth in some detail a definite scheme for giving effect to the principles in regard to which we were all agreed, and, though, as a matter of fact, we only offered this as a suggestion, those opposed to us seemed to fancy that the principles were dependent on the appropriateness of the details suggested, and everybody began to pick holes in them. Destructive criticism was to be found in abundance, but unfortunately no practical suggestions for improving our avowedly tentative and suggestive scheme. The great merit of the present Bill is that there can be no longer any more destructive criticism upon it. It erects an independent platform on which every one, who wishes to be heard, must come with some constructive criticism, and it is on that platform that the question will have to be fought out. The question is

BETWEEN GOVERNMENTAL SELECTION AND POPULAR ELECTION.

If election by the people be accepted, then there arises the further question whether the election is to be direct or indirect. And next, if it is to be indirect, is it to be by the bodies already existing in the municipalities or in any other way? All these are questions which remain to be discussed in the future, when this present Bill establishing our main principles has passed the two Houses of Parliament. Therefore, gentlemen, in adopting this proposition we give up no principle that we have enunciated in the past. We only abstain from reiterating

former suggestions as to the methods in which effect might be given to those principles. One word more before I retire. This is the year 1891. Lord Ripon's scheme of Local Self-Government was introduced in 1882. A year before that Mysore witnessed the birth of the germ of a system of Local Self-Government, called, by courtesy, a representative assembly. That so-called representative assembly has been greatly modified and improved during the past year, has in fact become, now, a reality; and I hope that this coming year will witness a similar advance, where we are concerned, to that which took place in 1882 in India over what had been done in Mysore in 1881. (Cheers.)

MR. C. V. NAYADU (Central Provinces):—Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates,—It is a great pleasure to me to attend this huge gathering and grand assembly, consisting of various castes, creeds, and colours, hailing from all parts of the country, to discuss the political grievances of this vast Empire, and to submit its deliberations to the Imperial Parliament, which is the home of freedom and the abode of justice. This gathering is an indication of the tendency of the public mind to appreciate the importance of this national movement, which is the surest guarantee of the progress and liberty of the Indian people; and Progress and Liberty are, as you know, the great characteristics of the British Nation, and the means of satisfying in the purest form the cravings of the Indian mind. Sir, I come as a humble delegate from the Central Provinces, and I hope I shall be able to do my duty honestly, as a delegate, by truly representing the views of my electors in those Provinces. In fulfilment of this duty, I have come here to support the resolution which embodies the adoption of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, and I do so most heartily. During my sojourn in England, where I remained for three years, studying at the Cambridge University, I had the pleasure of submitting a similar resolution to the Indian Civil Service Society at Cambridge, by which it was carried by a good majority. (Cheers.) I also submitted and succeeded in carrying a proposal of a like nature in the Hardwick Society, consisting of lawyers, in London, where our esteemed friend and orator, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, lately delivered an address. I may further state that I had the pleasure of submitting a Bill, embodying the same principles, to the Paddington Parliament. Perhaps, some members present do not know what the Paddington Parliament is. Let me inform them that

#### LONDON BOASTS OF LOCAL IMITATION PARLIAMENTS,

which are formed on the model of the Imperial Parliament. It was my good fortune to represent at the Paddington Parliament the highest Indian official, the Secretary of State for India—(Cheers and laughter),—and in that capacity I had the satisfaction of carrying the Bill through the various readings, after a strong opposition from the Conservative party, without, at the latest stage, a single dissentient voice; and I earnestly hope that this (Mr. Bradlaugh's) Bill will be carried with the same enthusiasm and unanimity in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. (Cheers.) I am sorry my limit of five minutes prevents me from entering into the details of the resolution, but I hear the warning bell of the President, and as it has been fully and ably dealt with by my predecessors, the proposer and the seconder, it will suffice if I content myself with very heartily supporting it. (Cheers.)

MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE (Bombay): Mr. President and gentlemen,—You have all no doubt come to the conclusion that the Bill which is at present proposed is a very good one, and that we were, perhaps, not quite right in giving support to the elaborate scheme agreed upon at the last Congress. But I think

#### THAT SCHEME HAS DONE US VERY GOOD SERVICE,

and that service is this. We have been blamed for being led by the nose, as it were, by the people of Bengal; but it appeared by our procedure last year that Madras was to prevail over all others. In giving our support to the principle of this Bill, we, of course, admit that there may arise a variety of opinions as to the details of the scheme that will have to be worked out in giving effect to its provisions. What we all insist upon is this: that the rules and regulations which the Bill says the Government of India will frame shall be published beforehand in this country, so as to give us the advantage of being able to criticise them before the Government of India passes them, and sends them for the approval of the Secretary of State in England, and the Houses of Parliament. Substantially,

#### OF ALL THAT WE WANTED, WE HAVE THE GERMS IN THIS BILL.

We accept it confessedly as only an instalment, but an instalment which we should gratefully receive. The Bill as it stands may be open to those general objections which have been taken from time to time to the introduction of representative institutions into this country; but I can assert, without fear of contradiction, that this Bill offers to us no big jump in the dark. It demands no parliamentary institutions. No doubt it will bring into the Council some educated people elected by the masses at large, or by those on whom the franchise will be conferred; but the charge that the Congress is worked in the interests of educated people only is quite unfounded. We see that the present nominations the Government is making are chiefly from the educated people in India; and if we choose from the educated people we think we can do it better than the Government themselves. (Hear, hear.)

✓ PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (North-West Provinces): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure to be allowed to speak in support of this resolution, not only because it is the most important of all the resolutions before the Congress, but also because I have always taken the keenest interest in the discussion of the subject of the resolution. You very well know that it is the position created by Lord Cross's Bill that has necessitated the introduction of the new Bill by Mr. Bradlaugh, and all that you are now required to do is to express your approval, and record your support of that new Bill. There is, no doubt, a good deal of difference between this Bill and the previous one; but, as has been pointed out by other speakers,

#### THE DIFFERENCE LIES, NOT IN PRINCIPLE, BUT IN MATTERS OF DETAIL;

and so long as the principle is assured, we should be satisfied with any, though a very modest, instalment of reform. (Cheers.) Let us hope, however, gentlemen, that while we are thus willing to be satisfied with even so

modest a measure of reform as that embodied in Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, those with whom it lies to accept or reject our proposals, will lend a more willing and kindly ear to our representations of this year than they have hitherto done. (Cheers.) It must at the same time be clearly understood that it is not because we think that our demands in previous years were immoderate or unreasonable that we accept Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill. We have ever been moderate in our demands, as moderate as the circumstances of the country and the situation we were in required us to be. The one consideration that has induced us to accept Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill is a desire to conciliate [so far as may be in our power, without, of course, sacrificing the principle we have been contending for] those of our opponents who think the reform we have been seeking might lead to undesirable results. I hope that no reasonable man will any longer hesitate in giving the Bill his best support, and that Parliament will soon pass it into law. (Cheers.) If it be otherwise, gentlemen, we shall all, we and other civilized countries, be greatly surprised and disappointed; for, gentlemen, what is it that we ask for? Is it not for a limited and qualified—an extremely limited and qualified—application of that principle of representation in the administration of this country, which the genius of the English nation has, for six hundred long years, recognised to be that best calculated to make governments good, and the governed happy and prosperous? Six hundred years ago, when the victory of Lewes had laid the despotism of King John low, and England breathed the air of liberty under Earl Simon de Montfort, an English poet well expressed the theory of governments. Said he: "Let the community of the realm advise, and

LET IT BE KNOWN WHAT THE GENERALITY, TO WHOM  
THEIR OWN LAWS ARE BEST KNOWN, THINK ON THE MATTER.

They who are ruled by the laws know those laws best. They who make daily trial of them are best acquainted with them, and since it is their own affairs which are at stake, they will take more care and will act with an eye to their own peace. It concerns the community to see what sort of men ought justly to be chosen for the weal of the realm." Ever since that time this has been the guiding principle of English political existence. Englishmen have extolled it in theory and maintained it in practice at the sacrifice of a large amount of treasure and life. They have carried it with them wherever they have gone, and the nations of Europe, long held in bondage by their despots, have learned it at the feet of England and thrived under it. (Cheers.) Englishmen rightly feel a pride in having been

THE APOSTLES OF THIS POLITICAL CHRISTIANITY,

and Mr. Gladstone expressed a widely prevalent belief, when speaking at the Princes' Hall in May last, he said: "It often happens in the counsels of Providence that each nation, or some particular nation, is appointed to work out great social, political, or economical, problems for the world at large. It has been given to this country, almost exclusively, to work out for the benefit of the world at large enormous advantages. In the adoption of that system (the system of representation) we long stood alone, but one after another the great countries of the world have come in, and the nations sprung from our loins have given further countenance and currency to our

example, and now the man would be deemed mad who should denounce the system of popular representation." (Cheers.) But I need not dilate further on this point. Every one, if, as Mr. Gladstone says, he is not mad, or (permit me to add) if he has not become degenerated by contact with the worst phases of oriental thought, will admit the soundness of the principle. And it is only for a partial introduction of this principle into the administration of our country that we have been so long, and hitherto vainly, praying. (Cheers.) I will now briefly deal with those objections which have been brought against the introduction of that principle here. The principal point of difference between ourselves and the Government in the matter of the reform of the Councils is as regards the manner of appointing the members of the Councils. The Government seem determined to retain the power exclusively of appointing all the members in their own hands. We think it absolutely necessary for the cause of good government, that the people should have the privilege of electing, at least, some of the members. We discussed, most of you may remember, this question very fully last year, and I did hope that nothing further need be said to prove the grave disadvantages of leaving the power of nominating all the members of the Councils entirely in the hands of Government, and the necessity and expediency of allowing the people some voice in the appointment of some, at least, of those who are officially described as the representatives of the people. But I am sorry to find that there are still people who fail to understand the question. Possibly, gentlemen, it will be enough for me to mention, in this connection, that even the *Times* of London—perhaps, at present—for

IF THE RADICALS GET INTO POWER IT WILL BE RADICAL  
FORTHWITH

—the most Conservative of papers in existence—has denounced the system of nomination. In commenting on Lord Cross's Bill, the *Times* said: "There is no doubt force in the argument that nomination is not calculated to give the Government the advantage of contact with some highly important factors in Indian society; no Government is likely to select as its advisers persons conspicuous for their political opposition, and thus the Viceroy's choice is almost certain to be hampered on the side where, perhaps, information at first hand is most needed." But that is not all. If the Government in England can seldom be expected to choose men conspicuous for their political opposition as councillors, the Government in India are even more unfavourably situated in this respect. Our Government officials,—the district officials, for it is through them that the Government chooses Members for the Council—are much less in touch with the people than are the officials in England with the people of that country. How—where, as here, gentlemen, the great majority of respectable people abstain from visiting officials, because they have to

LEAVE THEIR SHOES OUTSIDE THE BUNGALOW, AND THEIR  
CARRIAGES OUTSIDE THE COMPOUND—

can we expect the Government officials, the chief authorities through whom recommendations for councillorships are made, to know and select those persons best fitted to help the Government in the work of legislation, and good government? If, therefore, gentlemen, Government wish to increase the number of members of the Council

without giving us the right of electing some of them, let them not extend that cruel mercy to us. It will be the unkindest service the Government could render to the people. Is it necessary for me to tell you why? We have been complaining, as it were, that our homes and hearths are not properly protected, and that with the present chowkidars our homes and property are not safe. We have prayed for an increase of their number and for some voice in their appointment, that we may have some control over them; and how does the Government respond to our prayer? It wishes to increase the number of chowkidars without giving us even a shadow of control over them. It proposes to arm them with very fine weapons, the weapons of interpellation and the right of discussing the budget; but it gives us no guarantee as to how those weapons will be used. When you wanted those weapons to be placed in the hands of persons whom you can trust, Government wishes to place them in the hands of men on whom you have no reliance, and who, for all that we know, might turn those weapons against us to do us injury thereby. (Cheers.) It is all very well for the Government to wish to nominate half a dozen more members to the Council, so that, whenever any measure is brought forward, whenever any fresh tax is to be imposed, and the organs of public opinion loudly protest that the country is poor and unable to bear further burthens, these nominees of the Government may be trotted forth in Council to say that

THE COUNTRY WAS NEVER SO HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS.

It would be like those chowkidars saying, when we complain of our property being robbed: "You prefer this complaint so that you may escape taxation. You have not lost your property. It has not been stolen. You have yourself removed it to some other place to make a plea for escaping rightful taxation." The additional nominated members will be very much like those additional chowkidars over whom we shall have no control whatever—(hear, hear)—who will in no way be accountable to us for their conduct. Do you think, under these circumstances, there was no justification for the remark of one whom we highly respect, the greatest friend of India and England yet born, need I name Mr. Hume—(loud cheers)—when he said regarding the proposals of Government, that

WHEN WE ASKED FOR BREAD, THE GOVERNMENT CAST A STONE IN OUR FACES?

I am afraid I have taken up too much of your time. (Cries of "Go on.")—I thank you for the concession, which I hope will be confirmed by the President. I will not dwell further on the disadvantages of the system of nomination. I will now briefly deal with another important point, namely, what some of the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and particularly the Marquis of Salisbury, have said to be the chief obstacle in the way of introducing the principle of representation in the administration of this country. They have said that no constituency could be found in India to which the privilege of electing members could be extended. It seems to me that nothing could be sadder than to see the Premier of England occupying the high position that he does, and the Secretary of State for India putting forth such an utterly false and groundless plea, against the introduction of the principle of representation in this country. It was

to be expected that having had such long parliamentary careers, and having lived the greater part of their lives in England, the home of parliamentary institutions, they would know that

CONSTITUENCIES ARE CREATED NOT BY THE PEOPLE BUT BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The elements which go to make up a constituency no doubt exist; but until the Government chooses to confer the franchise on those elements, no constituency can possibly be created. But then they have the hardihood, I had almost said the audacity, to deny that there exist elements in India sufficient to form constituencies in this country. There also they show their utter ignorance—ignorance which, at any rate, is not pardonable in such men when they discuss political questions of grave importance—of the history of their own country and Parliament. You will, I am sure, agree with me, when I say that

NO ELECTORATES THAT MIGHT BE FORMED HERE, COULD BE HALF AS BAD

as those which existed in the Anti-Reform days in England, before the period of the passing of the Reform Bill. You have all heard of the close and rotten boroughs. But close and rotten as they were, even they did excellent service to the English nation by returning some of the brightest and most illustrious men of England to Parliament. Lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Granville, the Marquis of Wellesley, Mr. Canning, Lord Brougham, Lord Grey, and a host of others like them, were first elected by close and rotten boroughs. Mr. Sheridan was returned by a constituency of only seventy electors, and Mr. Wyndham by one hundred and forty-five electors. The great Lord Chatham was first returned by Old Sarum; and his son, the renowned Mr. Pitt, the great parliamentary leader and minister, was returned by a constituency numbering only one hundred electors. These close and rotten boroughs, therefore, rendered very good service to the country. It is anything but probable that these men would have found their way to Parliament, and their valuable services secured to their country if

THE ONLY ENTRANCE TO IT HAD BEEN IN THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

How could the Government have known their talents and abilities, and would it have been so saintly as to select men who were noted for their independence and their hatred of all but what was righteous and just? (Cheers.) I have already received, gentlemen, a note of warning from the President that I should not go further; but I hope he will permit me to say one word with regard to another objection put forth by Viscount Cross, and Lord Salisbury, in their speeches on the second reading of the Official Indian Reform Bill. Said the Secretary of State for India, "As was well said by the late Sir Henry Maine in speaking of India: 'There is no more resemblance between a Punjabee and a Bengalee, between an Indian of Hindustan and an Indian of Malabar, than there is between an Englishman and a Roumanian, or between a Spaniard and a Swede.'" The Marquis of Salisbury added: "The difficulty of introducing the elective principle, largely dependent upon the peculiarities of Eastern minds, is also, to a great extent, as the noble Lord pointed out, due to the fact that we have to deal

with a deeply divided population. Representative government answers admirably so long as all those who are represented desire much the same thing and have interests tolerably analogous; but it is put to an intolerable strain when it rests upon a community divided into two sections, one of which is bitterly hostile to the other and desirous of opposing it upon all occasions." I think, gentlemen, this grand assembly, composed of men of all the different provinces of India, is a living refutation of their lordships' objection. (Cheers.)

IT IS ABSOLUTELY UNTRUE

to say that the two great sections of our community are utterly hostile to each other and desirous of opposing each other on all occasions. Their interests are not only "tolerably analogous," but identical in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand that could come before the councils. The absence of a common faith, which Lords Cross and Salisbury considered a valid excuse for not introducing the elective principle here, is purely imaginary. The Indian peoples, no doubt, follow different religious persuasions, but there exists amongst them a common faith which is

"Taught by no priest, but by their beating hearts,  
Faith to each other; the fidelity  
Of fellow-wanderers in a desert place,  
Who share the same dire thirst and therefore share  
The scanty water; the fidelity  
Of men whose pulses leap with kindred fire,  
Who in the flash of eyes, the clasp of hands,  
The speech that even in lying tells the truth  
Of heritage, inevitable as past deeds,  
Nay, in the silent bodily presence feel  
The mystic stirring of a common life,  
Which makes the many one." (Loud cheers.)

I think, gentlemen, we have shown all the most important objections brought forward by Lords Cross and Salisbury, and their like, to be untenable, and I earnestly hope that even they will lend their support to the new Bill introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh. (Cheers.) ✓

PUNDIT BISHEN NARYAN DHAR (Oudh): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—The discussion has hitherto been confined to the matter of principle involved in the resolution; but I think it is well, after the discussion of the principle of representation, that the delegates should also give their opinion upon the different points of detail, which are nearly as important as the principle itself. It was well said by Mr. Cairnes last evening that to-day's debate will be read with great interest by the Houses of Parliament, and I think Parliament should know the opinions of the delegates, not only upon the principle of election, but also upon certain matters of detail. That portion of the Bombay scheme which has excited the greatest amount of attention and public criticism in my part of India, is the clause providing for

THE REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES

—meaning, of course, Muhammadan minorities—upon the Legislative Councils. I wish that this portion of the subject had been discussed by my friend Mr. Hasan Ali, who is absent to-day. I think it is as well that the Congress, and also the Houses of Parliament, should be in a position to know the sentiments of at least most of my friends in Oudh and the North West Provinces on the subject. I rejoice that the Congress has this year omitted the details; and that even the clause for the representation

of minorities, which does appear in the present Bill, is in a very mild form as compared with that embodied in the previous Bill. I always thought that

THAT MINORITIES' CLAUSE WAS A MISTAKE.

I object to the principle of it on two grounds. I object to it because I think that what are called

HINDU INTERESTS AND MUHAMMADAN INTERESTS HAVE REALLY NO EXISTENCE IN POLITICAL MATTERS.

(Cheers.) The provision in the Bombay scheme was simply to give satisfaction to those of our critics who thought that the interests of minorities would be sacrificed unless there was some express provision in the scheme itself. But, besides that, I think that the Legislative Council is a body where national interests ought to be represented, and where all sectarian interests, and class bias, should be excluded. The object of a National Assembly is only to discuss those matters which are common to the whole Indian nation. On principle, therefore, I object to any clause for the representation of minorities. But, I object on another ground also. I am glad that the Congress has left these matters of detail in the hands of Government, because it will save the Congress from a good deal of odium, and

THROW UPON THE GOVERNMENT THE ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY

of adjusting the conflicting interests, so-called, of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities. But, gentlemen, from this change of front, if I may so call it, in the National Congress, we must not expect too much. We must not think that it will conciliate our official opponents, or that it will in any measure soften the hearts of Sir Syed Ahmed and his friends. There was a time when Sir Syed Ahmed talked unceasingly of the unity of Hindus and Muhammadans; but now, like Timon of Athens, he has nothing but curses and imprecations on his lips for those who, in the political sphere at least, are trying to remove all invidious distinctions of colour and creed. I do not blame him, because I think he and his friends are, in this matter, mere tools with which a certain section of the official class works out its own designs. I feel deeply the responsibility of my words, and I do not hesitate to say, from what I know in my experience in the United Provinces, that whatever we hear about Muhammadan opposition to political reform, and about the antagonism of Hindu interests and Muhammadan interests, is due to the deliberate policy adopted by certain members, at any rate, of the governing classes. (Cheers.) It is a serious charge to bring against officers of Government, that they want to keep the people disunited, and seek to follow the low, evil, maxim: "Divide and rule." But I am prepared to show, from the writings of Anglo-Indian statesmen who have held high positions in this country, that some of them, at any rate, do believe that

RACE ANTAGONISMS AND RELIGIOUS RIVALRIES ARE THE CHIEF FACTORS

that contribute to the strength and permanence of British rule in this country. (Cheers and cries of "Shame!") On this point I will quote the words of Sir John Strachey in a recent lecture on India: "So far as any elements of political danger from Muhammadans exist, they are completely nullified by the fact that the feelings of all true



Muhammadans towards idolatrous Hindus are far more hostile than towards Christians; and any religious outburst on their part would be met by Hindus with equal animosity and greater strength. The truth plainly is that the existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better class of Muhammadans are already a source of strength, and not of weakness, and a continuously wise policy might, I believe, make them strong and important supporters of our power. They constitute a small but energetic minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours, and who, under no conceivable circumstances, would prefer Hindu dominion to our own." I think these words very clearly show what Sir John Strachey means. He means that the existence side by side of two hostile races in India is a strong point in its Government, and it follows as a matter of course, that the strong point ought to be taken advantage of by the Government, and that

THESE ANIMOSITIES OUGHT TO BE KEPT UP, AND KINDLED,  
IF NEEDED BE,

to make the British rule more secure. (Loud cries of "Shame, Shame!") I call that an immoral doctrine. (Cheers.) I call it a shameful policy for those who have faith in the teachings of Christianity. At the same time it cannot be denied that

THAT IS THE DELIBERATE POLICY OF SOME SECTIONS OF  
OUR INDIAN BUREAUCRACY.

In the United Provinces we see the fruit of the seed that has thus been sown. This fruit is bloodshed and bitterness in the United Provinces; and in recent years, the religious disputes between Muhammadans and Hindus are, in the mind of every well-wisher of his country, a cause of regret and shame. For my part I attribute them entirely to the policy which the Government, or at any rate some of its component parts, has adopted towards this country. I know that Lord Lansdowne has administered a gentle rebuke to the contending parties, and Sir Auckland Colvin has also said something to the same effect; but can you believe that those words will have any effect upon the public mind so long as the policy of numbers of the local representatives of the Government is to maintain these differences as among the chief factors which contribute to its permanence? We all know that those disputes in an aggravated form are of recent origin. Ten years ago they hardly existed. Even in Muhammadan times, Hindus and Muhammadans lived together peaceably. Even in times when, according to Sir James Stephen, the Muhammadans proposed to everybody the alternative of the Koran or the sword,

HINDUS ENJOYED EQUAL RIGHTS WITH MUHAMMADANS,  
HELD THE HIGHEST POSTS, AND GOVERNED LARGE  
SECTIONS OF MUHAMMADANS

But it appears to me that the Government of India, for it is in the last analysis the Government which must be held responsible for the acts of its subordinates, the Government of India, I say, has adopted a different policy. I think that Government may be reminded of a certain fact in the history of India. There was a time when India was divided into small sects, when the Muhammadans stood aloof from the conquered people, when the doctrines of religious toleration and free dis-

cussion were unknown. Enough time had not elapsed to mitigate the existing differences. At that stage there appeared a man who was destined to be the greatest Muhammadan ruler that India ever had. He adopted a new policy, he tried

THE GRAND AND SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT OF BASING  
HIS RULE NOT UPON THE FEARS OF THE PEOPLE, BUT UPON  
THEIR AFFECTIONS.

(Cheers.) He ignored all class and religious differences, and proclaimed for the first time, in this country, the doctrine of universal toleration; and by his wise, noble, and far-seeing policy, he raised the Mogul Empire to a power and a glory that excited the envy and admiration of the world. Is that noble policy of Akbar to be reversed by the British Government? Are the British people, who are "the heirs of all the ages," and "in the foremost files of time," going to reverse that policy and adopt a different one? "Divide and rule" may be a good principle for a time; but when a higher and a purer moral consciousness dawns upon the minds of our rulers, I believe they will see that that power alone is secure which rests upon the affections and the will of the nation. (Cheers.)

LALA HUKUM CHAND (Punjab): Brothers,—I have purposely used the term brothers, because we are all brothers; whatever religion we may follow, whatever calling we may pursue, whatever part of the world we may inhabit, we are all brothers; our political interests are united, and we should be one—(cheers)—one in the interests of the public and in the welfare of the country. I thank the President for permitting me to speak in support of this resolution already proposed, seconded, and supported by eminent speakers of this learned country. It will be well if the Bill in its present form should pass. The proverb says that something is better than nothing. We shall not gain all we want by the adoption of this Bill, but in the end our object will be achieved. It is said that India is not a nation. I maintain that

INDIA IS A NATION,

and this assembly is a proof of my assertion. Men have gathered together here from all the different parts of the Empire; men, adherents of all the different religions and creeds of this vast Empire, and why? To promote the welfare of their country, and to ask the Government to do something for the prosperity of their nation. We make no distinction of province, creed, or people on this our national platform. All are one. (Cheers.) I gladly support this resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. V. KRISHNA SWAMI IYER (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—I make no preface and offer no apology for my presence here. I will simply state a few facts in connection with Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, and then retire. The Congress has been frequently charged with being immoderate in its demands. I will show you that that charge is absolutely without foundation. Take the first point. Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill says that one-third of the members of the Legislative Councils, at least, ought to be elected. Let me ask you to remember what the resolution was that you passed at the Congress in Calcutta four years ago. You then said that you would have not less than one-half of the members elected, and Mr. Bradlaugh in his Bill, presented at the beginning of this year, said that out of the eighty mem-

bers he wanted that forty should be elected—a proportion of one-half. In the present Bill the proportion insisted on is only one-third. Is that not a proof of the moderation of the Congress? Take another instance. Mr. Bradlaugh first asked that the Viceroy's Council should consist of eighty members, and the Lieutenant Governor's of seventy-six members; but in the present Bill it is said that the Viceroy's Council should consist of between forty and sixty members, and the Lieutenant Governor's of thirty-six. Is not that again a proof of the moderation of the Congress? In the first Bill it was provided that whenever there was a difference of opinion between the Executive and the Legislative Council, when the Legislative Council carried a measure against the wishes of the Executive Council, the Viceroy might veto it; but he was bound to state the reasons, which were to be submitted to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. There is no mention of that in the present Bill: there is no necessity for the Viceroy to state the reasons for overruling the decision of the majority of the Legislative Council. This abandonment of that portion of the scheme, justified by political prudence, as one means, in Mr. Bradlaugh's opinion, of recommending the measure to the British electorate, is I claim

A FURTHER AND SIGNAL PROOF OF THE MODERATION OF  
THE CONGRESS.

(Cheers.) But I do not wish it to go forth and be understood in England that we accept every proposition of this Bill. There are some portions to which we cannot give acceptance, and to which we desire to draw the attention of Mr. Bradlaugh and of the British electors. It is said in the Bill that one-third of the members of Councils, Provincial or Imperial, at least, shall be elected, and not more than one-half. I think, and my friends who agree with me upon the matter think, that

THERE SHOULD BE NO MAXIMUM LIMIT IMPOSED.

Not that we claim that more than one-half, say three-fourths or four-fifths, should be elected, but that it should be left to the discretion of the Government of India, the minimum being fixed, to extend the number from time to time as they might desire. (Cheers.) That is a matter upon which I should like to have a distinct pronouncement before the resolution is passed. Then there is another point. The original Bill stated that the tenure of office of every member of the Council should be three years. In the present Bill, although three years is the term of office of a member of the Local Councils, the tenure of office of the Viceroy's and Lieutenant-Governor's Council, is only two years. (Cries of "No, No. You misunderstand the Bill.") Well, that is how I interpret the draft, and I ask you to consider whether it is not desirable that a member of the Viceroy's Council, not merely for the sake of uniformity with local Councils, but on the score of principle, should hold his seat for three years, in order that he may be able to render good service by means of the experience he has acquired in the Council. Is two years a sufficient period? (Cries of "But you are wrong, the Bill provides three years for all.") If it be so I am satisfied, but that is not how I read it. Then it is provided, in one of the clauses, that the sanction of Parliament has to be obtained to any rules passed by the Viceroy with reference to interpellation and the discussion of the Budget in his own Council; but

Local Councils may make rules subject to the sanction of the Viceroy, and it is not necessary that they should be brought before Parliament for its sanction. I do not think you would allow such a statement to remain in the Bill. (Cries of "There is no such statement.") I think it would be the unanimous sense of the meeting that there ought to be no difference in the matter of interpellation and the discussion of the Budget as between the Viceroy's Council and the Local and Legislative Councils. (Hear, hear. "But you are wrong.") Well, if that is not the intention of the Bill, then in Section 2, after the words, "and any rule made" you must insert the words "or sanctioned." To return to the charge of want of moderation. Look at a province which is directly under the control of the Government of India—the province of Mysore. That province

HAS HAD A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY FOR THE LAST  
TEN YEARS.

In the year 1881 the Dewan of Mysore created the nucleus of a representative assembly. It did not possess political privileges, but it had the right of stating grievances to the Maharaja. Last year, I believe, the Dewan of Mysore made a new and important departure with regard to the constitution of that assembly. As the arrangement now stands the franchise is restricted to persons having a certain property qualification—the payment of one hundred rupees to the Government; but Local Boards and Municipalities are also entitled to elect a certain number of members. The persons elected in each district meet in the district itself, and they elect representatives to attend the representative assembly in Mysore, and that assembly has a right to put any question it likes to the Dewan and the Maharaja, and is entitled to receive an answer. That assembly has been created in a province which has not received the benefit of a liberal education to the same extent as the provinces directly under the control of England, and has enjoyed this privilege in its original form for a considerable time; and statesmen ruling over that country have testified to the wisdom of the further advance made by the present Dewan. I should like to read one short paragraph from the speech of the late Dewan, Mr. C. Ranga Charlu, C. I. E., delivered on the 26th of October, 1882, to the Mysore Representative Assembly. He said: "If the spread of any high degree of education among the great mass of the people were to be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*, we may have to wait for ever; meanwhile,

EVERY YEAR UNDER AN AUTOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT  
WILL FIND THE PEOPLE LESS FIT

for representative institutions. The sprinkling of educated men who are sure to be found in these representative bodies will serve for all purposes of leading and guiding, but what is required in the great body of the representatives is common sense and practical views, which are sure to be possessed by men of ordinary knowledge engaged in industrial and other useful occupations." It was not, you see, that the people should all of them be educated: it was not that there should be a large proportion of the people educated before they were entitled to have conferred upon them the privilege of electing members to the Legislative Council. The mere fact that there is a considerable body of the people, not necessarily a large percentage but a large body of educated people,

who are qualified to take an intelligent interest in the proceedings of the Government, entitles them, according to the late Prime Minister of Mysore, to a voice in the administration. The fact that they are a "microscopic minority," or that they are not a large percentage of the people, is not to form a reason for their being debarred from enjoying the privilege of electing members or discussing Budgets. (Cheers.) How, so infinitely superior a man, as Mr. Ranga Charlu, was only utilized by Providence as Prime Minister of a little State like Mysore, and

SO INFINITELY INFERIOR A MAN, AS THE MARQUIS OF  
SALISBURY,

is tolerated as Prime Minister of a vast empire like Great Britain, is one of those matters that fairly bewilder those who, like myself, believe in a righteous overruling Power that guides and governs the affairs of mankind. (Loud cheers and laughter.)

Mr. SHARFUDDIN (Patna): Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—The resolution before you has, I think, already been discussed in almost all its bearings, and I will confine myself to two questions. The first is the clause for the protection of minorities. Let me say at once that from the first

I WAS OPPOSED TO THIS CLAUSE, ALTHOUGH I AM A  
MUSSULMAN,

and so belong to a class, which, in this country, no doubt, is in the minority. My reason is this. We have municipal laws in this country, and we have district boards; but neither in the Municipal Act nor in the Local Self-Government Act is there any clause for the protection of minorities, nor has the absence of any such clause ever, anywhere, caused the slightest inconvenience. This, I think, you will take as a sufficient proof of the goodwill of the Muhammadans towards the Hindus and of Hindus towards Muhammadans. (Cheers.) I am a delegate from a place which now and then gets a westerly breeze from Aligarh. (Laughter.) I come from Patna, where, in the second week of this month, there was a general election of the municipality, twenty members being elected under the Act, and out of those twenty members you will be surprised to learn that thirteen were Muhammadans, and that

THESE THIRTEEN WERE NOT ELECTED BY MUHAMMADANS  
ONLY, BUT ALSO BY HINDUS.

You will find, therefore, that my position in opposing the protection of the minorities clause is not without due warrant. My second point relates to the Bill of Lord Cross. You will understand that Lord Cross is, no doubt, technically responsible for the introduction of this Bill into the House; but you will also understand that he is, or ought to be, guided by his Council. Lord Cross is nobody, and cannot possibly know anything of Indian matters except in so far as he represents his council in the Indian Office. His advisers are mostly those who have served in India a good many years, but who retired long before the existence of this Congress, and who, therefore, possess no knowledge of that new India which has grown up in this country. (Hear, hear.) So that to blame Lord Cross for the introduction of this title Bill would be rather unjust. The counsellors he needs are men of a different

class, and we in this assembly would advise the Government in England to select as counsellors of the Secretary of State for India, men who have full experience of the present state of the country—(Cheers)—and who are not hampered by class traditions and prejudices. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. NISAR ALI SHOHRAT (Delhi), speaking in Urdu said: Mr. President and gentlemen,—I rise to support, in a few words, the remarks of my esteemed friend, Mr. Sharfuddin of Patna, in regard to Mr. Bradlaugh's New Indian Council's Reform Bill. It does not give us all we want, but we shall all, none the less be grateful, if we get, soon, even as much as it provides for. Why should we not get it? Is there any class of people in England who disapprove the elective and representative system? To any free and constitutional Government such a system is essential. I would even say that England is what she is, and her system of Government, justly lauded throughout the world, what it is, almost mainly in virtue of this system. How can the English, who have given us so many other good things, now refuse to extend to us gradually, and this is all we ask for, this greatest blessing also? (Cheers.) Of course many of the members of the Secretary of State's Council are opposed to this as to every other reform; but this does not surprise us in the case of

SUCH ANTIQUATED PERSONAGES.

The wonder is not that they oppose this measure, but that

THE ENGLISH NATION STILL ALLOWS SUCH FOSSILS

to fill these important posts instead of replacing them by modern living men. (Cheers and laughter.) You can all understand that in choosing a pleader, we select one in active practice in the courts, thoroughly up in the law of the present day; not some old fogey who has not read a new law for the last quarter of a century, and whose knowledge of the practice of the Courts is confined to that of fifty years ago! These counsellors are

ABSOLUTELY IGNORANT OF OUR MODERN INDIA.

(Cheers.) During the last ten years, even, the entire country has been so metamorphosed as to be barely the same place it was. (Loud cheers.) Why do these worthy old gentlemen remain to clog the wheels of progress? And why do they oppose our modest demands for representation? Because, say they, of the disunion of Muhammadans and Hindus. But there is no sort of disunion amongst Muhammadans and Hindus on these political matters. (Cheers.) All are of one mind. (Loud cheers.) No doubt Sir Syed Ahmed and his now microscopic following tried to create such disunion, but all see now with what conspicuous failure. I fear I cannot give him credit for good faith. Had his motives been good he would have given expression to his new views on the Congress platform, and have explained how it came about that he was now denouncing the very proposals that a few years back he had himself most strongly urged. Had he done this, the whole matter would have been fully discussed and a fair decision arrived at. He did not do so, and from this the only possible conclusion is that he was not actuated by a pure desire for the public welfare, but by other motives. By his influence and vehemence he did, in certain places and instances, succeed in creating some un-

pleasantness between Hindus and Muhammadans, and, perhaps, here and there

**EVIL TRACES OF HIS UNPATRIOTIC WORK**

may yet linger. Yet, despite this, despite all he and his masters amongst the officials could do, there is practically, at this present time, absolutely no disunion as regards Congress questions, between Mussulmans and Hindus. (Prolonged cheering.)

**MR. BIPRODAS BANERJEE (Calcutta):** Mr. President and Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The matter now before you is very important, and we have been fighting for it for the last six or seven years. It has been discussed not only here, but also by the people and the press in England, and even by the Continental press. It is, in short, the very turning point of our political career as a nation. The proposition before you is to affirm the Bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Bradlaugh. It is our duty to see if we can get not only the native inhabitants of the country to our side, but also the non-official Europeans. For that reason I beg to propose that we postpone this question till Monday. (“No, No.”) I propose it for this reason. (A voice: “Support the proposition.”) If you do you will support a fiction. The Bill is not before the members, and the printed paper was not placed in the hands of the members until past 2 o’clock. I do not wish to blame anyone. I desire that before coming to a final decision an opportunity may be afforded for seriously considering this Bill.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I am afraid that Mr. Biprodas Banerjee has not quite understood two things. I am sure if he had he would not have made this proposition for adjournment. I think you will bear me out when I say that the Bill has not only been before this Congress, but before the country for a long time (hear, hear); and secondly, he will be good enough to remember what is the function of the Subjects Committee with regard to the Congress. That Committee was appointed last evening for the purpose of drawing up the propositions to be laid before the Congress. They have performed their duty; the resolution has been moved, the subject fully discussed; and I ask you whether, having heard eleven speakers, you do not think that enough has been said in the way of discussion? (“Yes, Yes.”) If that is your view, I will at once put the first resolution (“Vote, Vote”), which will stand as follows:—

“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.”

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

**CONFIRMATION OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT PREVIOUS CONGRESSES.**

**MR. KALI CHARAN BANERJEE (Calcutta):** Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As an old driver of your omnibus—(laughter)—in regard to which, by-the-bye, it may soon be necessary to legislate as to how many it should be allowed to carry, I may be permitted to drive it once more. There will be no detention with a view to check the passengers; they are all familiar faces, and you would know them at a glance. The resolution I have to propose is:

“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 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 inquire 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 11 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 licences 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."

Let me remind you that these Resolutions were passed by previous Congresses, and you are now called upon simply to ratify and confirm them. In other words, you are called upon simply to be loyal to your traditions—(cheers)—for I take it that the Congress is old enough to have traditions of its own. In order to help your memories, let me briefly describe to you

THE ELEVEN PASSENGERS THAT I CARRY IN MY OMNIBUS.

I will begin with the last resolution. We are grateful to our Government for the security that we enjoy as to life and property from human invasions; what we seek is that we should have security, also, so far as wild animals are concerned. (Hear, hear.) And in that connection we desire it to be remembered that wild animals make no distinction between the European and the Indian. (Laughter.) I have spoken of wild animals; what as to the wild men? We are grateful to our Government for the machinery that exists for the prevention and suppression of crime; at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the administration of justice in this country admits of improvement, and that it ought to be elevated to a footing in which it might be spoken of as self-justifying in its character. We desire, therefore, that the police should be reformed, so that it may not be possible for them to place, habitually, innocent men in the dock. We desire further to secure that when magistrates hold a trial in any case, they should bring to the trial a mind which should be, as far as the facts of the case are concerned, a *tabula rasa*. I do not mean that they should bring to the trial of cases a mind that should be a *tabula rasa* as far as the law of the case is concerned. (Laughter.) We desire further that, in the administration of justice in this country,

THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ALLOWED THE BENEFIT OF THE JUDGMENT OF THEIR PEERS;

that this privilege should not be confined to a few favoured spots, but that it should be extended to all parts of the country to which it may be extended with advantage. We desire further that this privilege of having the judgment of one's peers in any case should not be allowed to become a farce and a nullity by being in danger of being set aside even by the highest court in the country. I may describe these six resolutions as being on a certain level, that is, the level of protection. I now pass on to another class of resolutions that we have in this omnibus, and in order to help your memories I will mention a word which begins with the same letter—P. I am going to place before you four P's. Following protection I will give you the watch-word: plenty. We desire that the poor of the country should be enabled to live, at any rate, from hand to mouth; that they may be in no danger of having what little they possess for their sustenance, diminished by the imposition of any species of taxation which is likely to press hard upon them, whether as regards the nature of the tax itself or as regards the administration of the tax. Then after plenty let me give you the word peace, and here I take it that I am not

wrong in regarding the British nation as under an inspiration which ought to enable it to usher in a reign of peace, which is prophesied as part of the faith which inspires that country—a reign which, when it is once inaugurated, shall lead men to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. A nation that lives and moves under such an inspiration is surely destined to usher in this reign of peace rather than to go in a direction which indicates the permanence of war. We desire, then, that

THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE OF THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE REDUCED,

rather than allowed continually to increase. But if the British nation happens to be lacking in faith so that they are not in a position to lay hold of the "sure word of prophecy," we make to them a certain offer, by way of an earthly support. That is, we invite them to allow us to train ourselves in that same art of war, so that when they do need earthly help we shall be prepared, all of us, to render it. I now come to the last which I describe as the panacea; because, after all, when we seek to introduce reforms into our country, it is not possible for any of them to take root unless the people are educated to help in the cause of reform. (Cheers.) Thus it is that we desire to secure that

THE EXPENDITURE IN AID OF EDUCATION IN ALL ITS BRANCHES

should not be diminished. And here I ought to draw your attention to what is prominently brought out in one of the resolutions, that there should be no distinction ever suggested between high education and low education. An educated carpenter stands on the same footing exactly as an educated lawyer. There is no such thing as high and low in the matter of education. If education is to be a passport to the various Services of the country, we desire that those passports should not be hampered by conditions which may render them simply inaccessible to certain persons who cannot fulfil those conditions. Gentlemen, the omnibus has now reached its destination, and the occupation of the driver is gone. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. VISHWANATH IYER (Madras), in seconding the resolution, said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, —In the first place the necessity for reform on the lines suggested in some of the clauses that make up this omnibus resolution has been admitted by the Government itself; for instance with respect to the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, with respect to the police administration, and with respect to technical education. Yet what has the Government done with regard to these very necessary reforms? As to the separation of the executive and judicial functions it has done absolutely nothing, and

AS TO TECHNICAL EDUCATION NOTHING WORTHY OF THE NAME.

The question then arises, why this inactivity? On the other hand, look at the mischievous activity with respect to the Uncovenanted Civil Service. I ask you, will there be this inactivity, if we have our own representatives in the Legislative Council, with respect to these important matters of reform? It appears to me that all this covert opposition of the Local Governments and their unwillingness to legislate according to our prayer, even when they admit that our prayers are just, arises in this way: They

seem to say to themselves: "Have we not done and are we not still doing a good deal for these people? Why do they still speak of wrongs and grievances? They do not simply come to us for redress of any grievances they have, but they meet and discuss and say they will go to Parliament and to the British nation, which know nothing of them, while we know everything. So long as they do so they shall not have what they want, or, at least, they shall not have it soon." But if we petition, what is it they say? "Ah! these B.A.'s! these seditionists!" We have been called by our opponents

MERE PLACE-HUNTERS AND SELF-SEEKERS.

This omnibus resolution gives the lie to it. Look at the resolution relating to the police, to accused persons, and particularly to the income tax. And, looking out of our omnibus, look at the resolution relating to the salt tax, which will soon be before us. Considering these particular matters the present resolution may be called, as it has been called, the poor man's resolution. Our opponents, while they are kind enough to call us by all sorts of names, do not protest against the salt tax or against the abolition of import duties; but they want to do away with the income tax, the only tax that touches them. Under these circumstances well may we say, "Save us from our friends." As to education, while we are twitted with being half-educated B.A.'s, do they want us to be better men, to be better educated? No. We are not to have even our higher education as it stands; we shall have none of it, no higher education at all. Education makes us seditious. If we want it, let us pay for the whole of it. This is their opinion; it is an open secret; but who will say that they are right? With these few remarks I beg to second the resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. G. S. KHAPARDE (Borar): Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise nominally to support this proposition, which, however, in reality, needs no support of mine or of any one else. It has already been before you, piecemeal; and to its various component parts you have devoted much time, and your closest attention in the past, and have come to certain conclusions which are now embodied in these eleven clauses. I have only to support them, as a sort of supernumerary on the omnibus, to employ my leader's phraseology. But I would not compare this resolution to an omnibus, but rather to a casket of jewels. We have formed, after due deliberation, certain ideas, and I call those ideas jewels, and we offer them to the Viceroy and ask him to decorate the people of India with them. Let us see how far they have been given. One of them has been given very reluctantly and with a very grudging spirit indeed to a few districts in the Madras Presidency; the rest of us have to look and ask for some of them. I hope we are not envious, but we sincerely desire that some of these jewels may be given to us also. I am speaking of the first part of the resolution regarding the separation of the judicial function from the executive. Ten of these jewels have not even partially been given to anybody, not even lent on a holiday, or for a drive, or an airing. (Laughter and cheers.) There is one jewel that some of us especially desire to possess.

SOME OF US WOULD LIKE TO HOLD OFFICE IN HER MAJESTY'S ARMY.

We live, I joyfully admit, under the protection of the British Crown and flag, and we desire that we should be

allowed to fight under that flag. We fight as soldiers; I should like to fight as an officer; I want to command a few hundreds. That is all we ask. Not much. One would think that to give me the command of a hundred sepoy or a few cavalry soldiers would not be very dangerous, the Commander-in-Chief and the General and the Brigadier and the Colonel being all above me. Yet, they say, "No, you are not fit." I ask, "Have I been examined and found wanting?" They will not answer that question, and they will not send me to school. They are just like a stepmother to us! (Laughter.) I think I have now done my part as a supernumerary, and I retire. (Cheers.)

LALA DHURM DAS (Punjab): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I also beg to support the resolution that has been so neatly proposed. We all know that Government should be prepared to defend the country against foreign invasion, and, consequently, we admit that great expenses must be borne by the people to help the Government to carry out the necessary plans of defence. We do not complain that we are taxed, but that we are injudiciously and inequitably taxed. Persons whose incomes are below Rs. 85 a month are hardly able to bear anything in the shape of income tax, and the resolution says it is expedient that the taxable minimum should be raised so that the tax may not press upon such persons. We have read the disappointing and disheartening communication received from the Government by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce; but, after the speeches delivered on the occasion of the St. Andrew's Dinner, we may now hope that the Government will again consider the question, not of the abolition, but of the readjustment, of this tax. We are grateful to the Government for the many benefits we enjoy under their paternal care. It is painful, however, to find

THE SYMPATHIES OF THE LOWER CLASSES ALIENATED FROM THE GOVERNMENT

because of the extremely unsatisfactory manner in which this tax is collected. Government ought to be aware of this. We ask for a readjustment, and so possibly, a reduction in the gross proceeds of the tax, and at the same time we ask for a reduction of unnecessary expenditure. For some years past the military expenditure of the country has been increasing by leaps and bounds, and it is absolutely necessary that there should be a check placed upon this wicked waste. It is a matter of regret that our demands have so far been, save in some small matters, practically ignored. It is the educated alone who can fully appreciate the blessings of good government, and who are able to point out its defects. No doubt educated persons do demand a share in the administration of the Government; and have not noble and just British statesmen admitted from time to time the justice of such demands? The people of India want justice—real justice; not sham. The resolution declares the necessity of holding Civil Service examinations simultaneously in England and in India. The Government have

PRACTICALLY CLOSED THE CIVIL SERVICE AGAINST NATIVES

by holding competitive examinations in England only, and there are but very few of the qualified Indian candidates who can succeed in going to England. It is absolutely necessary that the Government should appoint a Mixed Commission to inquire into the industrial condi-

tion of the country. As to military appointments, even the chiefs, who are thoroughly loyal, cannot get real commissions (they now and then get honorary ones), nor is it possible for them actually to serve in the army except by entering as private soldiers. There are no colleges in the country for their training. The Punjab and Bombay Governments recommended the establishment of such colleges, and it was hoped that their recommendation would be favourably considered, especially as H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught had been pleased to attest the expediency of the proposal. But with one stroke of the pen the Secretary of State decided the other way. Let us once more bring to the notice of the Government what the country feels about the unsatisfactory character of the system of police administration, and let us at the same time hope that the necessary reforms will be effected at no distant date now that the Police Commission has been appointed by the Government. You must all have read of the sufferings of the people at Amritsar, due to the conduct of a police officer brought to light by our local paper, the *Tribune*. The people all over the Punjab are anxiously waiting to see what redress can be obtained from the House of Commons in this matter. (Cheers.)

MUNSHI SADR UD DIN (Allahabad) then spoke in Urdu, and said:—Glory in the first place to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the leader of disunion, the patriarch of jealousy, the parent of obstinacy, the ancestor of doggedness, and the living saint of Anti-Congressists! (Loud laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, I stand here to support some of the clauses of the resolution; but by far the most important clauses to which I shall refer relate to the Arms Act Rules. The taking of arms from the natives, and the enforcement of, practically, prohibitive rules regarding the grant of licenses, is not only prejudicial to the natives of India, but is equally calculated to weaken and cripple the Government itself. Hundreds of millions of people are now under the sway of the British Government in India, none of whom can possibly entertain the remotest feeling of hostility to the Government. On the other hand, they are loyal and faithful subjects, and, as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 amply proved, their attachment did not waver even in those troublous times when every stupid and faithless sepoy broke into open rebellion. Is it under the circumstances, advisable to render powerless and emasculate, on mere suspicion,

A NATION WHOSE LOYALTY HAS BEEN TESTED AND TRIED  
DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS,

by depriving them of the privilege of carrying arms and keeping themselves in touch with the methods of modern warfare? (Cheers.) If, out of the hundreds of millions that inhabit this vast empire, only a few hundreds of thousands were allowed the privilege of carrying arms, the Government would have beside it, without incurring any additional expenditure, a vast array of armed men to support and to assist it in times of need. (Loud cheers.) The Emperors of old had confidence in the bravery and faithfulness of the people, and never deprived them of arms; they derived considerable assistance from the people in return. The martial spirit of the people of the country raised the descendants of Taimur, Akbar in particular, to the highest pitch of supremacy and power. If the people of India with arms in their hands, and bullets in their pockets, could remain subject to the Muhammadan's empire, and accepted its supremacy,

DOES IT STAND TO REASON THAT THEY WOULD REBEL

against so just and civilized a Government as that of the British people? (Loud Cheers.) The peace and prosperity of a people are among the first requisites of sovereignty, and these cannot be secured unless the rulers and the ruled repose mutual confidence in each other. The confidence of the people is dependent on the non-interference of the sovereign with the privileges of the people and their right to do such lawful acts as they please. At any rate arms are the sole protectors of life and property; and their deprivation causes disappointment and dejection which knows no bounds. If, God forbid, India were to be pounced upon by any enemy from the West, women with their curses, and unarmed men with empty abuses, will face the enemy, and the enemy will laugh and say:—

No Emperor ever feared the sword of his subjects, nor ever emasculated a brave nation by force. The natives of India

BELONG TO A RACE WHICH OPPOSED ALEXANDER

and turned him back beyond the Indus. They are descendants of those brave people who, in the battle of Telaveri, made Shahab ud deen Ghori taste the efficacy of a sword, and made him retreat headlong with his army for upwards of forty miles. To convert such brave and faithful people into protectors of the Throne, and guards of the State, is to invigorate and strengthen the foundations of the Government. You must have read in history that when Nadir Shah once summoned the Nawab of Furrukabad to Delhi for an interview, and the Nawab replied that he could not come without his armour and weapons, Nadir, said: "Go and tell him he may come with his artillery." (Cheers.) What a revolution! There was a time when the Emperors of old were not afraid of the arms of their enemies; a time has now come when we unfortunate,

THOUGH LOYAL AND FAITHFUL, SUBJECTS, ARE DISTRUSTED  
EVEN BY OUR OWN GOVERNMENT.

(Loud cheers.) In regard to the police system it is sufficient to say that the police, if they do not consider their powers more extensive than those of God himself, at least do consider them to be co-equal with His. (Cheers.) This should be considered and the people should be relieved of their oppression. (Hear.) One word more about the income tax. It is on all hands admitted that both the black and the white are the progeny of Adam and the subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. Then why should one be favoured more than the other? As persons possessing an income below one thousand rupees are exempted in England from the income tax, the people of India, who are far poorer, possessing an income below rupees one thousand should be similarly exempted. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

BABU BISHNU PODO CHATTERJI (Hooghly): I rise, Sir, to support this resolution. I do not know how many horses are needed to drag an omnibus in England. On the occasion of the last Congress, this proposition was ably moved by Mr. Kalicharan Banerjee and seconded by Mr. Chandavarkar, and it was carried unanimously. You may ask me why it is brought forward again. The answer is that the disease is still prevalent, the doctors are not forthcoming with their medicine, much less their

advice. But I can assure you the case is not hopeless. Everything depends upon united action and constant agitation. I have a great fancy for one of the passengers in the omnibus, namely (j), "the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding simultaneously, in England and India, examinations, at present held only in England, for the civil branches of the Public Service in India." I am not going to give facts and figures; that has often been done. I will only quote a line from the despatch: "They have no desire to extend the practical application of this principle further than political necessity requires." Now we say that political necessity requires that the Government of a country should at any rate be

LARGELY COMPOSED OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY,

of persons thoroughly conversant with the habits, customs, views, wishes, wants, of the people, of persons whose interests are to a great degree identical with those of the people. Whereas, under the existing system, the Government is exclusively composed of foreigners ignorant alike of everything that really concerns the people, and whose interests are distinctly, in most cases, antagonistic to those of the country. Having regard to these anomalies, I say it is absolutely necessary that there should be simultaneous examinations in India and England—(cheers)—so that gradually the Government may come to be largely composed of Indians. (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: Several names of speakers have been sent up. ("Vote.") If you think that the matter has been sufficiently discussed, I will not give these gentlemen the trouble of coming up. ("Vote, Vote.") Then our second resolution will stand thus:—

"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 of Justice 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."

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

## MODIFICATIONS OF THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE INDIAN BUDGET.

MR. W. S. CAINE (Sholapore): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have to submit is as follows:—

"That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interests of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating in 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."

This, sir, is a resolution which has been submitted at previous Congresses, but which has not had the effect that the Congress desire; for the House of Commons has taken no notice of the petition which was sent from Bombay, and it is, therefore, important that the resolution should be re-affirmed, not in an omnibus, but in a carriage of its



own—(cheers and laughter)—so that, if possible, we may secure

**THE RESTORATION OF ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT RIGHTS**

which India previously possessed. The old principle, which is almost as old as parliamentary institutions in England, that grievances should come before Supply, is one of the rights which are held to more tenaciously by members of Parliament than perhaps any other parliamentary rights. This resolution craves the restoration of a privilege which is the equivalent, so far as the Indian people are concerned, of that ancient charter of our liberty, that grievance shall come before Supply. It is also, no doubt, a distinct grievance, and one felt throughout India, that the Budget dealing with the whole finances of the British Empire should be discussed on a single evening at the hottest time of the year, at a period when members of Parliament are weary with six months' hard work, and when the bulk of them have left London for their holidays. ("Shame!") It has long been the custom to treat what I consider one of the most important subjects that come before Parliament with such scant courtesy as that which I have now described. There is no doubt that all Indian questions, with the exception of the Budget itself, are shut out from discussion, except under the chances of a ballot. The only mode by which members of Parliament interested in Indian questions can bring them before the House is by balloting for an opportunity of moving a resolution on what is called private members' nights—Tuesday and Friday. When you remember that every Tuesday and Friday, while the House sits, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred members of Parliament place down different subjects in which they are interested to be balloted upon, you will see that

**THE CHANCES OF AN INDIAN QUESTION COMING ON,**

there being perhaps only three or four members to put such questions down,

**ARE ABOUT ONE IN FIFTY.**

The Bill you have been considering in the first resolution, I am afraid, has no chance of being discussed in the present Parliament, because Mr. Bradlaugh had no good luck with his ballot, and all sorts of questions of the highest importance brought in by Bill and by Resolution have constantly to give way to questions of minor importance, the movers of which find it impossible to bring down forty men to the House to discuss them. In the old times, before 1888, when this privilege was taken away, if we missed our opportunities of bringing Indian grievances before Parliament by resolution on a private member's night, we had the privilege of grievance before Supply on the Budget night to fall back upon. That is now gone, and we wish to have it restored. You must remember that the responsibilities of Parliament towards India are increasing every year. More and more India is being brought into touch with England. (Cheers.) During the last five years the interest which has been taken by all politicians, especially by Liberal politicians, in the action of the Indian National Congress, has done much to stimulate the interest of English people in India. But

**AS OUR RESPONSIBILITY INCREASES, WE FIND THAT OUR POWERS DECREASE.**

There is no doubt that, as time goes on, every year will

bring about an increased interest in India. If it had not been for the early meeting of Parliament during the current year, I believe between thirty and forty members of the House of Commons would have been in India, at the present moment, studying your questions for themselves and realising their responsibilities. (Cheers.) I am glad to say that we have one member of Parliament present, but he is the only one, so far as I know, who is now in the country. Now, the only way by which Indian grievances can be discussed in public and opinion taken upon them in India is before the National Congress, and in England before the House of Commons. You, when you get members of Parliament, receive them with hospitality, treat them with rare courtesy and kindness, and do the utmost in your power to make them familiar with the wants and aspirations of the Indian people. These "travelling members of Parliament" are not so popular with the governing class as I should like to see them. (Laughter.) We come here to do what we can to help the authorities of India to govern this country wisely and well; our good intentions are called in question, and our services are not welcomed. We are constantly enabling them to improve their own administration, as you will find affirmed in the resolution which follows the present one. We instructed them two years ago with regard to the administration of one of their most important departments, and they have carried out those instructions with a reasonable amount of fidelity. These travelling members of Parliament will go back to their country, and you will have presently an army in Parliament, an increasing army, anxious to discuss what you yourselves cannot discuss in your Parliament and legislate upon for yourselves. Now there is only one way by which the Government of India can get rid of the nuisance of travelling M.P.'s who come and poke their noses into their affairs. We in Parliament do not particularly want to be troubled with Indian affairs. We have affairs of our own in which we are deeply interested, and it is

**ONLY UNDER COMPULSION THAT WE TAKE YOUR MATTERS IN HAND**

at all. I simply look upon Parliament as holding Indian affairs in trust until this promising child, which is present in this building, arrives at the age of maturity; and then we shall be glad to give up our trust to our ward. Then, if the Government of India dislike, as I believe they dislike, the interference of Parliament, and of members of Parliament, they can get rid of that interference by acting up to the spirit of the first resolution which you have carried, and by admitting you to some share in a representative Government of your own. (Cheers.) When that comes our functions will have gone; we shall be no longer required; you will then be able to deal with your own affairs without our help; you will be permitted, I should hope, to vote your own Budget, and we shall be relieved of a considerable responsibility and a considerable burden. I have great pleasure in moving this resolution. (Cheers.)

MR. R. D. MEHTA (Calcutta): Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Sister Delegates,—I find that coming after so distinguished a speaker as Mr. Caine, who has also proved himself to be able—(laughter)—I have very little to add. In former years, when the House went into Committee upon the Indian Budget, any member of the House had the privilege of laying before the House any

question affecting the Indian People. The new rule, however, disallowed this privilege, and, I need not say, with most prejudicial results to India. But this is not all. Our Budget statements, as Mr. Caine has pointed out, are brought forward for discussion

IN THE DOG DAYS OF AUGUST, BEFORE A ROW OF  
EMPTY BENCHES,

and the Under-Secretary finds himself addressing perhaps a couple of Anglo-Indian members. I should like to know how the English people would tolerate a farce of this kind with regard to their own Budget. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to discuss the English Budget before empty benches, there would be such a howl of indignation that absent members would know how to conduct themselves next time. But we, the inhabitants of an unrepresented Empire, may cry at the top of our voices, and no one listens to the protests of a people who have no share, no part, no vote, in the Government of their country. I will not detain you longer, but I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution so ably and eloquently proposed by Mr. Caine. (Cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE YULE (Calcutta), in response to repeated calls, said: I thought I should have been allowed to escape even showing myself at a higher altitude\* than alongside the President. ("No, No.") I sympathise most cordially with the resolution which is at present before you, and I am quite convinced that if we had the opportunity of discussing the Budget in Parliament, I could undertake, in the question of stores alone, to save as much, at all events, as would enable the Government to raise the taxable minimum for income tax to Rs. 1,000. (Cheers.) I do not know any commercial undertaking, and I am certain that there is no Government undertaking of a commercial character, which is carried on as the Store Department is, without knowledge on the part of superiors, and with insufficient payment on the part of those who are entrusted with the purchasing of stores for us. I say that there are no commercial men who would not come to the conclusion that, after twenty years of such a mode of carrying on business without check, there must be a great amount of bribery and corruption. On that account alone, if this resolution were to have the ear of the House of Commons and to be passed, I confidently assert that

WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SAVE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA AT  
LEAST ONE-HALF OF THE PRESENT AMOUNT OF INCOME TAX.

(Hear, hear.) I support the resolution most cordially, and I hope you will see it passed in the House of Commons as soon as you expect it. (Cheers.) (Cries of "Vote, Vote.")

THE PRESIDENT: Shall I now put the resolution? ("Yes, Yes.") Very well, then the third resolution will stand:

"Resolved: That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interests 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

\* The speaker's tribune was elevated above all the other seats and places.

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 authorises 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."

The resolution was then carried by acclamation.

## FURTHER REFORM IN EXCISE ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. D. E. WACHA (Bombay), in proposing the fourth resolution, said: The resolution entrusted to me is this:—

"That while recognizing the action taken in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of excise reform, by Her Majesty'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 Provisional Administrations carrying out, in their integrity, the policy, in matters of excise, enunciated in clauses 103, 104, and 105, of the despatch published in the 'Gazette of India,' of March 1st, 1890, especially as to subsection 4 of clause 103, viz.: 'That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of the local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.'"

This is the third time in the history of the Congress that I have been asked to propose a resolution on excise reform. It was at the Allahabad Congress that the question of abkari administration was first brought forward, partly as a political and partly as a social question. But at the time it took the form of a prayer, that in view of the increasing intemperance in the country, the Government might be moved to appoint a Commission to enquire generally into the abkari administration. The first fruit of that resolution was that the matter was earnestly taken up by the redoubtable Mr. Caine in the House of Commons. With his assistance and that of his colleague, Mr. Samuel Smith, the House of Commons passed the famous resolution of 30th April, 1889, with which we are all familiar. It was the first step taken towards practical reform. In fact, as the President very properly observed in his eloquent address yesterday, the abkari question is one of the two questions, out of the many which the Congress has discussed, on which some practical action has been taken. The other question related to the abolition of the silver plate duty, on which also I had the honour to speak at the last Congress at Bombay. From the tenor of the resolution which I have just read out to you, you will have observed that it comprises three distinct matters. Firstly, that we recognize the practical action the authorities have taken in the matter of the reform of our excise administration; secondly, that we also recognize efforts which at least two of the Provincial Governments have already made to check the consumption of liquor; and

thirdly, that we still require other Provincial Administrations to carry out in their full integrity the instructions laid down in the excise despatch of March, 1890. It is, indeed, a source of gratification to us that

OUR AGITATION ON ABKARI MATTERS HAS SO FAR BORNE  
FRUIT,

that we have not only elicited a practical resolution from the House of Commons, but also from the Government of India in that ponderous despatch of March, 1890. In consequence of the despatch, be it said to the credit of the Bengal Government, and especially of Sir Stuart Bayley, the consumption of liquor in Bengal has decreased, and also the revenue. That is exactly the thing we want. There ought to be, as far as possible, a minimum of consumption, never mind what the revenue may be, because the reform is, in a great measure, a moral one. It must also be said, to the credit of Lord Connemara, and the Madras Government, that they have been able in one year to close seven thousand liquor shops in a population of thirty-five millions. This is an augury, that, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, we are entering upon an era of social reform. (Cheers.) I regret that I cannot speak similarly of my own Province;

THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT HAS DONE ABSOLUTELY NOTHING.

Nay, the Bombay Government, instead of reforming its ways, has become a worse sinner since the date of the orders of the House of Commons. That is to me a matter of great regret, because, after all our efforts, we are no better off than we were three years ago. Indeed, instead of the Government of Bombay taking the lesson to heart, as given in the resolution of the House of Commons, and by the Government of India itself, it has been going in the wrong direction and increased the consumption and increased the revenue. ("Shame!") For your information, I beg, in a very short compass, to put some statistics before you, from which you will see that the statement I have made is not a mere haphazard statement, but a statement borne out by official statistics. The revenue in 1881-82 was 38 lakhs; in 1889-90 it had reached 74 lakhs—an increase of 95 per cent. The consumption has also increased from 18 lakhs of gallons to 27 lakhs, an increase of 50 per cent. Then again, while Madras justly takes credit for having closed 7,000 liquor shops in a single year, what do we find in Bombay? This: that in 1887-88 we had 4,443 shops, and in 1888-89 we had 4,739 shops, or

AN INCREASE OF ABOUT THREE HUNDRED.

This, let me say, has reference more to country spirits than to toddy or other liquor. One of the strongest grievances involved in the abkari administration is that regarding new toddy. Toddy in Bombay, as in other parts of the country, is drunk by the labouring classes, for whom Manchester philanthropists have been exerting themselves with so much solicitude. (Laughter.) It is comparatively innocuous, not having the strength of ordinary alcoholic beverages; but it is boycotted in Bombay in order that the consumption of ardent spirits may be stimulated. What is the result? Ten years ago there were hundreds of thousands of palm trees tapped in different directions, but now the trees stand yielding nothing from the soil they occupy; not a single tree is allowed to be tapped by its owners. The fact is that the original drawers of toddy have lost their industry, and

they are now eking out a miserable subsistence in all sorts of miscellaneous, and possibly some of them questionable, ways; and I should not be surprised if many of them have gone to swell the large number of people of whom Sir William Hunter speaks as going with

HALF A MEAL A DAY IN INDIA.

This is a sad picture of the disastrous results of the Bombay abkari administration. Under these circumstances I think you will agree with the statement in the resolution that it is necessary, at this stage, that the Government of India should call upon those provincial administrations, which have not carried out this reform, to do so without delay. The farming system is still flourishing in Bombay; the traffic has been stimulated, and it has brought shops to many villages where there were none. The result has been that intemperance has increased. With regard to the last and most important part of the resolution I believe there is no one who has given two minutes' consideration to this subject who would not say that, in a country like

INDIA, SOBER FROM ANCIENT TIMES

(whatever may be said to the contrary), it is absolutely necessary that the principle inculcated by the House of Commons, so far as local option for India is concerned, should be carried out, even though in some localities it may be necessary to do this slowly and gradually. I cannot better impress you with the importance of this than by a quotation from a statement of the Government of India. They say "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." I will give you an instance of "the reasonable amount of deference paid to such opinion" in Bombay. In the centre of the mill district at Ahmedabad the Collector lately gave a license to open a liquor shop. All the owners of the mills asked to have it closed, but the request was not granted. Then, again, these same people at Ahmedabad, fully aware of the evil of intemperance, requested Lord Harris, when on a visit to the town, that local option might be introduced, but this also was refused. This refusal is a matter of regret, firstly, because it was a

DISOBEDIENCE OF THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF INDIA;

and, secondly, because the introduction of the system there—when the people voluntarily asked for it—was an experiment worthy of trial, if only to prove the goodness and sincerity of the intentions of Government. Lord Harris is, no doubt, new to this country, but I do hope and believe that when he has studied the whole question in all its aspects, he will at least try to do his best to introduce this system of local option in Bombay, because I believe that on this question the salvation of India, so far as drinking is concerned, mainly rests. (Cheers.)

MR. KASHINATH NATU (Poona), in seconding the resolution, said:—If one of our forefathers, who lived one hundred and fifty years ago, were to stand here and see this august assembly, with what wonder would he regard a sight which, in his own day, would have been an absolute impossibility! But he would be still more wonder-struck to find a proposition being made for which there was no necessity whatever in his day. In the elevated

sanctuaries of the Himalayas, he devoted his time and thoughts to the contemplation of the infinite and absolute; but the entire devotion of too many of his descendants seems to centre nowadays on

A CUPBOARD FULL OF BOTTLES;

and he would be astonished to find—not a few outcastes, here and there, but—legions of the highest caste men, slaves to the grossest of all vices, intemperance. If we are slow in other matters, we have made almost incredible progress in this. Not long ago in our province the income from this source was only Rs. 10,000, but it is now no less than Rs. 1,000,000. (“Shame!”) Where once

THERE WAS NO MAN SEEN DRUNK IN THE STREETS,  
THERE ARE NOW HUNDREDS.

I have come here to support a proposition that ought, I think, to be self-supporting: certainly it needs no support from one so little known as myself. But I speak from the natural impulses of my own heart, and I have a very strong hope that the day will come when, to adapt the Englishmen's saying “We shall not have a single slave to contaminate our soil;” we shall not have a single drop of spirits to contaminate our sons. Some gentlemen, who are otherwise kindly disposed, say that this is all the result of education. And who has given us that education? I am inclined to allow the Government to stand *in loco parentis*. “You are our kind parents and, occupying that position, are you going to open grogshops in every town and street?” It is a thing about which there can be no two opinions even in the Houses of Parliament. We earnestly ask the Government to do—what? To lessen that vice, the prevalence of which is owing in great measure to their own policy. They gave us education, no doubt, but

THEY ALSO MADE US ACQUAINTED WITH THE DRINK BOTTLE.

“It is you,” we can truly say to them, “who have brought the evil into our country, and to whom, if not to you, shall we go to find a remedy? You cannot say ‘No’ to us. You must close the grogshops. It is said we are not fit to govern ourselves. You have given us the municipal franchise and empowered us to deal with sanitation and other matters; and yet, in the same breath, you say that we are not fit to regulate our grogshops, to decide on the number we will have, or to resolve that we will have none at all.” I cordially support this proposition, and I hope the day will come when India will say, “No liquor, no brandy here, but only Adam's ale—pure water!” (Cheers.)

LALA MURLIDHUR (Punjab):—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Lady Delegates,—You do not expect a mouse to roar like a lion; and you do not expect from me an eloquent speech such as you have had from our friends who have preceded me. At the first Congress I confess that I was a murderer—of the Queen's English,—but then I escaped punishment. But the President of the present Congress has doomed me to death. He gives me but five minutes to live. (Laughter.) Now that I stand on this platform I feel like the unhappy man who has been sentenced to be hanged. (Laughter.) In the presence of so many spectators, and at the sight of this august assembly and of so many learned scholars, I feel as if I had lost the faculty of speech; in four minutes more the President will sound the gong, the drop will

fall—or at least I shall drop out of the tribune. Now, can you wonder that I feel just like the man about to be hanged? (Laughter.) Now I come to the point. I do not know why you blame these grogshops and grog-sellers, and those who promote the drink traffic. There is

MORE PHILOSOPHY IN A BOTTLE OF WINE THAN IN ALL  
THE SCHOOLS,

because it proves in a minute what sages have taken long ages to solve—the problem of the transmigration of souls. (Cheers and laughter.) It proves how a human being passes into a brute, and can assume the form of a donkey at will. (Laughter.) Yes, even the Theosophists will be puzzled to solve this problem. While the East has taught the West mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences, in exchange

THE WEST HAS GIVEN US LIQUOR—DAMNATION INSTEAD OF  
SALVATION.

That really is a very good barter! We have bargained away our souls, and what have we in exchange? A bottle of gin or a glass of whiskey. A very good exchange indeed! We have proved very wise in our generation—very wise, indeed, to permit the growth of such a traffic. I feel sincerely thankful to the Punjab Government that it has really tried to give effect to the resolution passed by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. All the *Chandoo*\* shops in the Punjab Province have been closed; there are now none in the Amballa district; while there are thousands in other provinces. But, in spite of all this,

PEOPLE HAVE BECOME MORE ADDICTED TO DRINK, BECAUSE  
IT HAS BEEN THOUGHT TO BE AN ADJUNCT OF WESTERN  
CIVILIZATION.

It is thought that a man cannot be a perfect gentleman, unless he drinks a glass of wine. Now another Governor has come to the rescue of the present generation, and he says that if a person indulges in a glass of whiskey there is no harm in it. Is there no harm? Is that the idea of the Governor of millions of people, that there is no harm in throwing temptation in the way of the poor wretched creatures who live on one meal a day? They have their children living in misery—clad in rags, lying in the mud; but all this is not enough, there must be those foul liquor shops to tempt them to make things even worse! (“Shame, Shame!”) Even our Muhammadan rulers hated and held the liquor traffic accursed. It has been left for our

CHRISTIAN RULERS TO LOVE IT, STIMULATE IT, PET IT,  
AND MAKE MONEY

by millions of pounds out of it! (Hear, hear.) Now we find, even in Burma, a newly-conquered Province, that liquor shops have been started. And for whose benefit? Not certainly for the benefit of the Burmese, whose creed forbids strong drink, and who are only now, under British tuition, learning how to grow into drunkards and benats? (Hear.) For whose benefit then? The benefit of the British Government, and

I MARVEL EQUALLY AT THE FOLLY AND THE WICKEDNESS  
of the course adopted. Will a drunken population serve them as well, will it, in the long run, even fill their exchequer as well, as a sober one? (Cheers.) How, too, can men, who pretend to believe in God and a future

\* Chandoo is a very deleterious preparation of opium.

state, thus set to work coldly, cruelly, systematically, to seduce the people committed to their charge by Him into all kinds of sin and misery? And what wickedness does not the habit of drinking lead to? It is not for me to speak much about the evils of drinking. You who have been born in this country and have never tasted liquor have always held it to be only another name for—damnation. (Laughter.) With these few words I support the resolution. (Cheers.) I will only add one word. You laugh at me and think that I am a fool. ("No, No.") Really I am a fool—(laughter)—and you must thank the Punjab people, because the representative character of this National Congress would not have been perfect without the presence of one fool at least to represent them. (Laughter, and prolonged cheers.)

GURU PRATAP SINGH SODHI (Lahore), speaking in Panjabi, said: Friends,—With great respect I beg to state that we Sikhs heartily sympathize with the National Congress; for the national blessing which it is conferring, and will confer, cannot be looked for from any other organization or institution. I belong to the family of Sikh Gurus, known as Sodhi. I, with my followers, am a supporter of the Congress with body and wealth. My followers are about twenty-five thousand men, and range from Lahore to Candahar. Drinking is positively prohibited in our creed as it is in others. No one dare speak in favour of drink. I am much struck that nowadays it should be needful to warn people against drinking. There was a time when a drunkard would have tried in vain to force his vile liquor on his neighbours; in vain, for people avoided drink, with very rare exceptions, out of respect for their creeds. Now, alas,

IT IS QUITE COMMON TO FIND MEN LYING NAKED AND INSENSIBLE, FROM DRINK, ABOUT OUR STREETS.

What are the best loved things in the world for which all people toil? Are they not wife and children? But those given to drinking do not spare even these, but despoil them of their jewels, clothes, nay of their very food, to satisfy their accursed craving. The helpless wives and children of this legion of beasts addressed their prayers for succour to God, who listened mercifully and moved the hearts of Mr. Caine and the Congress leaders to espouse their cause, and endeavour to rescue the people of India from this great sin and misery that the Government has unwittingly brought upon them. This Congress, bent upon this and other good works for our suffering brethren, is not an assembly of men, but of Devas.\* It is a place of pilgrimage which purifies the heart choked by the impurities of a life time. The ruler for the time being is the Vicegerent of God on earth. Our Gracious Empress now occupies such a place. It is in Her name and encouraged by the sacredness of Her position, that we of the Congress lift up our voices against this and other great evils from which India is now suffering. May God incline her heart to listen to our prayers. Since this work of the National Congress has begun, educated men have commenced to labour for the good of their fellows, and especially to devote their energies to rooting out this drink evil. More than one local government has taken steps in the right direction, and for this we have to thank both Englishmen like Mr. Caine and his supporters in England, and our National Congress here in India.

\* i.e., semi-divine beings.

Government revenue will decrease and some think this will harm Government; but when the people benefit, as in this case, any wise Government counts all such losses a gain. Nay, where Government got one rupee by the drunkenness of its subjects, it will gain ten by their sobriety. It is very strange that though education has so widely spread, drink seems to have done so equally. Either education has not produced the expected results, or there has not been enough of it, or it is

NOT THE RIGHT SORT, NOT SUFFICIENTLY EMBODYING A MORAL ELEMENT.

I do not rightly understand, but I pray God Almighty to crown the efforts of this Congress, and of all who side with them in endeavouring to save the people from this evil of drunkenness, and may he crown our Queen Empress with the choicest blessings and incline her heart to decree the rescue of her people from this grim monster. (Cheers.) I altogether go with this resolution. May it triumph.

MR. W. S. CAINE (Sholapore), in response to repeated calls, rose and said: I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution. (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: You have just heard one of the shortest and sweetest speeches that we have yet had—(laughter)—and are no doubt prepared to vote. (Cries of "Yes, Yes; Vote, Vote.")

Our fourth resolution then will stand thus:—

"RESOLVED—That, while recognising the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of excise reform, by Her Majesty'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 subsection 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.'

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT: I now adjourn this assembly to 11 a.m. on Monday.

The Subjects' Committee then resumed its sittings.



### THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

On the Sunday the Social Conference assembled in the Congress Pavilion, and passed, after much discussion, various important resolutions in regard to matters of Social Reform. But the Social Conference will, as in former years, publish its own separate Report, and

nothing further need be said of it here. The matter is only mentioned because this year, for the first time, some few persons belonging to the old Conservative party, addressed a number of representations to the President, the General Secretary, and to the Delegates as a body, urging them not to permit the Social Conference to use the Congress Hall; it is satisfactory to be able to record that not one single delegate was found willing to support this proposition.

## THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Monday, 29th December, 1890.

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

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—We have an extensive bill of fare before us, and must fall to with good appetites. (Laughter.) There is no time to be lost, and I will call upon Mr. Kennedy to hand round the first dish, which at any rate will not be wanting in salt. (Cheers.)

## REDUCTION OF THE SALT DUTY.

Mr. PRINGLE KENNEDY (Behar), in addressing the assembly said: Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—The resolution I have the honour to propose is as follows:—

“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.”

Not everybody in India is a contributor to the abkari revenue, and if Mr. Caine has his way the number of such contributors will dwindle by shrinkage to a vanishing quantity. All the inhabitants of India are not fortunate enough to possess Rs. 500 a year, and to have, in consequence, the pleasure of submitting to the income tax. But every man, woman, and child in this country must eat salt, and thus be a feeder of the Imperial treasury. (Hear, hear.)

THE SALT TAX IS AN INCOME TAX ON ALL INCOMES DOWN TO THE LOWEST.

The poorer a man is, the heavier is its incidence. What that incidence is I shall hereafter show. In England a labourer who drinks neither alcoholic beverages, nor tea, nor yet smokes tobacco, pays nothing to the State. In India the lowliest peasant, the poorest coolie, nay,

THE VERY BEGGAR WOMAN IN THE STREET, HAS TO DROP HER MITE INTO THE IMPERIAL TREASURY.

(Hear, hear.) Such a tax needs very cogent reasons to defend it. Those ordinarily given are—first, antiquity; second, facility of collection; third, that the people do not mind it; fourth, lightness of assessment; fifth, financial necessity. As to the first, all I have to say is that other things, such as human sin and human misery, are old, older than even the salt-tax. As to the second, facility of collection, I must remind you that the working of every revenue department in India eventually rests with red-turbaned gentlemen, in whom the predatory instinct is, I am afraid, generally too strong for any curb

of conscience. As to the third point, when I hear that the people do not mind it, the only meaning that I can put to this expression is that people do not speak of it. Gentlemen, an eel is said not to mind skinning. It is used to it. I suppose it seems to the eels a visitation of an inscrutable providence; and hence, no doubt, our people, unless questioned, do not, in many parts of the country, speak much about it. But when I think of the salt-tax, my thoughts take me to Feudal France, when that existed under the name of the gabelle. They did not mind it, so the rulers said: and no doubt, even if they did, they rather hesitated to press the point, for in those days, a gallows was found to be more disagreeable than a poll tax, and

THEIR RULERS WERE QUITE HANDY AT HANGING

all who differed from them on such political questions. But, gentlemen, if the wheels of God grind slowly yet they grind exceedingly small, and the end came, I need not say how. Now I come to the incidence of the Indian salt-tax. Bear with me while I give you a few figures. I shall try to make them as round and simple as I can. First of all, from enquiry at Her Majesty's jails, amongst other places, where luxuries are not likely to be given, I find that nine or ten chittacks a month, or seven seers and a little over—we will drop the little over—is necessary to keep an adult in health. Now, there are more than twenty-five tens of millions of people in India, and making a deduction for children and others who need a less quantity of salt than adults, we may take it that twenty tens of millions rations of salt at the above mentioned rate, or something over three-and-a-half tens of millions of maunds of salt, are necessary to keep the people in health. And this quantity at Rs. 2-8 per maund, the present rate of duty, should yield  $8\frac{1}{2}$  tens of millions of rupees. But if I turn to the latest revenue returns, I find that  $7\frac{1}{2}$  tens of millions of rupees roughly was the last year's salt revenue. This gives six annas a head, and it shows, since the tax is one anna a seer, the fact that each person has six and not seven seers of salt a year, as he ought to have at the least. (Hear, hear.) As a matter of fact in British territory (they are better off in some of the native states), the Government itself calculates the consumption at not more than 10lbs, or a little less than five seers per head. There is doubtless considerable smuggling on the one side, but on the other it must be mentioned that human consumption is not the sole, though the chief, use of salt, and that many of the people consume a far greater quantity than the minimum we have given. I know perfectly well that many of the people have not sufficient bread either, but the price of that is not artificially raised by Government. Let us look at the subject from a different view. In an article in the *Pioneer*, some months ago, by Mr. Robertson, it was stated that a Madras official, who had made a careful study of the question, had ascertained that the average monthly income

of the agriculturists in the district of Karnal was twelve annas per head, say

RUPEES FOUR FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE.

Very rough calculations on my part give me similar results for the districts of Durbhangah and Mozufferpore. The *Gazetteer*, published several years ago, gives the expenditure of a well-to-do Tirhoot peasant, and therefore, I presume, the income, at about Rs. 11 per month. This was for a family of five. The poorer, he said, have to reduce their expenditure to about half of this. Let us say

RUPEES FIVE FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE.

Now if these five ate twenty-four seers of salt in the year, as, in accordance with the official calculations already stated, they would do, this would be (leaving out any calculation for the increased price, which, as all economists know, considerably exceeds the amount of the tax itself) at one anna a seer, Rs. 1-8, and so a family having Rs. 60 a year would have to pay Rs. 1-8 as their salt duty. This is a tax of nearer five than four pies a month, and this too on incomes not over Rs. 500 a year, but of only Rs. 5 a month. If mine and the Madras civilian's figures be taken, the people of these districts would be paying over six pies in the rupee, and if they ate seven instead of six seers, the tax would be nearly seven pies in the rupee, and that on incomes of less than Rs. 50 a year. Think of these facts, ye gentlemen, who have incomes over Rs. 500 a year and grumble at the payment of four pies in the rupee! Meditate over them those of you who possess an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year and whine at the payment of five pies in the rupee! Now, sir, only one word more about figures. If the tax were reduced to Rs. 2, salt would sell at about thirteen seers instead of ten seers as it now does. If the duty were reduced to one rupee, as Lord Mayo, Sir J. Strachey, and subsequently Sir Evelyn Baring desired, salt would sell for twenty seers for the rupee, and

IF SALT WERE DUTY FREE,

a blessed day, but I am afraid far away in the millennium,

SALT WOULD SELL AT FORTY SEERS FOR THE RUPEE

in those places even where it is now dearest, and in many provinces it would be far cheaper. Why, the actual cost of producing one maund of salt at the Mayo mines, the Sambhur lake, the Karaghora works and the Madras coast works is under two annas! But, gentlemen, Government, like other people, must live. We do not ask for the abolition of the whole tax. Mr. Caine is for doing away with the abkari revenue, others for reducing the income-tax. We say that already the financial situation is so improved—on this point, I believe, a speaker after me will dilate—that a part of the tax may be remitted, and by judicious economy and reduction of military expenditure and home charges the tax may be still further lowered. When you get your Representative Councils, you may be sure that the Government will listen to you when you propose to tax yourselves, if in no other matter. If then this burden is still too heavy for the millions of the land after all economy is made, the only way whereby you can alleviate its weight is by taking some of it on yourselves. Gentlemen, when, some fifty years ago, John Bright lay prostrate under one of the greatest afflictions that can befall mortal man, Richard Cobden went to him

and said: "Your grief is great, but remember that there are millions of widows and widow's sons who perish this day in England from lack of cheap bread." In this great land of India

THERE ARE MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN AND CHILDREN, this day, who have

THEIR LIVES SHORTENED, THEIR PHYSIQUE STUNTED, AND WITH THEIR PHYSIQUE, THEIR MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES, BLUNTED,

by lack of cheap salt. (Hear, hear.) I address many of the great of this land. Will they use all their influence to make this precious necessary of life cheaper? Fellow Delegates, will you show that they accuse you falsely who say, your care is all for yourselves and that this movement is simply one for the substitution of Indian dark-skinned for European fair-skinned Brahmins, by saying: "If in no other way can this yoke be made less grievous, tax us, tax the rich, but let the poor go!" I appeal to you, one and all in this hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity all the knowledge of this duty is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. (Loud cheers.)

MR. DINSHAW EDULJEE WACHA (Bombay): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—You have already heard Mr. Kennedy on the question of the consumption of salt, and the oppressive incidence of the salt tax on the people. I will, however, make a few further observations on this part of the subject, before I dwell at some length on the financial condition of the country, which is the ground on which we propose to memorialise the Government of India to reduce the tax. The principal object of the Resolution before you, is to urge upon the Government the justice of remitting the enhanced salt duty of eight annas per maund, which is no longer imperative on account of the material improvement which the finances of the Empire have undergone since the date of its imposition. It is needless for me to recall to your memory the pretext under which the enhancement was justified, in the early part of 1888, despite the fact that well-informed critics in the press, and responsible Associations at the time,

CONCLUSIVELY SHOWED THAT IT WAS UNCALLED FOR.

Previous to the imposition of the augmented duty, the Government of India had absorbed in two years Rs. 8,750,000, viz. :—

By Income Tax .. .. .	Rs. 2,75,00,000
Improvements and Economies .. .. .	2,00,00,000
Cartailment of Provincial Allotment .. .. .	1,00,00,000
Appropriation of Famine and Railway Fund .. .. .	3,00,00,000

This colossal amount of

NEARLY NINE CRORES WAS WASTED

on the following questionable and hazardous enterprises :—

Upper Burma acquisition .. .. .	Rs. 3,51,00,000
Penjeh Field Force .. .. .	2,11,69,000
Transfrontier Defences and Railways .. .. .	2,00,00,000
Additional Military Expenditure .. .. .	98,00,000

But even after the absorption of such a vast amount there was a heavy deficiency which, the Government regretfully urged, necessitated a recourse to additional taxation in the



shape of an enhanced duty of eight annas per maund on such a necessary of life as salt. The deficiency was chiefly attributable, according to Lord Dufferin's statement, to the fall in the value of silver. We need not, however, trouble ourselves much with the past. We are now here to remind the Government that our finances are in a condition to justify the remission of the enhanced duty. For that purpose let me put some statistics before you. I know that statistics are very dry, and that blue-books of a dry-as-dust character are never looked at by the public; but, considering the importance of the Resolution before you, I hope you will give your attention to the figures I am going to place before you. Previous Finance Ministers, particularly Sir John Strachey, and Sir Evelyn Baring, two of the ablest Ministers since the days of the late Mr. Wilson and Mr. S. Laing, repeatedly declared that

THE LOWER THE SALT DUTY THE BETTER FOR THE COUNTRY;

and the better for the Imperial revenue, because a lower duty stimulates consumption and a higher one restricts it. Government itself has admitted the soundness of this doctrine, and I will now proceed to show by figures how a lower or higher duty affects consumption. In 1876-77, when various rates of duty were enforced in the different provinces of the Empire, the total recorded amount which paid the salt-tax was 25,847,830 maunds. In 1878, Sir John Strachey brought about an equalisation of the duty everywhere by fixing the uniform rate of Rs. 2-8 per maund. This remained in force till 1882. During this period the annual quantity of salt which paid the duty of Rs. 2-8 per maund averaged 27,288,569 maunds. This annual average, compared with the consumption recorded in 1876-77, showed a growth of 5.5 per cent. In 1882, the Government of Lord Ripon reduced the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, at which it remained till it was again raised to Rs. 2-8, by Lord Dufferin, in 1888. The quantity which paid the reduced duty of Rs. 2, averaged, during the five years, 30,830,847 maunds per annum. The increase during this quinquennial period, compared with the average of the previous four years, was 3,542,278 maunds, equal to a percentage of 13. Thus, while in the period when the duty was Rs. 2-8, the increase equalled 1.37 per cent. per annum; in the period when it was Rs. 2 the growth equalled 2.6 per cent. per annum. (Cheers.) It is obvious that, had there been no enhancement,

THE PROGRESS IN CONSUMPTION

up to date

WOULD HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED AT THAT OR EVEN A HIGHER RATE.

But, just as this progress was perceptible all through the country, the financial embarrassments of the Government led, as they asserted, to the augmentation of the duty, and with it, to a restricted consumption. In his last financial statement Sir David Barbour has tried to show that the progress of consumption has received no check. According to his own figures, however, as given in the 23rd paragraph of that statement, it is clear that consumption in 1890-91 is estimated at about 31,930,000 maunds, which is less, by 900,000 maunds, than the recorded figures of 1886-87. Sir David Barbour attempts to demonstrate that, in spite of the increased duty, consumption, which had evidently fallen, is again creeping to the old level.

But Sir David forgets two important factors: Firstly, that population is increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum; and, secondly, that but for the enhancement the percentage of progress observable till 1887 might have been better in 1890-91. Indeed, it is a question whether the consumption per head has not fallen below the average of 10 lbs. per annum. That average is considered everywhere but in India to be quite inadequate, especially as

WE ALLOW NOTHING IN OUR COMPUTATION FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF CATTLE,

hundreds of thousands of whom annually lose condition for want of salt, and perish, consequently, on the smallest failure of pasturage, and thus cripple, to a serious extent, the means which mainly contribute to the production of our national wealth. I will give you some figures of the consumption of salt in Europe and America, from which it will be easily perceived how much India falls short of what may be called an adequate consumption of salt. In the United Kingdom there is no duty, and the consumption is 80 lbs. per head, but of course this includes much salt for manufacturing purposes. In France it is 50 lbs.; in Germany 25; in Russia 19—Russia whose economic conditions are in some respects identical with those of India; in Austria 14, in Italy 18, in Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17 lbs. The consumption in the United States is 39 lbs.; the average in Europe is 26 lbs. Then look at the incidence of the duty. The average income per head of the European population is £15 4s. 7½d. per head, while the salt duty per head averages 11d. Now, taking the rupee at 1s. 6d., the average income of the population in India is £2, while the salt duty per head averages 5½d. Therefore in Europe the salt duty is 0.3 per cent. on the income, while in India it is over 1.1 per cent.—or, in other words, the incidence of the salt tax is now

NEARLY FOUR TIMES AS HEAVY IN INDIA AS IN EUROPE.

Formulated in other terms it means that India, with an income hardly more than one-eighth that of Europe, pays nearly half as much as a tax on a necessity of life like salt. Thus the duty operates as a real hardship on the poorest people, who constitute the large majority of our population. How great is the hardship may be realised by taking a concrete example. A family of five consumes on an average, say, 50 lbs. of salt annually. But there are only two bread-winners, man and wife, the rest being young persons or children. Taking the average income of each earner at the official computation, viz., Rs. 27 per head, and calculating the lowest retail bazaar price at Rs. 3½ per maund, it will be found that there is a burden of nearly four per cent. on the combined income per annum merely for salt. Imagine an income-tax of four per cent. on a poor family of five, and nearly one-sixth of this is due to the extra eight annas. Thus the enhancement of the duty, however small, operates with great hardship on the masses. Under these circumstances it is a matter of deep regret to us all, that the two Indian gentlemen, who were present at the meeting of the Viceregal Council when this Enhancement Bill was passed, should have observed that the increased duty would not be felt by the people! I believe that statement was directly opposed to the all but absolutely universal opinion outside the Council Chamber. The statement was more to be regretted because it misled Lord Dufferin into observing, later on

in his speech, that the Council were "glad to hear that the enhancement of the duty would not be considered a hardship." This is the way in which nominated members of the Viceregal Council fulfil their trust. It is evident that

#### HAD THERE BEEN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

of the people, as proposed by us for the reformed Legislative Councils,

NO SUCH OPINION WOULD HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO PREVAIL AND MISLEAD THE GOVERNMENT.

(Cheers.) Eight annas may appear trifling to most of us; but they mean a great deal to the poorest. What they signify may be best stated in the substance of the words of Sir Evelyn Baring: "Eight annas to the poor ryot means the purchase of either three yards of cloth or a little *lota*." Gentlemen, all through the history of the salt tax it has been said that it is a poll-tax, and that it falls heavily on the poor. My personal opinion is that it should have no place in our fiscal system, for it is a tax on a necessary of life, and is, moreover, at its present rate fully twenty-five times the actual cost of production. Eminent statesmen, from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Ripon, have disapproved of it. But it is now too late to abolish it altogether. It is of no use contending with existing facts. All that we should strive for is a low duty on the sound principle that it is conducive to greater consumption both for men and cattle. I now pass to the second part of the Resolution. I hold in my hand a copy of the explanatory memorandum by the Under Secretary of State for India, presented to Parliament in August last. At page fifty there is a table of net Revenue and Expenditure for the three years ending 1889-90, and also Budget estimates for the current official year. Comparing the complete accounts of 1887-88 with the estimates of this year what do we find? This only, that there is a satisfactory growth of revenue under all the principal heads. Leaving alone opium, salt, and provincial rates, I find that the increase under the other heads amounts to Rx. 1,430,000 of rupees, as under:—

		Accounts.	Budget Estimates.	Increase.
		1887-88.	1890-91.	1890-91.
Land Revenue	Rx. ..	19,663,000	20,119,000	466,000
Stamps	" ..	3,669,000	3,846,000	177,000
Excise	" ..	4,374,000	4,645,000	271,000
Customs	" ..	1,182,000	1,378,000	196,000
Assessed Taxes	" ..	1,383,000	1,514,000	131,000
Forest	" ..	402,000	565,000	163,000
Registration	" ..	123,000	150,000	27,000

Thus, apart from salt, which now yields a larger revenue on account of a higher duty; apart from opium which is precarious in its yield; and apart from provincial rates which are mere transfer receipts, there is a growth in four years of Rx. 1,430,000. But, beyond this improvement on the revenue side there is, gentlemen, a material saving in one item of Imperial expenditure. I refer to the interest charge on the ordinary debt. In 1887-88, the net charge under this head was Rs. 46,950,000. In the estimates of expenditure for 1890-91 it is put down at Rs. 35,060,000. The saving in four years amounts to Rx. 1,180,000. While we note this improvement in our national expenditure with great satisfaction, we cannot but feel aghast when we discover that expenditure under

other heads had risen by leaps and bounds by no less than Rx. 3,080,000.

		Accounts.	Budget	Increase.
		1887-88.	1890-91.	
Civil Departments	Rx. ..	11,410,000	12,075,000	665,000
Miscellaneous Charges	" ..	3,155,000	3,702,000	547,000
Buildings and Roads	" ..	4,859,000	5,128,000	269,000
Army Services	" ..	19,357,000	20,522,000	1,165,000
Special Defence Works	" ..	458,000	892,000	436,000

Thus in four years they have managed to

#### RUN UP CIVIL AND MILITARY CHARGES,

including defence works, by the enormous extent of Rx. 3,000,000. The army services alone have increased by Rx. 1,160,000! not to speak of defence works having been run up one hundred per cent.! It is these stupendous charges which eat up your growing revenue. It is the so-called defence policy, the safeguarding of our frontiers and transfrontiers from a bugbear of their own creation, created to find staff appointments, and employment to the already monied European classes, which is at the root of the financial embarrassments of the Government, and at the root of

#### THE STARVATION AND MISERY WHICH ARE EATING AWAY THE LIVES OF TENS OF MILLIONS

of our pauper Indians. There are military and other critics who disapprove of that policy. Our late lamented friend, Mr. Slagg, characterised it two years ago, as you may remember, as a "mad" policy, when speaking on the subject in the House of Commons. I believe that it is a "mad" policy. I know that it is a wicked policy, and as long as it is pursued headlong it will continue to embarrass the finances and add millions yearly to our already alarmingly heavy death-roll. The embarrassments arising from the fall in the value of silver are, in my opinion, nothing—a mere fleabite—compared with the financial difficulties in which the Government of India is plunged by

#### THIS INSANE MILITARY POLICY.

I repeat, that unless a great effort is made at future Congresses to force the Government to desist from these reckless and indefensible operations beyond the natural lines of Indian defence, there can be scarcely any hope of pecuniary relief to the taxpayer, scarcely any hope for the amelioration of the miserable condition of our starving millions. Since the Penjdeh scare they have spent, according to the official statements, fully Rx. 13,000,000 on the so-called trans-frontier defences; but we have not yet seen the last of them, for in the last financial statement reference is made to a further probable expenditure of Rx. 1,000,000! I now come to the practical part of the resolution. Of course we have to submit resignedly to

#### THIS RUINOUS, THIS UNPRINCIPLED TRANS-FRONTIER POLICY

of the Government until we succeed in awakening the consciences of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects now of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better or for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy.

#### WILL OUR BRITISH BRETHREN NEVER AWAKE?

Meanwhile, more ammunition, more explosives, more fire-

works, and even more troops, are being requisitioned. These costly pastimes, amusements to our rulers, death to our people, may deter the authorities from giving ear to our prayers and protests. But it is well, none the less, to remind them of their own declaration that the enhanced duty "must go" as soon as the finances permit. One of the principal grounds on which Lord Dufferin stated that he was obliged, "with the greatest reluctance," to increase the duty, was the loss by exchange. I quote from the speech he made about the beginning of 1888. "Unfortunately, it has become my lot on several occasions to add to the taxation of the country, but in justification of this hard necessity, it is sufficient for me to remark that since my arrival in India, owing to the depreciation in the price of silver, the annual accumulation of loss to the Government has progressively increased yearly by a million." He goes on to say: "The loss in 1884-85, when I first took up the reins of Government, stood at 3.40 crores; in 1885-86 at 4.40 crores; in 1886 at 5.40 crores, and in 1887-88 at 6.60 crores." The latest financial statement gives the loss on exchange at seven crores (Rs. 7,000,000). It was, however,

PROMISED BY BOTH LORD DUFFERIN AND MR. WESTLAND

that the duty should be remitted on the first opportunity that the finances were relieved of this embarrassment. That opportunity has now arrived. Since the publication of the last Budget you are all aware that exchange has greatly improved, partly in consequence, possibly, of the action taken in regard to silver in the United States. Though we had violent fluctuations in August and September last, exchange still stands to day at about 1s. 6½d. The amount to be remitted this year to the Secretary of State is nearly fifteen millions sterling. The rate of exchange was estimated in March last at 1s. 4½d. and the probable loss at that rate was computed to be seven crores. But already eleven millions have been remitted at an average rate of 1s. 6½d., and there is no reason to doubt that the balance of the remittance will be made at or about the same rate. Sir John Gorst himself stated, when presenting the Budget in August last, that the rate would probably be maintained at 1s. 6½d. So that it may be taken for granted that the loss by exchange will be very much less than the Budget estimate of seven crores. I compute it at only about 4.66 crores. Thus, apart from all other fluctuations of revenue and expenditure, there would be a saving under this head alone of nearly 2½ crores. Sir John Gorst counts on a surplus 1.87 crores. Taking his figures and the actual surplus of two crores of last year, it may be reasonably expected that there will be available a surplus of not less than four crores in all. And unless the authorities persevere in

MUDDLING IT AWAY ON MILITARY MISCHIEF

that surplus should suffice, not only for the remission of the enhanced duty, but for the reduction of this latter to Rs. 1-8. (Loud cheers.) But I beg to bring to your notice two more facts which will convince you that even apart from these surpluses, the financial condition of the Imperial Treasury has so far improved as to justify our demand for a remission. The additional duty yields, it is asserted, Rs. 1,500,000 (it is not really so much), and, I say that that amount could be dispensed with easily for some years to come. According to Sir David Barbour's statement, there has been a permanent growth in the

principal heads of revenue of Rs. 750,000 per annum; exchange, again, is unlikely to go back to 1s. 4½d. for some time to come. Looking at current events and the further agitation on silver in America, it seems that a rate of 1s. 6½d. or even 1s. 6d. will be fairly maintained. But even if exchange could be maintained at 1s. 5½d. that would diminish the loss on the Secretary of State's bills in future to the extent of Rs. 1,000,000 roughly speaking; for an improvement of a penny in exchange gives a saving, according to official estimates, of just that amount. This saving, plus the permanent increase of Rs. 750,000 in the principal sources of revenue, make up Rs. 1,750,000, so that the Government is in a position to safely give up the Rs. 1,500,000 now supposed to be derived from the additional duty of eight annas per maund: as a matter of fact the loss, owing to increased consumption, would, after the first year, be less than Rs. 1,000,000. Both financial conditions, and the justice of the case, demand imperatively, that

A REMISSION SHOULD BE MADE.

I think, gentlemen, I have now shown substantial reasons for the remission. And if you think I have made out a substantial case on which to base our representation to Government to remit the duty, I am sure that that representation will at any rate deserve an attentive and favourable consideration at the hands of the authorities. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

MR. G. K. GOKHALE (Bombay): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to support this proposition that has been ably proposed, seconded and explained by previous speakers. My predecessors have dealt with certain aspects of the question, and I will with your permission deal with one or two others. I say that the measures for the enhancement of the duty on salt in January, 1888, by a mere executive order of the Government of India, was

A CRUEL DEPARTURE—I MIGHT ALMOST SAY A CRIMINAL DEPARTURE—

from the wise policy long since laid down by the Government of India, and re-affirmed, strange as it may seem, when Lord Lytton was our Viceroy and Sir John Strachey our Finance Minister, namely the policy of raising a revenue from salt by a low rate of duty and unrestricted consumption instead of by a high rate of duty and restricted consumption. I say that this new departure was extremely unjust, that as a measure of statesmanship it was extremely impolitic, and that its consequences have been simply disastrous. I know these are serious charges, but I think I can substantiate them. First, with regard to the charge of injustice. When Lord Dufferin's Government passed the Income Tax Act of 1886, his Lordship said that the measure was not brought forward in any spirit of apology, that

THE MASSES OF THE COUNTRY WERE ALREADY CONTRIBUTING MORE THAN THEIR PROPER SHARE

to the expenses of the country, and that the income-tax would only equalize the burdens on the various classes. Well, the burdens being thus equalised in 1886, I ask on what principle of justice and equity was it, that when two years afterwards a new emergency, as Government were pleased to call it, arose for additional taxation, it was the poor masses who were selected? How was it that when

it was found necessary to create a fresh inequality in the taxation of the country, matters were so arranged that the inequality was again prejudicial to the toiling masses? I do not know whether it was because the masses were almost certain to suffer silently, without protest—I would even say without complaint—whereas their wealthier brethren were as certain to denounce any taxation on them in the public press and at St. Andrew's dinner speeches. So much with regard to the injustice of the measure: now with regard to its impolicy. We have on our side an authority not only infinitely greater than myself but one to which the Government of India ought to bow—I mean the authority of the Secretary of State for India,

LORD CROSS

himself. Three months after the measure of enhancement his Lordship wrote a despatch to the Government on the subject. It was dated April 12th, 1888, and in it he

EXPRESSES HIS GREAT REGRET AT THE ENHANCEMENT OF  
THE SALT DUTY,

and directed the Government of India in very distinct, unequivocal, and I would say peremptory, terms to take off the additional eight annas on the first opportunity afforded by the finances. He then went on to say that even from the point of view of expediency the enhancement was extremely undesirable, because, in the case of so vast an empire as India, it was absolutely essential for the Government always to hold in hand some financial reserve which they might utilize on occasions of any sudden and dangerous crisis. So much with regard to impolicy: now, with regard to consequences, I am going to show that consumption has actually been restricted by this measure. In 1888, Mr. Westland, our Finance Minister, said that the enhancement would not affect the consumption of the country. The figures supplied by Sir David Barbour himself belied that prediction. The last year unaffected was 1886-87, and then the consumption stood at 3 crores and 10 lakhs of maunds. The next year, 1887-88, the first year affected by the measure, there was a fall of 6 lakhs of maunds, the figures being 3 crores 4 lakhs. The next year there was a further fall of 6 lakhs, the figures being 2 crores 98 lakhs. It is true that the figures have now gone up to those of 1886-87, but that does not show that the restrictive operation of that enhancement has ceased, because we have to take into consideration the important factor of the increase in the consumption of salt owing to the normal growth of the population. That normal growth is one per cent. per annum, and taking the consumption at 10lbs. per head, you find that every year there ought to be an increase of fully three lakhs of maunds in the consumption of salt. Taking this into account, you will see that in the first year affected by the enhancement there was a fall of nine lakhs, in the second of eighteen, and in the third of nine. Altogether in the last three years thirty-six lakhs of maunds less have been consumed by the people than they would have consumed if there had not been the enhancement. (Cheers.) Sir John Gorst, speaking the other day in the House of Commons, said that the diminution in the consumption of salt was not appreciable—that was the term he used. I do not know what dictionaries would justify the use of the term, but Sir John Gorst is welcome to use the word in this connection. But I ask him, and those who think with him, who are the persons affected

by this diminishing consumption? I daresay there is not a single person present, not a single member of those who are called the middle and upper classes, who have consumed, during the last three years, one grain of salt less than he would have done if there had been no enhancement.

WHO ARE THE PERSONS AFFECTED?

They are those who have been estimated by Sir William Hunter at forty millions, and by Sir Charles Elliott at seventy millions,

WHO ALWAYS EXIST ON THE BORDERLAND OF FAMINE,

so that, directly there is the least failure, down the precipice they go. The persons affected by this enhancement are they to whom the lines of the Corn Law poet might aptly be applied:—

“Landless, joyless, helpless, hopeless,  
Gasping still for bread and breath;  
To their graves, by trouble haunted,  
India's helots toil till death.”

(Loud cheers.) When you call to mind the thin emaciated figures of these unhappy, miserable brethren, who have as much right to the comforts of this, God's, earth, as you or I, or anyone else; when you remember that the lives of these brethren are so uniformly dark and miserable that they are hardly cheered by a single ray of hope, or relieved by a single day of rest; when, further, you remember that a person does not generally trench upon his stock of necessaries before he has parted with every luxury, every single comfort that he may allow himself; when you recall all these things you will clearly understand what

ORIEVOUS AND TERRIBLE HARDSHIP, SUFFERING, AND  
PRIVATION

this measure of enhancement, which has curtailed the poor man's consumption of salt by thirty-six lakhs of maunds, has really entailed. (Cheers.) We are appealing, in the present instance, to the Government of India, to reduce the duty on salt from two rupees eight annas to two rupees per maund. My friend, Mr. Wacha, has shown that the state of the finances permits of such reduction. We are appealing to the sense of justice of the Government of India. We are appealing to their statesmanship, to their righteousness, and I will even go further and say to their mercy. The past is in the past and no one can recall it; but this much can surely be done—further evil and misery from this source can be averted. It is with this hope that I support this proposition, and in this hope I ask you to carry it with acclamation. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. NANABHAI HARIDAS (Surat): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I most cordially support this proposition. My support, however, is really superfluous after the able speeches we have heard. It was previously adopted by the Congress; what we now do is to confirm, ratify, and reiterate it, with emphasis. Its very importance obliges us—nay it is our sacred duty—to protest strongly against the continuation of an enhancement, which tells so much upon the fifty millions of paupers over which India now mourns. Let “united, strenuous and continuous efforts, combined with willing and resolute determination, till success is achieved,” be our motto. We are under a greater obligation to try again and again till we are heard, for we do so on behalf of the poor dumb masses. Need I remind you of their

extreme poverty? Need I prove it before you—you of the Congress who are of the people, and who mix among them so frequently—you who every day personally witness it? Need I labour to establish the very apparent proposition that salt is one of the necessaries of life? Need I tell you that the price of salt has been artificially raised by the action of Government to many times, thirty, even forty times, the actual cost of production? So we have these facts before us: salt is necessary for life;

SALT IS VERY DEAR, AND THE PEOPLE ARE EXTREMELY POOR.

This is hard, very hard, and extremely cruel. Good men exult over the successes achieved in the prevention of cruelty to animals; but I fail to see why we should not have a society systematically working to prevent cruelty to higher animals, viz., human beings! Cruel, indeed, is the working of the salt tax laws. The proposition before us does not go far enough. For not only is this taxation itself radically bad and wrong—

A TYRANNY OF THE RICH OVER THE POOR

which, instead of being reduced by only eight annas as we are asking, should be reduced, except in times of war and sudden financial crisis, by two rupees, or at any rate by Rs. 1-8, but the law imposing the taxation is so framed as to involve almost a maximum of annoyance to the people. Every one knows this, but day by day the law reveals new grounds for detesting the whole system. One very harsh provision was only recently brought to light in two cases, both of a similar character. You will find from these, that if accidentally you happen to pour water over your salt, and so dissolve it, you will be guilty of an offence as soon as you apply heat to recover the salt. Thus has been created an artificial and technical offence out of an Act which is both religiously and morally innocent. I am afraid that if the next rainy season turns your salt into water, you must throw it away. You cannot, without committing a crime, recover it by applying heat, artificial or natural.

HOW LONG IS THE COUNTRY TO ENDURE THIS SYSTEMATISED OPPRESSION?

Well, every little helps, and I cordially support this present resolution as going, at any rate, a single step along the right road. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. ALFRED NUNDY (Central Provinces): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise with great pleasure to support this resolution, and to add my testimony to the great pressure of this salt taxation on the masses of India. Previous speakers have adequately referred to the special reasons which led to the increase of the duty on salt; they have graphically described the evils attendant on this iniquitous impost; and they have further established, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the time has now arrived when this heavy duty on salt should be reduced. I have no desire to dilate further on these points; but I wish to bring home to your minds, gentlemen, that the Central Provinces, from which I have the honour of being sent as a delegate, has a special interest in this question. It has been shown that it is a matter of grave necessity that this duty on salt should be reduced all over India; but I say, sir, that it is not only a matter of necessity, but of great urgency that this reduction should be carried out in the Central Provinces, and that this should

be done promptly and without delay. You are all aware, gentlemen, that the temporary settlement prevails in the Central Provinces. I am not going to speak of the advantages of a permanent settlement, for I should thereby be encroaching on the duties of the speakers on the resolution which follows this; but I wish merely to point out that,

OWING TO THE NEW SETTLEMENT, WHICH IS NOW IN PROGRESS,

a state of things is being brought about, which demands that relief of some kind, at least, should be given to

THE IMPOVERISHED MASSES OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES,

and that this relief can, to some extent, be obtained by a partial reduction of the salt-tax. As most of you are aware, the periodical settlement took place in 1864-65, and it shortly expires. For the last three years survey and settlement officers are traversing the country, and what has been the result? The Government revenue has been increased as regards some villages forty per cent., fifty per cent., and even one hundred per cent. This, gentlemen, let me assure you, I say on the highest authority possible. Now, who is to pay this increased revenue? I shall show you that eventually it is the poor ryot who will have to pay it. I ought here to remind you that besides the Government revenue, the malguzar, that is the owner of the village, has to meet a variety of other demands. He has to pay the education cess; he has to pay the putwari-cess; he has to pay for the maintenance of the hospitals; and, lastly, he has to pay the road-cess. The Imperial Government requires him to pay these cesses; but there are other local demands which he has to satisfy. The district officer proceeds on tour, the unfortunate malguzar has not only to see that the road is carefully prepared for his progress; but he has to meet the hundred and one demands of his camp-followers, whose requirements it is not easy to satisfy. So great does this evil become sometimes that the malguzar dreads nothing more than

THE DUBIOUS HONOUR OF A DISTRICT OFFICER PASSING THROUGH HIS VILLAGE.

Having met these Government and other demands, what is the financial position of the Malguzar? I have been assured, not by one, but by a number of these malguzars, that after paying up these demands, they find that sometimes there is hardly any surplus left for themselves—and they too must live—and if any, a very small one indeed. And now the Government steps in and increases the revenue by forty, fifty, and one hundred per cent. When this last settlement took place it was declared that the revenue then assessed would not be increased for at least a period of thirty years; but what did the Government do? It did not directly increase the revenue; it dared not be guilty of such a shameless and open breach of faith, but by means of incidental charges and cesses it has indirectly increased the charge by twenty-five per cent. Besides these there are a number of other indirect demands which the malguzars have to meet; there is the imperial road-cess of which I have spoken, but besides this there is another road-cess, the district officers' road-cess.

WHEN A DISTRICT OFFICER

goes on a tour through the country, or

GOES ON A SHOOTING EXPEDITION, THEY HAVE TO PREPARE  
THE ROAD FOR HIM,

and have to provide the incidental expenses which the followers of the camp are put to. There are also other demands. Last year I asked one of the malguzars for a subscription to the National Congress Fund; he said it was a very inconvenient time, for, shortly before, he had been giving a sum of money for a memorial to one of the officials. I asked the official's name, and he said, "Let us say 'John Smith'." I asked, "Of what service?" and he mentioned "The Service." "Why did you give it?" I asked. "Well," he said, "I never had the pleasure of meeting the officer, but I gave the money at the instance of the tahsildar, who had been asked by the officials to get contributions towards the memorial." Now, I put it to you, was that a voluntary contribution, or was it not a species of tax? This, then, being the case with the malguzars, the question arises, are they in a position to meet any extra revenue which the Government imposes? Many of them have proved to me that

AFTER ALL THESE DEMANDS ARE PAID THERE IS SCARCELY  
ANY SURPLUS LEFT

to them; if there is any it is very small. To what then will the malguzars be reduced? To either one of two alternatives: either to quit their villages or to increase the rent of their tenants. It is impossible to expect them to quit, and the necessary consequence is that the poor will have their rents raised. And who are these? Not the well-to-do ryots, but those who have small holdings, and live from hand to mouth—these will have to pay the enhanced revenue, and will have starvation facing them. I, therefore, put it to you whether the position of the Central Provinces does not demand that this Resolution should be carried and that some response should be made to it by the Government. The Government has the right, as the law stands, to arrange periodically the revenue imposed on each village, and they are not likely to give up exercising that right so long as a permanent settlement is not conceded. So long as they exercise that right, the landholder, already pressed for means, will accept no share of the new burthen. The well-to-do cultivators, with occupancy rights and means to defend these rights in the Courts, will allow no portion of it to be laid upon their shoulders, and

ALL ENHANCEMENTS WILL HAVE TO COME

from those who have only small holdings, who have no fixed tenures and no means,

FROM THE VERY POOR

in fact, the members of that army of martyrs,

OUR STARVING FIFTY MILLIONS,

on whom it is that this heavy salt tax presses heaviest— one small relief for these this resolution advocates, and I, therefore, most cordially support it, small and insignificant, comparatively speaking, as that relief is. (Prolonged cheers.)

LALJI MURJIDHUR (Lunjab): Mr. President and Gentlemen,—In bygone days our time was divided into three great divisions—youth, manhood, old age—each spread over more than a score of years. But now the angel of death has prescribed a period of five minutes for

a speaker to exist in this tribune. (Laughter.) Having wasted so many years of my life, I will not waste these precious minutes which have been allotted to me, and, therefore, I will at once proceed to make my last will and testament. Mr. Wacha has said that this is a dry subject.

I DO NOT SEE WHY PEOPLE SHOULD DISLIKE A  
DRY SUBJECT.

They do not dislike a dry dress, a dry room, dry weather, or dry salt; but they do not like a dry subject. (Laughter.) It is strange indeed. Now I take it that it is the duty of every man who eats the salt of another to prove true to the salt, to be faithful to him. And Government being in the position of a public servant, it is the duty of the public servant to be true to the public. But has it been faithful to the public? I submit it has not. I have to deal with the subject of salt. What does the salt duty mean? Do those who adorn the benches of the Legislative Councils stand in need of salt? Of course they do; they like it very much. But then they say, "It is not liked by the poorer classes; it is a necessity for us, but not for them." Is that just or reasonable? If there are any people whose only luxury in life is salt, and who are denied the blessings which God has conferred upon others, they are

THE FAMINE STRICKEN PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN HUTS.

The rich people, it is said, require salt, but the poor do not. Of course they do not. They live on sufferance; life is a long misery to them; and it would have been better had they not been born in this miserable world than be denied this, their sole luxury, which is a necessity to other people. Shame! gentlemen. Why does this state of things prevail? Because you have not proper representatives of these poor classes, who stand in need of salt, on the Legislative Council. It is only Sir Syed Ahmed who is a fit representative of these poor classes. I ask, Is he a proper person to understand their needs? If you deny salt to these poor people, you may as well deny them air to breathe, light to see, and water to drink. What does the salt duty mean?

IT IS A TAX ON HUNGER AND ON THIRST; IT IS A TAX ON  
ONE'S LIFE.

It is a wrong which presses hard on these people. Place yourselves in the position of those poor men; go to their homes and see for yourselves what sort of life they lead; and then say if you will deny them the last thing which makes the scanty insipid scraps of food, which is all they can ever get, at all palatable to these wretched creatures. (Cheers.) For God's sake, I say, do not deny them this one luxury which they stand much in need of. Do any of us approve this cruel grinding of our pauper brethren? Do I, do any of us? No; I, at any rate, will that henceforth there should be some mitigation of their sufferings in this respect at least, and this being my last will and testament, I would ask, as it is nuncupative, some gentlemen here, either the reporters for the press or some registrar or magistrate in this august assembly, to go and register, after my death, this last will and testament of mine in the Government Office; and as the time of my dissolution is fast approaching, I make this last appeal to the Government to reduce the tax and make the poor people a little less miserable. (Cheers.)

MR. DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARI (Calcutta):

I have listened, sir, with great care and attention to the interesting and able speeches in support of this resolution, but you will excuse me if I confess that I am by no means persuaded that the resolution as it now stands is fit for your adoption. Facts and figures, no doubt, have been quoted which tend to a conclusion with which no one would quarrel; but we must not forget that that conclusion being conceded, the other things which we demand do not necessarily follow. I know it is a difficult task for one like myself to address so large and mixed a gathering in opposition to the prevailing sense of the meeting. But I feel it my duty to speak; and permit me to remind you that in a deliberative assembly like this one is apt to be led, unconsciously, no doubt, into the adoption of views and opinions which are not likely to commend themselves to their better judgment. (A Voice: "Move your amendment.") I will bring it in at the proper time. ("Read it.") I will read it presently.

THE PRESIDENT: If it is the wish of the meeting that the amendment should be read, I think it should be read.

MR. SARVADHIKARI: I will obey the chair and read it. You will see that it does not materially alter the resolution, but to a certain extent it goes counter to it. It is to the following effect:—

"That the condition of the finances of India having improved, and those special circumstances, on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the salt-tax, having partially ceased to exist, this Congress considers that the provisions of the Salt Act, regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and industrial purposes, should be modified according to special circumstances prevailing in different localities, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council."

You will observe that I only suggest such an alteration as would be consistent with the former part of the programme that you have already adopted. It behoves you to give special care and consideration before you commit yourselves to the adoption of the original resolution. I am aware that it has received the sanction of a previous Congress; but that, to my mind, does not go for much. A lawyer by profession, and perhaps by instinct and tradition, I should be inclined to attach due importance to case law; but I ask you on a question of national importance not to be solely guided by precedents that are by no means sound. I take the liberty of pointing out to you that the resolution as it stands is not fit for your adoption—(Cries of "It is; It is")—first, because it is based upon an insufficient conception of facts, and secondly, because it involves the acceptance of principles which are unsound at bottom notwithstanding their specious appearance. The resolution alludes to the great improvements which have taken place in the finances of India. We have had a formidable array of facts and figures, which, however, appear to be an illusory dream, having

#### NOTHING MORE THAN A PAPER EXISTENCE.

Upon the supposition of this surplus numerous demands have been made upon the Government, which Government has not been able to accede to, partly because of its notorious disinclination to reduce any existing burden, the renewal of which would be objected to in time of need,

but especially because it has never had any tangible and real surplus with which honestly to meet those demands. Taking, however, the surplus to be real, and not suppositious, what should be the first demand for relief? Surely not this indirect burden which they, perhaps, do not perceive in the long run, and which, though objectionable in principle, is lightly felt because of its pretty even distribution and pretty equitable incidence. I think your first demand should be with regard to those obnoxious imposts of an inquisitorial character ("No, No"), "those little premia for safety and security," in the felicitous language of Lord Dufferin in announcing to the tax-paying world at Agra the resuscitation of a monster whom we had taken to be dead for good, under the fostering care of Lord Northbrook. You have been crying "No, No," and I perfectly sympathise with you; but, in carrying out the omnibus resolution, you ought to have remembered that you are giving effect to a demand for a partial abolition, at any rate, of the income tax. You are responsible members of a national assembly which, though not "endowed with power," should so act and deliberate as to make the rulers of our destinies think that we are well fitted for the exercise of any powers that may be conceded to us. Having adopted one part of the programme, it remains for you to be consistent. I am sorry that I have had to diverge. I will now come to the point. You have been

#### CRYING OUT AGAINST THE INCOME TAX

with commendable loudness and constancy—(A Voice: "No, never; only against its low incidence;" loud cheers)—although with not much appreciable result so far. In the course of your present deliberations, as I have pointed out, you have accepted this principle of indirect taxation. You did the same thing in former years by asking for the re-imposition of those import duties, which were abandoned in a fashion which it would not be prudent to characterize in the presence of the honourable member for Manchester. Well, your representatives in the press and on the platform have repeatedly emphasized that principle, and some of you are clearly of opinion—"No, No"—that the octroi should replace all other forms of municipal taxation, though, thereby, the food and clothes of the meanest and poorest citizens should be taxed. Those of you who are acquainted with the working of the octroi in the North-Western Provinces and elsewhere, will know that the burden is not very heavily felt, and yet the municipal finances flourish—"Question. To the point"). Evils, no doubt, there are, concomitant with a system like that, but they are evils of detail which it is for the Executive to rectify. I do not deny that

#### EVILS EXIST IN CONNECTION WITH THE SALT TAX

also, but they are evils to be rectified. Those who are acquainted with the hardships felt by seaside people who have been so long accustomed to make their own salt, which they are now precluded from doing, will no doubt sympathize with the resolution at the first glance; and I myself sympathize with it. All I ask you is to consider whether you will allow your sympathies to go counter to reason and common sense. Sentiment has, no doubt, its place in the counsels of the Empire; but sentiment alone cannot shape a nation's laws. They should be founded upon the sure basis of facts; and if some details

are oppressive let them be remedied. Ask the Government to

ALLOW PEOPLE TO MAKE THEIR OWN SALT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF CATTLE AND FOR INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES.

Let there be an amendment of the local and imperial laws in that behalf. Bombay or Madras cases of hardship and severity alone cannot control legislation. There are no doubt extreme cases, and I should have been glad if this resolution had been pertinently addressed to the rectification of those evils. If you wish to hear the last of these complaints you will have to abolish the tax altogether, and that you cannot do. I am no apologist for taxation; no one is. But the millennium is not so near at hand; you have to grapple with the situation as you find it, and, under existing circumstances, neither the total abolition nor the material reduction of the salt tax would be possible. Therefore, you ought to accept it with the best grace. I know that my amendment will be lost, but I feel it my duty to move it. Some of you go so far as to ask for the total abolition of this tax—"No, No"—you ask very properly that a portion of the excise duties should be abandoned; you ask for a large expenditure on education; you ask for a separation of the judicial and executive functions; and you ask for other improvements for which there must be money. Government must have money, and

IT IS ONE OF THE DUTIES OF LOYAL CITIZENS TO FIND MONEY,

and, if that is so, we must find it in the least objectionable way. It is for you to consider whether indirect taxation is not what will suit the country best. ("No, No.") I appeal to you not to be led away by hasty impulses and first impressions. You should look coolly at the matter and decide, as responsible members of a responsible assembly, to which powers may come in due time. I am sorry to go counter to the prevailing sense of the meeting, but I ask you to give the matter your careful deliberation. Bombay has conferred great obligations upon us; no abler man than Dadabhai Naoroji could be found; but I appeal to them not to mar the generosity shown to us by forcing upon us propositions which are at war with reason and common sense, and, above all, with the spirit of moderation. ("No, No, Bosh!")

MR. R. D. MEHTA (Calcutta), who was received with cheers, said: Mr. President and Gentleman,—Let me first of all thank you for your plaudits, and secondly, let me beg the favour of your not hurling me down from this exalted pulpit by your cries of "No, No." I am sure, addressing, as I am, practical and sensible men, who have come from such great distances to deliberate on the wants of the country, that I shall be able to carry my point and convince you. We have had the good fortune of listening to facts and figures cited by my esteemed fellow-countryman, Mr. Wacha, who has no doubt made a great study of them; but are you wiser than you were when you entered this pavilion? ("Yes, Yes.") There may be a few exceptional cases, but I say No. ("And we say Yes, Yes.") Suppose the eight annas reduction is brought into effect, what would be the saving per head? That is a point to be carefully considered. Shall we put forward a resolution like this which will meet with nothing but a rebuff from the Government of India? ("Shame"). If Mr. Wacha had told us what would be the saving per head, I would not have come before you. ("He has. Sit down.") The

able seconder of the motion has brought forward for your sympathy the question of the preservation of our cattle. Are we not all agreed that

THE PRESERVATION OF CATTLE SHOULD BE THE CHIEF CARE OF EVERY CIVILISED MAN?

It is on behalf of those dumb creatures that my friend has moved his amendment. ("No.") I think you have not quite understood the terms of it. Neither the mover nor myself desire to go against the resolution, but we propose something in the nature of an addition which we think cannot but carry great weight with the Government. When you say "Reduce the duty by eight annas per maund," do you know the amount you ask? ("Yes; a million sterling.") And do you offer anything to compensate it? ("No, because Government can now afford it.") You do not know anything of the kind. Let us be moderate in our demands. Let the Government understand what we are craving for—the preservation of our cattle; in that we are all unanimous. The amendment is not contrary to the resolution—"It is; It is"—and if you will permit the insertion of the words proposed in the amendment, it will meet our wishes and the wishes of the general mass of the people whose representatives we are. ("No, No.") What is the alteration we propose? The resolution says: "The condition of the finances of India having materially improved." We propose to expunge the word "materially," and we also propose to say "those special circumstances, &c., having partially ceased to exist," not practically ceased to exist. Then the amendment proceeds: "This Congress considers that the provisions of the Salt Act, regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and industries, should be modified according to special circumstances prevailing in different localities, and empowers its President to submit a memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council." Wherein lies the substantial difference between the original resolution and the amendment? What we all want is to see that one great point is gained—the preservation of our cattle, on which the proposer and seconder of the resolution have laid so much stress. ("First preserve the people.")

MR. MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI (Calcutta): Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—In coming here this morning I thought I should not have to speak, because a multiplicity of words is not necessary to recommend what I may call the peoples' resolution to the peoples' Congress. (Cheers.) In one way I am glad that this amendment is before you, for it allows us an opportunity of considering our position, though I believe that there has never been, at any time, any misconception about it. Mr. Mehta asks what is the substantial difference between the original proposition and this so-called amendment. (Cheers.) They are utterly different and distinct. (Cheers.) We say that

THE SALT-TAX GENERALLY SHOULD BE REDUCED,

so that all our pauper millions who chiefly feel the tax, throughout the Empire, should be relieved *pro tanto*. He says make special rules for special localities, so that some small isolated communities may be benefited. Our proposition is simple and practical—his, absolutely impracticable. (Cheers.) Of course he has not studied the question. Of course he does not know that differential



rates of duty involving cordons to keep the cheaper salt out of localities where it is not intended to be used are absolutely indefensible; that from Lord Mayo's time the whole aim of every reformer has been to get rid of these cordons by having one uniform rate of duty throughout Hindustan; that this by infinite pains has been accomplished; and that his resolution proposes to resuscitate all the evils inseparable from differential rates. Our resolution asks for a practical reform—his, for an impracticable retrograde movement: that is the substantial difference! (Loud cheers.) As far as I can understand its scope, the amendment proposed, with the exception of the verbal alteration suggested, comes to this: Let rules be made enabling particular communities of men in particular localities—I don't think it can mean the country generally or there would be an end of salt taxation—to make their own salt, never mind how unwholesome it may be. Rules, it seems, are to be made with reference to local peculiarities, which, to my mind, only means let those who are living on the sea coast make their own salt; and how is this salt to be prevented from going inland? But if these rules are to be made general, then every man living anywhere where there is even salt earth

**MAY MAKE HIS OWN SALT, CHEAP AND NASTY;**

and we do not want that; and, moreover, nothing short of millions of preventive officials can prevent this cheap and nasty salt, once made, from circulating over the entire country; and we don't want a new army of licensed blackmailers; and without this army the cheap salt will circulate and salt taxation come to an end; and we don't want that even, as yet; we can't afford it, though we can afford to reduce the rate by eight annas, and thus no doubt sacrifice about one million sterling of revenue which Mr. Wacha has shown that we can well spare if there be no new frontier extravagances. (Loud cheers.) The salt-tax is objectionable because it is a tax on life. It is not an income-tax, but a tax on life itself. (Cheers.) As to the remedy proposed by the amendment, it is worse even than the malady. (Hear, hear.) Independent of the army of blackmailers, the salt thus made will be bad salt, full of sulphates and nitrates, not only of sodium, but also of lime and magnesium. It is really

**BETTER THAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE NO SALT THAN  
HAVE SALT WHICH WILL INTRODUCE DISEASE**

into the system. There is one other point in connection with the amendment to which I wish to make reference. If it were practically carried into effect in the manner in which I believe it to be intended, the result will be great inequality in the taxation levied upon salt in different parts of the country. If we could exempt classes and so arrange that the poor should get their salt free, there would be something in it. But that is impossible; even with differential rates they can only be applied to localities; all in which, rich or poor, must enjoy the cheaper salt—to me an absurd proposition. I do not know what you think, but certainly I should think that this would be a great evil. Why should one locality pay Rs. 1 and another Rs. 3 duty per maund on its salt? This was the old vicious exploded system. Are we to go back to this? We do not want that some parts should have a plentiful and cheap supply, while in others salt should be scarcer and dearer even than at present. What we want is

**WHOLESOME SALT, CHEAP, AND PLENTY OF IT;**

and that, as I have tried to show, the amendment does not provide for. The argument advanced in support of it is: if you do away with the salt-tax where are you to get the money to keep the Government going? The answer is, firstly, that by the arrangements hinted at by the very vague amendment an even greater amount of revenue would be sacrificed,—either by the free circulation of the home-made salt, or by the prodigious establishments needed to prevent this, than by the reform that we have suggested; secondly, that this latter involves at most a reduction of one million in the revenue, and this our finances can now bear. The proposer of the amendment did not mention the remission of import duties. If the question suggested were ever addressed to us; if it were said, "We having remitted the import duties, where will you now find the money to pay your way if you reduce the salt-tax?" I only should reply in the language of the proverb: "Having put your finger into my eye, do you ask me why I shed tears?" (Loud cheers.) But the fact is our resolution cannot call for any such question. We are now paying our way—far more than paying our way; there will be a surplus if the finances are honestly administered, and we ask that a portion of this should be assigned for this reduction. Then, again, I am surprised that neither the mover nor the seconder of the amendment has taken the slightest notice of the fact, brought before you very clearly by the able seconder of the resolution, that

**A LOW TAX ON SALT ALWAYS INCREASES CONSUMPTION.**

So, therefore, though the loss might be a million sterling in the first year, there is every reason to believe that increased consumption and increased population would soon make up even this large amount, thus balancing both sides, and that is another strong argument for the reduction. In the next place, I think the proposer of the amendment was hardly correct when he characterized the improvement in the finances of the country as somewhat illusory and supposititious. Our Finance Minister, I believe, has himself declared that there has been a permanent improvement in the finances of the country; that he expects out of the general revenue there will be a surplus of three-quarters of a million, not this year alone, but from year to year. As the able seconder of the resolution has shown, upon exchange there will be a saving of another three-quarters of a million on the least sanguine estimate, altogether one and a-half millions; and if the tax were reduced by eight annas the loss would only be about a million. So that if there is no compensation by increased consumption, at all events, the surplus will be able to meet the loss. Now, the question we have to consider is, whether or not, under the present circumstances of the country,

**THIS—TO THE VERY POOR—BITTERLY OPPRESSIVE TAX,**

is not, on the whole, the most important to be dealt with; and whether it should not be brought at once within more moderate proportions? We can imagine upon the occasion of some great festivity at Government House a poor widow coming with her helpless orphans and saying: "By reducing this tax on salt you will give me and my orphan children at least six extra meals in a year." In order to appreciate the full significance of that, let me remind you of the fact, that more than one-fifth of the population of this great country gets, from year's end to

year's end, scarcely one full meal a day. Six annas saved to every family means six additional meals during the year; and I say, considering the expensive scale upon which the Government of this country is conducted, we ought to put aside all other considerations, and we ought first to try and find those

SIX ADDITIONAL MEALS A YEAR

for the poverty-stricken, disease-stricken, helpless poor of this country. (Cheers.) When gentlemen occupying high positions, coddled in the lap of luxury, say, "Oh, the poor won't feel it," there is something so chilling, so discouraging, so sickening in this cynicism that the power of adjectives is quite unable to properly characterise such base and selfish utterances. Well might the poor of the country say:—

"Nay, take my life and all . . . .  
You take my life when you thus take the means  
Whereby I live!"

(Cheers).

MR. JAMBULINGA MUDELIAR (Madras): Mr. President and Gentlemen,—When I saw my name in the list, almost at the end, I thought I should have very little to say, and that I might depart from this pulpit simply remarking that I supported the proposition; and as I listened to the force and completeness with which the able mover and seconder of the resolution put the facts and figures of the case, I felt that it would be superfluous and almost impertinent to try to add anything to what they have said. Now, however, if I occupy the five minutes allowed me, it is because of the amendment that has just been moved and seconded. I will, however, confine myself to one point. The mover of the amendment argued that the salt-tax, being an indirect tax, and even and equitable in its distribution, is an excellent one. Now I cannot understand how he makes out the even and equitable distribution. If he simply means that it pecuniarily affects all people, poor and rich, to an equal extent that may be so; but if he also means that the incidence, the real quantum of taxation, is equal as between the poor and the rich, then I differ from him. So far as the human consumption of salt is concerned, the poor man does not eat much less than the rich man; but the necessities of the agriculturist, the necessities of the ryots, require that they should purchase an infinitely larger quantity of salt for their own and their cattle's use than is required by the rich man. I believe it may be taken at ten or twenty times as much. If you consider that aspect of the case, you will see at once that, independent of the difference in size of the funds from which it is disbursed,

THE TAX, ACTUALLY, AND NOT MERELY RELATIVELY, FALLS MUCH MORE HEAVILY ON THE POOR MAN

than upon the rich man. (Cheers.) What then becomes of the statement that the salt-tax, being indirect, and evenly and equitably distributed, is a good tax? With regard to the income-tax, the mover of the amendment has been under an entire misapprehension as to the scope of our prayer. He appeared to think that we asked for the abolition of the tax. Certainly not. If we have a prayer with reference to the income-tax, its scope is the same as that with reference to the salt-tax.

WE WANT TO REDUCE THE SALT-TAX TO HELP THE MASSES,

not to benefit ourselves. We want the taxable minimum to be raised to Rs. 1,000, and that not to help ourselves, pleaders, medical men, merchants, and men of that kind, but to help the masses. Then we are assured that if we went for a reduction of the salt-tax we should meet with a rebuff from the Government. That point has been referred to by Mr. Wacha, who has distinctly shown us that the enhancement of the salt tax was greatly against the inclination of the Government, and that the Secretary of State sent his mandate that a reduction should be effected at the earliest opportunity that presented itself. I do not, therefore, understand why we should get a rebuff from the Government if we ask a reduction to the former limit. If we should get a rebuff, then all I can say is "More shame to the Government." (Loud cheers.) We, at any rate, shall have no cause for shame. As to the amendment itself, I ask you to consider whether, consistently with the monopoly of salt by the Government, it is possible to frame acts or rules in the manner proposed. Is it possible to separate the salt required for agricultural purposes from that required for home consumption, and yet to maintain the monopoly? I submit it is utterly unworkable. I am informed that a system of the same kind was tried at Madras, and, being found to be a thorough failure, was given up. Indeed, common sense is enough to show that it must be a failure, and that it is not possible to maintain the monopoly consistently with giving indulgences for other purposes. I trust, therefore, that the amendment will be unanimously rejected. (Cheers.)

SWAMI ALA RAM (North West Provinces) spoke in Hindi and said: Friends!—God, who himself is neither a Hindu, nor a Mussulman, nor a Christian, nor a Parsi, sees all sorts of religion with an equal eye. That impartial God has entrusted Her Majesty, the Maharani Victoria, with this special function of seeing with an equal eye; for in the year 1858 Her Majesty promised that she would equally deal with the Hindus, Mussulmans, Christians, Parsis, and believers in other religions. Similarly, in the year 1833, some six hundred and fifty members of the Parliament and several lords made the same promise. Therefore, it is our duty that, leaving aside animosity, we should ourselves unite, and beg from Her Majesty our rights. The Government has framed the Penal Code to put an end to quarrels amongst us. If we do not unite, we shall be criminals in the sight of Government. You see that the duty on salt has increased so much that

THE POOR CANNOT PROCURE SALT TO COOK THEIR PULSES WITH.

Lord Ripon reduced the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, and expressed a hope of gradually reducing it to only one rupee; but Lord Dufferin, on the contrary, has enhanced the duty to Rs. 2-8 per maund, and for this the poor are suffering much. This action is improper. It is the wish of the National Congress that as the son lodges his complaints before his father so the complaints of the poor and destitute should be made known to Her Majesty the Maharani. Friends, the National Congress does not ask for sovereign power, but the National Congress desires that the supremacy of the British Government might remain so long as the sun and the moon are not destroyed. The National Congress does not want to form a Parliament, but it wishes that the English Parliament might remain intact all along. Without any bias, I am speaking out the truth that the National Congress wants

this, that the amount of duty on salt, which has become an instrument of oppression to the poor, might be reduced. Victory be to Her Majesty the Maharani, and the Indian National Congress! (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: I will now put the amendment, and then the resolution, which, you will observe, asks for the remission of the recent enhancement to the salt duty, not the total abolition of that duty. The amendment differs from the resolution in this essential particular, that it wishes to retain the enhanced salt tax, and only asks that, though the circumstances that justified the enhancement have to a considerable extent ceased to exist, the tax should still remain, but that the provisions with regard to the preparation and consumption of salt should be modified according to local circumstances. You see, therefore, that there is an essential difference between the original resolution and the amendment.

The amendment was then put, but only two hands, those of the proposer and seconder, were held up in its favour, nearly all hands being held up against it. The resolution was afterwards put and carried without a dissentient voice.

THE PRESIDENT: Then I declare that this, our fifth resolution,

“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 His Excellency the Viceroy in Council;”

has been unanimously carried, and I call upon Mr. Mudholkar to move the sixth resolution.

## EXTENSION OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (Berar), who was loudly cheered on rising, said: I am very grateful to you, my friends, for the cheers you have given me; but, as the time allotted to me is very short, I will directly address myself to the subject. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution with which I am entrusted is one, like its predecessor, entitled to be called a people's question. Like the salt tax, the question of a permanent settlement is one with which the comfort, the very existence, of the masses is intimately connected. Throughout the length and breadth of the land you find that the staple industry of the country is agriculture, and that being so, the system of tenure under which our agricultural operations are carried on, is one of the greatest importance to us. Resolution No. VI., with which I am entrusted, runs thus:—

“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 of practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanence 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.”

I confess that the question with which this resolution deals is one of vast importance, and at the same time one of considerable perplexity, and the time allotted to a speaker by the rules will not enable me to do full justice to it. I will, however, lay before you, as briefly as I can, certain considerations which go far to justify and support the demand we make. As I have said, India is an agricultural country.

“THE WEALTH OF INDIA,” OF WHICH THE POET SPEAKS,  
HAS VANISHED.

The gorgeous fabrics which India produced are now reduced to an almost inappreciable quantity. Wherever you go you find that the people are being thrown on the soil. Take the estimates framed by the Famine Commission, and you find that ninety per cent. of the rural population is closely connected with the soil, and eighty per cent. of the whole population is wholly dependent upon the soil. Taking later calculations, you will find that the proportion has risen to as much as eighty-six per cent. and, with our indigenous industries dying out, this pressure of the population upon the land is growing every day, and you find that vast tracts which were at one time considered as not being fit for cultivation are being taken up for this purpose. The arable area under cultivation has increased vastly; and though this industry is not in many places paying, through sheer necessity,

PEOPLE ARE COMPELLED TO HAVE RECOURSE TO POORER  
AND POORER SOILS.

The effect of this has been that land which was required for grazing purposes is now taken up for agricultural purposes, and the result of that you see in the deterioration of your agricultural stock. If you compare this area, with the amount of population, you will find a state of things which must make us really very anxious; that is, that while the area under cultivation is estimated to be a little less than one hundred and ninety million acres, the population which it has to support is nearly one hundred and ninety-seven millions. I take my figures from the latest Government statistics. This means less than an acre per head, and, according to Sir William Hunter, at least an acre per head is required to maintain a man sufficiently. Here, therefore, is this one great problem before you. You find that the only industry by which you can maintain your people

IS IN A VERY UNSATISFACTORY CONDITION.

You may almost say that the widest limit of cultivation has been reached, and the question is, What are we to do? The only solution is improvement in cultivation itself, and here it is that the question of permanent settlement becomes of the greatest importance. If the oldest industry we have is to be maintained in a state of prosperity, it is necessary that that industry should be improved. But here, throughout the major part of the country, you find

that there is an almost insuperable obstacle to all improvement interposed, and that is on account of

THE TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT AND THE FATAL  
DISCOURAGEMENT OF IMPROVEMENTS

which this involves. The policy with regard to land tenure, followed by the Government for nearly one hundred years, has been one of violent oscillation. Whenever there is a crisis in the agricultural history of the country, you find that the heads of the Government are quite willing to accept statesmanlike and broad views; but when the crisis is past, and the danger is over for a time, there is a return to a huckstering policy,—a policy of trying to make as much money out of the landholder as possible. The famine in Bengal in 1770 secured to Bengal the permanent settlement. In 1860 there was a famine in the North-West Provinces, and the gravity of the famine, and the danger which the Government saw in the recurrence of such famines, led to the appointment of a Commission. That Commission took evidence and went carefully into the matter, and came deliberately to the conclusion that, in the interests of the country, it was absolutely necessary that

FIXITY AND PERMANENCY OF TENURE

should be granted. This is what the Commission say in the report submitted by their President: "Entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests and popular interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first, and, as I believe, most important measure I have respectfully to submit for consideration, is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity." This recommendation of the Commission was endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, and it met with the approval of the Viceroy, that great man, Lord Canning. The Governor-General said: "His Excellency believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule; while, under proper regulations, the measure will

CONDUCE MATERIALLY TO THE IMPROVEMENT

of the general revenue of the Empire." This report of the Commission, with the recommendation of the Viceroy, was sent to the Secretary of State, and this was what Lord Halifax laid down in his famous despatch of 1862: "After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be, fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country." A more satisfactory resolution, a more statesmanlike wish, a more just and humane conclusion could not have been arrived at. But

it has been our misfortune that, when a thing has been offered by one hand,

THE OTHER HAND HAS ALWAYS BEEN READY TO SNATCH  
IT AWAY.

There was a change of Government in England, and pressure was brought to bear by the members of the India Council to prevent the carrying out of the recommendations in the despatch of 1862. The clear promise, however, and the generous principles laid down in that despatch were such that they could not be abrogated; and what was sought to be done was to saddle those recommendations with further conditions. The only condition laid down in the despatch of 1862 was that its terms were to be extended to those provinces where four-fifths of the land was brought under cultivation. It was found that this condition was satisfied by a number of estates, and it was also found that other persons were willing to carry out the terms of the resolution. Here it was that mischief was done. A new condition was imposed in the despatch of 1865, and that was that the recommendations in the despatch of 1862 should be extended to estates, only if, in the opinion of the executive authorities, the public works of the Government were not likely to be so extended within the next twenty years as to benefit the estates to the extent of twenty per cent. Well, you will find that those conditions have been satisfied; nearly twenty-seven years (certainly twenty-five years) have elapsed; and as to public works you find that all the main lines and feeder lines of railways have been constructed, and the main irrigation works have also been completed. And, as far as cultivation itself is concerned, a few facts, taken from the latest Statistical Abstract, published by the Government in England, will show that

ALL THOSE CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN PRACTICALLY CARRIED  
OUT

in the greater part of the country, except in parts of the Punjab, and the Central Provinces. In Madras you find that twenty-eight millions of acres have been cultivated, and only eight millions are available for cultivation. In Bombay more than thirty-six millions have been under cultivation, and only eight millions are available for cultivation. In both cases, of course, these eight millions are of the lowest quality, and much of it really not worth cultivation. In Berar more than seven million acres are under cultivation, and only seven hundred thousand are available for cultivation. In the North-West Provinces over twenty-seven and a half millions are under cultivation, and only seven millions are available for cultivation. In Oudh over nine millions are under cultivation, and only three millions are available for cultivation. You see, therefore, that the conditions have been carried out, and yet the same system continues—that system which has been stigmatized by Government itself as one which is harassing to the people, as one which unsettles all relations between landlord and tenant, and as one which causes the greatest uneasiness. I am not using my own expressions, but the words used in the resolution of Lord Ripon in 1883. The view which was laid down in 1862 was, as I told you, opposed by Government officials in India and England; but a justification of those recommendations was supplied by stern facts which happened later on. In 1874 the riots in Bombay resulted in considerable loss of property and damage to person.

Then there was the famine of 1877, and the Government officials were obliged to admit that nearly forty millions of people belonging to the agricultural population were

ON THE BRINK OF STARVATION.

Still you find that there was a disinclination to carry out the principles laid down over and over again, and the justice of which was admitted. I will only refer to two authorities, whose eminence in these matters is not disputed, Sir Louis Mallet and Sir James Caird, both of whom stigmatize the present system. Sir James Caird moreover distinctly says that a thirty years' settlement cannot be expected to produce sufficient stimulus to ensure improvement in the agriculture of the country; that is the deliberate opinion of a member of the Famine Commission. In spite of these things we find that the system is continued. The evil is to be deplored in more respects than one. In the first place rent in India, or revenue, has nothing like it anywhere else in the world. Take the proportion of rent to gross produce in any country in Europe, and you will find that India is placed on a basis of its own. In Great Britain the proportion of gross produce to rent is 1 to 33; in Europe generally 1 to 50. The lowest in Europe, Denmark, is 1 to 27. In India it is 1 to 3 or 1 to 4. That is, for every four rupees you get from the land you give one rupee to the Government; whereas in Europe, out of fifty rupees coming from the soil, only one goes to the landlord. Then there is

NOT ONLY THE HIGH RATE, BUT THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE ENHANCEMENT.

You do not know in what way the enhancement may come. There is the re-classification of soils, which means raising the soil of an estate from the third class to the second, or the second to the first, and so on, and the consequent raising of the land revenue itself, and there is the enhancement of the revenue independent of any such supposed change in the status of the soil. All these operations have been productive of the great mischief of putting an end to all improvements. These are facts that require serious consideration. I admit that there are grave difficulties in the way of Government from the rupee going down in value as compared with gold. Of course it would be difficult to settle the question in an off-hand manner; but I do not think the difficulty is such as to baffle the resources of statesmanship, nor do I think that our administrators are so devoid of statesmanship as to be unable to grapple with it. What we ask is that there should be some fixity. That fixity need only be as regards production. If the proportion of produce to rent were fixed; if it were laid down once for all that each plot should pay yearly the money value, settled quinquennially, on the basis of the preceding five years' local prices, of so many maunds of jowar, bajra, wheat, barley, cotton, sossamum, as the case might be, due reference being had to the culture prevalent in each village, I suppose that would satisfy the requirements of the people. It is

A PROBLEM WHICH CAN BE SOLVED.

"I appeal to Great Britain and to our administrators here to make a real effort to solve it, and thus carry out the principles laid down by successive Governments in

England—principles which have their greatest justification in justice and in humanity. (Cheers.)

It being 2 p.m. the Congress then adjourned for half an hour.

On the reassembly of the Congress—

MR. RATHNA SABAPATHI PILLAI (Madras), resuming the debate, said: I beg to support this resolution. I come from the district of Tanjore in the Presidency of Madras, where re-settlement operations are at this moment in full swing. I am a landholder myself; I know the ins and the outs of this question as it affects the ryots of Southern India; and I can assure you that there is at the present moment a reign of terror in my district: there is not a ryot who is not filled with alarm as to the expected results of the settlement operations. Security of property is no less a function of Government than security of person. We are all thankful to Government for the security of person and property that we enjoy. The protection we enjoy is from robbers, dacoits, and lawless subjects; but

WE WANT PROTECTION OF OUR PROPERTY FROM THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF—

(loud cheers)—we want to be saved from our own friends. The Bengal Presidency, or part of it, has had the blessing of a permanent settlement conferred on it; and I ask, why not extend the same to other parts of the Empire? The wealth of the nation is the wealth of the Government itself. What ryot will dare to invest his savings, if any, in his holding with the periodical visitations of the Settlement Department before his mind's eye? This unsettled state of mind has a most demoralizing effect upon landholders, who are already living from hand to mouth; it is destructive of all agricultural progress, nay decent well-being. Seventy-five per cent. of the landlords in the district of Tanjore, which is commonly talked of as the garden of Southern India, are involved in debt. I dare not look into the future. Already rumours are afloat that the assessment will be increased by fifty per cent. Even if it is increased by thirty per cent. the result, I fear, will be simply disastrous. But Government may say, "We must move; we cannot afford to stand still; we must obey the law of nature: the world itself moves." But I should be glad if the Government would apply this law of nature to the administrative machinery of the country, and grant us the voice that we demand in the affairs of our own country. (Cheers.) The change is necessitated by the changed circumstances of the Empire. The Government are eager to obey this law of change whenever the changes tend to fill their own exchequer; but

THEY ARE EXCEEDINGLY LOTH TO MOVE

in any matter

IF THE CHANGE TOUCHES THEIR PREROGATIVES OR PRIVILEGES.

Only last year a friend of mine, a landholder in the district of Tanjore, suffered for speaking out his mind, by writing to the papers complaining of the threats of illegal exactions on the part of the subordinate officials of the Settlement Department. Although he was a landlord he happened to be a servant of the Government as well. He was a Professor in a Government College and also M.A.

of the University of Madras. Government, taking advantage of his position, suspended him for a period of six months, because, in the *bond fide* protection of his own interests, and the interests of his co-landholders, he wrote to the press, bringing to the notice of the public the threats of exaction on the part of subordinates of the Settlement Department. I am glad to tell you that the Government of Madras which took this unprecedented step felt it to be such on reconsideration, and, by way of amends, elevated my friend to a position of greater trust and responsibility. (Cheers.) I trust that the Government of India will make an equally edifying repentance, and having first tried to crush our movement, and allowed its officers in many places virtually to persecute our members, will now hasten to accede to the reasonable demands of this assembly, and, amongst other things, take steps to secure to us a permanent settlement and fixity of tenure. (Cheers.)

MR. BOIKANTHA NATH SEN (Bengal): Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution, the more so that I had the honour to support a similar one at Bombay. The time allotted to me does not permit of any lengthened discussion. The observations which have been made may be considered as the principal arguments put forward. Those I now propose to place before you may be tacked on to them, and the whole may be regarded as one series of arguments placed before the public for the due consideration of the Government. This is a resolution in which there is no question of sentiment. It is a question which affects materially the prosperity of the country and which affects the Government also in a very material way. It has been observed that this is a resolution not for the benefit of the delegates, but for the benefit of the people. I go further and say that it is a resolution which, if carried, and accepted loyally by the Government, will

BRING BENEFITS TO THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF.

(Cheers.) Let me notice the way in which the resolution has been divided. It refers, you see, to the despatch of 1862, confirmed by that in 1865. It says that the Government is "now in honour bound." Observe the force of the word "now." Let me place before you another fact, that a permanent settlement was accorded to Bengal in 1793, when you will find a minute by the Board of Revenue at Madras, delivered by Mr. White, and approved of by a Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the affairs of the East India Company. That approval was made in 1812; that principle was recognised and emphasised, and a line of action was formulated fifty years afterwards, in 1862, in the despatch of the Secretary of State. Twenty-seven years have now passed, and we are where we were in 1812, because there is no indication of a permanent settlement being carried out in those provinces where it was not conceded very nearly a century ago. Why is it so? We all know that land revenue forms the central figure in the group of English taxation, and there is an apprehension of a loss of prospective increment in the Government revenue, based on what is supposed, in a mistaken way, to be the results of the permanent settlement in Bengal, and what is still erroneously considered to be a wanton sacrifice, as it were, of the resources of the State by Lord Cornwallis, for the sole purpose of giving satisfaction to the landed proprietors. Now, it is on account of apprehensions and misapprehensions like these that effect has

not been given to the despatch of 1862. Before I proceed further, let me place before you further statistics. The territories which are under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal extend over an area of 140,000 square miles, of which 120,000 enjoy the benefits of the permanent settlement. But at the time when the permanent settlement was granted to Bengal only one-third had been brought under cultivation. The land revenue from Bengal is about Rs. 4,000,000, and the gross rental is about Rs. 20,000,000 (I make a technical distinction between revenue and rental). Then the incidence of the land revenue in Bengal is Rs. 55 to 100 persons of the population; in the Punjab, Rs. 109 to 100 persons; in the North-Western Provinces, Rs. 129 to 100 persons; in the Madras Presidency, Rs. 134 to 100 persons; and in Bombay, Rs. 234 to 100 persons. Now, apart from other questions which are undoubtedly of a very weighty nature, and which, in summing up, I shall have occasion to refer to, I venture to think that

THE HIGH STANDARD OF REVENUE WHICH HAS BEEN  
ATTAINED,

ought of itself to be considered a sufficient reason for the Government according a permanent settlement to those provinces where it has not been extended. You have heard from the able mover of the resolution what area has been actually brought under cultivation, and what little, and that of the poorest quality as a rule, yet remains to be cultivated; so that the time has surely arrived when, apart from other questions, this high ratio of cultivation would justify the Government in giving fixity to their demands. Let us see a little further how the matter stands. There is much more to be said. The experiment of one hundred years in Bengal furnishes us with certain data which will enable you to solve the problem in a satisfactory way. This permanent settlement must be considered as the very best manure you can give to the land; for shortly after the permanent settlement of Bengal there was a wonderful increase in the cultivation. Before the permanent settlement only a third was under cultivation, but now you will scarcely find one-thirtieth uncultivated. Then you may look upon this permanent settlement as a very important agent in the distribution of the proprietary interest in the soil among the various classes. It has also been

M A VERY IMPORTANT FACTOR IN BRINGING ABOUT  
SOCIAL REFORM.

Who ever had an idea of a middle class? I say this middle class is, to a great extent, the growth of the permanent settlement. Where is it anything like so strong in numbers and in wealth as in Bengal—(cheers)—although, now, the example of Bengal has more or less pervaded the entire Empire. But for that permanent settlement India would have had, as in Russia, the poor and the rich, but no middle class such as you find crowding this great hall. These, then, have been the direct benefits of the permanent settlement. Now let us see what more the Government can expect. Would it be a sufferer in the long run? Look at the case of Orissa. Orissa was temporarily settled for thirty years, and the lease expired in 1866. There was then, as you all know, a famine, and the Government could not possibly, on that occasion, think of enhancing the revenue by making a re-settlement, so that it had to renew the settlement for another thirty years. That

settlement is still going on, and it will expire in 1895. Progress has been kept in abeyance for sixty years. No capitalist would venture to invest his money in land in Orissa.

FOR SIXTY YEARS PROGRESS HAS BEEN RETARDED,

by the inactivity (if nothing else) of the Government. We find that from that portion of Bengal which has not received this boon Government does not expect much. There are authoritative reports to Government that if a permanent settlement be withheld from those other provinces, there would be at best (as I had occasion to remark on the last occasion) a gain to the Government of Rx. 306,000. Now let us see how we fare in Bengal. In the Civil Administration alone in the whole of India there is a loss of Rx. 120,000, the expenditure exceeding the receipts by that amount. But in Bengal there is a surplus of Rx. 140,000, and what is this owing to? In education in Bengal Rx. 830,000 are spent, out of which only Rx. 210,000 are spent by the State, the balance being spent by private individuals who are able to pay on account of the permanent settlement. See how the Government has been gaining in this way. If, then, the permanent settlement be extended to other provinces, I venture to submit that

THERE IS NOT THE LEAST REASON FOR THE GOVERNMENT SUFFERING

in any way in its finances. Whatever it may apparently suffer, from a purely Treasury point of view, in the matter of direct loss of future enhancements of land revenue, will be more than compensated by gains from other sources through new channels which will be created by this permanent settlement of its own force. Now, while the Government has pledged itself by its despatch of 1862, confirmed by the despatch of 1865, it is undoubtedly in honour bound to redeem its pledge. By according this concession the Government will derive benefit in two ways; in the first place by saving its honour by the redemption of its solemn pledges; in the second, even financially, as sharing the enhanced prosperity of its people. Its good deed may directly diminish by a few lakhs the land revenue of fifty years hence; but crores to replace these will have poured down from the happy consequences of that honest policy. As Kalidasa says:—"The sun draws the water from the soil, but this is returned a thousandfold in the shape of rain." (Cheers.)

BABU JANOKI NATH BOSE (Orissa):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in giving my cordial support to this resolution. My simple desire is to let this august assembly know what are the feelings of the people of the province, which I have the honour to represent, with regard to this very important question. You have been told that a permanent settlement has not been introduced into the backward province of Orissa, I happen to work there as a lawyer, though I am not a permanent resident in the province. During the years I have been practising there I have acquired some knowledge as to the condition in which the agriculturists of the province are placed. It has been said in very high quarters that India's land revenue is very flexible; that it can be compared to India-rubber and drawn to any length to meet emergencies; that it is a source of income which can be increased to any extent. But as India-rubber being drawn beyond certain limits will break, so this

source of revenue, if strained to extremes, would certainly fail and with disastrous results. If continued to be carried to extremes, as has hitherto too often been the fashion,

THE TEMPORARY LAND REVENUE SYSTEM MUST PRODUCE BACK-RENTING,

which already exists in many provinces, which has already led to dire famines, which, as it grows, must mean direr famines still in even closer succession. This question affects not only zemindars but all of every grade who draw subsistence from the soil, and a permanent settlement would prove not only a blessing to agriculturists but, in the long run even, to the Government itself. In the case of land revenue it should be borne in mind that it is really not nearly so flexible as it is thought; that there is a limit to its capacity for expansion; and that if you strain it beyond those limits the whole system will collapse. There are provinces where this is even now imminent. What do we see in the province of which I am a representative? The zemindars are almost all deeply involved in debt; they cannot pay the Government revenue at the proper time: often you see their properties being sold at public auction to meet the demands made upon them; they have no resource but to incur debts at a very high rate of interest. If we look at the condition of the ryots what do we see? That they are being rack-rented;

THEY CANNOT GET A FULL MEAL IN TWO DAYS; THEY CANNOT GET A WAISTCLOTH EVEN ONCE A YEAR.

Such is the condition to which Government has reduced the zemindars and ryots through their unwillingness to introduce a permanent settlement, and through the consequent impossibility of the vivification of this national industry by capital. Contrast the state of Bengal with that of other provinces where there is no permanent settlement. Here we find the zemindars occupying a high place, but in other parts they are only poor men who cannot take part in any national undertaking that requires money. Look at the ryots. We have some poor, no doubt, but look at the millions of well-to-do tenants of all grades. In what other province do you find any large proportion of such? For fifty years, at least, six millions sterling have yearly gone into the pockets of the people that would, under the temporary settlement system, have gone into those of the Government, to be wasted doubtless in frontier defences—(cheers)—and I venture to say that those six millions have profited the country ten times more than they would have done had they gone into the coffers of the State. (Cheers.) The temporary settlement system is everywhere ruining the zemindars. It has been said, "Let the zemindars be ruined, we do not care, provided we have got peasant proprietors." But that is a very idiotic and narrow policy. In the first place the zemindars, the landed aristocracy of our country, constitute, in many provinces, a definite and important institution which has taken deep root and cannot hastily be done away with; and in the second place the same cause that wrecks the zemindars will, as time runs on, ruin even peasant proprietors. There are many who say: "If the permanent settlement can give rise to peasant proprietors it is all right, but if it will only enrich the zemindars we are not for it." I submit that that is a ridiculous view of the case. In the first place all through Bombay and Madras, it is

WITH PEASANT PROPRIETORS THAT WE DESIRE TO SEE A  
PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

Again, where we have zemindars, they are none the less a portion of the people, and from their position, whatever affects them injuriously affects all subordinate classes of agriculturists equally injuriously, while what benefits them, benefits equally, directly and indirectly, not only all subordinate holders of land but, in a country like this where everything hinges on the land, the entire community. Now what do we see in Orissa? We see that the zemindars are mostly over head and ears in debt, and that what with their irrigation tax and the rent, the poor ryots are being trodden under foot; their condition is most deplorable; they have not a full meal every two days; they have nothing in times of scarcity to fall back upon; they are perpetually on the verge of starvation. I am sure that if the permanent settlement is introduced into that province, if there is no more Government rack-renting, if the Government ceases to threaten them with periodical re-assessments, you will find that capital will flow into the land, that cultivation will improve, and that in thirty years the condition of the zemindars and ryots will be so much improved that no one in that flourishing land will be able to recognise this now backward, miserable, poverty-stricken region. Moreover, apart from the consequences, on abstract principles only, the action of the Government in increasing the land revenue every twenty-five and thirty years is not just. It is a case of

REAPING WHERE THEY HAVE NOT SOWED, OF GREEDILY  
GRASPING THE FRUITS

of the tiller of the soil's persistent labour, of arbitrarily confiscating the fruits of its subjects' industry; it is unjust, I say, in principle, and, like all injustice, it is thoroughly bad policy in the long run. From every point of view, therefore, a permanent settlement is desirable, and holding this I most strongly support the resolution now before you. (Cheers.)

**BAKSHI JAISHI RAM (Punjab):** Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have been called upon to support is one of the greatest importance. I come from the Punjab, and I shall speak from a Punjabi's point of view. Our province is the poorest province, I fear, in the whole British Empire. As elsewhere, so in the Punjab, the enterprise of British merchants has almost brought about

THE COMPLETE EXTINCTION OF ALL NATIVE INDIGENOUS  
ARTS AND INDUSTRIES.

Past history shows us that the Punjab has produced but very few enterprising merchants, and it is so circumstanced that its physical situation will never bring it on a level with its sister provinces in regard to trade. The Punjab is essentially an agricultural province. Its prosperity depends on the prosperity of the holders and tillers of the soil, and nowhere is the necessity of a permanent settlement more felt than in the Punjab. Our existing temporary settlements seem mere embodiments of that leading principle of the old Sikha Shahi rule, that Government should get, or in other words extort, the utmost possible from the people. The fluctuating nature of the settlement and the perpetual liability to an increased demand on the part of the State, takes all heart out of even the hardworking Jât and keeps him ever in poverty. Our

present system is a tax on—nay, a confiscation of—the value of improvements, and thus deters the agriculturist from ever making the best of his land. (Hear, hear.) The settlement itself, so long as it is in progress, and it lasts for years, is always a curse to the zemindars. The heavy expenses unnecessarily incurred by Government are in this matter payable by the people—aye! and much more, as black mail, in one shape or other. It is not uncommon too, for the greedy subordinate officials to stir up strife by making false entries, and this adds to the fast-increasing litigation which has already proved so ruinous to the zemindars. The anxiety we feel for a permanent settlement is not altogether novel, nor one that originated wholly with us. Thirty years ago the local Government declared the expediency of commencing a register of permanent settlements for fully-cultivated tracts, but it was not allowed to give practical effect to its views then, for reasons which it is needless now to discuss, for time has brought forth happy changes, and there is nothing now which stands in the way. The chief condition laid down in the despatch was, that at least four-fifths of the culturable area should be redeemed and brought into cultivation. If any other province has not fulfilled this condition the Punjab has. Take a trip from Delhi to Peshawar, exclude the hilly barren tracts from consideration, and you will find

THE WHOLE OF THE LAND UNDER CULTIVATION.

It may be said that the finances of the Government will suffer by conceding a permanent settlement. But this argument can be at once overthrown by the long experience of a hundred years in Bengal. Has the Government of India, has the country at large, suffered in consequence of even this badly-arranged and prematurely-conceded permanent settlement in Bengal? Look to the commerce of Calcutta; look to the density of the population; look to the great spread of education and the enormous masses of well-to-do people, the like of all of which is to be seen nowhere else, and then let any man dare to deny that even this crude, imperfectly carried out, settlement, conceded before more than one-third of the culturable area was under culture, has been, solely in virtue of the one attribute of permanence, an immense boon to the people and a gigantic source of strength to the Empire. (Prolonged cheers.)

**MR. DEORAO VINAYEK (Berar):** Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which is now before you, coming as I do from the same quarter as the delegate who proposed it. The resolution simply asks the Government to fulfil their noble and benevolent promise made more than a quarter of a century ago. Some may say that Government has made the promise and is capable of fulfilling it unrequested. It may be so or it may not; but the time is such that

WE CANNOT GET ANYTHING UNLESS WE SEEK IT.

Demand ought to precede supply, as the saying goes. My predecessors have read you the despatches and some figures in regard to the satisfying of the required conditions for the bestowal of a permanent settlement on nearly the whole of India. They have shown you that Government is in honour bound to fulfil its promises, and they have shown by certain experience in Bengal that the permanent settlement, if given at all, will not disappoint



the Government. I will not take up your time unnecessarily by reading those notable despatches again. I will simply refer to one or two questions which, in my humble opinion, it is very important to have discussed in this assembly. I come from Berar, and I had the honour of discussing this question with some high revenue officials there. They discussed the matter with a free mind, always open to reason. Their views may be against permanent settlement, and they may have reasons to substantiate those views; but they listen with open minds to what we say. When we convince them that what we claim is not unreasonable they admit it, and I hope that they will assist us if we prove our case to be a strong one, at all events that they will not bring forward any opposition. Amongst their objections to a permanent settlement are these: First, they say that by a permanent settlement Government will be bound down to a certain fixed revenue, and that with ever increasing administrative charges there will be no corresponding increase of revenue. They also say that the boon of a permanent settlement, if granted at all, will not benefit those in whose interest that boon is claimed—that is, the cultivators. These are very grave questions now, and to answer them in the time allotted is impossible. I should like to be permitted to read one or two passages from a paper read some time ago by a very high official of the Revenue Board of this province in England: "An examination of those results (of permanent settlement) will, perhaps, lead us to the conclusion that

P. THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT WAS A WISE AND STATES-  
MANLIKE MEASURE;

that, politically, it has been a tower of strength to the Empire; that from a social and economic point of view, it has stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the province; and that, even from a strictly financial standpoint, the surrender of an increased land tax has been in some measure compensated by the steady development of other branches of the public revenue." He has given some figures, which one of my predecessors has referred to, showing how the province of Bengal has been benefited financially by the permanent settlement. I will not, therefore, read any more passages. The same gentleman lays down the rule that the creation of an independent middle class is not an evil, but a blessing. (Cheers.) It is the middle class that has taken advantage of all the reforms introduced by British rule in India. It is that middle class which mainly fills this pavilion, and the authority I have quoted says further that it is a fruitful source of strength to the State. The creation of that class is not to be deplored. Suppose, for instance, though this can never be generally true, that the permanent settlement does not benefit the ryots, or say, some classes of the ryots in a poor agricultural district. What is the practical effect? Is it undesirable that the land should be held mainly by those who can afford to improve it? Is it desirable that the land should be generally cultivated by poor hand-to-mouth cultivators? Is it not better that those agriculturists, who are so poor that they can give nothing to the land, should be labourers rather than holders of the land? Is this not better for these men themselves,—better for the land, better for the country? If the permanent settlement has the effect of

CONVERTING IN SOME PLACES STARVING TENANTS INTO  
WELL-FED LABOURERS,

of creating a strong middle class, is this any argument against a permanent settlement? Is it not desirable that the material wealth of the country, for the increase of which our British Government is so anxious, should be increased? And how can that material wealth be more certainly increased than by the creation of a class of small capitalists—a middle class in fact. These two objections then, are invalid. All we ask is that the Government should open a discussion on the subject. We say to them: "You have closed discussion for a quarter of a century; don't close it any longer." I come from Berar. You know Berar is, by an official fiction, not under British rule; but all the same it has British rulers, British missionaries, British laws, and the advantages and disadvantages of British rule. We have no legislation for ourselves, nothing like it. If a permanent settlement is granted to other provinces we know, of course, that we shall not get it as soon as you do, if at all, my friends. We shall be left behind lamenting, I fear. But that is no reason why we should hesitate to join you in reasonable demands. We Berarese are first of all Indians, and we have joined the Congress, not because, perhaps, any direct benefit will be gained by Berar even when the Congress triumphs, but because this triumph will benefit our country; because we are all one; because your happiness, your prosperity, means the advancement of our native land, and a source of perennial rejoicing to us; even though we poor Berarese have to sit in darkness outside the banquet hall. (Loud cheers.)

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (Satara): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Allow me to thank you on behalf of the persons who have sent me here for enabling a humble delegate like myself to bring their difficulties before you. They have asked me not to make a long speech, but to place before you the practical side of the question as viewed by the Bombay people themselves. Directly after the despatch was received, every local Government applied to bring into operation the recommendations made by the Secretary of State, but for the time the matter lapsed. Twenty years or so later, by the influence exercised on the Bombay Government from various directions, it was induced to take up this subject in the form of a small legislative enactment passed in 1888. That is not an enactment which deals directly with the permanent settlement question, but it tries in its own way to

ALLAY THE FEARS OF THE CULTIVATORS

in regard to enhanced taxation on the land. We Bombay people cannot sufficiently thank the gentlemen who represented them in the Bombay Legislative Council, nor the Government that appointed those members. I need hardly refer to such distinguished personages as the Hon. Mr. Ranade, and also to one whose recent elevation to the Bench has deprived the Congress of one of its most modest and moderate supporters, Mr. Justice Telang. I mention these two names, not to magnify the matter, but to tell you that, despite the assistance of these gentlemen and others (I include European officers and gentlemen on the Council), very little could be done in that direction. I will tell you why. In Bill No. 5 of 1885, which assumed the form of law in the Act of 1888—a pretty long time for a measure to be hung up—three points were intended to be secured: First, all improvements made by the cultivator out of his own pocket and by his

labour were to be free from enhanced taxation; second,

AFTER 1892 THERE WAS TO BE NO RE-SURVEY;

and, third, the assessment was never to be increased by more than a certain maximum ratio fixed by the Act. These were the three important features of the Bill. But let me point out that

ALL THIS PRACTICALLY GOES FOR NOTHING.

There has been going on a re-survey now, for no one knows how many years. The survey officers have authority to re-classify the land under the cultivation of a particular cultivator. The point suggested was: "If you have classified the land in the year 1862, what is the necessity for allowing the Survey Department to exercise its functions in re-classifying it after the lapse of thirty years? The true answer was: "In order that there may be oppression upon the people." Of course that would not be the official answer at the time, but it is the only true one. It was pointed out how impossible it was for the Survey Department officers to distinguish between land brought to a superior quality by the exertion and the money of the cultivators and the land which was, on their own supposition, included in an inferior class owing to a mistake on their own part. In that case it was suggested that it was absurd to expect the cultivator to prove that the land was brought to a superior quality by his own particular exertions. The burden was thrown entirely by the Act upon the cultivator, which is a simple absurdity. This was pointed out to the Council, but His Excellency, as far as my knowledge goes, said it was for the cultivator to prove that he has brought the land up to a superior quality. I ask you as sensible men whether, after the lapse of thirty years' patient toil, gradually improving his holding by sheer hard work, a cultivator can possibly be in a position to point out that it is by such and such a process that he has brought his land to a superior quality:

IT IS ELBOW GREASE THAT HAS DONE IT—

and how can he prove that except by pointing to the land? But the Government say no; looking to the land we think we made a mistake and under-assessed it thirty years ago; you prove that we did not. Would it not be reasonable to expect that the Survey Department officers who first assessed the land as of a particular quality should prove that they had committed a mistake in the first instance? Consequently, the burden of proof was, in my humble opinion, mislaid. That touches, too, the question about not enhancing the revenue in consequence of improvements made by the cultivator. As there is nothing to distinguish between the improvements made by the long persistent labour of the cultivators and mistakes made by survey officers, naturally this enactment has not the effect of assuring people of the good faith of the Government. Then comes the second question about the maximum limit fixed by the Act. As you all know this was placed at so high a figure, that, having regard to the circumstances under which the country is labouring, any enhancement at all approaching this maximum would

ABSOLUTELY RUIN NINE-TENTHS OF OUR BOMBAY LANDHOLDERS,

whose land, as pointed out by able speakers, is already much more highly taxed than that of any other province. This enactment is, therefore, a mere sham, utterly ineffec-

tive and insufficient; and anything short of permanent settlement will entirely fail to improve the wretched condition of ryots, an object which one must needs think should be cherished by all generous-minded Governments in all countries. (Cheers.) Having this re-classification sword still hanging over their heads, you will see that our cultivators are dissuaded, discouraged, I may say practically debarred, from putting any money into the land, from even giving it one particle more labour than is necessary to extract its present scanty crops, and all capitalists are prevented from interfering to aid the improvement either of the land itself or of the staples it now produces. This want of security, of permanence of tenure, it is which has retarded the progress of agriculture in India, which, you know, is mainly an agricultural country—nay, which has brought about a gradual deterioration in our lands as a whole, and in our own old careful system of tillage. That is bad, and not less so that the people should hoard or bury their little savings, or even place them in savings banks, and should not be able to put any of them into the land. One point more: The function of the Government is to frame the assessment, and that is done quite *ex parte* and without a hearing of the assessee! It is said: "You have a right of appeal. Any cultivator that thinks himself aggrieved may petition the Government." But you all know what giving such right of appeal means—a poor ignorant villager appealing against a great Government Department! This is a position that the cultivator is unable to occupy, and it is simply

ADDING INSULT TO INJUSTICE

to ask him to take it. I say, then, that the required conditions have long been fulfilled, and the Government is in honour bound to take up this question of a permanent settlement, and I support most energetically on behalf of the people of the Bombay Presidency the resolution now before the Congress. (Cheers.)

BABA NARAYAN SING SODHI (Punjab), spoke in Punjabi, and said: Gentlemen, and well-wishers of the country and of the British Government—Permanent settlement of land is beneficial as much to the Government as it is to the people of the country. A person does not make permanent arrangements for a particular place until he is sure of permanently settling there. When an officer goes to a new district he generally first stops at some hotel and afterwards he makes other arrangements for his stay in the place, but he makes permanent arrangements when he knows that he is pucca, and that he will stay there permanently. It is

OUR DESIRE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MAY REMAIN AS OUR RULERS PERMANENTLY,

and, therefore, we pray for a permanent settlement from them now that the country has, under the fostering care of the Government, sufficiently improved as far as cultivation is concerned. It is well known that prosperity has followed the permanent settlement of Bengal, and the people of that Province on the whole have enjoyed great advantages. The permanent settlement was made nearly one hundred years ago, by order of the then Government, as calculated to improve the condition of the soil and the people; and, as a matter of fact, that result has followed. But in latter times other high officials have entertained the opinion, which is by no means sound, but on the contrary

shallow and one-sided, that the Government has suffered a great loss owing to the permanent settlement of Bengal. It should be considered that no such vast improvements as we witness here this day would have been at all possible if the permanent settlement had been denied to the people of that Province. Now we cannot expect any similar great improvements in the other Provinces if permanent settlements are not granted to these also in good time. Government may look for an increase of revenue with the increased produce of the soil no doubt, but people make no effort to increase, as they could if they chose, the produce of the soil, when they know they will not get the benefit, as

THE NEXT SETTLEMENT WILL SWALLOW UP THE FRUIT OF THEIR LABOURS.

Therefore Government should consider it a sufficient gain to increase the prosperity of the country and secure the affection of the people. And the Government will be liked by the people more and more if they conclude a permanent settlement. That Government is, I hold, fortunate whose subjects ask the Government for a permanent settlement, because with this prayer there is involved a desire for, and belief in, the permanency of the Government. When we ask the Government to grant us permanent settlements we, at the same time, virtually pledge ourselves to the permanency of the British rule over India, or what would avail their permanent settlement; and our rulers should congratulate themselves that they are sufficiently approved by the people for this. If the Government will not sanction permanent settlements now when it is needed and is thus pressed for, it will be the Government itself that will suffer more even than the people. (Cheers.)

Mr. HAMID ALI KHAN (Lucknow): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the first place let me express my sincere regret that, owing to many engagements which it was impossible to postpone, I was not present when my name was called out on Saturday to support the resolution. It has been often remarked in my part of the country that this resolution is a resolution of the rich people, the zemindars and the talukdars; but in my opinion it is a resolution of those about whom the poet sang nearly a century ago in words somewhat to this effect:—

“Princes may flourish, or Princes may fade;  
A breath can make them, as a breath has made:  
But the poor peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroyed can never be supplied.”

It gives me sincere pleasure that this resolution embodies the views of a friend of mine, Sir Auckland Colvin, because, in 1874, when he was Secretary to the Board of Revenue, he wrote a very important memorandum condemning the re-settlement in the North West Provinces and other parts of India. It has been well remarked that India is an agricultural country, and as such must continue for centuries to come. You know that the zemindars take only a thirty years' interest in the land, because they know that if they spend anything upon the land, and if the profits increase, these will not go into their pockets, but into the pockets, at least in great measure, of the Government. I wish to say a few words with regard to the provinces from which I come. About twenty-five years ago the settlement of Oudh was made, and

THE CONDITION OF THE TALUKDARS IS NOW SUCH A DEFLORABLE ONE

that they have not yet forgotten the misfortunes and troubles which they suffered in that settlement.

THE DEBTS THEY THEN INCURRED IN GREASING THE PALMS OF ALL AND SUNDRY

have not yet in many cases been cleared off. The period is again approaching; and there is not a single talukdar or landholder, big or little, in our province who is not trembling in his shoes, and who is not praying day and night for the blessing of a permanent settlement. The expenses, you know, of all that great body of the talukdars continually increase, and as they have not yet benefitted by English education, and the Government always exacts larger and larger contributions from them, their ryots suffer, and the condition alike of talukdar, zemindar, and ryot will be still more deplorable before this coming settlement is accomplished. Before I conclude let me say, apart from the question we are discussing, that my co-religionists must bear in mind that they are Indians first and Muhammadans next. (Cheers.)

HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM (Aligarh) spoke in Urdu and said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After hearing the able speeches of Mr. Mudholkar and Babu Boikantha Nath Sen and others I hesitated to rise; but in obedience to the order of the President I have no other alternative than to speak a few words. The resolution which is before us just now is based on two despatches of the Secretary of State for India; but I shall support it on a ground quite independent of the despatches. Mr. Fawcett, in his political economy, observes that in countries

WHERE LABOUR IS DONE BY SLAVES THE PEOPLE NEVER THRIVE,

for since the slaves know that what they earn is not their own they do not care to work as hard as they would otherwise do. This is the case with those districts where the settlement is temporary. No zemindar or tenant tries to improve or to be diligent for fear the revenue or the rent may be enhanced. Some people think that the permanent settlement is only advantageous to the zemindar. This is a mistake. In a permanent settlement the rights and privileges of the tenants ought to be distinctly defined and provision made for their protection. I am a resident of Zillah Jounpur, where the permanent settlement prevails, and practice as a pleader in Aligarh, which is temporarily settled. I am, therefore, in a position to express an opinion as to the effects of both these forms of settlement. In Jounpur landed property is very rarely put up to sale, and there is always a large number of purchasers at public auctions; whereas, in Aligarh, sale of land is very common, and sales are very frequently put off for want of bidders; and it often happens that decree holders themselves are compelled to purchase the lands they have put up for sale. In Jounpur

THE PRICE OF LAND IS NEARLY DOUBLE

that in Aligarh; and this fact is even recognised by the Legislature. Under the Court Fees Act the valuation of land in permanently settled districts is ten times the revenue; whereas it is only five times the revenue in districts not permanently settled. There is another point which is fit to be taken into consideration. It would seem from the despatches that the Government is of opinion that a country should be permanently settled after it has

been fully cultivated; whereas zemindars think that they should wait to make improvements till the land is permanently settled. So that the Government is waiting for the zemindars to improve, whereas the zemindars are waiting for the permanent settlement. But the Government cannot compel anyone to make improvements, so that, under the circumstances, there is no other course but that

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE THE FIRST TO MOVE  
IN THE MATTER.

✓ If it is wished that the country should be prosperous, a permanent settlement is an absolute necessity; otherwise those parts of Hindustan which are not permanently settled will remain in the backward condition of those countries where labour is done by slaves. I have, therefore, great pleasure in supporting the resolution that is before us. (Cheers.)

MR. SAJJAD HUSSAIN (Lucknow), then spoke in Urdu:—(It has not been possible to procure any report of this gentleman's speech.)

THE PRESIDENT: I really think, Gentlemen, that we must finish this discussion. Do you desire any more speeches on this question? ("No, No." "Vote, Vote.") Then I put our sixth resolution, which runs thus—

"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."

✓ The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

PROTESTING AGAINST CERTAIN  
GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

THE PRESIDENT: I will now ask Mr. Manomohun Ghose to propose the seventh resolution.

MR. MANOMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta), said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Subjects Committee have decided that it is the duty of the Chairman of the Reception Committee to move the next resolution, and I have, therefore, no option but to rise and discharge that duty to the best of my power. It will, however, not be necessary for me in discharging that duty to detain you more than the minimum period which the President has prescribed for speakers in this assembly. Your attention has probably been drawn to a very remarkable advertisement, which has been appearing in the public papers of Calcutta, whereby, apparently officially,

THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL DIRECTS,

or rather professes to advise, that

ITS OFFICERS SHOULD NOT ATTEND THE CONGRESS  
EVEN AS VISITORS.

("Shame, Shame!") I am not surprised at this display of feeling on your part, because, speaking for myself, ever since I saw that resolution, it has filled me with grief and amazement, and it must have had the same effect upon every one of you. Gentlemen, it strikes me that a more short-sighted policy could not be conceived than that which is the cause of this strange action on the part of the Government. To my mind it displays a want of statesmanship, for which I confess I was not prepared. The Government of a country may have a right; I am not prepared to say that it has; it may claim to itself the right—that its officers should not take any part in any political meetings or political discussions. Such a course may be open to a Government to take, although I myself should consider it to be almost amounting to a confession of weakness. But the Government, if we rightly interpret its action, professes to go further. It says not only shall its officers not take any part in any public meeting, but they shall not attend even as silent spectators or visitors. ("Shame, Shame!") To my judgment this amounts to a sad confession of weakness (cheers)—a confession of weakness which I do not think the Government of this country has any need to make. It must imply one of two things; and, looked at from either point of view, the action of the Government is one which we cannot but deplore. It must imply either that the Government has so little confidence in its own officers that it cannot trust them to resist being contaminated by the discussions in the Congress, or it must imply that the Government is really hostile to our constitutional method of public agitation. Looking at it from either point of view,

THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IS EXCEEDINGLY  
TO BE DEPLORED.

So far as it implies a confession of weakness, I consider that the Government of India is much too strong to justify its making such a confession. I consider it to be a very strong Government, not because, as it is sometimes supposed, it is based upon the fears of the people, nor, as it is said, because it is based upon the disunion and discord which are said to exist between the different races of India, but it is strong because it is based upon the willing allegiance of a loyal people. (Cheers.) Looked at, therefore, from any point of view, it is an action which is wholly unintelligible to me, and I believe to most of you. ("All, All.") We are, however, in this predicament; we have not before us any authoritative declaration, certainly not in the words of the Government of India, as to what its orders are on the subject, except as an advertisement, which is not altogether consistent with another document, written by the Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor to our Secretary of the Reception Committee. In the advertisement we are told that the Government considers it not advisable for its officers to attend such meetings. In a letter which is placed before us and printed, and which I shall presently read, we are told that the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of any officials, or indeed by implication, of any members of their household. (Cheers and laughter.) For my own part, not knowing what the exact terms of the orders of the Government are, I think we cannot do better than adopt a course that the resolution, which I am about to

move, suggests should be adopted. We cannot take any action in the matter until we know

WHAT ARE THE EXACT TERMS, AND WHAT THE INTENTIONS

of the Government of India are. We desire, therefore, that the Government of India should be respectfully moved to place us in possession of such information as it thinks fit to disclose on the subject. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I move this Resolution in the paper before you. (Cheers.) It runs thus:—

“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.

‘Yours faithfully,  
‘P. C. LYON,  
‘Private Secretary.

‘To J. Ghosal, Esq.,  
‘Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.’

“authorises and instructs its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, 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.”

Mr. GEORGE YULE (Calcutta), in seconding the resolution, said: I have given some study to the instructions that have been issued by the Government, and also to the letter which has been written by Sir Charles Elliott, and I must say that I am unable to comprehend their meaning or their purport. (Hear, hear.) If their objection lies in the fact that we are a Congress of people, I want to know what is a Congress. It is an assemblage of persons of indefinite size. If that is so, then I wish to ask, Is the St. Andrew’s Dinner not an assemblage of persons? Is that, too, not a Congress? (Cheers.) Are political subjects not talked of there? (Hear, hear.) Of late years, in fact, the St. Andrew’s Dinner has been made the platform from which political spouting might be made. (Cheers.) Yet that is not only patronised by Government officials, but is availed of by the highest Government

officials to propound their views. I take it, therefore, gentlemen, that there has been some great mistake about this instruction, that it has been issued by some Dogberry “clothed in a little brief authority.” If it has been issued with the sanction of a higher authority, then I state, as a positive conviction, that it is

A GREAT AND SERIOUS MISTAKE.

(Cheers.) But if it has received the sanction of the highest authority, if that instruction has been published, and that letter written with the highest authority of the land, deliberately, then I also deliberately say that it is a piece of gross insolence offered to a body of men, whose chief public characteristics are, firstly, devotion to the Queen (cheers), and, secondly, devotion to the best interests of the country (cheers), and who are animated with as true and as honest a purpose as any official in the land. (Renewed cheers.) Any instructions, therefore, which carry on their face, as these instructions do in my judgment, an insinuation that we are unworthy to be visited by Government officials, I resent as an insult, and I retort that in all the qualities of manhood we are as good as they. (Loud cheers.) I think, however, gentlemen, that we may charitably conclude that this piece of business is simply a mistake on the part of a subordinate official, and in that spirit I cordially second the motion that is now before the Congress. (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: I think, gentlemen, I may now put this resolution. I think you will all agree with me, that whether Mr. Yule’s charitable hypothesis be correct or not, the matter is one of very little importance to us. (Laughter.) It may involve the gravest discredit to Government—(hear, hear)—and we are bound to give them an opportunity of extricating themselves from the undignified and ludicrous position, if not worse, in which these precious orders apparently place them; but beyond this, so far as we are concerned, the matter having served to amuse us for an hour, may be dropped. (Loud cheers and laughter.) Shall I put the resolution? (“Yes, Yes; Vote.”)

Then our seventh resolution stands:—

“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:—

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'P. C. LYON,

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"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."

The resolution was then carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT: It is getting very late, and I therefore adjourn the Congress until to-morrow at noon.

The meeting then broke up with loud cheers.

## FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, 30th December, 1890.

The Congress reassembled in the forenoon of Tuesday.

## THE CONGRESS WORK IN ENGLAND.

The PRESIDENT said: I shall now call upon the Hon. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath to move the eighth resolution which runs thus:—

"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. W. S. Bright McLaren, 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. W. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Committee, 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."

PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH (North-West Provinces) said: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Many of you have performed with conspicuous ability the duty of moving, seconding, or supporting the resolutions that have already been passed, but it was left to me to undertake the nobler and more pleasant task of asking you to express some little measure of your gratitude to those friends who have helped us at a time when we needed that help most. (Cheers.) A friend in need is a friend indeed, and we must endeavour to repay our obligations. (Loud cheers.) I am afraid I spoke too hastily. We are so much in debt that we cannot lift our head even under that load of obligations, let alone repay them; but by passing this resolution you may at any rate prevent interest from accumulating. The kindness of those friends who helped the Congress in its infancy cannot be too highly eulogised. This child, which, only a few years ago, was simply a baby in arms, is now able to walk, but it has not learned to walk intuitively. It has been most affectionately and most carefully taught walking by fathers and uncles, by brothers and cousins. (Cheers.) And it is nothing but fair that we should acknowledge the support which they have all along most readily accorded to us. But when a family is about to thank its supporters, it does not name the parents first. And, leaving alone for the present the Father of the Congress, first and foremost amongst those who are entitled to our acknowledgments is

MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH

with his constituents. (Cheers.) The services of Mr. Bradlaugh have been simply invaluable. (Cheers.) You all know that last year, when the Congress was held at Bombay, he came to India to see this august assembly for himself, although he was not in a fit state of health to do much work. But that is not all; he has drafted several Bills, and two he has introduced already into Parliament, for the reform and expansion of our Councils. He has also, in many respects, helped us and our British Committee with his valuable advice. It is partly by his exertions that the duty on silver goods exported to England has been abolished, and he has put a great many questions relating to India to the Ministry—questions which have instilled a wholesome sense of their responsibilities into the hearts of numbers of officials heretofore practically irresponsible and, in their own eyes, infallible. He could not have done all this without

## THE PERMISSION OF HIS CONSTITUENTS.

These constituents also are, therefore, entitled to our best thanks. (Cheers.) Let me assure Mr. Bradlaugh and all our English friends who have lent us a helping hand, that their kindness and confidence have not been misplaced or thrown away. They have helped a nation which is devoted to its Sovereign and its country—(cheers)—whose claims are most moderate and reasonable, whose methods are always legal and constitutional, who know how to appreciate kindness, and who are ever ready to do all that lies in their power to secure the permanency of British rule. (Cheers.) I may further be permitted to say that England in helping India helps herself. (Cheers.) If we are truly grateful to Great Britain for the many blessings conferred upon us, England may well be proud of this dependency. India is the brightest gem in the English Crown, and sheds upon it its greatest lustre. To increase the brilliancy of this gem is to add to the lustre shed upon that Crown. (Cheers.) The next claimants to our gratitude are

## THE BRITISH COMMITTEE,

and their claims are, indeed, well founded. That the Chairman of the Committee, Sir William Wedderburn—(cheers)—presided last year at the Congress is already well known to you. Another member of that Committee is now amongst you, and his services to our cause, his kindly feelings towards our countrymen, require no commendation from me. You can easily understand whom I mean—Mr. W. S. Caine. (Cheers.) Another member of that Committee is the veteran champion of our cause, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (Cheers.) Another of our esteemed friends is Mr. George Yule. (Cheers.) I will not take up your time by enlarging upon the valuable assistance you have received from them. This is too well known to be mentioned again here. (Cheers.) The other members of the Committee are Mr. W. S. Bright McLaren, M.P., and Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., and they, and the entire Committee,

have one and all rendered conspicuous services to us. We must also not forget the claims of the indefatigable Secretary of that Committee, Mr. William Digby. (Cheers.) The zeal and energy with which he has discharged his duties deserve the highest commendation. I refer to his exertions on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, not to his work in his private Political Agency, of which we in the Congress know nothing officially. The Indian National Congress does not officially recognize the so-called Political Agency, though we all privately wish it success for Mr. Digby's sake. The Congress is in no way connected with this Agency, nor is it in any manner cognizant of or responsible for its proceedings. It must be clearly understood that those who support that Agency do not, in the least, contribute to the funds of the Indian National Congress. Our leaders have not the remotest connection with that Political Agency. I am commending the exertions of Mr. Digby as our Secretary, as the Secretary of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. (Cheers.) While I am introducing these distinguished men to your notice, I see before me those excellent friends who did us excellent service in England this year as

## OUR DELEGATES.

Their countenances seem to betray a feeling that I had forgotten them; but I am not so ungrateful as to forget their services. We know that it is due to their wise and strong advocacy that a very important section of the English community take such a lively interest in the affairs of this Congress. (Hear, hear.) It was through their exertions that that glory of England and the blessing of India, the Right Honourable William Gladstone—(hear, hear)—promised to support Mr. Bradlaugh's motion before the House of Commons this year. If we receive no hearing from the Conservative party, it is no fault of ours. If they do not wish even to give us an impartial hearing and do wish to condemn us, we cannot help it. We have always been anxious, and are still so, that Indian questions should not form part of English party political programmes. We value the help and co-operation of one party as much as the other. But I am sorry to say that the course we desired to take is impracticable. I must not conceal from our English and Indian friends that many of my countrymen believe that they have very little to expect from a party who have for their leader a statesman who, as far as India is concerned, does not hesitate to call white, black. ("Shame!") Do not run away with the idea that I refer to the incident between

## LORD SALISBURY AND DADABHAI NAOROJI.

There is, however, a point in that incident which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been publicly noticed. Lord Salisbury had in his public speech called Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji a black man. There arose then a storm of adverse criticism against which even the premiership of England did not afford sufficient protection, and Lord Salisbury was obliged to offer an explanation. But what did the noble lord say? That he meant nothing except that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji belonged to a different race and could not represent the interests of Englishmen in Parliament. To offer such an explanation was really to plead guilty to the charge; the whole sting of the remark lay in the so-called apology. You all know that the phrase "black man" is a contemptuous, contumelious,

expression applied to us by our Anglo-Indian detractors. It means to imply inferiority of race and our disqualification to hold any office of trust and honour. And little did I think that this infection had reached England. But I admire the candour of Lord Salisbury. I now find that this contamination has reached, through the India Office, the English Cabinet. Be that as it may, I hope the better classes of the Conservative party will give us a hearing when our friends go to England, and will not allow it to be said that the Conservatives of England are affected by political bigotry and superstition. Our delegates met with a splendid reception in England, not only from the constituency of Mr. Bradlaugh, whom I have recommended to you for your warm acknowledgments, but also from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and a great many other communities. These delegates have done us good service, and indeed it could not be otherwise when you think who they were. I have only to mention their names, and you will see that after that selection had been made the result achieved was a foregone conclusion. Among the delegates were

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE—(cheers)—MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR—(cheers)—OUR VALUED FRIEND, MR. W. C. BONNERJEE, MR. HARDLEY NORTON,

of Madras, and last, but not least, one who is the pride of England and the lover of India, one who is the soul of this Congress,

## MR. HUME.

(Enthusiastic cheers.) Mr. Hume has been truly described as the "father of the Indian National Congress". He retired from the public service much earlier than he need have done, and he denied himself the honour of being the ruler of a province, and ever since that time has spared neither time, nor money, nor energy, to make the Congress a complete success. He has worked day and night for us, neglecting his own private affairs, and when he knew that we could not help ourselves, he opened his purse most generously. (Hear, hear.) He has been working for us on his sick-bed. If anybody knows that by working in that way for us he has ruined his health it is I. In doing that, he has been only following the noble traditions of his family. (Cheers.) His father had worked hard for the good of the land of his birth—(hear, hear)—and to introduce reforms into Parliament, and this worthy son of the worthy father has laboured for the good of the land of his adoption. (Cheers.) But alas! in the midst of all that kindness, he is inclined to be not only unkind but cruel. He, at times, says that the time has arrived that he should retire from the office of General Secretary. ("No, No.") The reply to this question by the Congress is one and one only. The Congress says, "Do not be cruel. Do not leave your most beloved infant child an orphan while you are still living." His connection as General Secretary is too sacred to be broken while he and we are alive, and when we are gone the coming generations of India will cherish his memory with feelings of the deepest gratitude. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I hope and trust that, long before I die, I shall have the pleasure and gratification of seeing his statue erected by the people he has helped. I now move the resolution for adoption, and I hope you will carry it with acclamation. (Loud cheers.)



MR. HAMID ALI KHAN (Lucknow): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution. The services of the gentlemen enumerated in the resolution are too well known to require any mention or even allusion from me. I believe I express the sense of the entire assembly when I say that language is too poor to give us words strong enough to express our heartfelt gratitude and obligations to them. Besides, I think it is not in the power of this Congress to convey sufficiently our obligations and gratitude, and therefore I am satisfied to leave this task to posterity, who will thank them from the bottom of their heart. To serve is a far higher and nobler law of life than even to rule (hear, hear), and this principle has been well expressed in the lives of those gentlemen who have done so much for our country. In the words of the Poet Laureate :

"Not he who breaks the dams, but he  
Who through the channels of the State  
Conveys the people's wish, is great,  
His name is pure, his fame is free."

(Cheers.) I have not the slightest doubt that their names and fame, inscribed on the page of time in deathless characters of gold, with this noble inscription, "These were the workers who knew how to serve," will be handed down to a far distant posterity. (Cheers.)

BABU NORENDRO NATH SEN (Calcutta): I have been asked to support this resolution, and a more agreeable duty it has seldom fallen to my lot to perform. Differences of opinion might exist in regard to some of the other matters which have come up here for our consideration, but there can be none in regard to the subject of this resolution. There is not another man who has earned our gratitude more deservedly, by his persistent and wholly disinterested advocacy of the cause of India in Parliament, than Mr. Charles Bradlaugh—(cheers)—the junior member for Northampton, but more familiarly known to us all as the Member for India. This last title formerly belonged to that devoted friend of this country, the late lamented Mr. Henry Fawcett. It has now worthily descended to Mr. Bradlaugh, whose good services in our behalf are even much greater than those of Mr. Fawcett, great as those services undoubtedly were. In fact, it has been our good fortune to secure in Mr. Bradlaugh a friend in Parliament, whose powerful advocacy is proving simply invaluable to us. In this rare acquisition I, for one, see the hand of Providence. God has, I believe, in his good time prepared Mr. Bradlaugh to write and work for India, and this overpowering thought ought to stimulate all the more our future efforts. I am sure that we shall find more friends in Parliament like Mr. Bradlaugh if we only can prove that we deserve to have them. Everything depends on ourselves. I have often and often heard the question asked: "What good has come of the Congress movement?" Well, if the reply was to come from me, I should say that

THE CONGRESS HAS BROUGHT TO US CHARLES BRADLAUGH,

our staunchest friend, our redoubtable champion in the British Parliament. The Congress may have done nothing more, but because it has been able to secure such a friend as Mr. Bradlaugh it has deserved well of the country, and all our labours and pecuniary sacrifices have not been put forth in vain. We have now, thanks to the Congress, at least one man in Parliament, to whom we can turn in the hour of trial, to whom we can apply hopefully in an

emergency, and for the redress of our grievances. The great English Tribune has, by his unceasing efforts in furtherance of our cause, infused a most wholesome terror into the dual Government of this country, and has at least succeeded to some extent in keeping Anglo-Indian officials on the alert. He has evidently made them uncomfortable; and herein lies the secret of so much official opposition to the Congress in this country.

NO EARTHLY GIFTS IN OUR POWER CAN REPAY OUR DEBT  
TO MR. BRADLAUGH.

We can only make him our heart's offering of love and gratitude. (Loud cheers.) But if he has rendered invaluable services, the services of the British Congress Committee have been none the less valuable. Such a Committee of influential Englishmen was very much needed for a long time, and in this Committee, which we have now got in London under the leadership of Sir William Wedderburn, we have at last got what we so long wanted. With a powerful Committee in London to help our cause, and with Mr. Bradlaugh and other friends to take care of our interests in Parliament, we can surely calculate upon achieving a great deal. It is said that Mr. Digby is a paid agent of ours, and that a paid agent cannot carry much weight in England; but Mr. Digby is entirely in the hands of the English Committee, who are working most disinterestedly and unselfishly for us. The Committee are only adding to the load of obligations to England under which India is placed on various grounds. It is an article of faith that Englishmen are unconscious instruments in the hands of God for the complete uplifting of our countrymen. When they choose to take us by the hand, we cannot have more sincere or staunch friends than they in the whole world. (Cheers.) And how shall we thank

OUR OWN DELEGATES

whom we sent to England to plead our cause? How can we sufficiently thank Mr. Hume, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. Norton, Mr. Joshi, and Mr. Mudholkar? They showed a self-sacrificing spirit which others of us would do well to imitate. It is this spirit, which is very much wanting in us, which we most need to advance us as a nation. In the proportion in which every one of us gives proof of such personal sacrifices, in the same proportion will India progress. All our delegates discharged their duty most nobly and manfully. But the gentleman who, from all accounts, created the greatest impression in England by his eloquence was my esteemed friend, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee. (Cheers.) He has quite won the hearts of the Indian people by the great service he has rendered to them. (Cheers.) Before I sit down, I have one word to add, and it is that

OUR VENERABLE FRIEND, MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, HAS  
PRACTICALLY BECOME OUR STANDING DELEGATE  
IN ENGLAND;

and by his presence there he is doing all he can to protect the interests of this country. He deserves our warmest thanks, and so do the Liberals of the Finsbury constituency, who are trying to provide him with a seat in Parliament. I will not take up more of your time. I am sure that you will most gladly and enthusiastically adopt the resolution which I have had the pleasure of supporting. (Cheers.)

**MR. J. K. CAMA (Bombay):** Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with peculiar pleasure that I am here in response to the President's call to support this resolution, not because it is a resolution that requires any support, for I know full well that the names before you belong to gentlemen whose praises it requires no bard or songster to sing, that they are names which are cherished as amongst the richest and choicest gems of the land; but because it is a matter of peculiar gratification to me to be in a position to tell you that it has been my good fortune to have had the opportunity of taking an active share in the candidature of one of these gentlemen,

A TRUE AND NOBLE SON OF INDIA,

whom you did the honour of electing as your President some four years ago in this very city. I refer to our esteemed countryman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who stood as a candidate for the Holborn division of Finsbury at the General Election of 1886. Knowing as I do the keen interest you have always taken in the candidature of natives of India in the British constituencies, and the very close and lively interest with which you have followed Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's campaign, I cannot help thinking that a short sketch of that campaign will not be without some interest to your active and energetic minds. For it was in that campaign that it was pre-eminently shown what a true-born native of India could achieve under the most adverse and trying circumstances. It was then that

MR. DADABHAI'S INDEFATIGABLE INDUSTRY, HIS INDOMITABLE COURAGE, HIS GREAT ERUDITION, AND HIS SUPREME SACRIFICE

were most markedly shown. I will at once take you into the thick of that campaign. It was on the 12th of April, 1886, that our friend set foot in Great Britain with the object of finding a constituency for which to stand. It was in the midsummer of that memorable year that Mr. Gladstone's Parliament was dissolved, and Great Britain was threatened with one of the gravest crises that have stirred it for some time. It was in the midst of all this trouble and turmoil that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had the good fortune to secure a constituency, but only three weeks before the day of the poll—a constituency in the very heart of the great metropolis, a constituency essentially Conservative in its elements. And what was his situation? He found that the Liberal cause in the Holborn Division of Finsbury was lying idle; it was asleep and it wanted a man with Herculean power to awaken it. There was no Liberal organised committee there; and what did Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji do? Did he shrink or flinch from this Herculean task? No, gentlemen, he went bravely to work and organised a Liberal committee; meetings were called in various halls, open-air gatherings were summoned, addresses were delivered, and the campaign was fairly begun. The shrewdness of his speech, the soundness of his arguments, and his incontestable statistical statements, won for him the applause and the good graces of his hearers. When he placed before the British public

THE GRIEVANCES AND THE JUST CLAIMS OF THE TEEMING MILLIONS OF INDIA;

when he reached the heart of John Bull through the prayers of the bleeding lambs of India, it was then that the sympathy and support of his hearers were strong and loud. What was the end of the campaign? Rome was

not built in a day, and a seat in Parliament cannot be gained in three weeks. His was a victory unparalleled in history. The victory was his because he obtained, in the first place, a constituency; the victory was his because he was nominated as a candidate; the victory was his because he went to the poll; and, more than all, the victory was his because he succeeded in reducing the majority of his Conservative opponent who was returned. But, gentlemen, although he was not returned to Parliament, his voice commenced to be heard, and is now heard in Parliament through those English members who are sitting there, ready and willing to seek information from, and take council with, him. At present he is the accepted Liberal candidate for Clerkenwell, and there he works ardently and incessantly for the good of India; and great will be the day for India—and I think the day must come, and I hope it is not far distant—when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is returned to Parliament to the glory and honour of this great Empire. (Cheers.)

**MR. BEGLAR (Calcutta):** Mr. President,—It is a great pleasure to be one of the supporters of this resolution. It is only natural that the Congress should be grateful to its teacher, its *Guru* (for that is the relation to the Congress in which our worthy secretary, Mr. A. O. Hume, stands), to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, its champion, and Sir William Wedderburn, its leading advocate, a man who has exerted himself in the good cause, not only in India but everywhere else. I am only sorry that there are not more to be thankful to and to include in our resolution. It appears to me that these men, who have supported us at a time when all kinds of insinuation and opposition prevailed against the Congress, deserve our thanks in a quite exceptional way; in a way in which those who come after them will certainly not merit. We have heard it said that the Congress people are only for themselves; that the Congress demands are excessive; that the Congress is seditious; that it only thinks of itself and would be tyrannical over minorities; that it does not care to look to the other side of the question. It appears to me that all these objections have already vanished. It is now indisputable that the Congress delegates are not sham delegates, but are really elected by large sections of the people, not only the learned and educated, but the masses of the people earning their five or ten rupees a month. Our resolutions have shown that the Congress cares for other people; that it

CARES FOR THE POOR.

The resolution as to the salt tax is distinctly intended for the relief of the poor. It is said that we might get a larger number of supporters if our methods were a little more moderate. Our demands are certainly moderate—there is nothing immoderate in them—but perhaps they mean that we might adopt a more moderate tone.

**THE PRESIDENT:** That is not the question.

**MR. BEGLAR:** I am trying to show that there are possibly means by which the number whom we have to thank may be increased year by year.

**THE PRESIDENT:** That is not the proposition before the Congress.

**MR. BEGLAR:** I need only add, then, that I for one am deeply grateful to all these gentlemen named in the resolution—(cheers)—and support this latter from the bottom of my heart. (Cheers.)

Mr. HEM CHANDRA RAI (Calcutta) in supporting the resolution said: Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am extremely grateful to you for the opportunity you give me of taking part in the deliberations of this great national gathering, the more so because I need not add any words of my own to what has fallen from the previous speakers in commending the resolution under discussion to your acceptance and approval; for there cannot possibly be any two opinions as to the propriety and, what is more, the extreme necessity, of acknowledging, however humbly,

#### THE GREAT SERVICES RENDERED TO OUR CAUSE

by the distinguished gentlemen, whose names figure in the resolution which I have the honour to support. No words can be adequate to describe the priceless services rendered by Mr. Bradlaugh; and I will not mar the intense, if silent, feeling of national gratitude which pervades the Indian continent, from one end to the other, towards that remarkable personage by attempting to delineate it by any feeble words of my own. And Mr. Bradlaugh has been ably seconded in his great undertaking by some other English philanthropists, whose unselfish devotion to India, the language of panegyric, however you may strain it, would be inadequate to express. One of these,

#### MR. CAINE,

we have been able to welcome in our midst. Last time when he was here his outspoken denunciations of the excise policy of the Indian Government brought down upon him fierce attacks from the Anglo-Indian journals, one of which went so far as to make the silly proposal to deport him out of India. (Cries of "Shame!") I am not at all surprised, gentlemen, that you respond to my mention of that un-English suggestion by cries of "Shame," for that is the only term which expresses the intense feeling of indignation that we all experienced on the occasion. Happily, however, the threatened deportation did not take place. Mr. Caine has managed to survive those invectives, and there he sits to-day, honoured and applauded by all, and ready to help us by his wise counsels and weighty support. Ladies and gentlemen, attacks like the above only indicate the difficulties which beset the path of our English friends; it is all the more necessary, therefore, that we should, in unmistakable terms, give public expression to our feelings of thankfulness for their human efforts on our behalf. Not that they themselves desire such an acknowledgment, for who can imagine, much less believe, that any but the purest motives actuate Mr. Hume, now bereft of his dear partner in life, in the noble example of self-sacrifice which he displays—an example equalled only by that of John Howard of immortal name. It is not that they desire such an acknowledgment; but it is because we have a duty to discharge, which we cannot possibly shirk. Nor, in making this public acknowledgment of

#### THE SERVICES OF OUR ENGLISH BENEFACTORS,

must we omit to couple the names of, and pay our humble tribute to, those distinguished countrymen of ours who, at considerable sacrifice of time, money, and energy, undertook a trip to England to enlighten the British public as

to our wrongs and disabilities, our needs and aspirations. Doubtless they

Have sown some generous seed  
Fruitful of further thought and deed.

But their work needs a healthy continuity, and we only hope that the work so auspiciously commenced will evoke widespread response, and that round

#### THIS LITTLE GROUP OF INDIAN PATRIOTS

there will be formed a large company of patriotic gentlemen ready to undergo similar sacrifices on similar errands. And, in return for their noble services, let us offer them our humble, yet heartfelt thanks, and that which is, indeed, the highest reward that a public man can aspire to—the deep and the lasting gratitude of a United People. (Cheers.)

MOULVIE RUKUN UD DIN JADOO (Delhi) spoke in Urdu and said: Gentlemen,—This great gathering which has drawn us all here to Calcutta, from every province and city of Hindustan, is the sixth sitting of the Indian National Congress. Throughout the years over which these sittings have extended, the aims, the objects, of the Congress have been day by day growing more and more known to the entire population and more and more accepted by all as indicating the true road of progress for our country. Look back at what India was six years ago—look at it now. If

#### THE CONGRESS

has no other merits, all, even our adversaries, must admit that it

HAS PROVED ITSELF AN UNEXAMPLED ORGANISATION FOR

#### THE POLITICAL EDUCATION

of our people. (Cheers.) They who are so lately sunk in hopeless ignorance of their natural rights; those whose hearts seven years ago knew neither hope nor longing for better things, now know, and do not forget, that if union be strength, knowledge is power. (Loud cheers.) I am a delegate from Delhi, a Mussulman, and I am glad now even at this sixth sitting to have the chance of publicly avowing the gratitude that, for my country's sake, I feel for the Congress and its past labours. I have been rather suddenly called upon to support this resolution of thanks to those English and Indian gentlemen, who during this year, now almost past, have rendered conspicuous services to the Congress, in other words to India's cause. I support it with all my heart: the names

OF BRADLAUGH AND HUME; OF CAINE AND DIGBY,

are becoming household words throughout the land; but all this has been already well said by other speakers; it is useless to prolong the debate, and I will therefore only ask you now to pass this resolution with acclamation. ("Yes; Vote, Vote".)

THE PRESIDENT: Then, I put this eighth resolution:—

"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. W. S. B. McLaren, 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 Committee, 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 large number of private meetings, to one or more of these Delegates."

**THE PRESIDENT:** The resolution has been carried by acclamation. I will now call upon Mr. Mano Mohun Ghose to propose the ninth Resolution.

### THANKS TO GENEROUS HELPERS IN CALCUTTA.

**MR. MANO MOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta):** It is unnecessary for me to make another speech. My only excuse for intruding upon your attention once more is that it is appropriate that the pleasant and agreeable duty involved in moving the Ninth Resolution should devolve upon the Chairman of the Reception Committee. This is the Resolution:—

"That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and Brothers, Proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens; to Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa; and to the Honorable Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, 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."

I am sure that in the city of Calcutta no better place could have been selected than the one in which we are assembled to-day. Calcutta is an exceedingly difficult place for the reception of such a large assembly, and the Reception Committee have had great difficulty in selecting an appropriate place for this occasion; and had it not been for the kindness of the proprietors of these gardens and of the palatial residence, in which some two hundred of you are luxuriously lodged, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to have received and accommodated you in the way we have been able to do. (Cheers.) And I am sure you will all agree with me that the necessity of thanking the friends who have thus aided us devolves not only on the Reception Committee but also on yourselves, and that

#### THE THANKS OF THE ENTIRE CONGRESS ARE DUE

to the proprietors of these fine gardens and that princely residence. (Cheers.) I may add as regards one of these, Babu Bhupendro Nath Bose—(cheers)—that independent of his and his partner's liberality in the matter of placing that great palace the Mohan Bagan Villa at our disposal, no man connected with the Reception Committee has worked harder or with greater zeal. (Loud cheers.) I must not forget to mention also in this connection the cordiality with which several other public spirited gentlemen of the city have come forward to place at our disposal their own residences for the reception of some of the

delegates who have come to Calcutta. (Cheers.) Prominent amongst them is our distinguished friend, Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter. (Cheers.) There is also Mr. T. Palit, who has placed his beautiful residence at the disposal of the Reception Committee; and there are gentlemen whose names are embodied in the resolution Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses lent for the use of the delegates, all of whom have voluntarily come forward to help the Reception Committee in a public spirited manner. (Cheers.) I am sure no words of mine are necessary to commend the resolution to your approval and that you will carry it by acclamation.

**BABU NAFAR CHANDRA PAL CHOUDHRY (Bengal):** I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. If you adopt it you will only be giving these gentlemen what is justly due to them. I am rather surprised that it has been considered necessary to have a seconder, as I think the resolution ought to have been carried by acclamation as soon as it was proposed by my predecessor.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I accept the suggestion made by the seconder, and will ask you to carry it by acclamation: it is our Ninth Resolution, and is worded thus:—

"RESOLVED.—That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and Brothers, Proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens; to Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, Proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa; and to the Hon. Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, 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."

Carried by acclamation.

### THE NEXT SESSION OF CONGRESS.

**MR. A. O. HUME (Punjab),** who, on rising, was received with vociferous applause, the entire Congress standing, said:—Gentlemen,—I do not know whether I shall be able to make myself heard. I have such a terrible cold that I am afraid my voice will hardly travel over this vast assembly. (Cries of "We can hear every word.") All right. Then, allow me, in the first place, to thank you for the very, very kind reception you have just given me. It is far more warm and enthusiastic than I have deserved. ("No, No.") But, then, it is the nature of the people of India to be extremely, excessively, I may almost say exaggeratedly, grateful for everything done for them. ("No, No.") Knowing then your grateful and generous hearts, I accept your enthusiastic reception of me not as a just tribute to any merits of mine, but as the necessary outcome of

#### YOUR OWN KINDLY, LOVING NATURES.

And now I ask you to allow me to propose to you the little formal resolution which, as in past years, it falls to my lot to bring before you. There is only one little difficulty about it. I am going to ask you to say that the next Congress shall be held—where? It is not quite settled, and we are obliged, therefore, to lay before you two alternative names. The Madras Committee have very kindly and liberally offered to have the Congress there.

We all like the Madras people, and many of us would prefer going there to anywhere else, but we feel that it would be very far for the delegates of many circles to travel. It would be very difficult to get a reasonably good attendance of delegates from the Punjab, from Oudh, the North-West Provinces, Behar, and even Bengal, unless gentlemen were prepared to go by sea, and all our delegates are not prepared to do this, and ninety-six hours' journey by rail is no joke. We have, therefore, all thought that, if possible, we ought to have the Congress at a more central situation. Nagpore is the capital of the Central Provinces, and about the most central spot in the Empire; it is a place at which the Congress has never before met, and we have hopes of being able to arrange for the Congress being held at Nagpore next year. Unfortunately, owing to sickness and other circumstances, the real leaders of our party in Nagpore are not present at the Congress this year, and until we consult them no positive decision on this point can be arrived at. You are now in a position to understand the wording of the resolution which I shall read to you:—

“RESOLVED.—That the Seventh Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1891, at either Madras or Nagpore, as may be hereafter settled in consultation between the Madras, Central Provinces and Berar Committees, and the Joint-General Secretary.”

If you all agree to this, and I am sure you will, as you are all reasonable and sensible men, you will please carry it at once; and do not let us waste the time of the Congress by requiring anyone to second it. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THE PRESIDENT: The tenth resolution has been carried by acclamation.

## PROPOSED SESSION OF CONGRESS IN LONDON IN 1892.

BABU NORENDRO NATH SEN (Calcutta) then moved the eleventh resolution, viz.:—

“That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress of not less than one hundred 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.” He said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In moving this resolution, I have only to remind you that, after all, it is England that is the last resort for appeal on all Indian questions. Our ultimate judges are the British Public, the British Press, and the British Parliament. The Government of this country is not now what it was of old, and our affairs are administered more from the India Office in London than from Calcutta or Simla. The Government of this country is carried on by constant reference to the Secretary of State and his Council.

### THE REAL SEAT OF OUR GOVERNMENT

is not now Calcutta or Simla but it

IS LONDON,

and our real rulers reside in the Metropolis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Sir, we have

held already six annual sessions of the National Congress in India. I think, and many others think with me, that since London is the *de facto* seat of our Government and our real rulers reside there, the Indian National Congress may now not unfitly hold a session in that great city. The assemblage of the Congress in London will create an impression in England such as the six sessions of the Congress have not together produced. Our delegates, who visited England last year, incline to this view, and they urge on us the importance of the Congress meeting in London some time in April or May, 1892. You need not be reminded what good the visits of our delegates to England from time to time have brought forth. Whatever interest Englishmen take in the affairs of this country to-day has resulted, mainly, from the periodical visits of our delegates. If, then,

### THE STRAY MEMOIRS OF A FEW DELEGATES

have done so much good, how much more may we not expect from the meeting of the delegates to the National Congress in London? It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of holding a session of the Congress, say, at Exeter Hall or St. James' Hall, in London. My friend, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, from his late experience as one of our delegates to England, is particularly anxious that we should adopt this course. Mr. Caine decidedly shares this opinion. I myself have long been convinced of the wisdom of such a step, and have, in fact, been advocating the adoption of this course for the last three years or more. Sir, hitherto we have been crying more or less in the wilderness. Let the Congress cry be now heard in England itself from the mouths of its assembled delegates, and then the cry may be heeded. I cannot too strongly recommend you to adopt this resolution, which I believe to be the most important resolution that has been brought before the Congress this year. We need not hold a very crowded Congress in London. A minimum of, say, a hundred delegates will be sufficient for all purposes. If we can find more delegates to go, why so much the better. We do not force the delegation upon anybody. It is proposed to make such arrangements for the voyage and back, and during the time of the stay of the delegates in England, as shall be in consonance with the habits and religious feelings of even the most rigidly orthodox Hindus. The presence of a hundred Indian delegates, or more, in London, in Congress assembled, appealing to Englishmen in their very homes, must, let us hope, result in the appeal being granted. But apart from the political effect of such a Congress,

### THE SOCIAL EFFECT ON US ALL WILL BE GREAT AND ALL-PERMEATING,

and besides in the present state of public feeling in England, the cause of India cannot fail to be very much advanced. I am glad to be able to say that each of the Presidencies and Provinces in India undertakes to send a number of delegates to make up the full complement of the minimum number wanted. In commending this resolution to your approval, I have only to tell you that thirty-eight years ago, in this great city, when the Indian legislature passed the Lex Loci Act by which a Hindu, who renounced his religion, was declared qualified to inherit his ancestral property, the orthodox Hindu community, with Rajah Sir Rakhakanta Deb at their head, appealed to Parliament for its repeal. Mr.

John Farley Leith, the eminent barrister, was retained as agent in London for the Calcutta Hindu community. Mr. Leith urged the necessity of a deputation from among the orthodox Hindus proceeding to England, and seeking justice personally at the hands of Parliament, in order to convince that body of the depth of Hindu feeling which the passing of the Lex Loci Act had roused. The orthodox Calcutta Hindus then seriously thought of acting upon Mr. Leith's suggestion, and I know it for a fact that preparations were actually in progress for that purpose. But some causes, other than social, led to the abandonment of the idea. I strongly feel that if the idea had been then carried out, and followed largely throughout India, we should have been better governed during the interval between then and now, and the progress of India would not have been hindered for such a length of years. Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in moving the resolution and recommending it for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

**BABU SALIG RAM SING** (Calcutta): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The manifold advantages which would accrue to the cause of the Congress by holding a meeting in England I need not dwell on, because they have been so clearly stated by the speaker who preceded me. There is, however, one matter in connection with this resolution to which I beg to draw your attention. It is apprehended that there may be some difficulty in the case of orthodox delegates in proceeding to Europe; but I may mention that I had an opportunity of speaking to some of the leading delegates of Behar and Oudh last evening, and I am assured by them that there would be no such difficulty if suitable arrangements could be made for the voyage. Further, I am hopeful that there may be no difficulty, because I know that there have been precedents and that orthodox Hindus have gone beyond the seas—I refer to the soldiers who went to Abyssinia and Egypt—(cheers)—who, on their return, were received, without any loss of caste status, by their people. Their cause was a noble one, namely, to fight for the Crown and for the Government under whom they lived; and that was one of the considerations which led their people to receive them on their return.

THE CAUSE FOR WHICH WE ARE CONTENDING IS EQUALLY LAUDABLE.

We are fighting for the cause of our people, and there is no reason to doubt that the delegates, when they come from England, will be received with acclamation by their own people, without any dissentient voices. (Cheers.)

**MR. VIRA RAGHAVA CHARIAR** (Madras): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution. This question is not new to us. It has been before the country for the last two years. A certain gentleman from Bombay addressed a letter and submitted his proposals for an English session of the Congress to the various Standing Congress Committees, and they were received with great attention and approval. Moreover, you will remember that some years ago, when there was a rumour that Government had an idea of suppressing the Congress, we had almost made up our minds to hold it in London, as also that many offers and promises of funds were made in case such a measure proved necessary. You will, no doubt, be surprised to find me speaking as one of the supporters of the proposition, coming, as I do, from Madras, where a sea voyage

is actually prohibited, especially among the Brahmans; and not only this, but where there is a difficulty as to dining together, even among the Brahmans themselves. But this great national movement, though ostensibly a political one is still a social one. Ever since it had its origin in the great hall at Bombay it has been spreading its wholesome influence in all directions. It has been bringing us together and making for us friends all over the country who are helping each other in a thousand and one ways. But, gentlemen, after two years' existence it brought forth in Madras a social conference to work equally in other directions, and if next year the Congress be held in Madras it will bring forth another child—the British Congress to be held in London. Had it not been for this Congress, Madras would have been nowhere. It has been greatly helping the people in Madras. Before that time Madras was called benighted. Now we have, throughout the Presidency, Standing Congress Committees to help the Central Committee at Madras. Much has been said about the orthodox opinions that would prevent our undertaking a sea voyage to England. On behalf of my province I venture to say that

WE HAVE NEVER ALLOWED, AND NEVER SHALL ALLOW, ORTHODOXY, OR ANY OTHER DOXY, TO STAND IN THE WAY OF OUR POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT.

(Cheers.) It was in the highest days of orthodoxy in Poona that we ventured to cross the barriers of the Indus and the Suliman range and establish our forces in Afghanistan, and it was in those days that the first diplomatic deputation was sent to the English court. I think, therefore, that every one of you will say that, as it is necessary in these days to send a delegation to England, and to hold a session in the very heart of London, the proposal should meet, as I am sure it will in my province, the cordial support of the public. I have not the least doubt that you have considered that an English agitation is very essential to the success of our undertaking. It is no use breaking one's head against the stone or wooden walls here. You have already considered it necessary to have an English Agency in England. Then you have sent pioneers to clear the ground for us. I mean the delegates appointed last year whose good work you have so heartily recognized. What then remains? To

REMOVE YOUR BATTLE-FIELD TO ENGLAND, TO THE VERY HEART OF LONDON.

That is the logical sequence of the delegation sent last year to England. (Cheers.) Then, speaking from a business point of view, you have an English Agency, and, although you may recognize its services, it is a good commercial principle not to depend entirely upon agents, but to do part of the business yourself. Consequently, from a business point of view, it is necessary that you should hold a sitting of the Congress in London, if not this year or next year—sooner or later. This resolution, therefore, comes in as a sequence to what you have done. All things being convenient (by which it is understood the political situation in England being favourable to our aspirations at the time) we propose in the summer of 1892 holding a Congress in London, and thus driving this national agitation home in every sense of the word. (Cheers.)

**MR. DEORAO VINAYEK** (Berar): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have not been called upon to support this resolution because my predecessors have left

anything unsaid, but, because I come from a province from which no one else has been called upon to speak to this point. The proposition is such that very little need be said upon it. We have held our six meetings of the Congress in this country, and the seventh we hope to hold in Madras. We have fought our battle here, and the time has nearly come when we should move our camp to a stronger and more commanding position where we shall have a greater chance of success. Here, in India, we have been misrepresented, our objects and aims misrepresented, our methods misconstrued, and all Congresswallahs denounced as bad men! But we prove by our actions that we are not so bad as we are represented to be. Our Government ought to know this. It is our duty to show them that we are not bad men. From a political point of view we think we must go to London, where we shall show our true rulers, the people of Great Britain, that we are not bad men. We do our duty not only to our country, but to our Government as well. Remembering the difficulties of the Government we make our representations absolutely moderate and quite practical. I support the resolution with pleasure.

**SOCIALLY SPEAKING, THERE IS NO DIFFICULTY.**

No duty is superior to our duty to the country in which we were born. We have all of us duties to discharge to our countrymen and friends, and if we do not discharge them we do not fulfil the noble purpose by which alone our existence is justified. Some social objections there may be. If you want to go to England for your profit, for pecuniary purposes, your people may or may not object to take you on your return back into your own caste; but, when you take a nobler duty in hand, when you have gone forth and crossed the stormy ocean solely to serve your country, even the old people, let alone the younger generation, are not so blind as to think of putting an obstacle in their patriot brethren's noble course, and they will not only receive you on your return into the bosom of your caste, but receive you with open arms, with rejoicings, praise, and gratitude. (Loud cheers.)

MR. DHONDO SHAMRAO GARUD (Bombay): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In supporting this resolution I feel my task very much lightened by what the able speakers who have preceded me have said. The grateful acknowledgments which you felt it your duty to make, only a short time ago, of our obligations to the delegates who, at no small sacrifice of time and money, went across the seas to represent our cause before the people of England, will prepare you to admit freely that the scheme of holding a special Session of this Congress in England is by no means a visionary one. If three or four men only benefitted our cause so markedly, surely a deputation of a large body of earnest men, such as it is proposed to send, is calculated still more largely to conduce to the national benefit. If we thereby secure the sympathies of a larger number of Members of Parliament, irrespective of parties, that is in itself a service which cannot be overrated. But over and above that there are

**THE SYMPATHIES OF ENGLISH ELECTORS THEMSELVES,**

which a larger diffusion of a correct knowledge of Indian subjects and of the loyal aims and aspirations of this assembly will not fail to win over to our side. (Cheers.) It must be admitted that there are at the outset great difficulties, both pecuniary and social, to contend with in

such an undertaking. But I do hope and trust that the patriotism of our countrymen will rise superior to other minor considerations, and that if we but give "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether," it will not be difficult for us to achieve our object. (Cheers.) It cannot be denied that if we succeed in carrying it out we shall have an ample return in the advantages it will bring to us in every shape, whether political, social, moral, or educational. Of the necessity of such an undertaking there can also, I think, be no two opinions. Gentlemen, the uncovenanted services lately had a parliamentary Committee to inquire into their grievances, and it cannot be denied that it brought to them a large measure of relief. But, although we have for a long time been asking for a Royal Commission to inquire into the material condition of India, we have not yet succeeded in obtaining it. In the good old days of the East India Company, Parliamentary Committee Enquiries were a settled institution; but there has been no Royal Commission since the direct assumption of the Government by the Crown, that is to say for more than thirty years past. So long, therefore, as there is no Royal Commission the next best thing we can do is to select picked and typical representatives, people from all parts of the country, who will go to England and lay our case before the English people, the very persons who hold the political destinies of our country in their hands. (Cheers.)

MR. HARDEO RAM NANABHAI HARIDAS (Guzerat): Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject before you is a very important one and deserves your serious consideration. There is no question as to its political utility, since the British are ever ready to come to the assistance of oppressed nations. Those who emancipated the negro slaves will surely come to your assistance, you who are Aryans like themselves, and give you a

**POLITICAL FRANCHISE AND POLITICAL SALVATION.**

A suggestion like the present one was made a year or two ago, but serious difficulties were raised, and the suggestion could not readily be accepted. But, after all, a compromise was effected, and instead of holding a Congress in England it was decided to send a few delegates to try the experiment of the political utility of such a step. But, gentlemen, when our leaders went there, when they were fighting hard for the benefit of their country, engaged in a noble service, our enemies taunted them with being representatives of themselves and not of the dumb millions of India. Last year, being excited by this taunt, our Congress decided that the delegates for this year should not go without holding in their hands credentials of representation, and, therefore, certain gentlemen were appointed to go to England as representatives of the Congress and plead before our large-hearted British fellow subjects in their own homes. But this year we go a step further in the process of evolution. From being representatives of a few people assembled in the National Congress, our representatives will be elected by the dumb millions themselves to plead before the British Nation and to tell them what our grievances, our disabilities, and our aspirations are. You all know the success with which the batch of noble political pilgrims, headed by their venerable chief, and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, pleaded our cause, and with what devotion they smoothed the way for our political salvation. They were a credit to themselves and to the poor country that

sent them. At the same time we should be cautious; we should not be overborne by too much zeal and enthusiasm. Of course, hold the Congress, but in selecting delegates the greatest care should be exercised. Select your very best men and send them by all means. If such a deputation from us hold sittings in London the greatest political good may be expected: the British nation will then be in a position to judge how far the accusation that we Congresswallahs are a set of sedition-mongers, place-seekers, discontented do-nothings, holds water. The London session of Congress will also be

AN EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD;

and if we but succeed in educating British opinion in our favour the work of the Congress will be done. But, gentlemen, in our flights of enthusiasm we should not be blind to other considerations. Care should be taken that the susceptibilities of the orthodox party should not be roughly overridden in our Oriental enthusiasm. No pressure, however little, should be used to induce delegates to go to the London Congress. I do not object to the London Congress, I am entirely in favour of it, but I give you this warning, and resume my seat. (Cheers.)

MR. LAKSHMAN GOVIND RAO (Central Provinces): Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—This is the first time that I have stood before you, and I will be as brief as I can. After the able, vigorous, and energetic support which this resolution has received at the hands of several preceding speakers, it would be superfluous in me to add anything more to prove its importance and necessity. Nor need I dwell upon the advantages and benefits that will follow from it. I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution. (Cheers.)

BABU NARAYAN SING SODHI (Amritsar) spoke in Punjabi, and said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is with great pleasure that I support the proposal that some hundred or so of our best men should meet as a Congress in London in 1892. London is the capital of our royal mother, Queen Victoria, at whose footstool all aggrieved seek redress. There we shall have a chance of informing our mother of all we suffer and all we want. Though the papers and our reports convey to her some idea of our needs, yet that is not the same thing as it will be when we appeal to her, as it were, at her Palace gates. Surely she will bring about a granting of our prayers, and see that we return back rejoicing, our wishes realised and crowned with fruition. There also we shall have an opportunity of stating our case fully and clearly before British audiences all over the United Kingdom, and the more good men we send the greater number of meetings we shall be able to address. That we should have come so far and have made such sacrifices to lay our grievances before the public there, will in itself be no little guarantee of their reality. I come from

THE PUNJAB: NO ONE THERE IS OPPOSED TO THE IDEA OF HOLDING A SESSION OF THE CONGRESS IN ENGLAND.

In the Punjab none now-a-days object to a man's going to England; on the contrary many desire to go there. I held a commission in the 12th Bengal Cavalry and have been to Abyssinia, Malta, and other places over the sea, but neither I nor any of my comrades have ever been outcasted. Thousands of other Punjabi soldiers have similarly crossed the black water without incurring any social penalties. If no one objected when we went merely

to fight for the British Government is it possible that any one should object when we go to England to serve our own country and our own countrymen? In the days of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, Sikh forces fought in Afghanistan; they were never outcasted and no one will be outcasted in my Province who goes now to London on this public service. By going we shall be able to get a clearer idea of the British Constitution and how it works, and how best we may, under its shadow, obtain our rights and our wishes. We shall do something towards securing a more widespread sympathy amongst our British fellow-subjects, and it may even be that they, under our Maharani's favouring glances, may send us back with our political mission to some extent crowned with success. Even if it be not so we shall have taken a new and important step in that direction. So I cordially support the resolution. (Cheers.)

PANDIT SHAYAM NARAYAN MASALDAN (Lucknow) spoke in Urdu, and said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I come before you not only to give a formal support to the resolution which is now before you, but because I think that it is really a useful resolution. We, the delegates of the Congress, enjoy perfect freedom of thought and speech, and when we give our opinion upon any subject, we do so after much careful consideration. We are not like the members of the Viceroy's Council, who would support any measure that is introduced by the Government. (Cheers.) And this is not a mere opinion which may or may not be true, but the statement of a fact which rests upon the authority of some of the highest statesmen who have been in charge of Indian affairs, and which is one of the principal reasons why we are desirous of passing the present resolution. Some twenty years ago, the Duke of Argyll, who was then our Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy to the effect that

“THE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA ARE MERELY EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT,

who hold the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the official members to vote for it.” Some fifteen years later this doctrine was emphasised by Lord Dufferin in words of wider and clearer significance. In his Minute on Council Reform, which fortunately saw the light before the Official Secret Acts came into existence, the following remarkable words occur: “The executive that represents her (the Queen's) *Imperium* in India is an executive directly responsible, not to any local authority, but to the sovereign and to the British Parliament. Nor could its members divest themselves of this responsibility as long as Great Britain remains the paramount administration in India.” Now, without wishing to say one word as to the morality of the doctrine which has been so authoritatively propounded, and which divests the Government of all responsibility to the people whom it governs, I may invite your attention to the position in which this theory of the British Government places us. The fountain-head of our legislation is the Supreme Council. Every measure that is introduced therein is passed by the vote of the appointed members who form the majority. But their vote is controlled by the Secretary of State, who, in his turn, is controlled by Parliament, and Parliament reflects the opinion of the British Nation. In the last resort then

THE RESPONSIBILITY RESTS UPON THE BRITISH NATION,



who know little about Indian affairs, and whose knowledge of India is confined to purely official sources. Now, the principal source of such knowledge is, of course, the Secretary of State, but he himself has to rely upon his Council; and yet what is this Council? It is composed of Anglo-Indian officials who are at least thirty years behind the age, whose knowledge of Indian matters consists of things which existed a generation ago, but which have entirely changed now, and who, therefore, have little sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of New India. These gentlemen are the Secretary of State's Councillors, and they have to sit in judgment upon their own past acts. It is not likely that these old officials would take an unfavourable view of things of which they themselves were the authors, or of the system under which they have passed the best years of their lives. Thus, then, the knowledge of Indian matters which the Secretary of State derives from them, is such as is allowed to pass through the hands of his Councillors, who, of course, on all occasions, rely on official blue books which give a purely imaginary and rose-coloured view of Anglo-Indian administration. The value of even this one-sided information and advice is very much diminished when we remember that the Anglo-Indian Council gives its advice to the Secretary of State under no sense of responsibility to the public or the Government since their minutes are not published, nor is the Secretary of State bound to follow them. But, nevertheless, they exercise a decisive influence upon his judgment, even in their irresponsible position, because, although not bound to follow their advice, yet, as a matter of course, the Secretary of State having

NO BETTER GUIDES AND ASSISTANTS UPON WHOM HE MAY RELY

for Indian experience, has to follow them and shape his Indian policy, as a rule, in accordance with their suggestions. Thus, the position of Indian politics is this: The Viceroy cannot do anything without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State either will not move unless some parliamentary pressure is brought to bear upon him, or, if he moves at all, it will be in the direction of Anglo-Indian opinion. Parliament won't move unless the nation compels it to do so; and the British nation won't move unless it is made alive to the real grievances of the Indian people, and its mind is disabused of the delusive accounts it has heard through official sources of the so-called peace and prosperity of this country. At present Parliament is not much interested in Indian matters. Our Budget is placed before them at the fag-end of the session, and those who speak upon it have to address empty benches. And yet it was the Duke of Argyll who, in a remarkable pamphlet on the Administrations of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning which he published some thirty years ago, said that at a time when the Indians had no representatives of their own in the council, and when there was no strong public opinion to check the despotism of the ruling class, it was

THE DUTY OF PARLIAMENT TO KEEP A VIGILANT EYE ON  
INDIAN MATTERS,

and to act as the protector of the people against the aggressions of the Anglo-Indian community. (Hear, hear.) Thus, it is our first duty to acquaint Parliament and the British people with that side of the picture which is generally concealed by the official class, and to remind them of the sacred and solemn task which God, in his

inscrutable wisdom, has imposed upon them of governing two hundred and fifty millions of human beings. Therefore, the step which you propose to take by holding a future session of the Congress in London is dictated alike by our present political necessity and by the constitution of our Government. It will indeed be a grand day in the history of this country when the representatives stand face to face with the great British Nation, not as State prisoners used to stand before oriental despots with halters round their necks, but as fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens with the charter of liberty in their hands, able to state their grievances before it, and entreat it to extend to them the same principles of justice and generosity which it has extended to the Colonies. (Cheers.) It is said that the people are not fit for the reforms they advocate; that the desire for political progress is confined only to the educated classes who form but a mere fringe of the whole population, and that the vast bulk of the people are perfectly satisfied with their present lot. Now this is, I submit, a mistake. Whatever may be the aspirations of the English-knowing classes, I stand before you as a specimen of that vast body of Indians who have not received the light of Western knowledge, but, while speaking on behalf of such men, I can assure you that, call them what our critics may—ignorant, bigotted, semi-civilized, old-fashioned, "black men,"—they are

AS ARDENT ADVOCATES OF REFORM AS THE EDUCATED CLASSES  
THEMSELVES,

and possess among them materials of political knowledge, which can never fail to be of use to the Government and the country. (Cheers.) It is, however, a happy augury for the future of this country that Parliament has of late begun to manifest some increasing interest in her affairs, and I doubt not that, if you succeed in carrying into practice the resolution which you are about to pass, you will open to England a new world of knowledge and information upon Indian matters, in the light of which she will be able to see the wrongs and injustice which her servants have done to us in her name; and as soon as she sees them she will remove them, and will satisfy our just aspirations which are the fruit of the civilization she has spread amongst us. (Cheers.)

PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (North West Provinces): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should have very much liked to be excused from supporting this resolution for two reasons: in the first place because I think the resolution is sufficient in itself; and in the second place, because I am far from well. It has however, been thought desirable that speakers from every part of the country should testify to the feeling likely to be entertained by the people at large when this proposal is made public. In trying to do my part I will venture to point out that if this proposal is accepted by a very considerable proportion of our countrymen who, either through ignorance or misapprehension or some other cause, are opposed to the idea of going to England, or think that a voyage to England disqualifies men in certain respects, the sole consideration which will reconcile them to the proposal will be that they will realise that thereby good will be done to this country. I wish you clearly to understand that it is wholly a political mission, with nothing whatever of a social character attached to it, and that if we venture to think of holding a Congress in England, while a considerable portion of our countrymen are, for

some reason or other, opposed to that idea, it is simply because we are prompted by

THE BEST OF MOTIVES TO DO GOOD TO OUR FELLOWS.

It is not a matter of choice, but a matter of clear, and, I would say, sheer, necessity. I should be happy if the necessity did not arise. I should rejoice if before 1892 comes, Parliament has passed Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, and has made us those other concessions which we have been claiming, so that we may then have no necessity for holding a Congress in England. Not that I undervalue the great social, literary, and other advantages which will accrue from a voyage to England. I covet and value them as highly as any person present. But I confess I covet and value the affections of those near and dear to me a good deal more. I value the sympathy of those in whose midst my lot has been cast, and for whose benefit I wish to labour to the extent of my power; and if any act of mine could alienate their sympathy, I would abstain from it. But one consideration which will reconcile them to the idea is that we shall be going to England, not for any social or private personal advantages, but simply for the sake of securing for them concessions which will promote their happiness and welfare. I wish also to point out that our belief is that we shall not have to do anything but what we may desire, and what our religious precepts enjoin, in going to England, and that those of us who want to be true orthodox people, and are really so, can be

AS ORTHODOX BY GOING TO ENGLAND AS BY REMAINING HERE.

No one will force you to do anything you think to be against your religion or the teachings of your ancestors; only make up your minds to offer the sacrifice that is necessary. Of course, the sacrifice is very great. It is a greater sacrifice than anything I can think of for a man to run the risk of alienating the sympathy of his people, or diminishing the warmth of the affections of those near and dear to him. But many great and heavy sacrifices have to be made when you want to benefit your country. Do you not, when there is a distinct call to fight for your country and your sovereign, go into the battle and try to do the best you can? You lay aside all personal and private considerations. You may to a certain extent injure the feelings of your people, but you do it simply because you think it a clear call of duty. So it will be in this respect. If we go to England it will be in response to the clear call of duty, and I hope that all our countrymen, the most orthodox even, will be reconciled to the idea when they look at it in that light, and that no one will try to put it in any other light. (Cheers.)

MR. PRAN NATH SARASVATI (Calcutta).—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates—If I were to consult my personal inclinations I should not be here at this time of the day. I know full well the value of time, and I am fully conscious on the absence on my part of those gifts of oratory which are calculated to reach the ears and hearts of a large body of men like this. If, therefore, I stand here to-day, it is more in the position of a witness than of an advocate, because I take it, this duty has been imposed upon me so that I may disclose the attitude of the Conservative part, so to speak, in Upper India. Gentlemen, belonging as I do to a race whose limits are the snow-clad Himalayas and the dark waters of the ocean, and claiming as I do some acquaintance with our ancient

Brahmin literature, I can truly testify that there is nothing in the tenets of our religion which prohibits sea voyages as such; that, I am confident, is the better opinion, and I can also testify, as being in touch with the true orthodox opinion in Upper India, that if it should please the country to endorse the mandate of the Congress with regard to the meeting in London in 1892, which I hope will be endorsed at our next Congress meeting in India, and if you will take care to meet to the best of your power the special requirements of orthodox Hindu gentlemen—and I have no doubt the best endeavours will be made—if these wants are met I can assure you there will be no difficulty in getting representative orthodox Hindu gentlemen from Upper India to represent your country. (Cheers.)

RAJ KUMAR NILKRISHNA BAHADUR (Calcutta).—Ladies and Gentlemen,—The cheers that you have accorded to the various speakers are a clear indication of your views as to the necessity of a mission to England. I never could have thought that so many gentlemen would be required to support this resolution, believing that you would at once adopt it when it was proposed. We stand before the British public as complainants, and the Indian Government is the defendant. The British Parliament should be considered as the real jury before whom we are to lay our case. Under the circumstances I think it is only proper and necessary that we should send this our proposed grand mission to England as you have already sent a few individuals to feel the way for them. I trust that you will carry this resolution by acclamation. (Cheers.)

RAI KAKU UMLL (Oudh).—Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I ask permission to speak on this subject, not because I am an orator or that I have anything to add, or that anything has been left unsaid that ought to be said, but because there have been none of my caste among the supporters of this resolution, and, if I did not speak, it might be understood that my community is keeping aloof from this question. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution on behalf of my community; and I think that by so many of us going so far across the sea, at our own expense, we shall prove to the great English Nation that we are in earnest, and that our grievances are real and not imaginary. (Cheers.)

MR. SHURFUDDIN (Patna).—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think I have been called upon to say a word with regard to the feelings of Muhammadans in general with reference to this resolution. Although I cannot claim to be a very orthodox Muhammadan, I am in a position to inform you that Muhammadans, as a religious body, have not the least objection to crossing the seas, for the best of reasons that they came to India by crossing the seas. I believe I am to be the last speaker, and I will ask the President to put the matter to the vote.

THE PRESIDENT: Before I put the resolution perhaps you may like to hear what Mr. Caine may have to say upon the subject. (Loud cheers.)

MR. W. S. CAINE (Sholapur).—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has always been the custom, I believe, at previous Congresses, when a place has been finally decided upon at which the next Congress should meet, for some one from that place to get into the tribune and say how pleased he and his friends are that that particular place has been chosen for the next meeting. Now you

have not finally decided upon where the next Congress is to meet, but I hope when I have finished what I have to say, you will settle definitely where the one after that is to meet, and I sincerely trust that that will be London. (Cheers.) I have been greatly impressed by the debate that has just taken place, and so I trust will be the general public, from the fact that

OUT OF FIFTEEN SPEECHES THIRTEEN HAVE COME FROM  
ORTHODOX HINDUS,

one from a Sikh and one from a Moslem. That, I think, is the most important fact, for it demonstrates completely that orthodox Hinduism has no objection whatever to crossing the sea if Hindustan is to be served thereby, and does not fear any evil consequences from taking that particular course in a good cause. (Cheers.) The resolution says that the Congress is to be held in England, "all things being convenient." That is a very considerable proviso. I can only say on behalf of your friends in England, who are many more than you think, that it will not be in the least inconvenient to us to welcome you and entertain you when you get there. (Cheers.) The only risk of inconvenience is that some of your friends may be engaged in fighting for positions in Parliament, from which, in time to come, they may fight your battles. (Cheers.) The only thing I think that can prevent the success of the Congress meeting in London in 1892 will be that the present Government, which has great tenacity, will be hanging on by tooth and claw that particular year (laughter); but if public opinion can succeed in turning them out next year, then I think there will be nothing, so far as we are concerned, that need in the least degree interfere with the convenience of your meeting in London. One thing, at any rate, I can promise you, that if you meet in London, no manifesto will be issued

FORBIDDING SECRETARIES OF STATE OR EVEN PENNY-POST MEN

(laughter) from listening to what you have to say. I think that Her Majesty the Queen is much more likely to invite you all to Buckingham Palace than to forbid any of her faithful servants from taking seats in the galleries that I am sure will be thronged at every meeting of the Congress in London. (Cheers.) The time has gone by for making speeches on this occasion ("Go on.") Well, I look forward to the time when a hundred, or it may be a thousand, Indian gentlemen will find their way across the ocean to hold a Congress meeting in London. It is not always easy for the members of the British Committee of the Congress or of the Political Agency in England, and those of us whose business it is to advocate your cause at public meetings, and in the press, to bring home to the minds of the English people what this great assemblage really means. I endeavour, when I am in India and attending your Congress meetings, to write home to the press some feeble description of the marvellous scenes and the fascinating debates within your halls; but no pen can describe and no artist depict satisfactorily, either to the eye or the mind of English people, what the Indian National Congress really means. It will then be

A GREAT OBJECT LESSON TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

if we can gather together in Exeter Hall, or the Crystal Palace, or some other building of great dimensions, the Indian National Congress, that men may hear for themselves and have reported verbatim in every newspaper in

the land the reasonable, sensible, statesmanlike, and truly patriotic, speeches which are delivered here. If the authors of that manifesto, which was so justly censured yesterday, will take the trouble, when the verbatim report of the proceedings of this Congress is published, to read it through from beginning to end, I think they can only lay the volume down with

A FEELING OF PROFOUND SHAME

(Hear, hear,) that they have interdicted Government servants from even listening to the loyal speeches that have been delivered. I have sat here throughout the whole of these proceedings, and not one single word have I heard that could give the slightest justification for the disgraceful manifesto which appeared in the newspapers yesterday. (Cheers.) At all events, when you come to England you will be listened to, your meetings will be free and open, and I venture to prophesy that there will hardly be a single member, of either the upper or lower Houses of Parliament, who will not seize the opportunity of seeing and hearing for himself what are the true aspirations of educated Indians. I can only promise on my behalf, and I think on behalf of all your friends, that when you come you shall have a right royal welcome. (Cheers.) Everything we can do to make your visit pleasant, to make it useful to the cause you have at heart, and to make it tend to the binding together of the great British Empire of which we are all so justly proud, shall be done; and if any of you are still bound by caste rules to any rigid extent, we will do everything we can, if you will only tell us how to do it, to make it perfectly easy for the most orthodox of Hindus, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, to visit England

WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST CHANCE OF BREAKING CASTE OR  
BREAKING ANY OF THE RULES OF THEIR RELIGION

which they are endeavouring to carry out, and in which every good man must encourage and support them. In the name of all your friends in England—and I will go further and say, in the name of the great English people—I promise you that when you come you will receive such a welcome as will make your hearts rejoice. (Loud cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: I now propose that we pass the Eleventh Resolution, but so many speeches have intervened since you heard it that I will read it to you again:—

"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."

Now those of you who are in favour of this resolution hold up your hands. (Cries of "All, All".) Now those who are of the contrary opinion. ("None, None".)

Then this resolution has been unanimously carried, and I call on Mr. Wacha to propose the Twelfth Resolution.

THE CONGRESS PERMANENT FUND.

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay).—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution entrusted to me is a formal

one, and I do not think it need detain you more than a minute. The resolution is:

"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 on fixed deposit, 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."

This Resolution requires no speech from me to commend it to your approval, for really it is a resolution concerning our own domestic economy. The last two days we have been busily engaged with external politics. This is a mere matter of detail of domestic politics, putting our household together, husbanding our resources, and seeing how we can make the Congress stronger and stronger by conserving the sinews of war. You will rejoice to hear that there is a nucleus of a permanent fund which we owe in no small degree to the eloquent appeal which our friend Mr. Banerjee made last year at the Congress. We are now in a position to add to that fund another twenty thousand rupees. You will rejoice to hear that the Congress fund is progressing with the Congress. Gentlemen, we hope now that a good foundation has been laid, that, year by year, as the Congress progresses, we shall also progress with our funds, and that our permanent fund will reach twenty lakhs of rupees. (Hear, hear.) Twenty lakhs of rupees is nothing in a population of twenty crores.

#### IT MEANS ONE PER CENT.

You are paying two and a half per cent. income tax, and this one per cent. for a patriotic object will not be serious. With these observations I beg to propose this resolution. (Cheers.)

THE REVEREND RAM CHUNDER BOSE (Lucknow.)  
—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—I represent among you the garrulity of age and you will not be surprised if I fly off at a tangent from my text, and make an observation or two on what I have seen during this Congress session. The resolution I have to second is not a source of such great pleasure to me as the resolution you have just passed. The idea of holding a Congress in London is, I believe,

#### THE GRANDEST THAT HAS FLASHED ON THE COLLECTIVE INTELLECT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(Hear, hear.) Why? Because we are sure to have in England the sympathy, the encouragement, and the co-operation, which we have failed to elicit in this land. There is between England and ourselves and this National Congress what may be called a community of aim. To explain this I must go down to one of the fundamental principles of political science. Several accusations have been preferred against us, and these are obviously ridiculous. If we were accused of idealism, I might be disposed to plead guilty to the soft impeachment. There can be no realism without pre-existing or precedent idealism. All our demands are realistic, but I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that they have all emanated from an ideal. A great writer in view of the common saying "Man is metaphysical *volens volens*," says

that "Man is a politician *volens volens*." Sensible, thoughtful, men have before their mental vision an ideal of political development. What is that ideal? The ideal is government of the people by the people and for the people, not

#### GOVERNMENT BY A MONOPOLY AND FOR A MONOPOLY.

Towards this ideal all the best Governments and most enlightened countries of the world are working, and especially England. In the home of constitutional liberty all the foremost thinkers are working up towards this great ideal; and, my friends, we aspire to see our Government working up to it also. England is taking grand steps towards this ideal. We ask our Government to take incipient steps towards it. But the step, whether incipient or matured, is one and the same, or has one and the same object in view. The goal is one, and therefore the aim of England and the aim of this Congress are one and the same. (Cheers.) But there is between England and this National Congress not only a community of aim but community of interest. The destinies of this country are inseparably bound up with the destinies of England. A prosperous India is to England a source of strength;

#### A WEAKENED, DEBILITATED, IMPOVERISHED, INDIA

is to England a weakness. What will be the upshot of the Congress! The National Congress is the great lever, and is fitted, eminently fitted, to raise this country in intelligence, in wealth, in prosperity, and in glory. (Cheers.) And when the country is raised in glory, in strength and prosperity, it will be a source of strength to England. Therefore, between England and the National Congress there is a community of interest, and, therefore, a community of method, if you will allow me the expression. The methods utilised by us are the very methods that have been utilised in England by its great political agitators. I do not for a moment maintain that English political agitators have never gone beyond the hallowed line of legitimate and constitutional methods. I am aware that at times these agitators have broken windows and smashed chandeliers, (laughter), and these are vagaries that we could never tolerate. (Cheers.) But the methods utilized there are, on the whole, constitutional; and our methods are constitutional. There is then a harmony between the methods employed there and the methods employed by us. (Cheers.) And, lastly, between this Congress and England there is

#### A COMMUNITY OF HOPE,

What is England's grand mission in the world? It is to spread constitutionalism, and the glory of civilization that has evolved from it, throughout the world. And when the National Congress shall have done its work in India, India's glorious mission will be to spread constitutionalism and the civilization emanating from it, throughout Asia, throughout Africa, nay, throughout the whole world. Two remarks more, and I shall have done. Our English friends, and especially Mr. Hume—(cheers)—who has justly been described as the father of the National Congress, have been represented by the Anglo-Indian Press almost universally as denationalized. They are not denationalized,

#### THEY ARE DE-ANGLO-INDIANIZED, AND RE-NATIONALIZED.

(Cheers.) The great heart of Great Britain beats in

union with the heart of this Congress. Their aspirations are in union with our aspirations, and those who deny our aspirations, and who stand in the way of Government making progress when it ought to make progress are guilty of the highest sedition against the highest principles of Government. They are denationalized: our friends are Anglicized. (Loud cheers.) These remarks, of course, are not on the subject of the resolution. (Laughter.) When I was in America a gentleman was going to a meeting and a friend of his met him and said, "Are you going to speak on the subject?" "No," he said, "I am not going to speak on the subject but I am going to speak on some subject." Now, I have spoken on some subject, if not on the subject. (Laughter and cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: Now we will come to the subject, and I will ask you to vote for the Resolution No. 12.

"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 on fixed deposit, 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."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## ASSIGNMENT OF FUNDS FOR BRITISH WORK.

Mr. MUDHOLKAR (Berar).—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This again is a purely formal matter which requires the sanction of the Congress. Only an hour ago you passed a resolution approving of the action of the delegates whom you deputed to England last summer. The proposition with which I am entrusted is one which is closely connected with the carrying on of the work which was begun by you in December last, namely, that of sending deputations to England. Resolution 13, of which I am in charge, deals with the question of ways and means for carrying out that object and others connected with our British Committee's work. It runs thus:—

"That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee."

When I was in England, every week there were telegrams sent by your friends here to apprise the British public that the Congress movement in India was dying of inanition, that the funds of which such promises were held out in December last were not forthcoming, and that the Congress cause was in danger of extinction. Those of us who knew how the facts really stood were in no way afraid of what the consequences would be. We knew that sooner or later the money would be forthcoming; and, even at the time the telegrams were being sent, money was found for the purposes for which it was promised. I hope that the spirit shown by our people last year will still be manifested as long as it is necessary, as long as we live as a

nation, ay, as long as one individual is left among us. (Cheers.) Only a very small sum, Rs. 40,000, is wanted for the English expenses, and only Rs. 6,000 for the expenses here, and I am sure the generosity of the public is not so dead that we shall not be able to find this sum. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. CHOWDREE (Calcutta).—Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I will not add another word. (Cheers.)

MUNSHI SAJJAD HUSSEIN (Lucknow), spoke in Urdu. (It has been found impossible to procure any report of this gentleman's speech.)

THE PRESIDENT: I may now, I think, put this Thirteenth Resolution.

"RESOLVED.—That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee."

The resolution is carried unanimously.

## REAPPOINTMENT OF GENERAL SECRETARY AND JOINT GENERAL SECRETARY.

THE PRESIDENT: The next resolution is one which at all previous meetings of the Congress, which I have attended, has been moved by my friend, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, and it is a matter of the greatest regret to me that he is not able to attend to-day and move it in this Congress. I have asked another delegate to take his place. I hope he will not consider me imperious or dictatorial; but, with deference even to my friend Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, I am going to issue a writ of prohibition both on the speaker not to speak one word more than to move the resolution, and on you, gentlemen, not to call upon him to say a word more. I know, of course, that in your heart of hearts you would wish to hear not only his one word, but a long speech from him; but he has only with difficulty just left a sick bed, and he must positively not be asked to exert himself.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta), who was received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheering, said: Brother Delegates,—I am not going to transgress the writ which has been issued against me and against you by my friend the President. Physically, I feel unequal to reply to that demonstration of enthusiasm which has been displayed on my behalf. I feel truly grateful for it, and it will be an incentive to me to exert myself still more in furtherance of those patriotic duties which I hold dearer than life itself. (Cheers.) I have now to move a formal Resolution, which I think you will carry by acclamation:

"RESOLVED.—That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year."

I am sure it does not need a seconder. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

## APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO ENGLAND.

THE HONOURABLE PUNDIT AJOODHIA NATH (North West Provinces.) Mr. President, and Fellow Delegates, —I have not come upon this scaffold—(laughter)—a second time to trouble you with another speech. I have to move a formal resolution though a very important one. It requires only to be read to commend it to you:—

“RESOLVED.—That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pheroze Shah Mehta, W. O. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mano Mahan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charn Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, 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 to press upon the consideration of the British Public the Political reforms which the Congress has advocated”.

In accepting this resolution you will only be following the precedent of last year.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not think that this resolution needs a seconder.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT: And now, gentlemen, our long list of resolutions has come to an end—the dishes have all been handed round and the banquet is over. (Laughter.)

## THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

MR. MANOMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta).—Not quite yet—(laughter)—but the time has now come when I must ask permission to usurp the functions of the President, and to call upon some one to move a vote of thanks to the chair. I have been considering who the person ought to be, and my choice has fallen upon one whom I trust you will also, by general consent, approve of. One of the most notable features of the last Congress in Bombay was the presence of lady delegates. The same interesting feature marks this Congress also. And if lady delegates are to appear amongst us, it is right that we should recognise their presence and assign to them such part as they may wish to take. I think from what I know of the views and feelings of my friend, Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta—(laughter)—that he will take it as a compliment if I ask one of the lady delegates, Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooly, to propose the resolution. (Prolonged cheers.)

Mrs. KADUMBINI GANGOOLY (Calcutta), who was received with loud applause, said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your kindness and for the honour you have done me by placing me at this high altitude. I am not going to make a long speech, as a woman's voice is not strong enough to make itself audible in this enormous hall. But the resolution which I am going to move does not require much speechifying. It has always been usual for the Congress to select its President, not from the Province in which it is held, but from a sister Province. Bengal has followed that example. It called upon a sister Province to send a President whom it would select, and Bombay came forward with its true and noble son, Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta—(cheers)—in order that

we might elect him as our President. We are rejoiced to have him, and I think you will all agree with me that we could not have found a better man. (Cheers.) There could be no truer heart than that of Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta. Manfully and nobly he has discharged his duties, and we are deeply indebted to him for his services. With these few remarks I will retire, asking Mr. Manomohun Ghose to come forward, and with his powerful voice to call upon you to carry this vote of thanks by acclamation. (Cheers.)

MR. MANOMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta): I am sure you do not require me to put the vote of thanks formally. It is but the outward and visible sign of the feelings which fill every heart here. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks was then carried amidst prolonged and reiterated cheers.

THE PRESIDENT: Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooly, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am quite sure that I must be an object of envy to all my predecessors in this chair, including Mr. Yule, whom I see before me, because my Presidency has been rendered illustrious by the circumstance that it is a lady delegate whom you have asked and who has been kind enough to propose this vote of thanks to me. My thanks are doubly due to you for this act of kindness: they are due to you for the cordial manner in which you have received this vote of thanks and for the way in which you have enabled me to earn it by the steady and unanimous support which all of you have given me during these four long days' proceedings. I am really grateful to you for the way in which you have assisted me in carrying these proceedings to so successful a close. And now the very pleasant task devolves upon me of proposing, in my turn, a vote of thanks to those who have laboured to make this Congress the great success it has been. Gentlemen, I move a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee who have given us so hearty a welcome in the principal city of Bengal. It is not necessary for me to say one word with regard to its Chairman, Mr. Manomohun Ghose. All who knew him knew well how he would carry himself in the important position in which you have placed him. Gentlemen, it would be invidious to name the different members of the Reception Committee who have worked for the purpose of making this Congress all it has been. But I do not think I should be discharging my duty properly if I did not name one who has been working all along with heart and soul to make our reception so splendid—I mean my friend,

MR. GHOSAL.

(Loud cheers.) I have seen him labouring with my own eyes day and night, and I think that the success of this Congress is in no small measure due to his untiring exertions. (Hear, hear.) Then there are other members of the Reception Committee whom I am bound to mention, though I will name them briefly for fear of doing injustice to those whom in justice I might name, and who have worked with great assiduity. I must mention the name of my friend,

MR. CHAROO CHUNDER MITTER,

—(cheers)—who has been working, though for a brief period, as earnestly, as indefatigably, and as zealously as we remember that he worked at the Congress at Allahabad. I think you will also expect me to name

RAJ KUMAR SARVADHIKARI,

who also has devoted a great deal of time and labour to the matter. Then I cannot forget the name of

RABOO BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE

—(cheers)—and I must of all things not forget the name of our friend,

CAPTAIN BANON,

who has worked for the success of this Congress, as he has worked for the success of all previous Congresses. (Loud cheers.) Then I will briefly mention our friends

BABOOS DWARKA NATH, GANGOOLY, AND POSHUPUTTI BOSE,

who have also laboured hard to make our reception as charming as it has proved. But, gentlemen, having named the members of the Reception Committee, I must not forget that our thanks are due to those, of whose names, some four hundred in number, I cannot give you a list; but whom I must mention as having come forward to assist the Reception Committee—I refer to the volunteers. (Cheers.) It was perhaps a humble task to perform, but unless that task had been performed in the manner in which they did it, it would have been impossible to preserve order and make our deliberations as orderly as they

have been, impossible for any of the delegates to have enjoyed those comforts which have made our sojourn here a real pleasure. I must not forget either the members of those Committees who have also aided in the good work—the members of the Engineering Committee, the Medical Committee, and the Sanitary Committee. If I were to specify all the names I ought to specify, I might go on for ever. I will only ask you to say that all these gentlemen and all these committees, whom I have named, deserve our warmest thanks for the great exertions that they have put forth in making our reception as complete and cordial as it has been. I think I am entitled in the name of the whole Congress—(cries of "Yes, Yes"), and I hasten to do so, to thank

MR. MANOMOHUN GHOSE

and the members of the Reception Committee, and all the other gentlemen whom I have named or referred to, for their kind co-operation in promoting the success of the Congress. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Nothing now remains but to dissolve the Congress with the constitutional cheers which we always give: "Long live our Queen-Empress".

Loud and prolonged cheers for the Queen-Empress were then given, and repeated many times; then, as dusk closed in, the assembly dissolved.

**APPENDIX 1.**

**THE DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS:**

RACE, RELIGION, SOCIAL, OFFICIAL, AND PROFESSIONAL POSITION.

	CALCUTTA.	DACCA.	RAJSHAHYE.	BHAGALPUR.	CHOTA NAGPUR.	BEHAR.	BENARES.	ALLAHABAD.	LUCKNOW.	LAHORE.	DELHI.	GUZERAT.	BOMBAY.	DECCAN.	SHOLAPUR.	BERAR.	NAGPUR.	MADRAS.	TOTALS.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
<b>Race and Religion.</b>																			
HINDUS .....	170	41	31	29	8	37	10	33	19	9	1	5	12	24	1	14	8	55	507
HUHAMMADANS .....	9	6		1	2	11		39	43		3					1		1	116
JAINS .....	1					2													3
PARSIS .....	2												3						7
SIKHS .....								1		2									3
BRAHMOS .....	11	5	1	1															18
CHRISTIANS .....	7							1	1	1				1		1	1	2	15
EUROPEANS .....	2					1		1		2					1				7
ARMENIAN .....	1																		1
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>																		<b>677</b>	
<b>Lady Delegates.</b>																			
	4																		4
<b>Social, Official, and Professional Position.</b>																			
RAJAHS .....	2																		2
NAWABS .....									9										9
ZEMINDARS .....	66	19	12	11	1	38	4	30	7	1			1				1		191
TALUKDARS .....	3	7	1		2														13
LANDHOLDERS .....	12	3	1	6					2	1		1		2		1		13	42
JAGIRDARS .....														1					1
RAIS .....						2		4	19										25
WASIKDARS .....									7										7
CULTIVATORS .....						1										4			5
CONTRACTORS .....	1					1	1	2										4	9
BANKERS AND MONEY LENDERS .....	2	1	2	2		8	2	7	2			1				3			30
MERCHANTS .....	25		1	1				7	5			1	4	3		4	1	10	62
MILL-OWNERS .....	1											1							2
TRADERS .....							3	1						2				1	7
INDIGO-PLANTERS .....	1			2		3													6
TEA-PLANTER .....	1																		1
BARRISTERS .....	4					2			2				2			2			12
ADVOCATES .....	8												1			1	1		11
SOLICITORS .....	11					1						1	1						14
VAKILS AND PLEADERS .....	74	24	17	15	6	19	3	20	8	7		1	5	12	1	12	3	25	252
MUKTEARS .....	3		2	3	1	1	1	2											13
CHAIRMAN, DISTRICT BOARD .....																1			1
VICE-CHAIRMAN, DIS- TRICT BOARD .....				1	1	2			2							1	1		8
CHAIRMAN, LOCAL BOARD .....	3		1			2										1			7
VICE-CHAIRMAN, LOCAL BOARD .....	7	1				1													9



THE DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS—*continued.*

	CALCUTTA.	DACCA.	RAJSHAHYE.	BHAGULPUR.	CHOTA NAGPUR.	BEHAR.	BENARES.	ALLAHABAD.	LUCKNOW.	LAHORE.	DELHI.	GUZERAT.	BOMBAY.	DECCAN.	SHOLAPUR.	BERAR.	NAGPUR.	MADRAS.	TOTALS.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
<b>Social, Official, and Professional Position—<i>Continued.</i></b>																			
MEMBERS, DISTRICT BOARD .....	16	3	3	9	1	3	2	2	3					1			1	2	46
MEMBERS, LOCAL BOARD .....	6	6	2	2		4			1				1	1					23
CHAIRMAN OF MUNICIPALITY .....	7	2	1	1		1			1						1			1	15
VICE-CHAIRMAN OF MUNICIPALITY .....	3	2		1	1	1		1	1					1			1		12
MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS .....	24	7	4	11	5	8	2	3	8				2	6		6	2	3	91
HONORARY MAGISTRATES .....	31	6	7	11	3	8	1	2	5										74
MEMBERS, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL .....	3							1						1					5
FELLOWS OF UNIVERSITIES .....	5							1		1						1			8
GRADUATES .....	69	13	10	11	4	15	1	3	2	1			5	4	1	2	3	16	160
SCHOOL MASTERS .....	13	10	1			1		2			1	1		3			2	7	41
NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS .....	1	3						3	1							1			9
NEWSPAPER EDITORS...	7	4				2		2						4				6	26
JOURNALISTS .....	3	1						2	2										6
DOCTORS OF MEDICINE..	14	1	2	3	2	1		1	2	3	1		1					1	32
ENGINEERS .....	1								3	1				1					6
PENSIONERS .....	1							4	4	2			1	1					13
TRANSLATORS.....											2								2
PRIVATE SERVICE .....								3	11	1									15
HINDU MISSIONARIES AND SPIRITUAL GUIDES .....																			2
2								2											2
CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY	4																		
MUHAMMADAN MISSIONARY .....		3						1	1					1					6
ARYA SOMAJ MISSIONARY .....								1											5
								1											1

## THE SPEAKERS AT THE CONGRESS.

THE names and designations, the race, religious denomination and caste, the occupation and address, with particulars as to their election, of the Delegates who spoke at the Congress meetings are given for reference:

Hon'ble Sir ROMESH CHUNDER MITTER, Kt., B.A., B.L.; Hindu, Kayestha; Zemindar; Member, Viceroy's Legislative Council of India; late Chief Justice, Bengal High Court; and Fellow of the Calcutta University, Puddapukar Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta; Elected at a Meeting of the British Indian Association held on the 24th December, 1890, and at a General Meeting of the Committee of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta, December 10th, 1890.

Mr. MANO MOHUN GHOSE; Hindu, Kayestha; Barrister-at-Law, 4, Theatre Road, Calcutta; Elected at Public Meeting in Town Hall, Calcutta, 23rd December, 1890.

Maharaj KUMAR NIL KRISHNA DEB; Hindu, Kayestha; Zemindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Raja Nobo Krishna's Street, Calcutta; Elected at Public Meeting in Town Hall, Calcutta, 23rd December, 1890.

- Mr. LAL MOHUN GHOSE; Hindu, Kayestha; Barrister-at-Law, 11, Store Road, Ballygunge; Elected at Public Meeting in Town Hall, Calcutta, 23rd December, 1890.
- Mr. GEORGE YULE; English, Christian; Merchant; Elected at Public Meeting in Town Hall, Calcutta, 23rd December, 1890.
- Babu MOHINI MOHUN CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.; Hindu, Brahmin; Attorney-at-Law, 10, Old Post Office Street; Elected at Public Meeting in Town Hall, Calcutta, 23rd December, 1890.
- Babu BIPRO DASS BANERJEE; Hindu, Brahmin; Editor, Lawyer, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Gorpar, Calcutta; Elected at a General Meeting of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta, on the 10th December, 1890.
- Babu PRAN NATH PUNDIT (SARASVATI), M.A., B.L.; Hindu, Brahmin; Vakil, High Court, and Zemindar; Elected at a General Meeting of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta, on the 10th December, 1890.
- Babu SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE, B.A.; Hindu, Brahmin; Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Barrackpore, Municipal Commissioner, Editor, *Bengalee*; Elected by the Indian Association at a Meeting held on 22nd December, 1890.
- Babu DEVIROSAD SURBADHIKARY, M.A., B.L.; Hindu, Kayestha; Attorney-at-Law; Elected by the Indian Association at a Meeting held on 22nd December, 1890.
- Babu SALIGRAM SING, B.A., B.L.; Hindu; Zemindar, Vakil and Honorary Magistrate, 119, Ripon Street, Calcutta; Elected by the Indian Association at a Meeting held on 22nd December, 1890.
- Babu KALI CHURN BANERJEE, M.A., B.L.; Bengalee, Christian; Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, Fellow of the Calcutta University, 81, Baranasi Ghose's Street, Calcutta; Elected by the Indian Association at a Meeting held on 22nd December, 1890.
- Mrs. KADUMBINI GANGOOLY, B.A., G.M.C.B.; Brahmo; Lady Doctor; At a Meeting of Ladies held at Calcutta on the 22nd December, 1890.
- Babu BOIKUNTA NATH SEN; Hindu, Kayestha; Honorary Magistrate, Zemindar, Municipal Chairman, Burhampur, President, Murshidabad Association, Vakil, High Court, Calcutta; At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association, held on the 29th November, 1890.
- Mr. JOSEPH DAVIDITCH MELIK BEGLAR; Armenian; Landholder, Civil Engineer, and Anthologist; At Public Meeting held at Chogdah, December 7th, 1890.
- Babu BISHNUPADA CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.; Hindu, Brahmin; Pleader, Judge's Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Hughli; At a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah, December 21st, 1890.
- Babu JANAKI NATH BASU, B.A., B.L.; Hindu, Kayestha; Pleader, District Court, Cuttack; At a Meeting held at Cuttack, Orissa, on 3rd December, 1890.
- Babu HEM CHUNDRRA RAI, M.A., B.L.; Hindu, Vaidya; Zemindar and Pleader, Judge's Court, 12, Nebootola Street, Calcutta; At a Public Meeting held at Manikgunge, 10th December, 1890.
- Syed SHARF UD DIN; Muhammadan; Barrister-at-Law and Zemindar, Bankipore, Vice Chairman, Patna District Board, Chairman, Dinapore Local Board, and Municipal Commissioner, Patna; At a General Meeting held at Bankipore, on the 6th December, 1890.
- Mr. PRINGLE KENNEDY, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar; European, Christian; Pleader, District Court, Mozufferpore; At a Public Meeting held at Mozufferpore on the 14th December, 1890.
- Munshi SADR UD DIN AHMED; Muhammadan; Zemindar, Syed of Sannut Jama'at; Elected at a Public Meeting held in the Kayestha Pathsala Hall, on the 11th December, 1890.
- Pundit MADAN MOHUN MALAVIYA, B.A.; Hindu, Malaviya Brahmin; Joint Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Allahabad; Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Kayestha Pathsala, on the 11th of December, 1890.
- Hon. PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH; Hindu, Kashmeri Brahmin; Joint General Secretary, Member Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vakil, High-Court, Member Legislative Council N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, Fellow of Calcutta and Allahabad University; Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Kayestha Pathsala, on the 11th December 1890.
- Swami ALA RAM; Hindu; Missionary, Sanyasi; By a meeting of the Prayag Hindu Samaj, dated 23rd December, 1890.
- HAFIZ ABDUR RAHIM; Sheikh; Pleader, Judge's Court, Aligurh; At a Public Meeting held at Aligurh, 14th December, 1890.
- Nawab SHUMESHUD DOWLA BAHADUR; Muhammadan; Wasikdar; At a General Meeting of the Anjuman Muhammadai, 22nd December, 1890.
- Munshi SAJJAD HUSSAIN; Muhammadan; Editor; At a General Meeting of the Anjuman Muhammadai, 22nd December, 1890.
- Mr. HAMID ALI KHAN; Muhammadan; Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner; At a General Meeting of the Anjuman Muhammadai, 22nd December, 1890.
- Pundit BISHAN NARAYAN DAR; Hindu, Brahmin; Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner; At a Public Meeting, held on the 14th December, 1890.
- Pundit SHAM NARAIN NASULDAN; Hindu, Brahmin; Landholder, Journalist, Municipal Commissioner; At a Public Meeting, held on the 14th December, 1890.
- Revd. RAM CHANDRA BOSE; Christian; Missionary, Makbara Amjad Ali Shah, Lucknow; At a Meeting of the Rifa-i-am Association, Lucknow, held on the 11th December, 1890.

- RAI KACCOOMAL BAHADUR**; Hindu, Aror Bansi; Honorary Magistrate, Chairman, Municipal Board, Zemindar and Pleader; At a Public Meeting of the residents of Fyzabad and Ayuddhia, held on 8th December, 1890.
- Mr. A. O. HUME, C.B.**; English Christian; Retired Civilian, Resident at Simla; By a Public Meeting held at Lahore, December 14th, 1890.
- LALA DHARM DASS SURI**; Hindu; Pleader, High Court, N.-W.E.; By a Public Meeting held at Lahore, December 14th, 1890.
- Mr. HUKM CHAND**; Hindu, Khetry; Pleader; By a Public Meeting held at Lahore, December 14th, 1890.
- GURU SODHI PRATAP SINGH**; Sikh; Lahore; By a Public Meeting held at Lahore, December 14th, 1890.
- BAWA NARAIN SINGH SODHI**; Sikh; Pleader; At a Public Meeting held at Amritsar, December 7th, 1890.
- LALA MURLIDHAR**; Hindu; Pleader; At a Public Meeting held at Umballa, December 21st, 1890.
- Munshi MUHAMMAD RUKUN UD DIN JADOO**; Muhammadan; Sheristadar; Elected at a General Meeting held on the 14th December, 1890.
- Mr. HARDEORAM NANABHAI HARIDAS**; Hindu, Kayastha; Landed Proprietor, Gopipura, Surat, and 161, Malabar Hill, Bombay; By the Praja Hitbardhak-Sabha, Surat, 12th December, 1890.
- Mr. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA, M.A.**; Parsi; Barrister-at-law, Bombay; At a Special General Meeting held on the 15th December, 1890.
- Mr. DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA**; Parsi; Merchant, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association, Secretary Standing Congress Committee, Member of the Municipal Corporation; At a Special General Meeting held on the 15th December, 1890.
- Mr. JEHANGIR K. R. CAMA**; Parsi; Barrister-at-law, 12, Malabar Hill, Bombay; At a Special General Meeting held on the 15th December, 1890.
- Mr. D. S. GARUD, B.A., LL.B.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Solicitor, High Court, 3, Eldon Road, Fort, Bombay; At a Special General Meeting held on the 15th December, 1890.
- DHAJI ABAJI KHARE, B.A., LL.B.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Pleader, High Court, Bombay; At a Public Meeting held at Ratnagiri, 16th November, 1890.
- Mr. R. S. KASHINATH GOVIND NATU**; Hindu, Brahmin; Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Commissioner; At a Public Meeting held in the Town Hall, Poona, 10th December, 1890.
- Professor GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE, B.A.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Professor, Ferguson College, Secretary, Poona Union Club, Honorary Secretary, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, and Editor, *Sudharak* and *Quarterly Journal*, Sarvajanic Sabha; At a Public Meeting held in the Town Hall, Poona, 10th December, 1890.
- Mr. RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARANDIKAR, B.A., LL.B.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Pleader, District Court, Satara; At Public Meetings at Shiralawai and Satara, 30th November and 7th December, 1890.
- Mr. WILLIAM SPROSTON CAINE**; English, Christian; Honorary Secretary, Anglo-Indian Temperance Association; Public Meeting, Sholapore, 21st November, 1890.
- Mr. RANGNATH NARSINH MUDHOLKAR, B.A., LL.B.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Pleader, High Court, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Secretary, Berar, Sarvajanic Sabha; At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Berar Sarvajanic Sabha, held on the 6th of December, 1890.
- RAO SAHEB DEORAO VINAYEK**; Hindu, Mahratta Brahmin; Pleader, Banker, Municipal Commissioner, and Agriculturist; At a Public Meeting held at Akola on the 13th December, 1890.
- Mr. COTTARI VYANKAT RAMANNA NAYADU**; Hindu, Kshatrya; Barrister-at-Law, Nagpur; At a Public Meeting held on the 30th November, 1890.
- Mr. ALFRED NUNDY**; Hindu, Christian; Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner, Jubbulpore; At a Public Meeting, December 6th, 1890.
- Mr. LAXMAN GOVIND DEOSKAR**; Hindu, Brahmin; Pleader and Member, District Council, Wardha; At a Public Meeting held at Wardha on the 10th December, 1890.
- RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU, B.L.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Vakil, High Court, Madras; Public Meeting at Madras, dated 8th December, 1890.
- Mr. K. P. VISWANADHA IYER, B.A., B.L.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Vakil, High Court, Madras; Public Meeting at Madras, dated 8th December, 1890.
- Mr. M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, B.A.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Joint Editor, *Hindu*, Madras; Public Meeting at Madras, dated 8th December, 1890.
- Mr. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER, B.A., B.L.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Vakil, High Court; By a Public Meeting at Calicut.
- RAI BAHADUR C. JAMBULINGA MUDALIAR, B.A., M.L.**; Hindu, Brahmin; Vakil, High Court; Public Meeting, held at Cuddapah, dated 5th December, 1890.
- Mr. P. RATAN SABAPATHI PILLAY**; Hindu; Landholder, Pleader, Chairman Municipal Council, Negapatam; By a Public Meeting at Negapatam and Meeting of Tanjore People's Association, held 14th December, 1890.
- Mr. R. D. MEHTA**; Parsee; Merchant, Calcutta.
- Babu NORENDRO NATH SEN**; Hindu; Journalist and Attorney, Calcutta.
- Nawab GOULAM RUBBANI**; Muhammadan; Private Gentleman, Calcutta.

APPENDIX II.

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, & FIFTH 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 classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And, further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

RESOLVED—That the resolutions passed by this Congress be communicated to the Political Associations in each province, and that these Associations be requested, with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their

respective provinces, to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions.

#### RESOLUTION IX.

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

### 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 Third Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declares 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, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number by Government; it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.
- (3) The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4) No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their Membership.
- (5) All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste, or colour.
- (6) All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be specially 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 (reconvened in the Third 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, for the appointment of a Commission, to inquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a

tentative form of Representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolution III of the past, and IV of the present, year's Congress.

#### RESOLUTION VI.

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

*Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji ( <i>Bombay.</i> )	Mr. Guru Prasad Sen ( <i>Patna.</i> )
" S. Subramania Iyer ( <i>Madras.</i> )	Pundit Praannath ( <i>Lucknow.</i> )
" Peary Mohun Mookerjee ( <i>Calcutta.</i> )	Munshi Kashi-prasad ( <i>Allahabad.</i> )
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer ( <i>Madras.</i> )	Nawab Reza Ali Khan ( <i>Lucknow.</i> )
Babu Motilal Ghose ( <i>Calcutta.</i> )	Mr. Hamid Ali ( <i>Lucknow.</i> )
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee ( <i>Calcutta.</i> )	Lala Kanhyalal ( <i>Amritsar.</i> )
" Gungapershad Varma ( <i>Lucknow.</i> )	Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhav
" Ramkali Chaudhuri ( <i>Benares.</i> )	Chitnavis ( <i>Nagpur.</i> )
Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani ( <i>Bombay.</i> )	

#### 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.

#### RESOLUTION IX.

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

#### RESOLUTION X.

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

#### RESOLUTION XI.

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

#### RESOLUTION XII.

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

#### RESOLUTION XIII.

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

#### RESOLUTION XIV.

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

#### RESOLUTION XV.

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

#### \* REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honour 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 Her Majesty only as are residents thereof.

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

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

30th of December, 1886.

## 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, Chandavarkar, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hujee Mahomed Abdul, Shakoob Bradshaw Sahib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, Rangiah Naidu, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Banerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Chandhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rajah Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satyanand Aguihotri, 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, M. Vira Raghava Charriar, Govind Buksh, and 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 crisis.

### RESOLUTION VI.

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

### RESOLUTION VII.

**RESOLVED**—That, having regard to the property 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 Resolution 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 1866); 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 XL. of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of 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 powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn”—

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

### RESOLUTION V.

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

### RESOLUTION VI.

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

“That, in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this 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 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 XII. of the Congress of 1886, and Resolution V. of the Congress of 1887, to wit—

“That, in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this 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, effectively, in any crisis;”

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

### RESOLUTION VII.

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

### RESOLUTION VIII.

RESOLVED—That, as the administration of the Income-Tax, 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.



## 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, general as well 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 the 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 enquire 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 inquiry 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 for the attainment of this laudable object.

## RESOLUTION XIII.

RESOLVED—That no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee 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.

## 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 absorpton, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the empire.

## RESOLUTION XVI.

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

## RESOLUTION XVII.

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

## 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, Pherooshah 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 ordinary 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 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 Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans, or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans, 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 Parsis, Christians, Hindus, or Muhammadans, 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 crisis ;
- (g) the extreme 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 their 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 purposes 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 Indian 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 Honourable Pundit Ajoodhia Nath 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. Cairns, 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 services 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. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurufuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.
- (f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress Work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their 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, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th December, 1890.

RESOLUTION XV.

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

\* 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.

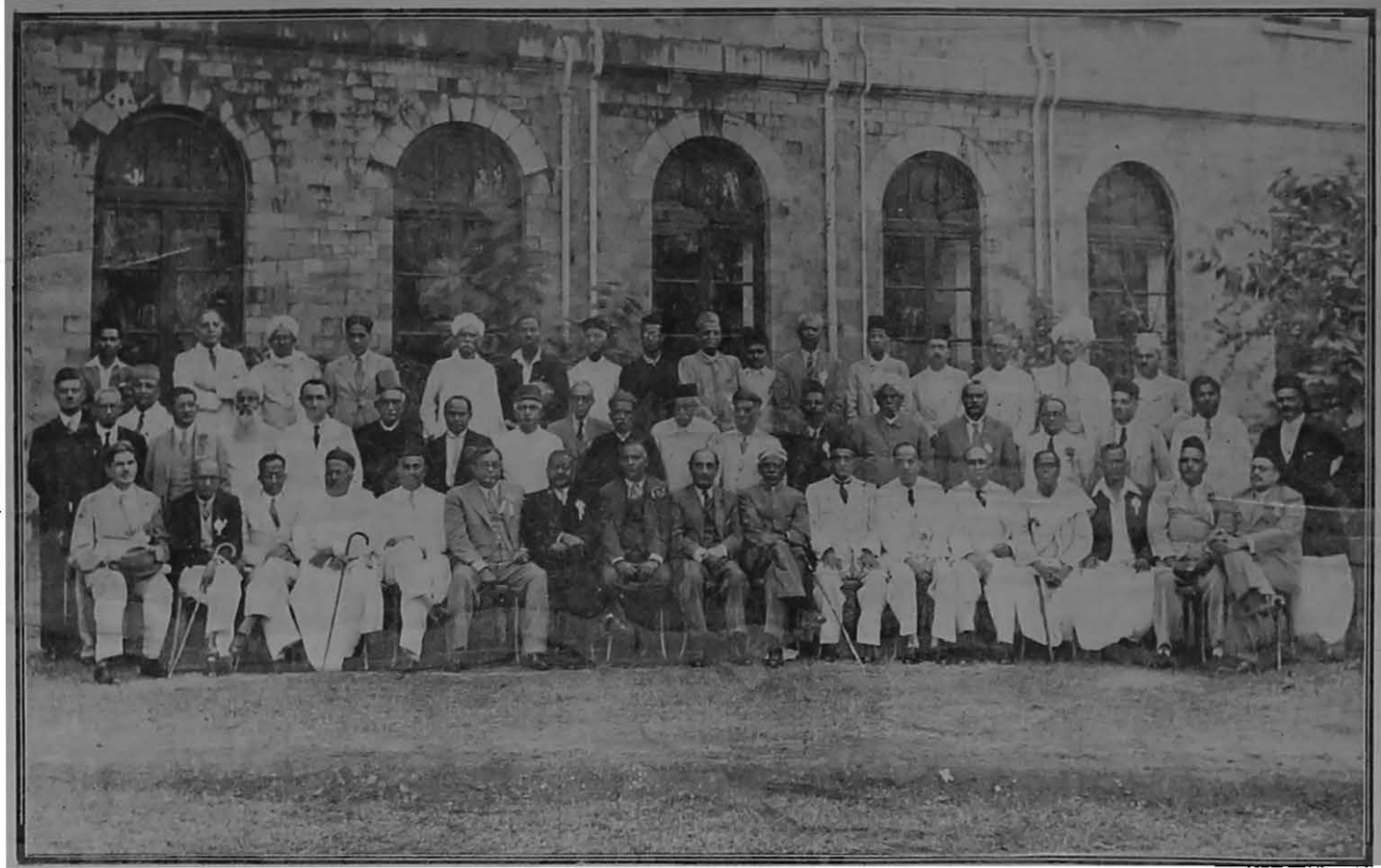
REPORT  
OF  
THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
*TWENTIETH SESSION*  
OF THE  
**National Liberal Federation of India**  
HELD AT BOMBAY

*On December 29 and 30, 1938*



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A few of the Delegates with the P resident in the centre.

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# The National Liberal Federation of India

## TWENTIETH ANNUAL SESSION

*Bombay, December 29 and 30, 1938*

### First Day's Proceedings

The twentieth session of the National Liberal Federation of India assembled at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, at 5-15 p. m. on Friday, December 29, 1938. There was a large gathering of delegates, members and visitors, prominent among those present being Lady Jehangir, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan, Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Maharaj Singh, the hon. Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Sir Sitaram Patkar, Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Principal J. R. Gharpure, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mr. K. Natarajan, Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi, Principal V. K. Joag, Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Mr. K. S. Jatar, Rao Bahadur M. B. Mutha, Mr. Byram N. Karanjia, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. A. D. Shroff and Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

### Chairman's Speech

After a musical prayer sung by a group of girls from the Maharashtra Sangit Vidyalaya, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings by welcoming the delegates. He said:

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the National Liberal Federation of India, I have the honour to offer you a most cordial welcome to our city of Bombay.

During the year we have lost two distinguished Liberals in the persons of the hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna and Pandit Jagat Narain of Lucknow. Sir Phiroze was a past president of our Federation and took a most active part in the political, industrial and social life of the country. He was known throughout India as an indefatigable worker. Sincere and honest in the principles he believed in, and which he fearlessly advocated through the press, from the platform and in the Council of State, where he served from its inception to the end, he died in harness. Pandit Jagat Narain, the well known lawyer of Lucknow, was a colleague as a Minister of our distinguished friend, Mr. Chintamani. They both resigned their Ministerships on a question of principle, and thus set an example of independence and courage.

### Founders of Liberal Federation

We last met in this city seven years ago when I had also the privilege of acting in the same capacity. Again it was in this city in 1918, that is exactly 20 years ago, that our first conference took place under the presidentship of one of our most distinguished countrymen, the late Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, when the late Sir Dinshaw Wacha was the chairman of the Reception Committee. The event is now past history but it might be useful to recall the reasons that actuated a large number of our countrymen, amongst whom were several, who may well be called the

founders of the Indian National Congress, to secede from the old political organisation, working for which they had spent the best part of their lives, and to establish a separate political organisation to carry on political work, guided by the same principles as they had maintained and preached for years past. They were convinced that their past political work, governed by those principles, had yielded rich fruit in the shape of the epoch making pronouncement by his Majesty's Government in 1917, followed by the reforms which came into force in 1921. Many of those who took part in our proceedings are, alas, no more with us, but we are thankful to Providence that we still retain the services of men like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir P. S. Shivswamy Iyer, and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Looking over the list of the reception committee of those days, I notice the names of two of our most distinguished and active politicians of to-day—Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and the hon. Mr. A. B. Latthe.

### Liberal Principles

The reason for the split in the Congress organisation 20 years ago is well known to most of you. After the lapse of these years we may well examine the principles we stand for, and the reasons for our existence as a separate entity to-day. Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee in his address in 1918 laid down that :

Our creed is co-operation with the Government whenever practicable, and opposition to its policy and measures when the supreme interests of the motherland require it. Our guiding principle is co-operation when we can ; criticise when we must. It is not criticise when we must ; can co-operate when we must. We deprecate opposition for the sake of opposition. Opposition must always produce excitement and unrest and is justified only by the ample reward of all legitimate opposition, which is the redress of national grievances and the enlargement of popular rights.

### Liberal Policy Vindicated

It has been asserted by many that strict constitutionalism has characterised the administration of the Congress provinces and that the Congress has vindicated the Liberal policy to seek political salvation on constitutional lines. We were convinced, that the only way, by which India could advance towards the goal of her ambition, was for the majority parties in the Legislature to take office and work the constitution with only one object in view—service to the country. At first the Congress considered the constitution “unworthy to be offered by England or to be accepted by India.” But they ultimately came round to our point of view, with the results we are now well aware of. But after all, is the line of demarcation between the Liberals and the Congress grown so faint in practice as not to justify the separate existence of a distinct political party? I assert that it would be a superficial diagnosis, which reveals in the present constitutionalism of the Congress a disappearance of those fundamental differences which go to the root of our respective political philosophies.

### Fundamental Differences with Congress

The mere fact that Congress Ministries act on most occasions to-day as Liberal Cabinets would have done, or do what secures the approval of the Liberal Party, is no argument in favour of not enunciating the principles on which the two political parties differ fundamentally. We may be one on numerous problems, but so are most political parties in the other parts of



the world. We may approve of some legislative or administrative measures of the Congress Ministries, whilst disagreeing with others; yet in their concept of India's ultimate political goal and her status in the comity of nations, in their concept of the methods of attaining that goal, and in the concept of evolution of political thought and progress, we, Liberals, continue to differ from the Congress on fundamentals.

#### Dominion Status

Our ultimate political goal is "the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj, that is to say, responsible self-government and dominion status for India at the earliest possible date." The Congress creed is of 'complete independence,' whatever that nebulous phrase may mean but which must imply, among other matters, that India must be left to her own resources to fight against external aggression without hope of reinforcement from Britain or the empire. Leaving aside sentimental reasons, which may weigh with many for the adherence to this principle, we, Liberals, realise that ever since the Statute of Westminster there is no practical distinction between dominion status and complete independence, and that our creed will entitle us to a measure of protection from foreign aggression which otherwise will not be available to us.

#### Differences in Methods.

The recent developments in international politics has served to bring home to many of our countrymen, who glibly talked of independence, that the Liberal concept of India's ultimate political goal is fuller, richer, and more practicable than this cry of 'complete independence,' which, if ever attained in the near future, might result in unprovoked aggression, as has been the fate of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and probably China. Examine another vital difference between the Congress and our party. Constitutional thought to-day, even to the extent of being indistinguishable from the Liberal Party, Congress has not abandoned its policy of 'direct action.' The Liberals differ from the Congress in their methods of attaining their political goal. During this very month there have been uttered threats by prominent Congressmen to postpone the advent of Federation, if need be, by a resort to civil disobedience and the Working Committee of the Congress itself is threatening the Princes, that if political progress within the States does not come up to the expectations of the Congress high command, the Congress would resort to direct action. This is clear evidence to the Liberals that there has been no change either mentally or officially in Congress methods, which were once put into operation to the great detriment of the peace and progress of our country. This is a fundamental difference on which there can be no compromise and was precisely the issue on which the great schism occurred within the Congress in 1918.

#### Evil Results of Direct Action

We may have been called cowards and the most uncomplimentary language may again be the order of the day, but we shall continue to warn our countrymen that direct action will not lead us to the goal of our ambitions while suffering, hardship, and disorganisation will follow in its wake. I assert that the necessity to abandon these methods, even if temporarily, by Congress is a triumph of Liberal foresight. The Liberals cannot abandon lightheartedly, for securing of a veneer of temporary

political unity, a principle for which they have fought these twenty years. The Liberals from conviction believe in ordered progress. They think and feel in terms of evolution. All attempts at a temporary advance by the method of direct action is regarded by them as definitely dangerous to ultimate political progress.

#### **No Communal Basis for Liberal Party**

We believe that if the Congress abandoned its present method of constitutional Government, and resorted to civil disobedience as threatened by its President, large numbers of thinking people in India, who, while approving of the present constitutional Congress policy, would be most unwilling to subject this country to a fresh spell of political confusion. Such people will then naturally turn to a political party which has no communal basis and which can afford a common rallying centre for the bulk of political opinion, which does not belong to the 'direct action' school. There are again a large number of politically-minded persons who, though they do not label themselves as Liberals, approve of and follow liberal principles, and there are others who, although believing in and practising the principle of Swadeshi, refuse to bow down to the fetish of Khaddar and be forced to spin five thousand yards of yarn a year as a franchise for a political party.

It will thus be observed that distinct in its outlook on political thought, distinct in its political goal, distinct in its method of attaining political salvation and charged with distinct purposes, the Liberal Party must continue its separate political career, may be, overshadowed at times by the spectacular strides of other political parties, but always capable of fulfilling the tasks expected of it and for which it took birth.

#### **Defects of Federation**

The most important question for consideration just now before the country is the impending Federation. The Liberal Party has never been enamoured of the scheme. It has criticised it and pointed out its defects. We have realised that it is unlike any other federation that exists in the world, and it may even be called illogical to have a Federation, some of the component parts of which are based on democracy, whilst the others are based on autocracy. Moreover the position in India is changing from day to-day. New factors have arisen which require careful consideration and analysis. All parties agree that the unity of India is an essential factor for its happiness, progress and prosperity; that without unity it cannot take its proper place in the British Commonwealth of Nations and in the world.

#### **Demand of Congress.**

The Congress demands certain changes before they commit themselves to give a helping hand to the Federation. Their main demand at present appears to be with regard to the Indian states. They believe that the introduction of the elective principle in the Indian states is essential. One can understand their point of view. Without this they see no hope of getting a clear majority in the Federal chambers. Such a majority can only be obtained firstly, if they win nearly every seat they contest in the general constituencies in British India, and, secondly, if they succeed in getting a large number of Muslims to stand and win on the Congress ticket in Muslim constituencies, or, thirdly, if they get the representatives of Indian states to join the Congress. While they may succeed in winning most of the

seats in the general constituencies in British India, they are not at all hopeful of direct support from the other two sources. They can therefore never be in an absolute majority. And hence their demand for the elective principle in Indian states, whereby Congress candidates could stand and would most probably succeed in a very large majority of the constituencies.

#### Muslim League's objection

On the other hand, the Muslim League has declared in unequivocal terms that it is not prepared to allow any change with regard to the system of representation of the Indian states. No political party that believes in democracy can possibly oppose the elective principle but still one can understand the Muslim League point of view. If the Indian states return Congress candidates in large numbers as they are likely to do, the weightage given to the Muslim community in the Central Legislatures would be reduced and would further tend to make the Muslim block a more ineffective minority.

#### A coalition of different parties

We must face realities. We cannot continue for long with an irresponsible Central Government with the provinces under Ministries responsible to their Legislatures. We cannot expect the administration of the Indian states to come into line with British Indian provinces within the next couple of years, specially with regard to their representation in the Central Legislatures. His Majesty's Government have already declared that while they will not oppose, they will not bring any direct or indirect pressure upon the states to make such radical changes as will meet with the approval of the Congress. On the other hand, the Muslim League would strongly oppose if his Majesty's Government suggested any other method of treatment. Therefore as matters stand at present, it appears that the only chance of forming a government under the Federation, which can hope to command a majority, is by a coalition between the Congress, the Muslim League, and other groups.

#### Only Alternative

There are some other objections to the Federation which have been pointed out on numerous occasions by all parties. Several of them also apply to the constitution under which the provinces are administered to-day. Experience has shown, as was pointed out by many Liberals, that although the objections seem formidable on paper, they would not be so in practice. It was pointed out that if any of the safeguards were used by the Governors in an unreasonable and provocative manner the Ministries always had the remedy of resignation with few chances of the Governor being able to form another Ministry. In practice this has turned out to be correct for there has not been any such interference. The same applies though perhaps in a lesser degree to the centre. I do not think it is possible to demand that the administration of the defence of the country should be handed over immediately to the Federal Government, but there is no reason why the Federal Government through its Finance Minister should not exercise considerable influence on the policy and administration of the department. Conventions will rapidly grow up, whereby the Defence department will be forced to take the Federal Government more and more into their confidence. In the same way there is no reason to believe that the influence of the Federal Government will not be felt on the administration of the

railways, and the same will apply to the exchange policy of Government. At the same time it must never be forgotten that if the Federal Government has behind it a substantial majority in the Legislatures, it will be very difficult for any Governor-General to oppose the Government on any fundamental issue. The Government can always resign, and if the issue on which they resign appeals to the Legislatures and to the country at large, the Viceroy will find himself confronted with a very embarrassing situation which he will make every effort to avoid. After the experience that has been gained in the provinces I do not think any political party would be justified in refusing to work the constitution. It shortly therefore boils down to this, that either the Indian states agree to the introduction of elective principle which they are not likely to do, or there must be a coalition government.

#### Mistaken claim

I am perfectly aware of the views of the extreme left wing in the Indian political life. They do not desire that any constitution should work. They would object even to complete independence if they felt that the Indian government would be run on democratic lines and that Marxist principles would be unacceptable. But I am sure that the large majority realise the advantage to our country of taking possession of the Central Government and working in the best interests of the Motherland. The Congress, however, has taken up the position that it is the only political party in India that counts. They contend that theirs is the only school of thought throughout India and that they have a monopoly of patriotism and political wisdom. They profess to speak for all classes and all creeds and that all Hindus, all Muslims, all depressed classes, and all other minorities rolled into one compose the Congress. In this we are certain they are mistaken. The very fact that they cannot capture a majority of the Muslim seats even in British India is clear evidence that the claim of the Congress to be the sole representative of Indian people is untenable. They must win over the minorities by such concessions as are demanded of them and they must be prepared to work with other political parties for the common good of the Motherland.

#### The cult of communism

I am now compelled to touch upon an aspect of political life in India which is causing anxiety to a large number of our countrymen holding high positions in all political parties. The school of thought, which condemns "imperialism" and misinterprets its meaning as domination of one country over another, does so because it objects to any form of government constituted under the present social order.

During the past twelve months there has been an increase in the communist activities throughout the country. Encouraged by the removal of the ban on various left wing organisations by the Congress Governments, communist propaganda has increased by leaps and bounds. The usual demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat after the Soviet model is frequently heard. Everyone is aware that in Russia the communist theories were put into practice 21 years ago. Communism has had its course for full twenty years and more. With what results? The answer to this is given by Eugene Lyons, United Press correspondent in Moscow for six years, in his book "Assignment in Utopia", recently published. He had gone to the U. S. S. R. in search of equality, freedom and justice. He left with "the sense of leaving behind me

a nation trapped. Trapped physically, with blood hounds and machine guns and death sentences guarding the frontiers to prevent people escaping."

The main principle that is followed in Russia to-day is 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' When communism started in Russia the slogan was "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This is the slogan that is being raised in India to-day, notwithstanding the fact that Russia has given a go-by to this principle.

In Russia there is as much disparity in the wages of the workers as in any capitalist country. The communist bosses receive salaries 40 or 50 times that of the ordinary worker. Among the workers themselves each industry has got its own categories, about 8 in number, with a marked difference in the wages for the different categories. There is very little difference between communism as it obtains in Russia to-day and capitalism. The death-knell of communism in Russia is not confined to wages alone.

Instead of building up a classless society as was claimed by the high-priests of communism, Russia has built up a society with new classes more in number than existed before. According to reports of visitors to Russia published in books or in the European press there are at least six different classes, each separated from the other by clear lines of demarcation.

The right of inheritance has been restored. People are encouraged to invest money in state loans or deposit in savings banks. Private incomes derived from work and savings are specifically protected by the new constitution.

#### Breakdown in Industry.

There has been a serious break-down in every branch of industry, and planned production exists on paper alone. The worker is ill-fed and ill-clothed, lives in a miserable room with at least six others and drags on a miserable existence without grumbling loudly, lest he should be sent to Siberia or shot forthwith. Sabotage and silent destruction of the machinery are the only courses left open to him to register his protest. The only satisfaction or compensation for all his sufferings the worker gets is to be called 'comrade' by his bosses. The dissatisfaction against the regime has spread so widely that since May 1937 the Russian execution squad is kept busy. Since May 1937 the Soviet Government have executed 1,200 people. Since the same date 30 of the 68 candidates for the central committee of the communist party, 9 out of the 13 commissaries of the Russian Federal Republic, the presidents of the 9 out of the 11 Soviet republics, the Prime Ministers of the 9 of the 11 republics, the heads of 12 industrial trusts, 4 trade unions, and 4 newspapers, 8 of the general staff of the red army, and 1200 communist party members have been either shot or sent to concentration camps. It is indeed a matter for thought that with the growth of communism in Russia the number of prisoners in the slave camps also show a rapid increase. The strength of the concentration camps which in 1927 was 1,40,000 rose to 70 lacs in 1937. And among these seventy lacs were one million women. And this is happening in the land which is a model of liberty which the communists would have us copy. We are told that such sacrifice is inevitable especially when the change over from one system to another has to be made and that all these are events of the past and that with the inauguration of the new constitution in Russia the people there enjoy such freedom and liberty as could not be found in the most democratic form of government.

True it is that the constitution exists on paper. But in actual working Stalin's will is the constitution. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press do find a place in the constitution. But if one talks or writes anything against the regime he will be charged as a traitor and shot. The new constitution guarantees employment to every worker in the state. This is being made much of by the Indian communists. No doubt, unemployment has been abolished by a decree. But the worker is deprived of all elementary freedom relating to his occupation. What is in force in Russia is industrial conscription. The worker has to accept the job that is provided for him in such place, at such wage, and under such condition as determined by the bosses. He can either accept the job or starve to death. He cannot choose the place of his occupation, or cannot bargain with his employer for better conditions and higher wages. Since the state is the employer and since the state is always right the worker has to accept what is offered to him.

M. Kleber Legay, a prominent French Socialist, secretary of the French National Federation of Miners, after a visit to Russia last year stated :

"It is absolutely untrue that the lot of the Russian miners is to be envied by those in our countries. The Russian miners, all things considered, are more than fifty years behind our own. I willingly acknowledge the difficulties which face the leaders of the Russian revolution and those which still exist to-day. But I cannot understand why and with what object people have so grossly deceived us about conditions of life and work in Russia."

Do the majority in the Congress desire this state of affairs in India? If they do not, they must take strong measures to see that the uneducated and poverty-stricken masses of our country are not misled by self-seeking individuals, who seeing no prospects of climbing the political ladder, take to causing, whatever may be the government in power, as much harassment, obstruction and worry as is possible. This propaganda constitutes one of the greatest dangers to our progress both socially, financially and industrially. We realise that our tradition, culture, and our great faith in religion may make it difficult for such propaganda to succeed, but that is no reason why severe and immediate steps should not be taken against a school of thought, which desires to upset the whole social order of our country.

I have concluded my remarks. It is only left for me now to wish you all a very happy and prosperous New Year. We hope your visit to our city will be a pleasant one and you will return to your homes with happy memories.

#### Messages of Sympathy

On the conclusion of his speech, the chairman called upon Mr. P. S. Bakhale, one of the secretaries, to read the messages of sympathy which had been received by him.

Mr. Bakhale said: Mr. Chairman, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

The Reception Committee of the Conference have received several letters and telegrams wishing the Conference a successful session.

*The rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri* wires:—Greatly regret my health prevents attendance. Wish Federation success.

*Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar* wires :—Greatly regret my health prevents attendance. Wish success Federation session.

*Dr. C. Y. Chintamani* wires :—Sorry unavoidably absent. Wish complete success.

*Sir Moropant Joshi* wires :—Regret unable attend Liberal Federation. Wish success.

*Mr. J. N. Basu*, Calcutta, writes :—I regret in the present state of my health it will not be possible for me to go to Bombay. I wish the next session every success. We find that those who laughed at our policy and methods are gradually adopting and working them. We have the satisfaction of finding that the system which was declared untouchable by influential political groups is being attempted to be loyally and strenuously worked by those groups. We welcome their return to steadiness and wish them success.

*Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle* (Cawnpore), wires :—Extremely regret inability to attend. I wish every success to the session.

*Rao Saheb S. P. Sanyal* (Benares), wires :—Regret absence. Pray that Liberalism should pervade, prevail and prosper for ever.

*Sardar Panditrao* (Satara), wires :—Regret inability to attend. Wish success.

*Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan* of Coimbatore writes :—Owing to private affairs, I have to be absent from the annual meeting of the Federation. I beg to convey my hearty greetings to fellow-Liberals and to wish a successful session under the leadership of a young Liberal, the hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú.

*Mr. Surendra Nath Varma* of Allahabad writes :—I extremely regret that due to a bereavement in the family I am unable to attend this session of the Federation. I am confident in the circumstances you will excuse my unavoidable absence. My regret is greater as I shall be missing a session presided over by so close a friend of mine as Mr. Saprú. I have no doubt that with him as president, you will have a successful session.

*Mr. E. Vinayak Row*, Madras, writes in the course of his letter :—I deferred replying to you till now in the hope that I may be able to proceed to Bombay. I now find it impossible to go to Bombay on account of other unavoidable work requiring my presence here, which I very much regret. I wish the 20th session every success.

*Mr. Shyam Lal Tandon*, Mirzapur, in the course of his letter writes :—Realizing the importance of the Federation of this year and being anxious to take part in its deliberations, I had already made up my mind to attend the session, as I thought I would be doing my duty as a staunch liberal. . . . But now it appears, I would not be able to stir out of this place on account of some important professional work for which I would like to be excused. I wish I could attend the Federation and take part in its deliberations at this critical juncture and to do my humble duty. I hope you and the members of the Committee would kindly excuse my inability to attend. I wish the Federation every success under the guidance of the hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú who is, no doubt, the best person at this important juncture to steer the helm.

*Mr. G. M. Gupte*, Bandra, writes :—I am sorry I shall not be able to attend the session of the National Liberal Federation of India on account

of my state of health. I trust steps will be taken to organize the Liberal Party and the deliberations will be helpful for furthering the political progress and advancement of the Indian nation.

*Mr. V. W. Rale*, Poona, writes :—Owing to indifferent health, I am afraid, it is not possible for me to move outside Poona. I, however, wish the session a grand success under the presidentship of Mr. Sapru.

#### Election of President

The House then proceeded to elect the President.

*Sir Chimanlal Setalvad* said : Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing that the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru be asked to take the chair on this occasion. Mr. Sapru has been a staunch Liberal for many years. He has silently worked for the party in every way. You all know that he is a member of the Council of State. In that capacity he has rendered very valuable services to the country.

Exactly 11 years ago we called his father, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to the chair of this Federation in this very hall. He is a worthy son of a worthy father.

*Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh* :—Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I deem it a great honour and a privilege to second the proposal which has been moved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. In the first place, I am only a recent recruit to the Liberal Party and am unworthy of the honour which has been conferred on me. I may add, however, that I have been a Liberal for the greater part of my life, and it was only the exigencies of public service that prevented me from formally signing the creed till recently. Secondly, Mr. Sapru and his distinguished father are highly valued friends. They come from the province to which I have the honour to belong and I look upon them as friends of long-standing.

Somebody said to me the other day that Mr. Sapru could not be a very great man for his name did not figure in the Indian Who's Who! I said to him : 'The answer is very easy. Mr. Sapru has not yet three qualifications by which he can be made eligible for the Indian Who's Who. The first is that he has not so far attained the reasonably considerable dimensions in his waist ; then he has not yet got an adequate number of grey hairs ; while thirdly, his hair has not begun to fall. When he has attained these three qualifications I have no doubt that he will find a place in the Indian Who's Who. I can assure you from my knowledge of him that he has a very wise head ; his sturdy independence ; his devoted patriotism and his effectiveness in debate are well known in the sleepy atmosphere of the Council of State where he has done great work.

I know that you are waiting impatiently to hear him. He will, no doubt, dwell, as our worthy Chairman has dwelt, on certain burning topics of the day, such as Federation, the rights of people belonging to Indian states, the Indianization of the army and so forth. I know that he will give us a message and a lead in these matters. I sincerely trust, however, that he will give us also a message of hope, for sometimes one finds among Liberal circles a feeling of despair. Personally, although I am old in years, I am still an incurable optimist, for I believe that, although we are few in numbers, as I said to Mr. Sapru only this morning, that almost every educated Indian who does not believe in mass civil disobedience is a



Liberal at heart and if only he had the courage of his convictions, would belong to the Liberal Party. I am sure that liberalism which has played a great part in the past will play an even greater part in the future self-governing India, which is much nearer than many of us believe, and will be realized, I humbly believe, in the lifetime of not a few present this morning. I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

*Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao* (Madras), said:—With great pleasure, I beg to support this resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded. It does not require many words from me to say that the Liberals of South India wholeheartedly endorse everything that has been said by the proposer and the seconder. Mr. Sapru, as it has already been said, comes not only with up-to-date political knowledge from his conduct in Allahabad. He has also vigour and youth in addition and so we can look forward to other vigorous young men coming forward from the Liberal Party at the present critical juncture. I have therefore very great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

*Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma* (Nagpur), said:—I have great pleasure, indeed, in supporting the proposition that has been placed before you. The hon. Mr. Sapru really needs no introduction. I welcome him as President of the Liberal Federation, and for the simple reason that he is a young man. It is said that the Liberal Party has played its part and is bound to disappear. Yes, I say that there are some among us who believe in that, but I am proud to say that though I am old, I have a young heart and I believe that the days of the Liberals are not past. Others may be holding the field today. But it does not mean that the Liberal Party will not have its day again. Believe with me in the signs of the times, and you will see that in less than ten years even the Congress will acknowledge that they are the Liberals of the day. The people of this party who have the reins of Government in their hands follow in the footsteps of the Liberal leaders. See to the working of the Congress Ministries in the provinces and you will be satisfied that they do not differ from the Ministries that preceded them.

I have no hesitation in saying that we have made the best selection in asking Mr. Sapru to guide our deliberations this year. His name is a guarantee that he possesses the qualities of head and heart necessary to guide the destinies of a party like ours. As I have already said what we really want is the wisdom of age and the enthusiasm of youth and these qualities the hon. Mr. Sapru combines in him. It is for this reason that I welcome him as President of our party, for the session and for the year.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir*:—I put this proposition to vote.

It was declared carried amidst applause.

#### President's Address

The hon. Mr. Sapru then delivered his presidential address. The following is the text:—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, SISTER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I thank you very sincerely for the high honour—the highest that is in your gift, fellow-Liberals—that you have conferred on me by electing me as president of this Conference. The Liberal Federation has had as its presidents some of the worthiest sons of India. They were men who had distinguished services to the country to their credit. I am not presumptuous enough to

think that I can bear comparison with them. I take my election as a recognition, by the elders of our party, of unswerving loyalty, on the part of one who belongs to the younger generation, to the principles for which Liberalism stands.

#### Our Losses

Death is no sparer of persons, and we have had to pay our toll to it. The greatest of those whose loss we mourn this year was Sir Phiroze Sethna. He was one of the founders of the party and an ex-president of the Federation. God had gifted him with a fine intellect which he had developed assiduously and he was a tower of strength to us all. Industrialist, financier, statesman, social reformer, Phiroze Sethna was truly a man of remarkable energy. He was devotedly loyal to the Liberal creed. Often he would get up in the chilly atmosphere of the Upper Chamber and fight as he alone knew how to, for causes which we Liberals justly regard as righteous. In his death the Liberal party and the country have lost an elder statesman of outstanding ability and force of character and, if I may be allowed a personal reference, I mourn in him the loss of a leader who, in the later years of his life, honoured me with his friendship and confidence and from whom I had my first lessons in parliamentary work.

We have to also record with sorrow the death of another distinguished Liberal, Pandit Jagat Narayan. He was a man of high character, considerable ability and great legal experience. With the exception of my revered leader, Mr. Chintamani, he was easily the most successful Minister that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms threw up in our province. His work on the Hunter Committee will be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. As Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, he rendered distinguished services to education. He has died full of years and full of honour and left behind him a tradition of high personal rectitude and courage.

Another prominent Liberal whose loss we deeply mourn is Sir Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava. He was one of the foundation members of the party and his interest in its fortunes did not abate with his elevation to the bench. He was wise in counsel, moderate in speech and firm in action. He was one of the most prominent Liberals in our province and death has cut short a career of great usefulness not only to the court of which he was the head and the profession of which he was an ornament, but to the public life of the province of which he was one of the distinguished sons,

Other losses we mourn are those of Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji and Pandit Bishwanath Tholal. They were staunch Liberals, greatly respected in my province and did much useful work in their respective spheres.

Outside the Liberal ranks, we have to record with regret the deaths of Mahatma Hansraj, Sir Brojendra Nath Seal and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Mahatma Hansraj's chief passion in life was education. He led a selfless life of exemplary purity and exercised a deep influence over generations of young men. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal was one of the greatest thinkers, scholars and educationists that India has ever had. Maulana Shaukat Ali was a force to reckon with in the Islamic world. Less intellectual than his talented brother, he was greater as an organizer. He had infinite courage and was a great fighter for causes he believed in. The country is the poorer by the death of these distinguished sons.

### World Situation

We are living in one of the most perilous periods in the history of mankind. The war which was to end wars has left bitter memories behind and today men and women live in fear of impending war, the consequences of which on civilization as we have known it, no one can foresee. The great nations of the world are drifting into disastrous conflict with one another and science which has enabled us to conquer the physical forces of nature to an amazing degree, threatens to become a demon of destruction. There is no doubt that since 1931 there has been an incredible deterioration in international relations, in respect for international law, morality and the sanctity of human life. We live in an atmosphere of war, though we pay lip homage to peace. The League of Nations which, if it had been effective, would have symbolized a great revolution in history, finds itself powerless to prevent the success of an aggressor in war or promote peaceful settlement of international disputes. On all critical occasions its existence is ignored and the so-called "rejuvenated" nations with assertive nationalisms which seek to dominate the world, have discovered that, if heavily armed, they can coerce, by show of force, the powers who had come out victorious in the last war, who had imposed on the world a peace which all thoughtful men could foresee was certain to lead to future complications and who seem to have lost, in a world of conflicting ideologies, the mind and the will to stand for clean and just methods of settling international disputes. The fact is that these nations who have accepted the Nazi and Fascist ideology are thinking entirely in terms of an exclusive nationalism indistinguishable from racialism in its worst form, new territories, and new markets for their goods. The selfish possessive instinct continues to dominate all their activities. Morality, as the Christian world has known it, has no place in their scheme of life, Christians as they are. They glorify the nation-state, deify it, and subordinate the individual entirely to it. They go on piling up armaments, they increase the barriers to trade among nations, they covet the powers that have command over the larger part of the world's raw materials, they dream of reviving the glories of old Rome or the holy Roman Empire and they have discovered that foreign relations with peoples who possess the good things of life, who are the guarantors of the adjustments made by the Treaty of Versailles, can be conducted, in the picturesque language of Mr. Eden, on the basis of "stand and deliver". I cannot help feeling that a great part of the responsibility for the present world situation rests with Britain and France who have followed policies, which have weakened definitely the forces of Liberal and social democracy and strengthened those of fascist reaction. The situation in which the British and the French Governments found themselves at Munich was largely of their own creation. They were reluctant to make to a democratic Germany concessions of which we hear so much. They allowed Japan to defy the League and conquer a part of China in 1931. They were prepared to see Germany occupy the Rhineland by force without any effective action on their part. They would not agree to parity of armaments with Germany at the Disarmament Conference and the Conference naturally failed. They were not prepared to take effective steps including oil sanctions to prevent Mussolini from swallowing up Abyssinia. They denied belligerent rights to the legitimate government of Spain and would not even strictly enforce the so-called policy of non-intervention. They stood by and saw Germany intervene and annex Austria

by methods which could not be regarded as just. And finally, when at the behest of the German dictator Henlein and Kundt had promoted civil strife in Czecho-slovakia and the German dictator threatened a world conflagration, France and England were not prepared to stand for the principle of settlement of international disputes by peaceful methods and allowed Czecho-slovakia whose territory France had undertaken to respect and preserve under the Franco-Soviet Pact and England under the Covenant of the League of Nations, to be dismembered at his command. They were, and continue to be, quiet spectators of Japanese aggression in China.

If this is the situation in Europe and the Far East, that in the middle-East is not less unsatisfactory. Britain has now discovered that she has given mutually contradictory pledges to Jews and the Arab populations in Palestine. The Arab population continues to be stirred up by Italian and German propaganda and is not unreasonably apprehensive of its future in a land which, whatever the past history might be, the Arabs quite justly claim as theirs. The world was on the brink of war in September last and while we are thankful that, thanks to the spirit of sacrifice shown by a brave small country and its then respected head, that truly great man, Dr. Benes, war was averted, we cannot share the optimism of those eulogists of Mr. Neville Chamberlain who think that the Munich Pact is the harbinger of lasting or permanent peace. We cannot overlook the fact that the Pact has dismembered the one country which had made a success of democracy in Europe, made Germany the virtual master of eastern Europe, enormously increased her prestige and military strength, broken up for all practical purposes the popular front in France and the system of alliances which France had built for herself, weakened the forces of Liberal and social democracy all the world over, strengthened the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis and dealt a death blow to the League of Nations which was the one solid achievement of the statesmen responsible for the Peace of Versailles. It is difficult for us to believe that the German and Italian dictators will be content with what they have achieved. Indeed there are ominous signs that they are not. It is permissible to hold that if Britain and France had been loyal to the League, had stood by the principle of collective security and gathered round them the smaller states of Europe who were prepared to follow their lead, and had collaborated with Russia, who, whatever her other faults might be, has been loyal to the League and the international ideals it stands for, the world would not have witnessed the disheartening spectacle of the betrayal of a small country whose only fault was that she was loyal to her obligations to them and was not prepared to accept in her internal arrangements, the totalitarian conceptions for which Nazism and Fascism stand.

The broad fact that stares us in the face is that France and Britain yielded to force what they were not prepared to concede to argument. "That is the really fatal precedent," as rightly pointed out by Viscount Cecil, "established by this transaction". Whatever subtle differences there may be between the Godesburgh plan and the Munich Pact, there can be no denying the fact that democracy and the processes and the purposes for which democracy stands have received a blow from which it will take time for it to recover. Even the apologists of the Munich Pact and Government spokesmen like Earl de la Warr recognize now that it has not improved the European situation to the extent it was expected to. Consider the situation for a moment. In:

spite of the no-war pact, England and France find it necessary to rearm with even greater determination than they have been doing so far. The Anglo-Italian pact notwithstanding, Italian volunteers continue to fight for Franco's Spain and the Italian Government connives at anti-British propaganda among the Arabs. The German press, forgetting its obligations under the Munich Pact to Britain and France, blesses the manufactured propaganda for the return of Tunis and Corsica by France, propaganda which is not calculated to smooth relations between France and Italy. The question of the return of the colonies remains unsettled. Germany is certain to press for their return and they cannot be returned easily by mandatory powers to a totalitarian state without the consent of the populations of those territories. Britain has lost a great part of her trade with Eastern Europe and both Britain and the United States find themselves in danger of losing their South American trade to Germany. Eastern European powers continue to come more and more under the sway of the German dictator. Franco's victory in Spain is almost certain and who will deny that it will give Britain an insecure base in Gibraltar? The Jews in Germany and Italy continue to be persecuted with even greater ruthlessness than before and that persecution is creating difficult problems for the democratic states. With Japan fighting in China and Russia excluded, disarmament is not possible and Germany and Italy are not likely to agree to a reduction of armaments now or in the immediate future. The situation in Memel is becoming grave and it remains to be seen what the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's declaration of British policy in case of hostilities between Italy and France will be upon Franco-British relations. Japan's victory in China and her nearness to the Indian border have created new problems for Britain and necessitated a re-orientation of the defence policy. Can any one who impartially reviews the international situation deny that we find ourselves after the Munich Pact, faced with a situation in which the menace to peace and democratic civilization is greater and not less than before? I have been driven to make these observations as I would like the country squarely to face the dangers which the new ideologies have created for us. For it is no longer possible for us to lead an isolated existence. India is realizing that she is part of a larger world.

It is therefore a matter for genuine regret that the suggestion of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues that external affairs should be transferred to the control of the legislature was not accepted by the framers of the new Government of India Act. The present position in regard to external affairs is that, though we are original members of the League of Nations, we cannot even discuss or offer criticisms in the legislature on foreign policy. Surely this is something which is indefensible. Of what use is membership of the League to India if her sons and her government cannot express themselves, in a constitutional manner, on the vital questions of life and death for nations, nations in whom a large section of our population is interested in the middle East.

#### / Dominion Status

Viewing the world situation in its proper setting, bearing in mind what these new imperialisms are and mean for the weaker races of mankind, I think we were wise in fixing as our objective Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster. No one disputes that a country has a right to aspire to be independent. It is equally true that the British Common-

wealth is not an achievement of the Indian race and that the Indian people cannot take pride in it as Britishers and those who are of British stock can. But Dominion Status which is a dynamic conception is hardly distinguishable for any practical purpose from virtual independence. It is a free association of free peoples in no way subordinate to one another. In a world full of menace to the democratic states, we have in the British Commonwealth of Nations, an organization which can provide the base for a system of collective security. And surely democratic states must pull together. In a world full of menace to the Asiatic and African races, it would give to India a sense of security which an entirely independent existence cannot. But if forgetting the dark chapters in our relationship it is wise for us to accept it loyally and unreservedly as our objective, it is equally the duty of those who control British policy to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status, for Indian thought is running in channels which threaten to make an Indo-British Commonwealth an unacceptable ideal. The lesson drawn from the recent happenings in Europe by a prominent Congress leader was that India must seek her salvation outside the Commonwealth as she is entirely opposed to the foreign policy of Britain which is pro-fascist. Emphatically I am no supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy. I have subjected it to such rapid criticism as I could in this address and I dislike fascism as intensely as any living man. But the present British Government is not eternal. No government is eternal. Indeed important sections of British opinion are opposed to its foreign policy. To base on this ground one's objection to the objective that we have set before ourselves is to misread the nature of the British constitution and misunderstand the character of Dominion Status which gives to the Dominions the right to determine for themselves the extent, if any, to which they will participate in any war in which England might find itself involved. We have no reason to apologize for the objective that we have set before ourselves. We are as determined as any other political party in the country that our country shall be free, but we feel that this full freedom which we seek is reconcilable with loyalty to the objection of an Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations to which we may have something distinctive of our own to contribute when we have reached our political maturity.

#### Defence

I strongly hold that the problem of Indian defence requires to be viewed in its international setting. The interests of India, England and the democratic world require that India should be made as speedily as possible self-sufficient in the matter of defence. The fundamental difficulty that we have to face is that Government have done all that they could in the past to make the average Indian believe that the defence forces exist not only for the purpose of defending India from external aggression and internal disorder but for maintaining and perpetuating an alien government responsible to the people of another country. No strengthening of the Criminal Law Amendment Act can or will change this feeling. What is needed is a change in the British outlook on the problem of Indian defence. What is wanted is action which would change the attitude of the Indian people towards defence and convince them that it is their most vital concern.

The working out of this principle requires that it should be made clear beyond any possibility of doubt that it is not intended to treat India

differently from the Dominions in the matter of defence, and that defence shall at no distant date be her responsibility in the same way and to the same degree as it is that of the Dominions. It is regrettable that the new Government of India Act does not provide for the automatic transfer of control of Defence to the Indian people with a defined period specified in the Statute itself. The formula "increasing concern of the Indian people and not the British people alone" is vague, indefinite and unsatisfactory. If it means that the final development in regard to defence will be some sort of a dyarchic arrangement whereby both Britain and India will share control over it with India as junior partner, then we owe it to ourselves to state in the plainest terms possible that we can never reconcile ourselves to it. We can never accept a position in regard to defence control lower than that of the Dominions. We are not and have never been opposed to a period of mutual adjustment and indeed the proposals which were made at the Round Table Conferences by Liberal and other progressive Indian politicians proceeded on this basis.

In its constitutional aspects, the problem requires not only a clear enunciation of the objective but also, during the period of transition, some visible steps which would increase the influence of the legislature over it, which would make the executive responsive, if not technically responsible, to opinion voiced in the legislature. It is, therefore, necessary to insist that in any reconstituted central or federal government, the member or councillor in-charge of the army shall be an Indian drawn preferably from the legislature. It is further necessary to insist upon a standing committee of the legislature preponderatingly non-official in character, the function of which should be to advise the authorities on defence policy, defence expenditure, and employment of Indian troops abroad, if and when necessary. The decisions of the committee should, in my judgment, be treated as binding upon the question of the employment of Indian troops abroad. Our position in this respect should be neither higher nor lower than that of the Dominions. The policy regarding Indianization should during the period of transition be under the control of the Indian Legislature. I would also urge that we should press that the army budget should be settled on a contract basis for fixed periods after a thorough enquiry on which the legislature should be directly represented through elected representatives. This agreed sum should be open to discussion but not subject to the vote of the legislature. Any excess over the agreed amount should be subject to the vote of the legislature. Till such time as full responsibility has been achieved, it will, perhaps from a constitutional point of view, be necessary to give to the Governor-General power to incur fresh expenditure in excess of the amount contracted for in cases of emergency, the legislature subsequently having the right to discuss but not vote this amount. It may be said that some of these proposals would involve a change in the Government of India Act, but we have never agreed to that Act and we cannot accept the validity of that argument.

Only the other day we were told by Earl Baldwin that the rearmament programme necessitates that Government should mobilize industry. Success in war in the modern world depends upon a comprehensive military organization which utilizes to the fullest extent possible, the man-power and the industrial and agricultural resources of a country. Here unfortunately owing to the mutiny complex from which our military experts suffer, the problem

has never been viewed in this perspective. Recruitment to the standing army is confined to certain classes and creeds. Apart from the fact that the present policy has created a virtual monopoly in favour of one particular province and has perpetuated the present caste distinctions, it is open to the grave objection that it is unjust to the other provinces which contribute equally with the Punjab to the federal revenues and which also have glorious military traditions, as any student of Indian history and even Anglo-Indian history will be able to testify. It is urged in defence of the present policy that the standing army is not large in numbers and that consequently the military authorities find it convenient to recruit it from classes which have a particular aptitude for a military career. No one denies that having regard to the size of the country, the standing army is not too large. But it is conveniently forgotten by the apologists and upholders of the present arrangement that a substantial part of this army consists of British troops which can and ought to be reduced consistently with the safety of the country, substantially. Even Government, by transferring three British battalions from India to Palestine, have admitted that there is at least partial truth in our criticism. Our view is and has all along been that a substantial reduction leading eventually to the elimination of British troops is possible in the country, that this reduction would lessen the cost of the army and that if British troops are so reduced, provinces and classes that get no chance of recruitment in the army would get it in the future. It is the height of unwisdom to make the democracies of the future dependent for their safety and the integrity of their country—in which all of us have an equal interest—upon a professional army drawn largely from particular areas and classes. Experience has shown that the Indian officers recruited from the so-called non-martial races have proved to be as highly efficient as the officers drawn from the martial races and the British officers. Why cannot, then, the men from the areas and classes which are not adequately represented be expected to give as good an account of themselves? It is all a question of opportunity, training, creation of right environment. Surely, it is not right to emasculate entire populations. Surely it is not righteous to deny to those who wish to serve their country as soldiers the opportunity to do so. Surely the men who come from the other provinces have a greater interest in the fortunes of this land than men drawn from the independent kingdom of Nepal.

Connected with this question is that of a proper army reserve available in time of national emergency. In building up her reserve, England has not resorted to compulsion and it will be agreed generally that, apart from any objection that we may have to it on principle, and I confess I am opposed to it in principle, compulsion in military service is not a practicable proposition. The Indian army has a strength of 1,55,000. The reserve is only about 35,000 only. In England, according to the figures available for 1937, the total number of regular troops was 2,10,000 and the strength of the army reserve amounted to 1,33,000. Modern countries have discovered that an efficient army system requires that men should, after receiving proper training in the regular army, be absorbed in the reserve available for emergencies. You will agree with me that the reserve should be strengthened. Not only have we no adequate reserve but we have hardly any territorial army worth mentioning. Very little effort has been made in the past to



develop it, and there are no adequate opportunities for military training for our young men.

With a more careful husbanding of our resources, with greater Indianization and the reduction of British troops and a more reasonable contribution by Britain towards our defence than she is making at present, it should have been possible for us to attach some importance to our air and naval forces. As it is, a very large portion of our revenue is absorbed in maintaining the land forces and our Defence department has paid so far very little attention to strengthening the Indian air and naval forces. The case for speedy Indianization of the officer ranks has been stated over and over again by us in our resolutions and the resolutions of other public bodies and the legislature. I would not like to tire you by repeating those arguments here. At the present rate it will take centuries for the Indian army to be Indianized. The rate of recruitment to the Royal Indian Navy too is grossly inadequate. A committee will shortly be sitting to consider the question of Indianization. I hope that the composition of this committee will be such as to give public satisfaction. It should be preponderatingly non-official in character. I may also express the hope that its recommendations, if they should turn out to be progressive, will not meet with the same fate as those of the Skeen Committee. What we are entitled to insist upon is a scheme which will Indianize, within a reasonably short period, the officer ranks of the army. Mere tinkering with the problem will satisfy no one. Into the question raised by certain announcements made for increasing the pay and other conditions of service, to the British army in India, I do not propose to enter. I am sure you thoroughly disapprove of the policy which imposes, without any consideration for the Indian tax-payer, fresh burdens on India. We have a committee at present going into the question of army reorganization and the financial contribution that Britain ought to make towards India. It is to be deeply regretted that Indians have been excluded from serving on that committee. I am sure that you will agree, therefore, with the view that was expressed by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad that Indian self-respect requires that Indians invited to appear before the Chatfield Committee should decline to do so.

#### The constitution

I shall now pass on to the constitutional issue. When Lord Irwin declared that Dominion Status was implicit in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919 and that a conference would be held at which an effort would be made to arrive at precise agreements with Indian representatives, and that the Indian states would also be represented at this conference, we welcomed the announcement as a definite commitment on the part of Britain to Dominion Status for India and the conference method in which we believed as a necessary sequel to an exclusively British commission. But as years went on, we found that the differences between us and the British statesmen in power were vital, and when the report of the Joint Select Committee was published, we found that our dearest wishes had been ignored and that we were being given a constitution which had many retrograde features and which we felt would retard India's progress towards full responsibility and nationhood. We felt that the price which we were asked to pay for greater freedom in the provinces was not worth paying and we had, Liberals as we were, no option but to take the line that the constitution was

utterly unacceptable and that indeed we were better without it. It was not that we were opposed to federation. There is a mystic unity underlying India and for our part we have always believed—and believed earnestly—that a federation which would unify India is the only right objective for us. Realists as we are, we were not opposed to a defined period of transition and we were even agreeable to reasonable safeguards demonstrably in the interest of India. But a careful study of the constitution as it was proposed by the Joint Select Committee convinced us that it was likely to create blocks in the way of our future progress, and that in recommending it, the committee had not only ignored the memoranda submitted by the Indian delegation, the excellent draft report of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues but also the Prime Minister's declaration at the first conference that the reserve powers shall be so framed as not to prejudice the advance of India to full responsibility. What determined our attitude was the implication of some of the more serious features of the scheme, such for example as (a) the provision that relations of Indian states outside the federal sphere should continue for ever to be with his Majesty's Government, (b) the virtual veto which the scheme gave to rulers of Indian states over constitutional development, (c) the heavy weightage given to the states in representation in the federal legislature, (d) the commercial discrimination clauses which have been so framed as to make it virtually impossible for the Indian Government to give subsidies or bounties to Indian industries, and which are calculated to create new vested interests round them, (e) indirect election to the Federal Assembly which is calculated to split up British India representation and prevent national issues coming up before a national electorate, (f) almost co-equal financial powers of the two Houses and the provisions for immediate joint session to settle disputes, (g) the provisions in regard to the relative strength and power of the two Houses, (h) the communal award which is calculated to make a nationalist solution at some future date more difficult, (i) the financial safe-guards and the reservation of monetary policy in the hands of the Governor-General, (j) the provisions in regard to the Federal Railway Authority which would take the railways virtually out of the control of the Federal Government, (k) the provision that Indian states' representatives will be appointed by rulers of states and the voice given to them in matters of purely British-India concern, (l) the absence of any provision in the Act for further constitutional development, (m) finally and most important of all, the absence of any machinery in the Act for the automatic achievement of Dominion Status within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster. These, we felt, were features which would place obstacles to progress on democratic and nationalist lines.

You will thus see that our objection was to certain vital features of the scheme taken as a whole and not to any particular part of it only. The Government of India Act is an accomplished fact and we gladly admit that it has been working in the provinces better than we apprehended. The blocks against which we fought have been created and the only important provisions of the Act which remain to come into operation are those relating to the Federal Executive and the Federal Legislature. Whatever our dissatisfaction with the constitution—and I have not concealed my utter dislike of it—the position at the centre today is intolerable. An irremovable executive has to take its orders from the Secretary of State and regulate its relations with an elected legislature. Often we find that Indian interests have to go to the wall.

With democratic governments in the provinces, friction between the executive and the legislature is likely, if the central constitution is allowed to remain as it is, to grow more and not less. The central constitution cannot and must not be allowed to remain as it is. We feel that the rulers of the Indian states have it within their power to make a contribution to the solution of the problem of a central government by agreeing to send only elected representatives to the legislature. Such action on their part would be deeply appreciated in India, give them immunity from attacks which no Princes' Protection Act can give for party affiliations in the legislature, protect them from being dragged into the vortex of British India controversies and British India party politics, free them as nothing else can, in the federal sphere at all events from interference by the Political department, strengthen their hold over their own subjects and make a real party system at the centre possible. That even in the conditions in which they find themselves, some of their men should on certain occasions have sided with British India representatives is cheering and heartening for those who realize that a great many of the questions with which we have to deal at the centre are of an Indo-British character. We cannot forget that the late Sir Sultan Ahmad Khan was a signatory of the minority report of the Hunter Committee, that General Rajwade threw his weight on the side of progress in the Chetwode Committee and was a co-signatory of the minute associated with the honoured name of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, and that his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner was critical of the monetary policy of the Indian Government at the Round Table Conference. But a nominated block is inherently incompatible with responsible government and the question has perforce to be looked at from the point of view of principle.

No one knows whether federation will materialize and when. No party seems to want it in its present form. As a party we are averse to indulging in threats but we have repeatedly made it clear that we stand for agreed solutions and not imposed ones. We do not believe in imposed solutions. They do not work or work only creakily. They do not settle questions, they merely accentuate them. We have pointed out the directions in which the scheme of federation *must be revised* in the numerous resolutions that we have passed on it. The more important modifications *essential for its successful working* have been set forth in the memoranda of the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference and the draft report of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues. We have pressed for those modifications before and we shall go on pressing for them in future. We have no faith in the method of a constituent assembly. A real constituent assembly, as the experience of history teaches us, can come only as the result of a successful revolution. We do not stand for revolution. We stand for the democratic process, for ordered progress, if you prefer this phrase. We do not profess to know what the advocates of a constituent assembly have in mind. But if what they mean by a constituent assembly is nothing more than a convention or conventions such as those which settled the constitution of Australia, we are prepared to say that that is an aspiration which we share with them. But we dare not blind ourselves to the present communal situation, and with dissensions in our ranks and our experience of the Round Table Conferences, we cannot put it forward as an immediately practicable proposition. We do not know what the ultimate decision in regard to federation will be. Mr. Bose has been saying that if it is imposed, the Congress will resort to mass civil disobedience. That way lies disaster.

We owe it to ourselves and to the country which we love as dearly as Mr. Bose, to utter a warning, in the present tense communal atmosphere, against the dangers of such a course. Fortunately, the wiser heads of the Congress have been keeping discreetly silent. It would, in my humble judgment, be a grievous blunder on the part of democratic provinces to give up in pursuit of a weapon which experience has demonstrated to be a double-edged one, the position of advantage they enjoy at present, the opportunity they possess, within their limited resources, to do constructive work for social and economic uplift and establish correct conventions of responsible government and traditions of democracy, to abandon the lever they possess, to control the tendencies of a centre which, it is apprehended, will be unduly conservative. That is not the way to combat the new constitution. Politics is the art of method and results. Wise statesmanship consists in sizing up situations and devising effective weapons to meet them. Not by refusing to handle the machinery set up at the centre but by utilizing it in an independent, courageous and constructive manner for the removal of those obstacles which the Act has, unfortunately, placed in our way, shall we be able to build up a mighty force which even this extraordinarily rigid constitution will not be able to resist. There is no inconsistency in condemning the framework of the Act and then bending it for the promotion of those ends we believe in. We should despair of the future if we did not believe in the capacity of Indian (including Indian states) and British statesmanship to profit by the experience gained of the Government of India Act in operation. Let us, therefore, take care to see that in an attempt at wrecking the federation, we do not wreck ourselves.

#### Indian States

I shall with your permission now offer a few observations on the question of the Indian states and the democratization and modernization of their administrations. The developments in British India, the possibility of Federation materializing and the time-spirit have had their inevitable reactions on the Indian states, and the subjects of the Indian states naturally desire that they should have the institutions which we enjoy and which we wish to see developed and expanded. As Liberals who believe in the democratic principle and the British system of jurisprudence it is impossible for us to withhold our sympathy with what is reasonable and legitimate in their demands. We cannot stand for one system in British India and quite another in Indian states. That is quite impossible. It is to be deeply regretted that progress in the two Indias has been unequal. It is a fact which we may and do deeply deplore, but cannot ignore. We are, for our part, quite prepared to recognize that the states are in varying stages of political and educational development, and that what is possible in British India may not perhaps in its entirety be immediately possible in all the Indian states. But neither British nor Indian opinion can be expected to uphold systems of government which are too ante-deluvian for the requirements of the times. We have no desire to dictate to their Highnesses, but as patriotic men who are (we would ask them to believe) not unfriendly to them, we deem it our duty to say that it is imperative in the mutual interests of both the Indias and the smooth working of federation, that the two Indias should have approximately the same standard of government. We would, therefore, urge their Highnesses to declare responsible government as their objective, an objective for the

realization of which they will work as speedily as the circumstances in their respective states will permit, by conceding instalments of responsible or representative government, establishing independent judiciaries, granting fundamental rights including those of free speech and association, limiting their civil lists and establishing the rule of law and the equality of all citizens before the law. It must, in fairness to the more enlightened rulers, be recognized that they have latterly shown an appreciation of the new forces that are at work and in consequence of that, taken steps to modernize their administrations. Constitutional government would strengthen and not weaken their hold over their subjects, as the example of the House of Windsor shows. It would give them a security which personal rule, however benevolent, cannot and a freedom from that paramountcy which is often so irksome to them. We hold it to be imperatively necessary that genuine representative government as a prelude to responsible government should be established in all the states, in some of a more advanced type than in others, but no state should be without it. In some of the states the most advanced type of representative government is possible. In the more advanced states it is possible and desirable to go further and their subjects would be justified in pressing for and the rulers would be wise in conceding to them a substantial instalment of responsible government. What makes an administration worthy of respect is adherence to those canons of good government which were so well emphasized by Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) in a memorandum which was communicated by him to the rulers and which was published by the *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of December 3. We should have been happy if we could with truth say that these canons are adhered to by all state administrations. Subversive activities—activities which sap the foundations of a state—cannot be fought by a denial of freedom of speech, press or association. They can be fought effectively only by bold and comprehensive measures of reform, by recognizing the right of the subject to agitate, in a constitutional manner, for the enlargement of his rights and the redress of his grievances. It may not be possible to have responsible government in its most developed form—we have not got it yet in British India—all at once, but it is possible to have executives which are responsible in spirit if not in strict legal theory, to the feelings and wishes of elected representatives of the people. While it is essential that there should be representative government and the rule of law, we are not among those who desire to see the Indian states eliminated. We could have wished to see them, Indian as they are in origin, excel even British India. But it is the duty of a true friend to be frank, and it is in that spirit that I have ventured to make some observations on state administration. But if it is the duty of the states to be progressive in spirit and their methods of administration, it is equally the duty of the subjects not to resort to violent or heroic methods. We are constitutionalists. We have limited ourselves to certain methods in which we believe. We cannot be expected to stand for one method in British India, and quite another in the Indian states, and particularly those states which offer no obstacles in the way of real, genuine constitutional agitation. Restraint is not a sign of weakness. It is a mark of strength.

#### Provincial Autonomy

I propose now to invite your attention to the working of provincial autonomy. In estimating its working we must bear in mind (a) that the

constitution being worked is one to which Indian political parties have not agreed, (b) that it is being worked in eight provinces by a party which found itself engaged in direct action at the time when the constitution was being evolved, (c) that the party in power in these provinces had made promises of a new heaven and earth at a time when it had not made up its mind to assume responsibility and was not certain of doing so, (d) that the federal issue is not regarded as being settled, (e) that owing to the system of electorates and the friction between the Congress and the Muslim League, the communal situation has deteriorated, (f) that the country has not recovered from the effects of the economic depression and even in normal times it is extraordinarily poor, (g) that the Congress has an extreme left which has often given trouble to it, (h) that the limited resources and the fixed charges which they have to respect do not make a rapid development of social service possible, and (i) that totalitarian conceptions dominate the world today. If you bear in mind these considerations, you will probably agree with me that it is a matter for satisfaction that the provincial governments, and in them I include the Congress governments also, should have acquitted themselves, generally speaking, as well as they have. The Congress governments are learning what we have always emphasized that liberty has to be reconciled with order, that administration is an art which requires not mere talk but wisdom, sympathy, tact and firmness. Generally speaking, the ministries have approached their task in a spirit of commendable energy. But while recognizing the success which has attended provincial autonomy—and we must not omit our tribute to the Governors and services also for their admirable spirit of cooperation—it is no part of our duty as independent critics to ignore certain disquieting tendencies. There is a tendency on the part of the leading spokesmen of the Congress to identify it with the nation. Undoubtedly the Congress is a powerful organization and it is the government in eight provinces. But we are thinking in democratic and not totalitarian terms. A constitutional opposition is as essential for the successful operation of democracy as a clean and honest government. There are bodies of men who do not belong to that organization and they have a right to insist that their existence shall not be ignored. Perhaps a reason for this tendency where it exists is that the average man feels that united action under well-directed leadership is necessary in the circumstances in which India, which has not achieved her freedom, finds herself. But that is a line of development which is, in my judgment, no longer open to us. Social and economic questions are coming to the forefront and the introduction of responsible government has made it essential that the country should be able to provide alternative governments to the governments in power. It is to be regretted that the oppositions are weak and often communal in composition. That perhaps is a penalty that we have to pay for our system of electorates.

Further, there is a tendency to rush through legislation without a thorough consideration of its reactions on the social and economic life of the community. Often the procedure of a select committee is dispensed with. You have had an example of this in the Trade Disputes Bill recently before the Bombay legislature. Instances have occurred where the highest courts have had to comment on interference by individual Congressmen with the civil and judicial administrations of their districts. There have been cases of interference even on the part of Congress ministries with judicial process

and with judicial findings. Some Congressmen have sometimes behaved as if they individually had power over district or judicial authorities and complaints have been heard—complaints of which even Congress Governments have had to take notice—of attempting to influence administration otherwise than by means of open discussions in the legislature and other formal procedure. The Criminal Law Amendment Act to which we objected and they objected, has been used to stifle anti-Hindi agitation in Madras. There is too much intolerance in the party and even its leaders are not free from it. A refusal to see the other side of the picture and a belief that wisdom and patriotism are to be found exclusively in their ranks only is characteristic of it.

#### 'High Command'

I shall now come to the institution of the so-called High Command. Well, ladies and gentlemen, you and I are not accustomed to semi-military language, and I confess it is hard for me to understand the reasons which have been used to justify its existence. I can understand the case for national parties; national governments, national coalitions and united fronts. We ourselves are a national party and we have always been opposed to exclusive provincialism. I can understand ministries of different provinces consulting each other and even consulting their party outside the legislatures and keeping in touch with their party machines. But I cannot understand this institution. What is our objective? Is it democracy or is it some abnormal form of democracy unknown to countries in which the liberal state flourishes? That is the vital question raised by the Khare controversy. We are not interested in the personal quarrels between Dr. Khare and his colleagues. But there is a public aspect of the incident which we cannot ignore. That a body of men, however eminent, who are outside the legislature should dictate to the Premier, and his colleagues and that the Prime Minister and his colleagues should, forgetting their responsibility to the legislature, be controlled by them, is something which is quite inconsistent with democracy as we understand it. Healthy conventions of collective responsibility cannot grow if ministers and legislatures are made to take orders from a body outside the legislatures. Just consider what the High Command is. Colleagues can appeal to it against their chief, chiefs can be censured and expelled for asserting their authority, cases in which ministers have taken, rightly or wrongly, certain decisions can be submitted to it for revision, legislation pending before the legislature can be referred to it for settlement. We cannot approve of all this. Even parties which have a revolutionary background, have never developed a machine like the High Command. Parties preserve their integrity and control their extreme elements by other means and the Congress, if it wishes to preserve its integrity and control its heterogenous elements, must devise some other methods of doing so.

#### Congress Policy

I propose to make some observations on Congress policy in general. I have this to say on their financial policy, that it appears to be a curious mixture of sacrifice of revenue and imposition of new taxes, of ill-judged economies and lavish expenditure on hastily considered schemes.

I have to invite your attention to another feature of Congress policy. One of our complaints against the old bureaucratic government used to be

that it was unwilling or at all events reluctant to separate the judicial from the executive functions. Congressmen too were equally vehement in their non-official days in their condemnation of this combination of functions. But today we find that the attitude of the Congress has undergone a change. Some of their spokesmen have spoken as if they were in love with the present system of combination of functions. The scheme which has been devised in the United Provinces of judicial magistrates is a mere eye-wash. In Bombay too the attitude of the ministry towards this question has, I believe, been equally unsatisfactory. The need for a separation of functions is greater and not less under a system of party and responsible government. Pure justice is the greatest blessing that a civilized state can confer upon its citizens. It is not enough that there should be justice. It is further essential that the public and the parties concerned should have confidence that justice is being done. A scheme which will separate the functions is not impossible of being put into operation immediately. The fact is that the will to separate them is lacking. The desire to control the judiciary has become perhaps as keen with the Congress government as it was with the old bureaucracy.

You will perhaps allow me to offer a few remarks on Congress educational policy. I am not wrong in saying that so far they have evolved no policy. I think you will agree with me in holding that the Wardha scheme is educationally unsound. It is wrong to give to education a severely utilitarian character from the very start. You and I do not want our children and our neighbour's children to be turned into factory workers without even the restrictions which the Factory Act imposes on employers. It has been left to this country to discover that education can be made self-supporting. I should have thought that a party which claims to represent the masses would realize that educational opportunity is fundamental to economic opportunity, that higher education cannot be measured in terms of rupees, annas and pies. In western Australia I found that university education was free. Here it is being urged by responsible spokesmen that universities should be made self-supporting, that they should be turned into mere examining bodies, that cultural education is of no use, and that the *charkha* and the spinning wheel can suffice to make our children grow into intelligent, efficient leaders and workers in an age of machinery and fierce international competition, for world markets. I am—and I think you too—are unrepentant believers in higher education, in well-planned education, which is neither too exclusively literary nor too exclusively vocational. Pressure is needed to keep the Congress governments straight in this matter of education. Expansion of education in all directions—primary, secondary and university—is necessary if this country is to take its proper place among the nations of the world.

#### The Economic Problem

Gentlemen, the economic issue is, I should say, the gravest of all the issues that face us. There is poverty and hunger and misery in this land. The vast mass of our people have to live in unhealthy conditions and go through life without opportunity to develop their faculties. The purchasing power of millions of our people is almost *nil* and their standard of life consequently too low. No one who has a heart can fail to sympathize with human misery and as Liberals, it has been our endeavour in the past and will continue to be so in the future, to find a solution of the problem of Indian.



poverty which increasing population; the economic depression and the unfair policy of the governments in the past have accentuated. I think you will agree with me that the new provincial governments have yet to evolve a constructive policy of economic development which will be both practical and fair to all the interests involved. I also think that you will agree with me in welcoming the initiative taken in this direction by the recent conference of Congress ministers and other prominent Congressmen. I think you will further agree with me that Government and people should aim at a well-balanced economy and that that requires that agriculture should receive equal attention with industry. A well-directed policy is not possible without the help of the Central Government, but the policy of that Government in recent years has, I think, not been such as to inspire confidence. We should, *inter alia*, press for (a) a reconsideration of the monetary policy and the rupee ratio, (b) a more liberal fiscal policy, (c) bilateral commercial agreements which would expand our export trade, (d) a policy of more active encouragement for our industries and (e) a more active policy of capital expenditure by borrowing on public works. I also hold it essential that there should be more co-operation between capital and labour than there unfortunately is at present if we are to achieve big results. We have always endeavoured to hold the scales between capital and labour even. As men who believe in and stand for social justice, we have always been particularly solicitous for the weaker side. We have always supported whatever has satisfied us is reasonable in the demands of labour and have always pleaded for the human touch in industry. Personally, I have always held fast to the motto of that truly ethical statesman, President Roosevelt, 'humanity before profits'. Healthy trade unionism has always had our full support. We have always supported beneficent labour legislation and indeed, have always pleaded for better conditions for both our industrial and agricultural labourers. But we feel that the present industrial strife is not likely to lead us anywhere. Our principal problems are under-production and under-consumption. We cannot solve the economic problem merely by a better distribution of what we now produce. The crying need is increased production. It is essential that there should be peace and harmony in industry if we are to achieve rapid industrialization. Too many strikes, revolutionary slogans, threats of overthrowing the present social order, the many injustices of which we recognize and seek to redress, by violence or semi-violence, defeat their own object. They do not weaken, they strengthen the forces of reaction. Perhaps you will allow a personal reference. I claim to a friend of labour. I have taken such interest as I could in labour legislation and the work of the International Labour Organization at Geneva and have drawn my inspiration from Geneva. As a friend of labour, I consider it my duty to advise moderation on the part of labour. I hope that responsible labour leaders, some of whom have honoured me with their friendship, will not misunderstand the spirit in which these observations have been made. I am sure they are as keenly alive as I am to the dangers that I have pointed out. I regret to note that provincial governments have taken no steps to constitute consultative and advisory industrial councils which would bring government, employers and employees into closer touch with each other, on the lines suggested by the Whitley Commission.

I should like to make one or two remarks on our attitude towards tenants and landlords. That our sympathies should be with the tenants is

not only understandable but natural and inevitable when you remember that we are Liberals and not Tories. It is not our lack of sympathy with the tenants, or any desire to maintain the *status quo*, (we do not wish it to be maintained as our resolutions show) that has compelled us to criticize certain parts of the Tenancy Bill now before the United Provinces legislature. It is the sense of justice which is the key-stone of Liberalism, that has forced us to point out that it is not proper to impose obligations upon a class and then deny to it adequate facilities to fulfil them. Congress has yet to learn that vote-catching devices are no substitutes for the well-thought-out legislation.

### Indians Overseas

With the exception of Zanzibar where an agreement has been reached in regard to the trade in clove the condition of Indians overseas continues to be a source of anxiety.

The position of Indian settlers in South Africa has at no time been satisfactory. It continues to deteriorate and I note with regret that at the Transvaal United Party, which is supposed to be less unsympathetic than the other parties, resolutions were passed suggesting a more stringent application of immigration laws in respect of Asiatics and the formulation of a scheme to prevent "encroachment" by Asiatics in European areas. At the present moment there is sitting in the Transvaal a commission to inquire into the evasions of the Indian community of the laws restricting them from acquiring ownership of land. In our view, the Indian problem in South Africa cannot be solved by making existing laws more stringent but only by granting Indians the elementary right of citizenship now denied to them.

In Kenya the Indian community is perturbed over the proposed Order in Council regarding the reservation of the highland areas to Europeans. Any such statutory recognition would perpetuate a condition of affairs which is not only unjust to Indian settlers but inconsistent with that claim for equality of citizenship which we can never give up.

The question of land tenure and the proposal to tighten existing immigration restrictions in Fiji should also receive our attention.

It is unfortunate that the Royal Commission on the West Indies which has started work in Jamaica has no Indian on it. The report of the Commission will be awaited with interest as we have a considerable Indian population in British Guiana and Trinidad.

An event of major importance is the publication of Sir Edward Jackson's report on Indian emigration to Ceylon. He has expressed the opinion that Indian immigrants have contributed greatly to the development of Ceylon and recommended continuance of import of Indian labour. We can not allow Indian emigration until the policy of the Ceylon Government changes. It is a matter for regret that the Village Communities Ordinance has not been amended on the lines desired by Indian opinion.

In view of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy, it is imperatively obligatory, in my opinion, to make it clear that India is interested in Tanganyika and that she will resent any step which transfers this mandated territory to a totalitarian state which has treated her minorities in the manner Germany has. It is to be hoped that the League of Nations will not be ignored in settling this question. We must insist upon freedom of vote for our

delegates on this question and insist that on this issue they should be bound by the opinions of the Indian legislature.

### Liberalism

Ladies and gentlemen, we sometimes feel apprehensive of the future of Liberalism in the modern world and in our own country. In my opinion there is no reason for despair. The truths enshrined in Liberalism are eternal and they cannot die. We, Indian Liberals, realize that our aims and objectives cannot be different from those of our fellow-Liberals in other parts of the world. We find ourselves in a world of conflicting social philosophies and the average man is entitled to know what our particular creed is. You will, therefore, pardon me if I endeavour to re-state the fundamental tenets of Liberalism. Liberalism, which is a child of the Protestant Reformation, the French Revolutionary era and the nineteenth century nationalist movements, stresses the worth of the individual and his capacity for, as well as his right to unfettered development and self-expression. It visualizes a social order, a political and economic system which will provide every individual with a decent standard of life. It stands for the reign of law as against the reign of discretion and proclaims that freedom of thought, speech and association are vital for the growth of the individual. Its conception of liberty is not a merely negative but a positive one. It asserts with enthusiasm and intensity of conviction that only in the democratic state can men and women find real security for good government and the antagonism between the individual and the state be reconciled. It rejects the materialistic conception of history and the doctrines of class war, proletariat dictatorship, world revolution and the labour theory of value. It emphasizes humanity and social solidarity. It affirms the right of all nations, big or small, to work out their destiny without interference by alien imperialism. It works for social justice by diminishing through state action—such for example as the development of social services and the method of taxation—those grosser inequalities of fortune which constitute a blot on modern civilization and make a harmonious growth of human personality impossible. It believes in placing the burden of taxation on those who are best able to bear it, but not so as to be unfair or oppressive. It opposes privilege and monopoly wherever they may be found to exist. It asserts that poverty and all that goes with it—slums, dirt, vice, disease, misery, ignorance and superstition—is revolting to the social conscience and that it is the imperative duty of the community to eradicate it. It stands for equality of opportunity, for a social system in which it shall be possible for all to start life without avoidable handicaps. It endeavours to break down the rigidity of class barriers and maintains that it is the duty of government to be fair to all sections of the community. Unlike a mechanical socialism, it refuses to be bound by the hide-bound dogma of the nationalization of the means of production and distribution as a panacea for all the ills to which society is heir. But it is not opposed to nationalization where and when necessary. It favours, where necessary and desirable,—witness, for example, the American experiment—state intervention in and state regulation and control of the economic life of the community. But it is opposed to regimentation of life. It stands for a dynamic conception of life, for progress, for reform, and not stagnation. Experience has taught it that in human affairs men cannot dispense with gradualness, but gradualness for it implies action and is not,

as Professor Pigou would say, a name for standing still. It believes in a wider and juster diffusion of economic power, and in "the joy of possession." It maintains that only in and through service can the individual achieve perfection and that the power incentive and the possessive instinct must be subordinated to the spirit of service. It aims at the social service state, the ethical state as I prefer to call it. It works for international solidarity, for collective security, for freer trade among nations, for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, for fellowship and brotherhood. And it asserts that the function of law and society and the state is to assist man, to use the words of one of the greatest of liberal thinkers, T. H. Green. "to realize his reason, that is to say, his idea of self-perfection by acting as a member of a social organization in which each contributes to the better being of all the rest", and that, as a recent commentator has pointed out, "the ethical value of the institutions of civil life lies in their operation", as "giving reality to the capacities of will and reason and enabling them to be really exercised." Surely a creed like this can never die. It can die with life itself.

#### Our Programme

I have endeavoured to state our objectives as I feel that an idealistic background is necessary for a political party. Ideals must have, however, some relation to realities and as men who understand the limitations we have to work under we have advocated only such as I believe them to be practicable and yet not visionary measures as will relieve the distressing poverty of our people. They are based upon a recognition of the legitimate rights of all classes and I am sure, are within the range of practical politics. It has not been our practice to make promises which we cannot fulfil. A perusal of our resolutions will show that we have always urged, *inter alia* (a) a reform of agrarian laws which will be fair to all classes and secure the tenantry in their legitimate rights, principally fixity of tenure and fair rents, (b) embodiment in legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not yet been done, (c) relief of agricultural indebtedness by means of debt conciliation boards, land mortgage banks and the extension of the co-operative movement, (d) the adoption of measures to check further fragmentations and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings, (e) substantial aid in the development of industries big and small alike, (f) a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of India, (g) legislation for the more adequate protection of labouring classes both in urban and rural areas, (h) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls, (i) a reform of the educational system which, without prejudice to the wider diffusion of higher education, the need for which we recognize, I venture to think more than any other party in the country, would enable our young men by its diverse nature to be diverted to be wealth-producing occupations, (j) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health, particularly in rural areas, and (k) an active policy of temperance reform which will always subordinate considerations of revenue to the welfare of the people. When it is recognized how woefully limited our resources are, every thinking mind will agree with me that even no five-year plan could be more comprehensive than the one put forward by us. We have never considered it honest to put forward programmes which we know we cannot carry through. Would it be incorrect to say that the Congress is finding it difficult.

to redeem its promises now that it is in office ? I will leave it to all impartial men to answer that question.

### Civitas Dei

Reflecting over the problems of the modern world, I often feel that the trouble with our civilization is that both in our individual and our collective life, we continue to be guided by the selfish instinct. In modern society individuals like to dominate individuals and nations desire to dominate nations. Great nations have accepted philosophies which teach them that their interests are distinct and separate from those of their neighbours and that indeed they cannot as nations fulfil their mission unless they control and guide for their own ends the lives of other races and peoples. They discover ethical justifications for meddling with the affairs of those who happen to be weaker than themselves and are not prepared to share the privileged positions they enjoy with those who happen to be less fortunately situated. The causes of war are thus rooted deep in the materialistic structure of modern society. They are to be found in the Mephistophelian ideologies which emphasize the national to the exclusion of the international ideal, in the mal-distribution of the world's resources and the unwillingness of those who have the lion's share to agree to a more equitable distribution of them, in the fight for world markets, in systems of national economies, in the worship of force as the supreme manifestation of the state and in utter disbelief in anything beyond and above the material world in which we live. The wars of our period are not, as a thoughtful writer has pointed out, local wars. The maladies from which the world suffers cannot be remedied completely by revision, under pressure, of this treaty or that frontier. They can be cured only by a change in the human spirit and what we need to learn is that what unites men together is what our sages would have called "Dharma" and what we should probably translate as "Duty"—though I think Dharma is more than duty. It is, as I conceive it, the mission of Liberalism, in a world which is suffering from this psychosis of exclusive nationalism and power worship, to emphasize the eternal truth that the human spirit is free, that only in a free atmosphere can the human spirit express the uniqueness of its personality, that it is the business of the community to provide the right environment for this internal growth of the human spirit and that brotherhood and fellowship are needed to enable us to lead the rich and full life which science has made possible for us all. Only a more vigorous Liberalism which emphasizes the solidarity of the human race can lead us to that *civitas dei* of which the Prophets of all religions saw the vision.

After the presidential address Mr. B. N. Gokhale said :—There are certain announcements which the President has asked me to make. The open session is now over and it will meet to-morrow at 12 noon. All members of the Federation; including delegates and members of the Reception Committee will, as is our custom, go into the subjects committee, which will meet at 8-15 p. m. in this hall to consider the draft resolutions to be placed before them by the Reception Committee.

As asked by the President I specially appeal to the delegates from outside and members of the Reception Committee to attend the meeting of the subjects committee and take part in its deliberations.

The Federation then adjourned till 12 noon, on Saturday.

## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Saturday, December 30, 1938.*

*The hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú*, President, said: Shall we move up? I think it will be better for the speakers if we move up. I am told that the acoustic properties of this hall are not good. Therefore, it will be more convenient to all concerned if we were a more compact body.

The first resolution, gentlemen, is about our losses.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of the hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna, an ex-President of the Federation, and one of the most distinguished leader of the party, who rendered meritorious services to the cause of the country in diverse ways for nearly 40 years.

I hope, gentlemen, you will pass this resolution standing.

*All the delegates stood in their seats and the resolution was declared carried.*

*President:* We have other losses also.

The Federation also records with sorrow the deaths of Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Pandit Jagat Narayan, Sir Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji, Pandit Biswanath Tholal, Pandit Ramchandra Goshain and Mr. G. V. Ganu, who were connected with the Liberal party for a long time. All these Liberals rendered meritorious services to the country in their own way and the Federation offers sympathies to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

We shall pass the resolution standing.

*All the delegates stood and the resolution was declared carried.*

## THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

*President:* The next resolution is about the constitution and it is in charge of our distinguished friend, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh of Lucknow. I will ask him to move that resolution.

*Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh:* Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows:—

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its opinion that the constitution, especially as regards the centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde. While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act especially in the direction of (a) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of states the right of election of states' representatives, (b) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination, (c) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the provinces, and (d) making the constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position when there is an irresponsible government in the centre coupled with responsible governments in the provinces is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential for the successful working of the Federal constitution.

Brother-delegates, yesterday when the subjects committee was in session I asked that this resolution should be entrusted to worthier hands. But the subjects committee differed from me and consequently I had to bow to their decision. I am not going to speak at length because as I have often said to my fellow-members of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly I dislike

long speeches intensely and the more so in the warm weather of Bombay. I am not going to refer at any length to the unsatisfactory provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. You, ladies and gentlemen, know just as well as I do the objections that have been raised. Some of them are stated in the resolution. Sometimes I have heard objections, I remember hearing them recently in England, from persons who have taken an interest in the Government of India Act to the effect that it is quite impossible for Parliament to change the Act in view of the great divergence of opinion on various provisions between the different political bodies of India—the Congress, the Muslim League, the Liberal Conference, the All-India Christian Association and so forth. But my reply has been and is that there are many provisions in that Act to which objection is general and shared by all political associations in India. Who is there, for instance, who has a word to say in favour of the general policy of mistrust so far as defence is concerned, so far as foreign relations go and so far as the control over imperial services is concerned.

Let me take one or two other matters about which we are all aware. There is the unnecessary provision which enables the Governor-General to have a Financial Adviser; then there is the Statutory Railway Authority; then there are various other safeguards which many in India thought and still think are unsatisfactory. Therefore, there is, I am sure that you will agree with me, a consensus of opinion that there are many provisions in the Act which can be changed with the full approval of the various political associations in India.

Then it is said: "Oh, it is premature to ask Parliament to come into session again and change the Act". But ladies and gentlemen, Parliament has changed British relations with other countries during the last few years. Have we not heard of the change of British relations *vis-a-vis* Egypt? They are quite different in 1938 from what they were five or six years ago. Then I daresay, you have seen in the papers quite recently that the whole question of the Ceylon constitution is under re-consideration. There is a considerable chance of Ceylon's constitution being changed and more power given to the Cabinet and to the elected representatives of the people than in the case under the present constitution. Therefore, Sir, I stoutly challenge the notion that it is impossible for Parliament to be brought together again to make changes in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Now, Sir, you will notice that—I refer in particular to the second portion of the resolution when I say that of one thing, we all are convinced, *viz.*, that the present position is intolerable and it is as anomalous as it is undesirable. You have at present a number of provincial autonomous or semi-autonomous governments working in subordination to an irresponsible executive at the centre. Further that irresponsible executive is faced by a legislature which has perforce to be irresponsible because the legislature knows that nothing that it can do is able to remove the irresponsible executive and to substitute it by popular representatives. That is a vital objection from our point of view. Therefore, anything is better than a continuation of the existing state of affairs which I repeat is both unsatisfactory and anomalous.

I come to the last part of the resolution, which urges that the modifications to which reference is made are essential to the successful working of the Federal constitution. There is not a single party in India which would not subscribe to this resolution. We are all agreed that a change is necessary.

I do not think it necessary for us to commit ourselves to any final opinion as regards the action that we should take if Federation is forced upon us. So far as I am aware the largest political party in this country, the Congress; have not made up their mind on the subject. Nor has the Muslim League—although the latest resolution of the League is somewhat different from the most intransigent language in which the resolution of last year was couched. It is certain that Federation is not likely to come at the earliest before 1940. Much more water will have flown before that date. Events in Europe are moving rapidly. The international situation changes daily. Who can tell what will be the world situation by March 1940? The internal situation in India is undergoing modification and important questions such as the rights of subjects of Indian states, the treatment of minorities by the Congress and other important questions are cropping up. One thing of course is certain. We, as Liberals, are fundamentally opposed to anything in the nature of mass civil disobedience. That is diametrically opposed to the very basis of our creed which is progress by constitutional means.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am of opinion that if we look back to the past we can be satisfied that some important changes have come about in the government of India and in British rule in India by constitutional agitation. The civil disobedience movement was not started, if my memory serves me right, till 1920 or 1921, whereas the important declaration of the British Government regarding the grant of responsible Government to India was made as early as 1917 or 1918, that is to say, before civil disobedience was started or even known in this country. I do not despair of constitutional agitation succeeding. I am convinced that the British Government whether they wish it or not, whether there is or is not mass civil disobedience with its great toll of suffering will in the lifetime of many of us grant responsible government to this country, because they know that from their own point of view an unsatisfied India is a source of weakness, especially at a time when Great Britain itself is faced with considerable difficulties in Europe.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have very little more to say except that as regards the working of the provincial constitution the anticipations of the Liberal party have proved correct. They have consistently urged that the Provincial Constitution, unsatisfactory though it was and is, should be worked. Who accepted the views of the Liberal Party? No less a body than the Indian National Congress. I say, speaking only for the United Provinces, and I say it gladly, that on the whole and subject to certain qualifications, the Congress Government have worked well. Only this summer Lord Zetland, with whom I was talking for a few minutes, put this question to me. 'In your opinion how have the Congress government in the United Provinces done?' I replied that on the whole (I used that qualification) the Congress Ministry had done well. Its legislation has been almost entirely of a nature which is bound to commend itself to the Liberal Party. Even the Tenancy Bill, in spite of certain important defects, is on the whole a beneficial measure, inasmuch as it promotes the interests of the tenantry in the United Provinces.

There are difficulties before the Congress Governments. As our worthy president said in the admirable address which he delivered yesterday afternoon, they have been sometimes stampeded into legislation, and, I am:



sorry to say, that communal feelings are worse in the U. P. than at any time I have known in my experience of 30 years. That is a serious situation and I think that it shows the great necessity for the Congress to deal in a liberal spirit with the minorities. For unless there is some sort of agreement between the Muslims and the Hindus and the other minority communities there is bound to be trouble in store for India even after a Federal constitution has been evolved.

I am sure that you will give your unanimous support to the resolution, which I have had the honour to move.

*President:* We have to go through a number of resolutions and therefore I am forced to put a time limit of 15 minutes for the proposer and 10 minutes for the seconders and supporters. This of course will not be strictly enforced in the case of speakers who are interesting or whom the audience would like to hear.

*Dr. G. S. Mahajani (Poona),* in seconding the resolution, said: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, In seconding the resolution so ably proposed by Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh I need only make a running commentary on its several parts. The first sentence only reiterates that our party as such is dissatisfied with the whole of the Government of India Act. That is understandable because the whole Act derives its power from Parliament and not from the people. Let us, however, leave aside that academic objection.

Coming to the second sentence, the Government of India Act proposes three things: first provincial autonomy, next the idea of Federation and thirdly, the scheme of the Federation. We welcome the idea of Federation but we are opposed to the scheme as adumbrated in the Government of India Act. That is the second part.

Now what is our specific complaint? Our demands were set forth fully and clearly in the joint memorandum that was submitted by the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference. Those demands were rejected. The question that one might legitimately ask at this stage is this: If those demands were rejected at that stage, what is the use of our passing this resolution now? And I am going to answer that in a few minutes. Considerable changes have taken place since that time, namely, a tremendous sanction has been created in the country because of the fact that in as many as 8 provinces the strongest party in the country has formed governments and that sanction together with the international situation and other circumstances with which the British Government is faced, has rendered this opportunity a particularly favourable one to emphasize our demands. We are told that many of the changes will have to be incorporated only by an amendment of the Government of India Act. But there are many changes which can be effected by a mere issue of Orders-in-Council. And even if an amending Act is required, a Parliament, which could pass the necessary legislation at the time of the abdication of King Edward VIII, can, if it has the will, make the amendments required in no time.

The last part of the resolution states our irreducible minimum requirements before Federation can at all be made a working proposition. Otherwise it will not be workable as a scheme. Now let us turn to the four alterations suggested. The first is clearing up the position of the Princes and

securing for the state subjects the right of election. That roughly describes the attitude of our party to the question of the states. When the resolution on Federation came up for discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council I remarked in the Council that the Liberal party would be satisfied if a condition precedent to the entry of the states to the Federation was made that every ruler should make a declaration similar to the declaration of 1917 that responsible Government is the goal of the states' policy and that our immediate demand was that some sort of sanction should be secured for the representatives of the states to the Federal Legislature. This is what I understand by "clearing of the position of the Princes" and securing the right of election to the states' representatives. The second alteration suggested is doing away with safeguards regarding the monetary policy and commercial discrimination. We were told that these commercial safeguards were introduced because of the wild talk of the Congress members themselves. Now we are in a position to fight this contention of the British Government. They themselves, *i. e.*, the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and several British statesmen are now vying with each other in paying compliments to the sense of responsibility with which the Congress governments are functioning in several provinces. "Are you really afraid" we can ask, "that the powers that would be conferred and that we ask to be conferred will be misused? You have yourselves seen how provincial autonomy is being worked; how a sense of responsibility is being shown and therefore, is there really any need for the retention of these commercial safeguards which you introduced, on your own showing, because of the wild talk of Congressmen"? The fact is that whereas under the former constitution we had the fiscal autonomy convention, under which if the India Government and the Legislature agreed on a fiscal question the Secretary of State did not interfere, under the present constitution that has been taken away by the introduction of these commercial safeguards. And to that extent the present Act is retrograde. Therefore, our irreducible minimum demand is: Let us at least have the fiscal autonomy convention.

Next we come to the third suggestion mentioned in the resolution, namely, the question of introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the provinces. We are often told that the communal award and communal electorates are direct results of our own dissensions. The hollowness of this pretext is exposed when we come to consider the attitude of Government on the question of direct elections. The Montagu-Chelmsford report observes "We consider that the system of indirect election should be stopped. It is one main cause of the unreality that characterises the existing councils because it prevents the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the voter." On this point we can say that there has been and is complete unanimity of all parties in this country. No one ever wanted the principle of indirect election. Why has it been thrust upon us? We can easily understand their motive, in taking away the principle of direct election, which is a salutary corrective to the growth of provincial jealousies consequent upon the working of the Provincial Autonomy. The motive is to weaken our fight with the British Government. Let me now go to the fourth point mentioned in this resolution, namely, making the constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time. In the whole of the Government

of India Act, Sir, the words "dominion status" have been studiously avoided. In the old constitution a provision existed that after a lapse of every ten years there would be a commission of inquiry to determine the further stage of political advance. No such thing has been provided for here. It is for that reason that we insist that there must be some provision for the automatic growth of the Federal structure into a full Dominion Status.

The other day when Lord Lothian was in Poona he asked "Why not wait for two or three years, work the Federal constitution and then let people who work it make suggestions and ask for modifications?" The answer to that is: "The constitution is so rigid that when once it is brought into being even the slightest change cannot be effected without the consent of the Princes and not a comma can be altered without going through that combrous procedure". Why should we willingly accept such a position? We have, Sir, defined our attitude in a constructive way. That is, whatever our other demands may be these four demands are our irreducible minimum. That is a running commentary on this resolution.

With these words, Sir, I second the resolution.

*Mr. N. M. Jeshi*, in supporting the resolution, said: Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been very ably proposed and seconded shows the defects of Federation which the British Parliament wishes to establish in India. We are not opposed to the idea of the Federation itself, but we are opposed to the particular form of Federation because it is based upon the distrust of the Indian people. The British Parliament in framing this constitution of the Federation has shown very clearly that they place no reliance upon any section of the Indian people including the Princes, and the wealthy classes and of course the poor people. If they had confidence in the Princes with the Princes wishing to come into Federation they would have given power to the Federal Government in regard to defence and foreign affairs. But in spite of the fact that the Princes are to come into Federation defence, foreign affairs and political matters are kept out of the scope of the authority of the Federal Legislature and Federal Government. The British Parliament also distrusts the ordinary people in India. In order that the power to be transferred to Indians should not pass into the hands of the ordinary people they have created very strange devices. Dr. Mahajani has told you that they have introduced indirect election to the Lower House of the Federal Legislature. It is an unheard of thing in the whole world that the Lower House should be elected by indirect election while the Upper House should be elected by direct election. This device was created in order that the ordinary people should not exercise their due weight in the Federal constitution. We naturally do not like this Federation.

There is another reason why we do not approve of this Federation. It has been pointed out to you that the Indian states have been given special powers and special favours in this Federation. It is true that the British Parliament has no confidence in any section of the Indian people, but between the different sections of the Indian people they have more faith, more confidence in the Princes, in spite of the fact that generally speaking people do not trust the words of Kings. In the first place the Princes have been given power over British Indian administration while the representatives of British India will not have power over subjects administered in Indian states.

Secondly, there is no guarantee that the representatives of Indian states will be elected. We therefore insist by this resolution that the representatives of Indian states will be elected. Moreover there are negotiations going on today between the Governor-General and the rulers of Indian states as to the subjects regarding which there will be a Federal administration between the Indian states and British India. The Indian Princes are free to federate with British India as regards certain subjects. They are free to make certain reservations. As regards these subjects on which there is to be Federation and as regards reservations negotiations are going on between the Governor-General and the rulers of Indian states and as citizens of British India, we protest that these negotiations are being carried on behind our backs. In this Federation it is not that the Governor-General and the Princes are alone interested. As a matter of fact the larger section of the population interested in the Federation is the people of British India. It is therefore natural that we should feel aggrieved that the terms upon which the Indian Princes are to join the Federation should be negotiated and settled behind the backs of the Indian people. I therefore hope that the people of British India will insist that the Governor-General will take the people into confidence and before he accepts the terms upon which the rulers of Indian states will be allowed to federate with British India, these terms will be placed before the British Indian public and their approval will be secured to these terms.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federation as it has been proposed has several defects. It is therefore our duty to see that these defects are removed and I have no doubt in my mind that if people in India agitate and make vigorous efforts to secure changes which we desire it is quite possible that these changes will be made. But let us remember the habit and character of the British people. The British people do not understand an appeal or even a request. They understand agitation. If you agitate and make it hot for them they will take our appeals and requests into consideration. I therefore suggest to the people in India, especially to the Liberals, that if we want certain changes to be made in the constitution in order that the constitution should be acceptable to us let us carry on our agitation ceaselessly and vigorously. If you carry on the agitation it is possible that our requests and appeals will be heard. Let us therefore not remain content with the constitution as it is and let us hope that the agitation will succeed.

*Mr. B. N. Gokhale :* Brother and sister delegates, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution. There are one or two aspects in regard to this resolution which deserve some notice. Ours is a middle party and owing to the position of our party in politics our pronouncements are liable to be misrepresented by people on both sides. I will give you a very curious instance of this. At Satara in April last we passed a resolution regarding certain amendments with respect to powers of local boards in connection with the Primary Education Act, and you will be surprised to learn that the very next day our resolution was quoted in the local Legislative Assembly both by the Government and the Opposition. That is the position which our party occupies and therefore we have to be very careful as regards the framing of our resolutions. If you look to the second paragraph of the resolution it clears one misconception. Last year the Under Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons that the Liberal Party was a party which had actually urged the expedition of the introduction of the Federal part of the Govern-

ment of India Act. Now, it is not true to say that we are anxious to have Federation at the centre because we are in love with the provisions of the Government of India Act. We have condemned it as retrograde, and because it contains features which are most obnoxious to nationalist opinion. But we want responsibility to be introduced in the centre for the simple reason that that is the understanding arrived at the Round Table Conference. You will remember, ladies and gentlemen, that when the Round Table Conference was proceeding our leaders refused to look at any scheme of provincial autonomy unless it was accompanied by responsibility, and substantial responsibility at that, at the centre. That was the very basis of the discussions at the Round Table Conference. When we therefore say that the Federal structures should be put into operation we do not do it on the ground that we are in love with the provisions of the Government of India Act, but because the continuance of an irresponsible executive at the centre is intolerable when provincial autonomy is working in the provinces. That is the basic idea of the second paragraph of this resolution.

The second thing that I would like to bring to your notice is this. The attitude of the Liberal Party has been misrepresented as a standing invitation to the Princes and all the reactionary forces in the country to stiffen their demands. It has been misrepresented as an actual invitation to the Princes to get something more from the British Government. If you look to Clause (a) of the resolution, if you will look to the fourth resolution, which will be placed before you, it is a complete repudiation of the charge that has been levelled against us. We are not, we cannot, by our very principles be the supporters of retrograde demands that are likely to be made by the Princes. We have always consistently said that we do not want any further concessions to be made to the Princes and by passing this resolution we will be making it quite clear that unless the irreducible demands are satisfied it will not be possible for the country to work the Act. These are the two points which I have to emphasise because they will help to dispel serious misconceptions about the attitude of the Liberal Party. With these words I support the resolution.

*Mr. L. G. Sabnis (Dharwar.)* In further supporting the resolution and commending it to your acceptance I wish just to say a few words. This resolution is on a very important subject which concerns the destinies of India. It is impossible within the limited time allotted to me to expose the various defects inherent in the constitution of 1935. I cannot, however, do better than refer you once again to the very masterly address which our worthy President has delivered. He has marshalled in it all the various defects of the constitution at pages 16 and 17. The previous speakers, too, have elaborated the defects which call for our imperative consideration and that of the British people as also for rectification. In England there was a peculiar political atmosphere when the scheme was being hammered out. With what was considered as wild talk implying the virtual repudiation of debts, indulged in by Congressmen at the time, it was natural that London City interests should take fright and get panicky. We, therefore, find the whole Constitution Act charged with a spirit of distrust and suspicion. It is not an Act which has been framed with the free assent of the two partners. The senior partner has treated the junior partner with a great deal of distrust, but now since the provincial Part of the constitution is

functioning and the provincial governments are worked by Congress parties which, though distrusted years ago, are now winning golden opinions all round there is no reason why the British Government should not change their views, revise their opinions and make the scheme acceptable. I do not wish to inflict on you any further remarks on this subject. I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

*President:*—The resolution has been moved, seconded and supported. Is it your pleasure that it should be carried.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

*Dr. R. P. Paranjpye:*—The resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows :—

(I) The National Liberal Federation of India notes with satisfaction that in all the provinces, provincial autonomy as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference so far from the Governors, and trusts that this atmosphere will continue and soon lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces. (II) the Federation strongly deprecates the manner in which the Working Committee of the Congress Party has tried to impose its will and decisions on the provincial ministries in provinces where the party has formed ministries. Such interference is calculated very seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government in the country.

The experience that we have obtained for over a year and a half now has shown that the Liberal Party has been wise in its time and that the advice that it has been giving to Indian political opinion to work the new Government of India Act in the provinces has borne good fruit. I know that in the provinces where the Congress Party was in a majority they hesitated for a certain amount of time and perhaps to show their difference from others they tried to negotiate with the Governors about the way in which they would exercise their powers. But even though they did not get anything tangible in the form of an undertaking not to interfere with the ministries the Congress majorities did form ministries and the last 20 months have shown that the ministries have been working smoothly and that the Governors have not been interfering with their work. In fact, nobody expected that Governors would interfere with their work. Even in olden days under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms we found that when public opinion was behind the Ministers Governors generally did not interfere with the Ministers although of course in those days they had much greater power of delaying matters and putting in various kinds of obstructions. But ultimately Governors generally yielded to the declared wishes of their Ministers when they knew that the Ministers were fully supported by the Legislative Councils. During the last 20 months in the Congress provinces, the Congress ministries, as is generally admitted, on the whole have done well and the only reflection that one can make upon their work is that they appear like young men who are too much in a hurry. They want to do all things all at once and consequently many of their measures are dictated by this feeling of too great a hurry by their desiring to show results immediately without taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case.

Now, administration and legislation are comparatively difficult matters. They require a considerable amount of study, deep consideration of all relevant matters and with all the strenuous energy which the Congress

ministries have been putting into their work it is not possible for any human agency to do effectively in a very short time what the Congress are promising to do. If the Congress ministries had undertaken to tackle a comparatively smaller number of subjects, but thoroughly and efficiently and after taking into consideration all the attendant circumstances they might have shown better results. I give the ministries fullest credit for their intentions and I do not wish to make their task more difficult because I know that the more extreme left wing of their own party are a hindrance in their way. It is really creditable that they have tackled the various subjects as satisfactorily as they have done. All that we say is that they were making too many promises when they never expected to have responsibility in their own hands and several of those promises have come home to roost and they are often driven to explaining away their own advocacy of various matters. But I am sure they will learn in future that absurd promises should not be given because they may not be able to carry them out when they have responsibility. They talked a lot about immediate repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and one expected that as soon as they came into power the first thing that they would do was to repeal the Act. But what do we find? Not only have they not done so but they have been making use of this very Act, which they previously condemned. In Madras they have been using its various provisions for stopping the anti-Hindi agitation. I do not desire to go into the merits or demerits of the Hindi question, but I certainly take leave to say that the way of stopping that agitation is not to make use of these extra powers, of these "lawless laws" as they used to be called, but the way to stop that agitation or to 'take the wind off their sails' was to argue with the opponents and to convince the people that what they were doing was really good for the province. All that I say is that their methods of dealing with it have not been consistent with their own advocacy in times gone by.

One can talk about many other matters. In this province for instance you have had the use of these powers in stopping meetings at Sholapur and other places. I suppose actual administrators have to do some of these things and talking in an irresponsible position is quite different from acting when responsibility is thrust upon you. All that I say is that when they had not words strong enough to abuse us when we were in power, I think we are entitled to throw those same words back in their faces and say: 'Now you see what your own experiences have been.'

Now, ladies and gentlemen, on the whole, however, I do give the Congress ministries credit for their good intentions and also for a good part of the work they have done. Some people like myself who might be termed left wing liberals might feel that on some points they have been too mild. As regards the provisions of the Tenancy Bill itself, as it is proposed in this province, I think it is too mild and I would have gone further than what the Congress ministries have proposed. I have no fear of the word 'socialism.' If any measures appeal to my reason as being in the best interests of the people I have no hesitation in advocating them even if they are called communistic or socialistic. I only look at a measure from the point of view of usefulness to the people and the way in which it is conducive to the well being of the mass of people. Some of these things appear to have been done in too much hurry and many of them are apparently not well thought out.

The second part of the resolution I am proposing is very important and shows the great danger that lies before our Congress ministries. In particular, their supposed advocacy of a democratic form of government is going to land them ultimately into a form of dictatorship. We have now Congress ministries in several provinces. One would have thought that according to ordinary canons of democratic government ministries are supposed to be responsible to the members in the legislature and through them to the electors in the country. But what do we find? Every time any question arises, everybody takes a train to Wardha to find out what the High Command thinks. The elected members and the voters who have elected them are left in the background entirely. It is only the High Command—two or three or four people who are to dictate to them how to manage affairs. In fact, they decide even the personnel of the ministries. I think this is an entire negation of real democracy and responsible government. It is a shortcut to the kind of dictatorship which they have in Germany or Italy or even in Russia. There we have one or two men who manage all the affairs and in this country also we are going in the same direction. Here, for instance, one gentleman, estimable though he may be, is supposed to keep in leading strings the Congress ministries, in Bombay, Central Provinces and one or two other provinces. Another gentleman, honourable and estimable, is supposed to keep other ministries in leading strings. Now do you think this is really responsible government, responsible to the elected members of the legislatures? I think that it is the shortest road to autocracy or dictatorship. I do not desire that our country should have any form of dictatorship. We want an elected democratic government in the country and therefore we do not desire that this High Command should interfere with the administrations of the provinces in the way we have seen it being done in the last 20 months. I quite understand that a political party which is spread all over the country should ensure that the general line of policy should be fairly uniform all over the country. They should meet once or twice a year and lay down the general lines of policy. No one could object to that. We would welcome it. But in each province the questions are different. The tenancy problem, for instance, in Bombay is quite different from the tenancy problem in the United Provinces and still more different from that in Bihar or Bengal. Similarly on other questions, we think that the Congress Working Committee is quite justified in having meetings twice or thrice during the year and laying down general lines of policy so that the various provinces should not differ from each other too widely but they should leave them the fullest liberty of action, and this we feel is not being done at present. We have a state of things in this country when even a fly sneezes you have to run to Wardha to find out what remedy could be had for such a case. And then you have got Mr. Gandhi; however great a man he may be, he is supposed to be an authority on every subject under the sun. We do not agree that one man, however great he may be, is capable of giving a solution to all questions, if it is a matter dealing with education we have the Wardha scheme; if it is medicine there is Mr. Gandhi telling us all about it; if it is about industries there is Mr. Gandhi again; prohibition—still Mr. Gandhi, everywhere the same thing and I really get tired of one man doing all these things, and laying down the law in every single matter. I do not think any human being is qualified to do this, and I think



the ministry should be entitled to deal with these matters themselves, to study these questions from their own points of view and from the point of the conditions in the provinces and then lay down and map out their own line of action. On some matters apparently they are going much too fast. They have laid down lines of policy which on the one hand involve large amount of expenditure and on the other hand they are equally giving away money and the resources of the provinces. On the question of prohibition for instance. I am as keen on the question of prohibition as any Congressman can be—but I would like to go slow. To do away with an income of two or three crores out of a total income of 12 crores and at the same time lay down policies which will involve a further expenditure of three or four crores upon various schemes of national uplift appears to my practical mind to be very difficult. I think therefore they should look carefully before undertaking any particular measures and then and then alone will those measures really succeed. As I have said, on the whole, I agree that the Congress ministries have done well. But I protest against the quite obvious tendency of a growing system of dictatorship—this growing power of the High Command—which is ultimately going to lead India into a position which I do not welcome at all and against which I protest from the bottom of my heart. I hope therefore you will pass this resolution unanimously.

*Diwan Bahadur K. V. Brahma* (Nagpur), in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. President, Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—At a meeting of a party like this it is first necessary for me to tell you the necessity of a resolution like this at our hands. If a Congressman were to say that it is no business of ours to pass a resolution of approbation on what they are doing what answer shall we give. I suppose we can very well say that we are glad that they have seen the wisdom of what we were saying before, and that time and circumstances have justified that, even they, with their flamboyancy are compelled to act in the way we said men must act if they have the good of the country at heart. After all the present Congressmen are as cousins to us and we have every right in telling them what we think of them. They used to shower epithets on us but we refuse to follow them in this respect and tell them frankly, but without abuse that they are working well on the whole. We do not hide from them that they are not working as well as we should expect them but that they are working well in many respects and we are glad on that account. I have no doubt in my mind that if they were to follow in our footsteps they will be doing more good to the country than they in their ways. That they are retracing their steps gradually is evident to any one who cares to mark carefully. For instance when the Congress party decided to accept office they said they were going to do so to wreck the constitution, but what is the actuality now. They are working the constitution and if we read the signs correctly they will stick to office more than others did. The Congress ministries will realize as time goes on that the good of the country lies in wise and concerted action and not in high sounding speeches and catch phrases. Now how do we judge that the Congress ministries in the provinces are working well. The test is to see from the point of view of the man in the street. A man in the street comes in contact with government in three or four respects, in the matter of income and expenditure and in respect of protection of property and person. Let us see how the Congress ministries are faring in these vital respects. In the matter of income and expenditure though one might say they are working well on

the whole they seem to throw away money by one hand and try to catch it by another. My friend, Dr. Paranjape, has told you that they have thrown away about three crores in what they call the prohibition campaign. In my province they are also about to throw away a good bit and the ministry is at pains to make up the deficiency in other ways. While everyone agrees that prohibition of drink is a laudable act it does not follow that the money gained by taxing people who drink is necessarily tainted money. It is a tax on luxury and if other luxuries can be taxed why not this luxury. But our friends in the Congress dislike taking a thing on its own merit. It must glitter, carry popular fancy or imagination with otherwise it is not worth having. Shall we not be right if we say that they are throwing money by one hand and try to catch it by the other hand? I am sure they will not be able to raise the required amount by other taxes. The ministries do not see the wisdom of taking other people into their confidence. They are in the habit of saying, nay they even go to the length of preaching that they stand for "government of the people, by the people and for the people". One may concede that, since Congress is in the majority in the provincial assemblies, that it is a government of the people and by the people but one can certainly assert that it is not *for* the people,—certainly not *for all* the people at any rate. Things will get on much better if the ministries were to take other people into confidence rather than run to Wardha or to the so-called High Command for everything whether suitable or unsuitable from the point of view of the general public—I mean the public consisting of the Congress people and the non-Congress people. I happen to be nearer to Wardha and I am able to see how trains run quicker in that direction. As Dr. Paranjape said and I vouch for it as I am on "Wardha Road" at Nagpur and so get the dust of travellers' cars on me, what actually happens is that when a difficult problem arises no solution is found at Nagpur. A trip to Wardha is planned and wisdom is imported, but the danger of a charge of files missing is there. (Laughter). Surely this is not the way to govern a province with any prestige and may I humbly ask Congress itself, how can it expect the ministries to function in a democratic spirit if their actions and even decisions are to be guided by one man or a body of men who are not responsible to the electors. If the Congress has no trust in their own people that they would follow its policy, why boast of a united and a strong party and boast of Government by the people and for the people? Why not own that we prefer autocracy to democracy? What I always feel is that the Congress people have a dictionary of their own and that their own words have meanings different from what we ordinary men are taught they have. When they say they are in for wrecking the Constitution we must understand them to mean they are for working the Constitution. When they say they are for democracy we must take it that they are for a one-man rule. When they were not in power they started a no-payment of taxes campaign. Their followers tried this trick on them when they took office and I heard a Prime Minister say to his people that he knew they had money and that they could pay, and that if they did not pay he would not give them notoriety by coercive processes, but, as a servant of the people, he would be obliged to close down schools, and dispensaries, roads and things of that kind. I used to listen to speeches like this from the brown bearocrats, but in authority brown or black is the same.

Things in the provinces will be better if the ministries are allowed a free hand, if they are trusted more by the Congress cotery or High Command. The Congress must unlearn the method of governing through the medium of an esoteric circle. The evil effects of governing in this fashion were patent to us in our province at the time of the Khare episode to which the President has alluded in his address. This episode demonstrates what the latter half of the resolution says. Now what was that episode? It was this. Dr. Khare was the trusted leader of the Congress Party up to the time of the elections. He was unanimously elected the leader of the party and thus by the unanimous consent of his own partymen he became the Prime Minister. Some difference arose between him and his colleagues and he thought it was impossible for him to get on with some of his colleagues. He and his friends in the ministry resigned. Some of his colleagues would not go out and the Governor, on the assurance of the leader of the majority party, terminated the offices of the rest. Dr. Khare formed a new ministry and that was the inexpiable sin he committed. Now instead of the C. P. Assembly Congress Party finding fault with him and dismissing him from the party, he was hounded out at Wardha. India was shocked because this was not the democratic way of doing things. But as I said before, Congress has different meanings for the words they use. They persist in saying that there was a danger to the whole nation, that Dr. Khare became a traitor to the cause and that even the Governor was to blame in the matter. We at Nagpur were not at difficulty in understanding all this language because we could see that within the Congress there is one-man rule. The inner circle of the Congress imagined that Dr. Khare was a party to dangerous conspiracy to undermine the prestige and power of the Congress and that the Governor of the province was not free from blame in this respect. Facts were, however, different. But we are not concerned with this episode that it demonstrates how far the Congress ideals of government are from the true principles of democracy as we understand it. The episode is of importance to us only because we do not wish the Congress to drift into facism. As I said before, Congress people say one thing and mean another. This reminds me of a story of a priest who went to another man and put him a question and told him that he had the fullest freedom to answer. The priest asked; "Are you a believer in God?" and told the man that he had the liberty of his conscience but reminded him of the fact that he shot down a man who told him that he did not believe in God. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I support the resolution that is put before you by Dr. Paranjape.

*Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru* (Fyzabad) in a Hindi speech said that the fact that the Congress was working the constitution was a triumph of the Liberal Party. He believed that it would have been possible for any other party in office to achieve the results that had been achieved by the Congress. He regretted that the Congress ministries were not working in accordance with the mandate of the people but at the dictation of the High Command. He supported the resolution.

*Mr. P. N. Daruvala* (Bombay).—The resolution which I have the honour to support has been read out by the proposer and he has said that in spite of the various difference that existed between this party and the political party which is now in power the trend of legislation has gone to show that they are working for the uplift of the masses and they have a very ambitious programme before them. But we must not forget that in

the realization of this great and lofty object there is bound to be some inconsistency. We must give credit where credit is due to those who have government in their charge. The very aim and object with which the Congress was started was to bring India on the lines of the colonies and now is an opportunity for us to show that having obtained the reins of office in our own hands we are capable of achieving that object. Constructive measures with a constructive genius to guide will lead us to our cherished aim. Here during the last 20 months that the present Government has come into power they have shown that they have got a constructive policy, that they have got a sense of responsibility and they have done well for the betterment and the upliftment of the people. They have been working ceaselessly and conscientiously. But in doing so they are committing a mistake and it is our bounden duty to see that they are not perpetuating the tyranny of autocracy, namely, having an outside agency which is not responsible to the electorate and outside the legislature to dictate. All along the constitutional principle of government is that these ministers should take their oath of allegiance and bind themselves to carry the work of legislation and they are responsible to the legislature. They cannot do away with the responsibility which they have undertaken towards all those who have chosen to return them. Unless and until that principle is dinned into the ears of the ministers who have accepted office democracy will be in danger, and they cannot be said to have carried out the autonomy for which this Act has been drafted. This provincial autonomy for which we have been working for so long has no doubt some limitations but whilst working it we must see that it does not become an instrument of tyranny and dictation by influences which are not within the four corners of the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council. After all it is the elector and the representative whom he has chosen between whom the real responsibility should exist. This principle must be thoroughly grasped.

*The resolution was put to vote and unanimously carried.*

#### Economic Development

*President* :—The next resolution is on the Indian states, but with your permission I am going to take the resolution on economic development for this reason that Sir Govindrao Pradhan is not well. Mr. A. D. Shroff, who was to have moved the resolution originally has written to say that he has suddenly taken ill, and Sir Govindrao who is moving it in his place is also not feeling quite well. I suppose Prof. Kelkar will have no objection.

*Sir Govindrao Pradhan (Thana)*.—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen : You have just now heard from the President that the original mover of this resolution is ill and the man who is asked to step in his place is getting ill. So naturally you cannot expect that lucidation of the resolution which I shall presently read to you. Some of you must have played Kho Kho. When Kho is said you have got to get up and run whether you like it or not. I am now trying to run in whatever way I may be able to do. In the first place I will read the resolution as it is on the agenda :

The Federation advocates legislation intended to secure

- (a) a reform of agrarian laws which while fair to all classes will secure to the tenantry their legitimate rights and in particular security of tenure and fair rents ;

- (b) the embodiment in Legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not been done;
- (c) the relief of agricultural indebtedness and adoption of measures to check further fragmentation and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings.
- (d) substantial aid in the development of industries, big and small alike;
- (e) a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country;
- (f) legislation for the more adequate protection of labouring classes both in urban and rural areas;
- (g) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls;
- (h) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas.

You will find that this is a many-sided resolution and it touches the social and economic life of everybody. So far we have discussed politics, and we have got to discuss two or three more resolutions which also touch politics. But this resolution touches the every day life of everybody. At the outset let me repeat what my friend Dr. Paranjpye has just now said that we do not want any hasty legislation; we do not think that government are such omniscient men that they do not want any other point of view. However enlightened a man may be he has got to take the advice of others. That is exactly the reason why portfolios are divided between so many men. There is a cabinet and members of the cabinet put their heads together and bring forth legislation. We want legislation no doubt but not hasty legislation. We want legislation which will treat all classes equally. Now I will take parts (a) and (b) of the resolution together. Many of you must have read the Land Revenue Code of Bombay. The Joint Parliamentary Committee of 1919 laid down that the way in which land assessment should be levied should be embodied in an enactment. That has not been done during all these years. The executive do not think that their acts should be open to revision by the judiciary. That is why Government do not wish that the manner of land assessment should be embodied by way of legislation. They do not want to risk that legislation being interpreted by different courts in different ways. So this Federation desires that the principles upon which land assessment should be levied should be embodied in a legislative enactment so that it will not depend on the caprices and whims of different revenue authorities. Further this resolution also demands a reform of agrarian laws which, while being fair to all classes, will secure to the tenantry their legitimate rights. My friend, Dr. Paranjpye, was not satisfied with the legislation which is going to be brought forward in regard to the tenants' rights. What that form of legislation should be is left to the persons in authority. But I would submit to them that you cannot do away with the class of landlords in every case. The tenants are so poor that they have not got the capita to invest for the improvement of the lands, so let us have a fair distribution of the yield between the Government,

landlord and the tenant. There should be fixity of tenure, fixity of land revenue but no arbitrary legislation. The tenant should get a proper return for the improvements effected by him on the land.

Now I come to parts (c) and (d) of the resolution. As regards relief of agricultural indebtedness there are usury laws and interest laws, but when you make a law you have got to consider that agriculturists oftentimes require money for their cultivation. The co-operative credit societies and other bodies are not able to supply that capital which the cultivator needs. The moneylender often comes to the rescue of the cultivator and in framing the laws care should be taken to see that no hardship is caused to the agriculturists. This clause also refers to fragmentation. In 1928 Sir Chunilal Mehta prepared a bill to which he devoted very great labour for preventing fragmentation. But then he being a member of the bureaucracy, he and his colleagues of the executive council were considered to be fools. It was thought that he was taking away lands of tenants and making legislation which would ruin them. But now wisdom has dawned. Then a procession went from Poona city to the Council hall to oppose Sir Chunilal's Fragmentation Bill. I was a Minister in charge of P. W. D. then and I had to lock the doors of the Council hall gardens to prevent the processionists from getting in. All persons in office then were considered to be persons who could never do anything proper. All that labour which my friend then devoted was thrown away. He withdrew the bill and now not only we but even the Congress Government are clamouring to prevent further fragmentation. They know there are uneconomic holdings and the cultivators are not able to hold their own.

Then I turn to part (d) which refers to the giving of substantial aid in the development of industries, big and small alike and part (e) which refers to a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country. I will take both these parts together. Necessarily the policy of every country is to develop industries in the country itself. But as we know if a child has to walk even though with crutches it has to have legs. If it has no legs then it can't stand even with crutches. So in giving protection to industries we must bear in mind only those industries which are likely to take root in this land. In pursuing such a policy you must see that the consumer is not saddled with high prices. What we say is that in laying down the monetary and fiscal policies we should support only such industries which will be capable of standing upon their own legs. The fiscal policy can only be regulated by persons in power at the centre. There was a dispute about the ratio. The Government of India turned down the whole thing. When all the people say that a particular ratio is in the interests of the country, that a sympathetic Government must consider the pros and cons of the question and not say that because a particular thing had been done it cannot be undone. I believe that until this question is solved any legislation intended to ameliorate the condition of the agriculturists will be of no avail.

Now as regards part (f); in bringing any legislation for the protection of the labour classes by way of reducing the number of hours of work or increasing wages you have got to consider the state of the industry and adopt measures which will not come in the way of the indigenous industries competing with the imports. If your industries cannot compete with incoming products, then it means that there is something wrong with it. All these

factors have got to be taken into consideration and this can be done only by representatives of capital and labour putting their heads together. At present there are strikes, which cause losses both to labour and capital. That state of affairs must be prevented, and there must be legislation which will satisfy both labour and capital. A committee is now in session and I hope that its efforts will have good results.

Then I turn to parts (g) and (h), namely, the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for boys and girls and adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas. On the question of free and compulsory education I do not agree that it should be made free for all children. I have always been contending against the principle which will give free education to Sir Cowasji Jehangir's son as well as to the cultivator's son. There is no reason why the sons and daughters of rich men should be educated free along with the sons and daughters of poor people. That is my personal view.

Now as regards (h) there is a good deal of discussion now going on. I myself am a great believer in Ayurvêda and homeopathy. I have found that allopathy is not everything. Of course it is a progressive science, but it does not provide remedies for every disease. We will of course keep in touch with the progress made by allopathy but at the same time we must not neglect the Ayurvedic, Unani and the Homeopathic systems of medicine. In the last there are several medicines which are not only cheap but which are also effective. By medical relief I do not think that the idea of Government to send doctors to 10 or 15 or 20 villages will be of any good. But even now more than 90 per cent. of the people are being treated by indigenous medicines. This resolution means that room must be found to encourage Ayurvedic and Homeopathic along with allopathy. The medicines must be cheap and the villages must be able to pay for them.

These are the different items on which the Liberal party expects Government to pass legislation. With these remarks I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

*President*: We have got a very heavy programme and I hope the delegates will co-operate with us.

*Prof. M. R. Dhekne (Poona)*: I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been so ably moved by Sir Govindrao Pradhan. I do not want to cover the whole ground which he has covered, but I will confine myself to item (e) namely, that the Federation advocates legislation in India to secure a fiscal and monetary policy only in the interests of the country. Now if all that is advocated in the resolution, namely, legislation for the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the provinces, free education, and medical facilities, if all this kind of reform is to be achieved in every province, then each province is likely to have an embarrassing situation, because their revenues are dwindling while there is a growing need for expenditure. Nobody is so keenly interested in the revenues or monetary policy of a province and the recent move that was made by Mr. Bose in regard to the revision of the monetary policy was ably supported by the Congress provinces. I for one feel that there is an immediate need to revise the exchange policy of the Government of India. The present ratio was effected in the year 1927. More than a decade has passed. Since then, and as a result of the exchange policy

of the Government of India the peasant class has been affected. The incidence of indebtedness has increased, the purchasing power has gone down and even industries have been affected. From recent reports we find that imports have increased and exports have dwindled down and the balance of trade is against India. Besides as a result of the ratio, unemployment has increased. Unfortunately we do not have statistics of unemployment in this country especially in regard to agriculture. The Central Government have a balanced budget, but we have an unbalanced budget of the whole country. The Central Government has effected equilibrium in the budget at the cost of the poor people of the country. There are certain implications behind the exchange policy of the Government of India. The Central Government is directly interested in sterling values on account of the salaries of British officers.

Now let us see what other countries are doing. You will find that during the last five or six years other countries have utilized exchange policy as a weapon to combat depression. All the western countries have utilized the exchange policy to keep up the volume of employment and the purchasing power of the agriculturists. But the Government of India in spite of repeated demands for revision have flouted public opinion. If we have to improve the lot of the peasants and if the provincial governments must balance their budgets a revision of the exchange policy is necessary. Agricultural credit and a reduction in the foreign imports—these are necessary if the purchasing power and balance of trade are to be maintained. The time is quite opportune for the revision, revaluation and reconstruction of the exchange policy. All the legislation which the provincial government want to effect in regard to indebtedness, medical facilities, etc., will be impossible if the provinces are going to have dwindled revenues. I gladly support this resolution.

*Mr. P. G. Mehendarge* (Ahmednagar) in further supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates and ladies and gentlemen,—You have heard the speeches of two eminent speakers on this resolution. I stand here to support the resolution. The resolution as it is placed before us seems to my mind to be rather cumbrous. I shall say a few words about the proposed tenancy legislation which is shortly to become law, defining the relations of tenants and landlords in the mofussil. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Congress party, which is the party in power in a great number of provinces, has promised the voters that they would do their best to relieve the labouring classes, urban as well as rural, of the several disabilities under which they are labouring for the present.

For the labourer in the urban area, they have promised to give him employment, with minimum working hours per day, a decent standard of wages, with provision for accident and sickness.

They have also another measure, the Moneylenders' Bill to relieve him from the harassment of the moneylender.

They then turn their attention to the rural area. They propose to relieve the rural labourer, who is a labourer on agricultural land, by proposing to make him a permanent tenant of the land which he is cultivating as a tenant, with certain restrictions. They have also a scheme of appointing Conciliation Boards to deal with the indebtedness of the agriculturist class. We admit that the Congress party is actuated with good motives; but in



their zeal to satisfy the voters they are likely to forget the evil tendency of the human mind. It is not on the strength of laws that a nation becomes great. We have to educate the people, raise their standard of morality, teach them to respect the rights of others, and make them honest, hard-working and industrious, and teach them to respect law and order. It is thus that we can make our nation great. Laws should only be as guides.

The ways of the Congress party seem to me to be fantastic, they seem to believe that by certain general programmes of legislation they can make the people happy.

Human institutions should be based on human principles taking into consideration the evil as well as the good tendencies of the human mind.

As regards the Liberal Party, I cannot but say, that it is high time for us to leave our easy chairs and try to understand the people, and explain to them as to why our ways are more sound, our ideals more human, and also more practicable.

As regards the tenancy legislation, I have to say only one thing, namely, that an honest tenant should not be evicted without a reasonable ground and an honest landlord should be in a position to evict a mischievous tenant.

With these words I commend the resolution for your approval.

*The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.*

#### Reform in the Indian States

*Prof. R. H. Kelkar (Poona):*—The resolution which I am asked to move reads as follows :

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India welcomes the proclamations by the rulers of several Indian states to grant to their subjects an increasingly greater association with their administrations, developing into responsible government as their goal.
- (b) The Federation re-affirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian states for civil and political liberties.
- (c) The Federation trusts that the rulers of all states will realize in their own interests that, with the working of autonomous responsible government in the provinces, it is no longer possible for them to continue to administer their states on the existing basis. The Federation, therefore, urges the rulers to concede to their subjects without any further delay the right of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of association, an independent judiciary, and to initiate measures for the establishment of responsible government.

With your permission I shall try to deal with the various points not exactly in the order in which they are placed herewith according to my own convenience. I shall deal with the second point. We extend our sympathies to the subjects of the Indian states in their struggle for self-government, firstly because we are Liberals and as such it is our bounden duty to side always with the underdog. But that is not my only point. We must sympathize with them because if we do not do so it will not be in our own interests. It will be detrimental to our own safety. It is in the higher interests of our country that I sympathize with their claims.

You know that the President has ably dealt with the coming danger of a major war in Europe. and perhaps economic troubles are going to follow. When these things are looming ahead it is absolutely necessary to insist that British India and Indian India should stand together. This is possible if we have a common idea and a common political organ for developing our strength. Now this is possible only if Federation is entered into. That does not mean that I support any kind of Federation. We have already made it clear that we want a much better kind of Federation than the one proposed to be imposed on us and the best foundation for such a federation is the contentment of all the people whether they are subjects of British India or they are the subjects of Indian states.

Since we sympathize with their aspirations it follows that it is our duty to welcome everything being done to fulfil those aspirations. A certain number of states—Cochin, Sangli and Aundh—have issued proclamations and they have given certain rights to their subjects, but we cannot forget the fact that such Princes are very few, perhaps not more than half a dozen. Now there are a very large number of states, I think they are about 650 in number. Even the rights given to these states are not very extensive. They have the diarchical systems of government, the benefit of which we enjoyed some 20 years ago. That shows how far behind the states are. But we cannot quarrel with this situation because there have been historical circumstances which were too powerful for us. You will also see from the map of India that Indian states are placed far away from the centres of commerce and culture. They are out of the way altogether. It is quite in the nature of things, therefore, that they have lagged behind a great deal in political reforms when compared with the subjects of British India and a certain amount of time must be allowed to them. At the same time we must warn the Princes to remember one or two things that have recently taken place. The Viceroys—Lord Irwin, Lord Willingdon and Lord Linlithgow—have continuously at the annual meetings of the Chamber of Princes advised the Princes in most earnest terms to improve their administrations and to make them more sympathetic towards the people. One ingenious gentleman, the Dewan of an Indian state, stated that the treaties stood in the way of the Princes granting to their subjects certain rights. Immediately Lord Winterton explained that that was not the position. In fact things have gone further. I am just quoting to you a small incident which happened in my own state, the state of Kurundwad (Senior) in the Southern Maratha country. The ruler of the state is a minor and the Regency Government issued a proclamation very recently with the consent of the Political Agent to the Government of India. I am not a lawyer and I am not going into the niceties of law. It may be or may not be for minority government to sign away the rights of a minor when he is to come of age within two or three years. But what I am concerned with is the consent of the Political Agent. Those who have some knowledge, even the slightest acquaintance, of how affairs are managed in these Indian states, particularly as between the Political Agents and the Chiefs, they know that consent means something quite different. Consent means practically compulsion on the part of the imperial agent. The fact that the Agent to the Governor General has given this consent to the issue of the proclamation shows that even the Imperial Government have lost patience with the slow march of these states. The Congress dictator, the last friend of

the Princes, has issued a recent warning in no uncertain terms that unless the Princes improve there are dark days before them. The Princes must bear in mind that they have moved hitherto too slowly. I am not uttering any threats. It is not in my nature to do that. It has never been the custom of the Liberal Party to do so. But it is our duty to warn the Princes of the coming danger.

Let me now turn to the third part of the resolution which deals with a certain number of reforms. I may sum up those reforms by using one single word that the reforms suggested here are only a submission. The Princes are asked to give to their subjects only fundamental rights. I would go a little further and suggest that they should limit their privy purse and they should set an example in regard to economy. I may go a little further and say that these Indian states are an illustration of political fragmentation as we see it in agricultural holdings. They make things uneconomic and inefficient and bring several other evils in their train. They should form small federations of their own, but that is not a point with which I am concerned at the present moment. My concern is only that they must so arrange matters that the immediate promises are that self-government would be the ultimate goal of the Indian states and that it would be reached by the people of the Indian states in the near future. If they promise that let them follow their own methods and their own time table, provided the words 'too late' are not attendant on all reforms.

*Mr. K. D. Acharya (Bombay)* :—I am before you today to speak on a resolution which affects me very much, the reason being that I am a born subject of an Indian state. I know a great deal about Indian states. I know what the sufferings, trials and tribulations of the Indian states' subjects are. Gentlemen, you have got to look at this problem not merely from a state point of view but from your own, the British Indian point of view, if you want an all-India Federation. Therefore you must have a Federation which is homogeneous and which is of a harmonious character. Gentlemen, if you get a paralytic limb to carry, the whole body will suffer, and suffer politically very much. That is one reason why I tell you, gentlemen of British India, that it is essential that the Indian states should come to the level of your political advancement before they are considered fit to federate with you. We are all constitutionalists, we are all democrats and democracy is a principle which we cannot deny to the state subjects. It has often been emphasized that there are different degrees of progressive states. Whose fault is that? Why have not those states progressed properly. It has been the result of the sins of omission and commission of their rulers in the past. Do you mean to say, gentlemen, that a party that has committed these laches and who does not come before the bar of equity with clean hands has got the right of presenting any excuse? States have not got clean hands in the matter. They have hindered the progress of their subjects by not looking after the nation-building departments. Therefore, it does not lie in their mouth to say that the progress of democratization can be only slow. I say therefore that if in British India you are to have responsible government within a very short time the same type of responsible government should be given to the states and the states' subjects equally soon. I will not detain you by recounting to you the various disabilities under which we suffer. If Pax Britannica has done

any great evil, that evil has been done mainly to the subjects of the Indian states. The Indian states used to look in the past before Pax Britannica, for their very existence to the strength of their cadets and their clansman on the financial stability of their merchants and their money-lenders and to the contentment of the people placed in their care in order that their crown of thorns could be secure. At that time they were fearing either a likely invader from without or a usurper from within. All these safeguards have disappeared, because they have the power of the British bayonet behind them. They can indent for a military force, just as a man indents for grocery from a shopkeeper. By analysing the various troubles that have taken place in the different states, I find that the instrument of oppression in these states today is the retired Government official of India, whether brown, black, yellow or pink. That raises another question: whether it is permissible for the Government of India to permit their retired officers to shield states in their shortcomings. Some states are making progress but the pace of progress is so slow that one despairs. We must place all the emphasis that we can on this resolution in an unanimous way in order that the poor struggling subjects of the states could be freed from their many disabilities and their lot could be improved and bettered. I had a great deal to say but the time is short, so I will complete by supporting the resolution very heartily. I could have given you instances of tyranny and oppression which would have simply made you shudder.

*Mr. K. R. Pradhan (Jalgaon)*: It is past three and I will try to be as short as possible. I support the proposition so ably moved. The proposition to my mind assumes many things. Some rights have been given to the subjects of some states. I for myself do not think that any rights have been given. The proposition assumes that the people are capable of exercising the rights as they are given to them. I do not think that the people are capable of exercising those rights. Surely, I submit political rights are never given; they have to be taken; they have to be deserved first and then they have to be taken. While agreeing with the proposition I would say that nobody would ever part with power unless compelled to do so. That is against human nature. Of course with our usual spirit we have worded the proposition, but unless the subjects of the native states try to be fit to exercise the powers and unless they assert their claims they will not get anything at all. I remember the days when people of Indian states used to ridicule us, now that they see the fruits of agitation in British India they are stirring themselves. However, I will not detain you now any further. I very very strongly support the proposition and commend the same to you for your acceptance.

*The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.*

*President*: It is now 3-10 p. m. and I am told that the Reception Committee has provided something for us which we shall all appreciate. Members of the Reception Committee and the delegates are invited to tea and we shall meet again at 3-45 p. m. I hope you will all assemble in large numbers after tea and not disappear. Tea is provided only on that condition.

The Federation then adjourned for tea.

### Defence.

*Dr. R. P. Paranjpye:* The resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows :—

1. The National Liberal Federation of India records its protest that the Government of India Act of 1935 does not provide for a close association of the responsible part of the Federal Government with the defence of the country.

2. The Federation strongly deprecates the exclusion of Indians from membership of the Chatfield Committee.

3. In spite of the huge and intolerable burden of military expenditure borne by the country since the inception of the British rule, the Government have utterly failed in their duty to equip the country adequately for defensive purposes. The Federation re-iterates its demand for (a) the rapid nationalization of the defence forces of India involving the replacement of British Troops and the Royal Air Force by Indian Land and Air Forces and the substitution of the Indian for European officers in the Army, Navy and Air Forces of the country; (b) the redistribution of the existing defence expenditure so as to provide more money for the rapid development of the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army; (c) the removal of Provincial and Communal restrictions regarding recruitment to the Army; (d) a wider expansion of the University Training Corps and the selection of cadets from that Corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy; (e) the introduction of military drill and the establishment of a cadet corps in schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee; and (f) taking all necessary steps to make the people of this country more self-reliant in the matter of defence.

4. In view of the tense international situation suggesting possibilities of a European War, which may render Indian ports and coastal towns liable to air raids by hostile sea-borne aircraft, involving use of explosive, incendiary and gas-bombs against civil population of this country, this Federation urges upon the Government the need to undertake a more systematic organization of Air Raid Precaution measures, including anti-gas training, protection against incendiary and gas bombs, organization of fire-fighting squads and other allied Air Raid Precaution services.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen,

The resolution covers such a wide ground that it is impossible to speak on more than one or two points contained in that resolution. If we look at the international situation as you, Sir, did very clearly yesterday, we find that the position of India so far as its defence is concerned has become quite different from what it was a few years ago and especially before the great war. Many years before the great war the military policy of the country was dominated by the fear of Russia, but the Russian bogey having been practically laid after the Russo-Japanese war India had only to consider her frontiers so far as her defence requirements were concerned. During the great war India did not experience the horrors of war, except for one or two incidents like that of the Emden at Madras and a few shipwrecks on the west coast of India. The position now, however, has completely altered during the last two or three years. On the one hand, the British naval strength is not at all overwhelming as it used to be before the war. If, therefore, any danger arises to India of a major kind which cannot be met by the Indian military forces by themselves it will not be possible for Great Britain to send reinforcements immediately for the defence of the country because first of all their navy will be required for their home defence and the naval routes are no longer safe on account of the recent Abyssinian trouble and the consolidation of the Italian naval supremacy in the Red Sea and to a certain extent in the Arabian Sea. On account of this India will have at least to depend for several months upon her own resources. The

defence problem has thus assumed quite a different character from what it did a few years ago. Unfortunately, our Government has been in this matter exceedingly shortsighted. Its policy since the time of the mutiny has been based upon a policy of distrust of the general Indian population and its military recruitment has been practically confined to a few races in the north, in the Punjab, and the independent state of Nepal. The basis of Indian recruitment being thus small, the vast man power of India instead of being a strength to the country has almost become its weakness and therefore if India is to be self-sufficient in the matter of defence a change and a vital change has got to be made in the military policy of the country. Instead of confining military recruitment to the few parts of the country and to a few communities supposed to be martial, Indian recruitment has got to be broadbased and people from all parts of the country have to be taken into the ranks of the army. Of course, we saw a couple of days ago a strong protest on the part of the Prime Minister of the Punjab who wanted the monopoly of the Punjab so far as military service was concerned to be continued and he made a strong protest that any change in the military policy will be very strongly resented by the Punjabis. What we intend, however, is not to reduce the recruitment from the Punjab but to increase the recruitment from other provinces. 100 years ago there was no such distinction as martial and non-martial races. People from Madras, from these parts and even from Bengal and other parts were freely recruited into the ranks of the army and several of them were also officers. That policy has now been entirely changed on account of the distrust felt by the British after the mutiny and the recruitment has been confined to a very small part of the country.

Now the last war showed that wars of the future are not going to be wars between a few regular divisions of the army. They will be wars covering the whole population of every country. Other countries are giving military training to every single man in their country and women are also being trained to do certain work which would be useful during times of war. In India no such thing has been done. I have explained to you that on account of the change in the naval position it would not be possible for India to get help from abroad within a very short time. Further, owing to the development of the air arm in very recent years it is not only on account of the naval forces of other countries that India is in danger but development of aeroplanes has brought India almost within the range of active hostility and it will be quite possible for Indian towns, especially the coastal towns, to be attacked by aeroplanes operating from air-craft carriers and so on. Bombay, for instance, would be in a good deal of danger from aeroplanes from the west, having their main base on the east coast of Africa and being launched from ships in the Arabian Sea. On account of this India has got to be very well prepared and prepared by itself for its own defence, and it is a pity that our Government has not been doing its duty in this matter. Government are still wedded to the idea that Indian troops and British troops must have a certain ratio and that if that ratio were altered it would be a great danger to the existence of the British Empire. I should like to point out to our rulers that if they take the Indian people into their confidence and make Indians more responsible for their own defence India will no longer be a liability to the

British Commonwealth but it will be a much greater asset than it has been at any time before. Even in the last war India contributed a million soldiers. India can provide several million trained soldiers provided they are properly trained and proper measures are taken to recruit them. I do not think in these days a distinction can be drawn between martial and non-martial races. The last war showed that men who are confined to their offices became after a few months' training very good soldiers and acquitted themselves well and helped to win the war for the allies. I do not know why the same thing should not happen in this country. War is a matter more of brains than of brawn. I do not think Indians lack brains. They can easily be trained to be efficient soldiers. The present policy requires to be fundamentally altered. India has been spending very large amounts every year for her defence. Indians have not had anything to do in the matter of saying how that money is to be spent. We have been spending Rs. 45 crores, it was Rs. 65 crores some years ago, for her defence and we feel that we are not getting a proper value for that money. One of the ways of utilizing the money in a better way is to replace British units by Indian units in much larger numbers. If this is done a better value can be obtained for the money spent. The thing required is a change of heart on the part of the British Government, a wider outlook and a much better outlook for the future. That unfortunately they are not doing and it is therefore that Indians complain as regards the military policy.

Military defence has got many facets—the army, the navy and the air force. The navy is a very expensive business. It takes 14 or 15 million pounds to have a battleship of the first class. On the other hand, air defence is comparatively cheaper and easier and it ought to be easy within a very few years to make India self-sufficient so far as the air arm is concerned, not only as regards personnel but also as regards the manufacture of aeroplanes. If Indian industries of the higher class are properly organized it will be possible for India to manufacture her air requirements so far as aeroplanes are concerned and so far as the equipment is concerned. So far as the major units of the navy are concerned, we shall have to depend upon the British Government.

This brings me to the general question of Dominion Status as against Independence. One of the points why we advocate Dominion Status as against Independence is that India for many years to come is not likely to be self-sufficient in all these branches of defence. So far as the army and the air force are concerned, we may become self-sufficient, but so far as naval defences are concerned we cannot be self-sufficient for many years to come, and India has enormously long unprotected coast lines and we will have to have help not only from Great Britain but from the empire.

What is required is really making use of the man power. At present, of course, we people are hardly able to make any intelligent and expert contribution to the problem of defence. We have all been kept away from any matters of defence. People generally talk only about generalities. They cannot talk about details of defence simply because all educated people have been practically kept away from any knowledge on defence matters. I think Indians generally should be trained first of all to take a more intelligent and intelligible interest in these matters and young men should also be trained to a certain extent so that they may consider the possibility of entering the

military profession. Recently, in the last few years, there has been a certain amount of movement in this matter by the establishment of the University Training Corps, but they are exceedingly few and to my mind if this corps is extended it will spread the knowledge of military matters and will give a certain amount of military atmosphere to the minds of our younger men and thus make preparation for our defence easier for ourselves. I have always and for years been advocating that for students of the universities a certain amount of military training should be made compulsory if they are physically fit. But I have always been ridiculed and I have been told that I have been talking too much of things of an impracticable nature. But in every other country all youths do take some training. Even in England they are having a register of all able-bodied men in the country. This is not compulsory but in a few years registration will have to be compulsory if voluntary registration fails. Our young men in India also should be made military-minded. It is only then that we shall have made a start with having a defence policy of our own. In any case if we put before us the ideal of self-sufficient India and of an India able to pull her weight in the British Commonwealth of Nations or even of an India independent of the British Commonwealth, India has got to take care of her own defence.

There is philosophy current in our own country that Ahimsa ought to be the ideal of everybody. If we declare to all others that we do not desire to attack them then, it is said, others will not attack us. I am afraid I am too much of a man of the world and feel that all this talk is a talk in the wilderness. Nobody will listen to that. It will be hopeless to deal with people on the Frontier by sending advocates of Ahimsa to tell them, "We do not want to attack you, you had better stay in your mountain fastnesses." Then they will only come and take whatever we have. I think unless we are properly able to defend ourselves, India's independence or Dominion Status will not be long-lived. I think the shortsighted policy of the British Government might prove a great disaster not only to India but to the British Empire and we hope that the Government will follow a wiser and saner policy and see that the country has changed enormously and that it is not the same as it was 10, 15 or 20 years ago. Both the people of India and our Government have got to make radical changes in their military outlook, make use of all the man power and natural resources of our country to make India self-sufficient for her defence. I am therefore proposing to you these various aspects of the question. Even now Indians have been kept at arm's length in various matters. Look at the Chatfield Committee. It has to deal with vital problems of Indian defence and Indians have been entirely kept out. It is such a gross insult to our national self-respect that even moderates like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad have advocated the boycotting of that Committee and have suggested that we should not give evidence before that Committee. It shows that Government is not yet learning. Let us hope that it will not learn the lesson too late not only for England but also for India. I hope you will pass this resolution unanimously.

*Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar* (Bombay) in seconding the resolution said :—I really do not know why I have been selected to speak on the subject. I have had no experience of military life nor have I got a military appearance.



Dr. Paranjpye, you will all agree, was the right person to move this proposition. He has not only had considerable experience of the University Training Corps, both as Principal of the Fergusson College and as Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, but his appearance makes one feel that he must have had some experience of military life.

In my opinion, this is one of the most important resolutions brought before this conference. The Indianization of the army has been one of the questions on which there is no difference of opinion in this country. The preliminary steps taken by Government to indianize the army have given us the so-called Indianized units, the training corps in the different universities and the various units attached to the Indian Territorial Force. As the Chairman of the Unit Advisory Committees, I am not only connected with the training corps of the Bombay University but also with the Bombay Urban Infantry of the Indian Territorial Force. We have also got the Indian Army Reserve Officers. The U. T. C. is no doubt very popular and has been a success, but I cannot say the same of the other steps taken by Government to Indianize the army on account of the racial distinctions made between Indians and the Europeans and the lack of facilities for proper training. What we most emphatically object to is that distinctions are made between Indians and Europeans doing one and the same work and occupying the same position in the army. After all you will agree that if a distinction has to be made, it should be in favour of the citizens of the country and not in favour of outsiders. While we appreciate the change in the outlook on the part of the authorities and the greater realization of the need of Indianizing the defence forces of the country, we cannot but express our strong condemnation of the present state of affairs. The half-hearted policy of the Government is not only going to frustrate the very object in view but is going to alienate more and more the people of this country from the British Government and the people of Britain. The British Government must realize that with the introduction of the new constitution the days of their domination are over. As it is, the introduction of autonomy in the provinces has pushed the British element in the administration completely to the background, and once our people get to work the Federal constitution, imperfect as it is, the British domination in the centre must also gradually disappear. We, Liberals, value the British connection because we have, always, felt and still feel that this connection is in the interest of our country. The connection can be kept up only if the people of Britain realize that in future their relations with the people of India should be on the basis of equal partnership and not as it has hitherto been on the basis of domination, however enlightened this domination might have been in the past. As regards the Defence question, the British government must realize that they can no longer rely merely on a professional army for the defence of the country. The time has come for pursuing more intensively the policy of encouraging the growth and establishment of citizen armies. I have already referred to the great success achieved by the University Training Corps. I believe even the Commander-in-Chief has testified to the efficiency of several University units. As regards the Indian Territorial Force, if it has got to be a real success and not a mere eye-wash, both the government and the commercial houses will have to join hands so that there is not only an increase in the

strength of the force but that the units are turned into real fighting units. The employers should be compelled to give facilities to their employees to join the territorial force and also to take full advantage of the facilities afforded by the authorities for military training. But in my opinion even these steps will not solve the problem. We must start military training from the school stage. Most of the European schools in India have got their cadet corps, while Indian schools have to be satisfied with boy scout troops. The cadet corps are not a purely school organization. They function like the U. T. C. under the auspices of the Defence department. They have to go through regular drills, shooting and camp exercises. It is high time that the Government took up the problem of introducing cadet corps in Indian schools. The question of Indianization of the army has never been solved satisfactorily without the introduction of military training in schools and colleges.

One word about the fetish which is always being made about the martial and non-martial races. As a member of the governing body of the training ship *DUFFERIN*, I have had considerable experience of selection of young boys for the sea career and it has been our experience that many a young boy who cannot boast of either martial or naval ancestry and in some cases whose ancestors have never seen the sea, has made good as a sailor. Some of these boys in fact hold commissions in the Royal Indian Navy. I myself believe in traditions but my confirmed belief is that young boys picked up at the proper age and given the proper training can be turned into efficient soldiers or sailors. I therefore again say that the problem has to be tackled from the very root, that is, from the school-going stage. The question is no longer merely a question of Indianization but the nationalization of the Indian army. Great Britain has already begun to part with political power and you will all agree that so far the British have parted with power in the provinces with grace and they will soon have to begin the process in the centre. More transfer of power will not, however, bring them credit unless they realize that it is as much in the interests of Great Britain, Dominions and India that India should be able to stand on her own legs in the matter of her defence.

*Mr. N. C. Bhurucha* (Bombay) in supporting the resolution, said: I propose to confine myself to the last part of this resolution which deals with air raid precautions in India. Already two speakers have drawn your attention to the fact that in the next war India runs the risk of air raids from hostile seaborne air-craft. Perhaps the danger is not adequately appreciated by us in India because in the course of the last war India experienced a wave of commercial prosperity and escaped unscathed from the direct consequences of the war. The result is that we are lulled into a false sense of security that the next war will proceed on the same lines as the last war. I am afraid this delusion will have to be removed. As our President put it, India must realize that she is part of the bigger world, and I may add, an uglier world. To-day there is nothing to prevent our cities from being bombarded because we have neither adequate naval nor air defence. I will give you some idea of the comparative strength of the various Powers. To-day the first line strength of Russia is 5,000 aeroplanes. Germany has 3,500 first-line planes. Italy and France have each got first-line strength of 2,700 planes. Britain hopes to have 1,750 first-line planes

by March, 1939, and India has got strength of 98 planes, half of which are locked up in the North-West Frontier province. In the event of a war therefore it would be easy for an enemy Power like Germany or Japan to despatch a small fraction of its air force on an air-craft carrier or refugee cruisers and threaten the shores of this country. Mr. Baldwin, when he was Premier, said: 'I want the people to know that no power on earth can prevent them from being bombed. The bomber will always get through.'

In the case of India this is doubly applicable, because you have an air force which is inadequate even for scouting purposes. Supposing a couple of cruisers carrying only a squadron of twelve bombers come within 200 miles of Bombay, Calcutta or Karachi, what are you going to do about it? What is the strength of the Indian navy? We have five sloops and may possibly have six war-ships. Is this adequate to defend your 5,000 miles of our coastline? This small navy cannot hold up any of the bombers. Ordinarily it was found in the last war that it took nine fighting planes to intercept one bomber from getting through and as a rule if a squadron of 12 planes attacked a city, 11 succeeded in getting through. They were often attacked only on their return journey after they had already done serious damage.

Now let us see what power of destruction modern bombers are capable of. There are the high explosive bombs, incendiary bombs and gas bombs. I shall confine myself to describing what incendiary bombs which have not been tried even in Spain or China are capable of achieving. A new type of bomb which sets ablaze any target into which it falls weighs 2 lb. and is known as the 'kilo' bomb. Immediately it explodes, it burns with a temperature of over 2000 F. One modern bomber can carry 2,000 such bombs. Now imagine a couple of cruisers coming here carrying only one squadron of bombers loaded with this type of bomb; it is probable that Bombay or Calcutta or Karachi may be submerged in a deluge of 25,000 such bombs. It is not possible to extinguish them by throwing water, for, the moment you throw water on them they explode. Therefore our people must be trained how to tackle these bombs.

I am not an alarmist. I am speaking to you from facts obtained from publications such as the British Home Office handbooks on air raid precautions. In the case of India, if only 25,000 bombs were dropped on any one city and if only one bomb out of every hundred dropped found an inflammable target, you will have 200 or more fires raging simultaneously. Are there enough fire brigades to tackle such fires? The resolution therefore urges that Government must pay attention to the organisation of fire-fighting squads and other allied air raid precaution services. This is a very important question. You must have read that in the course of the last September crisis Paris made preparations to deal with over 1,000 simultaneous fires. It is a terrible thing to dwell on. When you come to the gas bombs you find the picture equally terrifying. Government must take measures to have first and foremost anti-gas training and fire fighting squadrons.

Mr. President, you have made significant observations in your presidential address on this matter. You have very truly remarked: "Today men and women live in fear of impending war, the consequences of which on civilization as we have known it, no one can foresee. The great nations of the world are drifting into disastrous conflict with one another and science

which has enabled us to conquer the forces of nature to an amazing degree, threatens to become a demon of destruction."

Ladies and gentlemen, I commend this resolution for your acceptance.  
*The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.*

#### Civilian Governors and Judges

*Mr. M. S. Sirdar* (Sholapur), moving the resolution on the appointment of civilians as Governors and Judges, said:—I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for your acceptance. It reads as follows:—

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India is emphatically of opinion that the practice of appointing members of the Indian Civil Service as Governors should no longer be continued as it has never been approved by public opinion in the country and is out of harmony with the new order of things.
- (b) The Federation is of opinion that Governors should be men drawn from public life and the policy of appointing Indians as Governors should be promoted.
- (c) The Federation urges that recruitment to the judiciary including the High Court should be entirely from the members of the Bar.

This resolution raises three points, namely, the discontinuance of appointing members of the civil service as Governors, secondly the necessity of appointing members from the bar to judgeships and, thirdly, the appointment of Indians to these posts. In the resolution, please mark the words "out of harmony with the new order of things"—it is an important term in the resolution. Perhaps the appointment of bureaucratic I. C. S. people to these posts was justified in the regime that has just now passed; but now, with the advent of provincial autonomy and self-government in the provinces—however attenuated that autonomy may be,—we have entered upon a new era. The appointment of I. C. S. people as Governors and as heads of administrations of the provinces in such a regime is out of tune with the present times. The intention of the resolution, however, is not to oust the I. C. S. people altogether from the public services. The intention is only that they should no longer hold Governorships and judgeships. However, in fairness to them, we must admit that the I. C. S. people have been very useful and have proved very efficient in days gone by. We must give all credit to them. They have been described as the steel-frame of the administration in India as we all know. We cannot dispense with the steel-frame if we are to have an efficient administration. But it is one thing to say that we must have I. C. S. men in the lower services and another thing to have them as Governors and judges. Governorships must hereafter go to eminent persons in public life in India. They are no longer jobs for bureaucrats. Their outlook and vision by their training and tradition are rather narrow. They are men who are good in routine work but they cannot bring to bear on their work a broader vision and a broader outlook. That is a great drawback in the make-up of the I. C. S. members. But what will be required of Governors hereafter are sympathy, imagination and spirit of compromise. We want "constitutional Governors" in the real sense. Therefore it is the desire of the Liberal Federation that hereafter Governorships should go to eminent people in public life in India.

Similarly judgeships should go to the members of the bar entirely. Here we can even make out a stronger case than the one regarding Governors.

Judgships were given to the I. C. S. when there was no strong Indian bar. It is only an euphemism to say that I. C. S. men make quite good judges. In no modern country will you find such a practice. It is entirely to the members of the bar that judgships should be assigned. They are the prize posts meant for them. The days are now long past when we should employ I. C. S. men in the judiciary. There is no dearth among members of the bar now who can efficiently fill the highest judicial posts in this country. That being the case, there is absolutely no plausibility in saying that judgships should be given to the I. C. S.

Thirdly, in regard to the appointment of Indians—to all these posts, we have all along been pressing this point of view but we find that, contrary to our wishes, Europeans are being put in everywhere now. As regards Governorships, there are a large number of European I. C. S. members who are holding those positions now. So also is the case with the judgships. Even in the provincial judiciary many I. C. S. men have been recently recruited. This is extremely undesirable especially in view of the new era that has dawned upon us. With these few remarks I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for your acceptance.

*President* : Mr. Sirdar has set an excellent example of brevity and I hope others will follow that example.

*Mr. G. C. Bhate* (Roha), in the course of a Marathi speech, said :— I. C. S. officers are servants of the Crown. The difference between Government servants and servants of the Crown appears to be only literal, but in fact it is not so. In the changed conditions in the country it is undesirable that we should have I. C. S. Governors and judges. Proceeding, the speaker explained the resolution in Marathi.

*Mr. P. S. Bakhale* (Bombay) :—Mr. President, brother delegates and ladies, I stand before you to-day to support the resolution moved by Mr. Sirdar and seconded by Mr. Bhate. They have exhausted all that could be said in favour of the resolution and I will therefore not take much of your time. The only thing that I would like to mention is that a member of the civil service is likely to qualify himself for the post of a Governor by the end of his service period which is nearly 30 years. During all those 30 years he is brought up in the tradition which is peculiar to the civil service and which is not in consonance with the general popular feeling. A person occupying the post of a Governor is required to possess a broader outlook and a mentality which could not be expected of a man in service for such a long period as 30 years. The necessary qualification required of a Governor is thus absent from the member of the civil service. All through his service he is part of the machinery and therefore incapable of working the machinery himself.

*This resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.*

#### Indians and Consular Service

*President* :—The next resolution is one that I have to put from the chair. The President then read the following resolution on Indians and the Consular Service :—

- (a) In the interests of safeguarding the rights of Indians living in other parts of the British Empire as well as in foreign countries, the National Liberal Federation of

India is of opinion that a consular service of the country should be developed on the lines adopted by other Dominions of the empire.

- (b) Pending the development of such a consular service, the Federation urges the inclusion of Indians into the British Diplomatic and Consular Corps from which Indians have been so far scrupulously excluded.

(The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously).

### Indians Overseas

*Burma* :—The National Liberal Federation of India deeply deplores the recent riots in Burma which have resulted in bloodshed, extensive destruction of property of Indian residents and in desecration of their places of worship and urges on the Government of India the need of protecting Indians in Burma. While welcoming the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Burma to ascertain the cause of riots, this Federation hopes that the question of compensating the Indian victims of the riots will receive the careful attention of the Government.

*Ceylon* :—The Federation endorses the conclusions reached by Sir Edward Jackson in his Report on Indian immigrant labour in Ceylon, emphasising the inadvisability of restricting it and appreciates his plea for equality of status for domiciled Indian labourers.

The Federation deplores the Village Communities Ordinance Amendment which denies franchise to the Indian estate labourer and urges on the Government not to re-open recruitment of labour for Ceylon, or to enter into any trade pact with Ceylon, until a satisfactory settlement of the franchise question.

*Zanzibar* :—The Federation regards the settlement of the clove trade dispute with satisfaction, though in the nature of a compromise entailing considerable loss to the Indians in Zanzibar, and, in view of some complaints received, requests the Government of India to see to the proper implementing of the terms of the agreement by the Government of Zanzibar.

*Tanganyika* :—The Federation is of opinion that the transfer of Tanganyika to Germany would constitute a serious threat to the defence of India and would retard the economic progress of Indians in Tanganyika. The Federation, therefore, requests His Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration against the rendition of this territory to Germany.

*Kenya* :—The Federation emphatically opposes the proposed Order-in-Council which would permanently and legally debar Indians from holding land in Kenya Highlands. The Federation also views with apprehension the proposal of the British Government to reserve some parts of Kenya Highlands for the settlement of Jewish refugees from Europe, and objects to any preferential treatment being given to foreigners in Kenya which is denied to Indian residents there.

*South Africa* :—The Federation regrets that notwithstanding goodwill missions, Indian nationals in South Africa continue to be deprived of their political and municipal franchise in Natal and Transvaal on racial grounds. The Federation feels that while no satisfactory solution is likely to be reached pending the attainment of full Responsible Government in India, time has now come for the Government of India to abandon their policy of protests in favour of active measures to secure the grant of the political and municipal franchise to Indians resident there.

*President* : The next resolution is a very important one and it has been entrusted to the care of one who is an authority on this question. He is Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh who rendered distinguished service to the country as Agent to the Governor-General in South Africa. I will now call upon him to move the resolution.

*Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh* :—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, with your permission I do not propose to read this long resolution because you have it in your hands and therefore I shall detain you for only a

few minutes. I noticed that just before tea some of you were almost beginning to go to sleep, but the tea and refreshment which have been so sumptuously provided by our Reception Committee have revived us.

As regards Burma which is mentioned in the beginning of the resolution I think that you all know the position. There were recently unfortunate riots which, as is well known, took a communal turn. As stated in the resolution a committee of inquiry has been appointed by the Government of Burma. It is to be hoped that adequate compensation is given to the Indians who suffered in those riots. And further I hope that proper steps will be taken by the Government of Burma to protect in future the small minority of Indians who have taken up their residence in Rangoon and other places in Burma.

As regards Ceylon it is gratifying to note that the conclusions reached in the report on Indian immigrant labour by Sir Edward Jackson are satisfactory. We hope however that the Government of India will do their utmost to press the Government of Ceylon to implement the conclusions arrived at. We are favourably situated so far as Ceylon is concerned from this point of view, that we can always stop Indian labour from going to Ceylon. That is to say, we have a strong weapon of offence which we can use if necessary. You are aware, that, if Indian labour is no longer sent to Ceylon, the tea industry and other industries there will suffer to a considerable extent.

As regards Zanzibar, after a very long and trying controversy the Indians of Zanzibar have been able to prove their case, which was always a strong one. There again the Government and the people of India have and have had a strong weapon *viz* that Zanzibar exports its cloves to India, and that India is the best customer of Zanzibar cloves. The result is that Zanzibar cannot get on for any length of time without the co-operation and support of India.

Now I come to Tanganyika. You will have seen from the papers that the Indian community of Tanganyika was strongly against the rendition of this colony to Germany. I am sure that you will agree with them. They fear that if the colony is transferred to Germany the new regime is likely to be detrimental to Indian interests. I do not think that any Indian whether in India or outside will readily agree to serve under a rule which is autocratic and bureaucratic and sometimes, as recent experience has shown even brutal. I do not say that Indians are satisfied with their present condition in Tanganyika. All that one can say is that it is more satisfactory than their position in Kenya or South Africa. Tanganyika is a mandated territory and people living there, generally speaking, are better off than in certain other colonies.

The case of Kenya and South Africa is different. Sometimes one hears of the colour bar prevailing in India. We heard a great deal about it 20 or 30 years ago. Even in Bombay the older among you will remember there were hotels which were not open to Indians and then there were other invidious distinctions under which Indians suffered. But let me tell you that nobody can realize what the colour bar means and what it involves unless he has been in a country like South Africa. In Johannesburg or Durban it would be extremely difficult for an Indian to get admission to hotels or restaurants, and few trams or buses would

take you. You would have in Durban to get on to the top of a tram and occupy the last three seats reserved for Negroes and other non-Europeans. If you are in Johannesburg many trams will refuse admission. If you were thirsty and wanted some tea no European restaurant would allow you to go inside. If you wanted your hair cut or required a shave you will be greatly mistaken if you think that a European barber will shave you. If you wanted to travel in the railways you will have to travel in separate compartments along with Negroes. Worse than social distinctions is the absence of the political and municipal franchise. You will remember that many years ago Mahatma Gandhi started a passive resistance movement in South Africa in order to secure certain rights for Indians but even he succeeded only to a very limited extent and was unable to get any redress from the South African Government on the crucial question of the political and municipal franchise. I am convinced from my experience that, unless Indians obtain this franchise, there can be no salvation for them. We may have Agents-Generals and commissions of goodwill, and I naturally cannot say that no good has been secured by these means, especially from the social point of view and from the point of view of educational progress, but unless we secure the vote which is of immense importance in a country where the European community has the votes no real success can be secured. Further, as one of the resolutions points out, I do not believe that any great measure of success can be achieved unless India gets full responsible government for after all those people look upon us as members of an inferior race, who are governed by Europeans in India and are therefore not entitled to full rights of citizenship in another country. It is one of the saddest things on the African continent that our position socially, politically and economically is worse in British than in Portuguese or French territory. I have visited Portuguese East Africa. There the Indians were for the most part contented with their lot. They could go to hotels and restaurants, they could meet Europeans on a footing of equality and they had practically no economic disabilities. In British South and East Africa there are many restrictions. Gentlemen, it is essential that the Liberal Party should try to help our countrymen abroad. I am grateful to the Government of India for the support that they gave to me when I was Agent-General in South Africa. I know that on the question of racial distinction there is no difference in the objective of the Indian people and of the Government of India but I feel that the time has come for more active measures to be taken. The Government of India are content with protests. I know that the difficulties which face them are considerable. One difficulty is that we have no weapon of offence. There are not many South Africans in this country on whom we can retaliate. The exports from India to South Africa are much larger than the exports from South Africa to India and we have therefore no trade weapon which we can use as a means to obtain redress, but I do think that the Government should get into touch with Indians from South Africa and Kenya from time to time and in consultation with them see whether more effective steps cannot be taken to secure the municipal and political franchise in South Africa. I hope, gentlemen, that you will pass this resolution unanimously.

*Major S. A. Paymaster (Bombay)* in seconding the resolution, said :—  
Mr. President, brother delegates and gentlemen, it is an irony of fate and a strange coincidence that I should be sponsoring today a resolution demanding better treatment and citizen rights for our Indian nationals in



the very colonies where I served, two and twenty years ago in the very army that snatched away these colonies from Germany. In my capacity of surgeon on the General and Departmental Staff of General Smutts I had the privilege of getting the first experience in this problem of Indians in South and East Africa. The colonies of Tanganyika and Kenya owe a great deal to India for their present position in the British Commonwealth and for their present prosperity. The Uganda Railway which has played the chief part in the development of Kenya colony and which has connected smiling lands and plateau with the malarial marshes and sleeping sickness-ridden low lands on the coast, that Uganda Railway owes its existence to Indian support and co-operation. It has been built by engineers from India with Indian labour and money. During the war also we built about 200 miles of railway for the East African colony, depleting our country and willingly bearing the brunt and responsibility. We gave them officers on very high pay and pension establishment. We bore their expenses for years together for the development of the colony. Further more on the war front of Daresalam there are about 300 tiny dark, wet graves of the glorious Marathas, of the 1/4th Bombay Grenadiers, Madrasis of the 61st Pioneers, men who valiantly faced bullets. They tell a sorry tale of Indian sacrifices and service to these colonies. And it is heart-rending to see that the successors of these very people are debarred admission on the high lands and are condemned to rot in the marshy and stagnated areas of the low lands. If a white colony or dominion had rendered the same services they would have claimed and secured the mandatory rights over these colonies. Neither the legislature in India nor the Government of India moved a little finger to secure these rights nor tried to ensure better treatment for our Indian nationals. Coming further to South Africa our distinguished leader, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, has just given us a very sorry picture of the South Africa of today. That reminds me of my previous experience 22 years ago when Mahatma Gandhi, Rustomji and other leaders of South Africa had either to travel on foot boards or on the side boards and still pay first class fares. If we refer to the history we will find that the chief and main cause why Great Britain launched the war was "the ill-treatment" of Queen Empress Victoria's own beloved Indian subjects! But to-day neither the Government of India nor the Home government will move a little finger to see that the poor Indians in Africa are a little bit better off in the British Commonwealth itself. Zanzibar also owes a great deal to Indian enterprise. They have brought commerce to that country by cultivating the clove industry. It pained the Zanzibar Government that Indians were so enterprising and they tried to oust them bag and baggage, goods and chattle, stock and barrel. Neither the warm solicitation of the motherly Government of India nor certain officers was responsible for bringing about a compromise but those who have been on the East African coast and those who know the working of the mind of those people realize that it must be the boycott which was carried out in India that has brought this insolent colony to its proper senses.

*The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.*

#### X.—Educational Reform.

*Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar :—I beg to move—*

- (a) While welcoming a reorganization of the educational system so as to take account of different aptitudes and provide vocational courses at each stage of education, the National Liberal Federation of India views with concern the tendency manifested

in certain quarters to curtail the opportunities now available to Indian youths for receiving higher education. It is strongly of opinion that nothing should be done to restrict arbitrarily admission to the universities or check the growth of higher education which has played a large part in the awakening of India.

- (b) The Federation notes that the Wardha scheme, as originally announced and which was highly detrimental to the interests of the country, has been fundamentally modified.

My public life has almost exclusively been confined to two institutions which have played a very important part in the nation-building activities of the city and the province—namely, the Municipal Corporation of the city of Bombay and the University of Bombay. During the last 13 years I have been in public life, I have been looking forward to the advent of responsible government because I have always felt that under the old system of Government it was difficult for the two institutions to get fair treatment and justice. When provincial autonomy was introduced and the Congress party took office, although I do not belong to that party, I welcomed their acceptance of office more especially because I hoped that the two most important nation-building activities which would receive their encouragement and financial aid would be the municipalities and education. But what do I find? Unfortunately I am not now-a-days able to take an active interest in the affairs of the Bombay municipality to the same extent as I did at one time. But I get the papers from time to time and I find that the responsible government are in fact taking away sources of income enjoyed by the municipality not for five or ten years but for 50 and 60 years. It is true that Government have not yet turned their attention to the University, perhaps on account of the fact that the statutory grant of Rs. 1,17,000 received by the University is a mere pittance compared to the grants enjoyed by the other universities in the country. We, including Congressmen, have been in the past complaining bitterly about the niggardly policy of the old Government in regard to education and local self-government. Those of us connected with local self-government and education were specially looking forward to have a better impetus and more financial assistance for the expansion of our activities, but curiously enough, since the Congress party took over the reins of Government in the provinces, we have been hearing rumours after rumours about the proposed cuts in the grants to educational institutions. We have also had very important pronouncements from quarters which guide the policy of the Congress Governments—declaring that the primary education was the main concern of the state and that only those who could afford should seek and pay for higher education. We had first the Wardha scheme, the main feature of which, we were told, was that it was going to make education self-supporting. When the scheme was subjected to effective criticism from all quarters, we were told that the self-supporting feature was not really an important feature of the scheme and the scheme should be considered on its own merits. Although it is well known that the scheme has been changed beyond recognition by the sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board of the Government of India, the scheme is still being called the Wardha scheme leaving the impression that what is now being put into operation as an experiment is the original Wardha scheme. The special officer appointed by the Bombay Government to introduce the so-called Wardha scheme in the province said at the Educational Conference during the week in the City that the syllabus of the scheme was subject to modification and even

overhauling. You will see that the officer himself is not sure of the syllabus which he has got to put into operation. As he said, the whole scheme is subject to overhauling. In what manner and in what respects he does not specify because he evidently does not know.

I was told the other day by the head master of one of the important schools in Poona that schools have been warned by Government that they may have to face a 15 per cent. cut in the grants from next year. I really do not know how the managers of the schools will face the situation. Only those who run schools will realize their difficulties. People are clamouring for more schools and colleges and the responsible Government tells us they have no money and therefore they have to reduce the grants made to existing schools and colleges. On the one hand, our system of education is run down and, on the other, what little is already given is being taken back.

The situation is most distressing. We, who are interested in educational institutions, have to pass through such difficult times and we do not know what we may have to face in the near future. I must, however, pay a tribute to our Premier, Mr. Kher, for whatever may be the views of those who guide the destiny of the party to which he belongs, since he assumed office he has spent liberally on higher education. He has taken steps to revive the Deccan College at Poona as a post-graduate institution and has provided funds for research work in the Karnatak and Gujerat. A new training college is being started in Belgaum. For all that he has done we are grateful to him. But while we have reason to be grateful to Mr. Kher, we cannot forget the views of those who control his destiny as Prime Minister, who think that higher education has to be paid for by those who want to go in for it, who have revolutionary ideas on primary education and who may call upon the provincial governments under their control to do things which future governments might find it difficult to undo.

Education is a very important national problem and there are people in this country who have devoted all their lives to the solution of this problem. We have only to look to institutions in Poona to realize the sacrifices made by educationists like Dr. Paranjpye and others. It is most important that the work done by these pioneers should never be hampered or undone merely for the sake of finding money for the introduction of prohibition. Money spent on education is a national investment and should in the long run help government effectively, if not so visibly, to enforce the policy of prohibition.

We are told that the country is on the war path for the attainment of self-government. If there is one thing that provides the sinews for this war it is education and if that is going to be starved, what is going to happen to our fight for self-government? Starvation of education means the postponement of the goal of self-government. If you starve education, nothing that you will do will count.

*Mr. M. D. Altekar* said:—The Vice-Chancellor of our University has already placed this resolution before you with a speech that was ringing with sincerity as you have noticed and I shall add only one or two points. The resolution is made up of two parts and the second part notes that the Wardha scheme as originally announced and which was highly detrimental to the interests of the country has been modified. The resolution does not state whether

it has been modified in the right or in the wrong direction but let us note that it has been modified, and taking note of that means something, that those who started the Wardha scheme feel that there is something materially wrong with the scheme. In fact, those of us who have watched that evolution of the Wardha scheme have noted with amusement that it has been changing from day to day and even those who once favoured it criticised it afterwards. One or two of them wrote minutes; they did not want even to publish those minutes and it is thus that we find that the authors of the Wardha scheme are not happy about it. After noting that fact, that the authors of the Wardha scheme are not certain in their own minds whether the scheme is right or wrong, we come to know of one or two things. The first thing is that I do not believe in the doctrine that it is not the business of the Government to spend on education. It is one of the most important duties of Government to spend on education and one of the severest criticisms that we levelled against the old governments was that they were not spending enough on education. It is interesting to note how drink and education have been linked up both by the old government and the new in a curious manner. It seems if we want to have prohibition we must give up education. Now if you want to spend on prohibition, what I want to say is this: you must not spend on that by curtailing expenditure on education. In no civilized country is that done, and I hope our country is civilized. It is the duty of each provincial Government to spend money liberally on education.

The second point that I want to make out is this. There is such a thing as liberal education. I know that education is not paying, but education was never meant to be a share bazar. It was never meant to be a cotton bazar. It is something else. It is very well-known that even first class careers in universities are not expected to make a lot of money as certain other people do in business. It is possible that we were misled into this belief at the beginning of the British government in this country when a little education made it possible for educated people to earn good salaries. But as days went on very naturally all these educated people could not get employment. As education progressed, there were more and more educated people and they could not get good jobs as before. Therefore to link education with money-making is misleading. Those who want to make money should make it in the manner in which money is made. Education is meant for culture. This cultural sense must come out in a more forcible manner than hitherto. Our education is not money-making. It is the duty of Government to spend more and more on our universities, and to do nothing that will disturb the progress of university education in India. I request the present government with due deference to their policy of prohibition that their duty of spending a good deal more than before on education still remains and they must discharge that duty properly. I must speak with real restraint on that matter. As Liberals we believe in individual liberty of action to a certain extent at least. We also believe that there should be liberty of education. I refuse to be ordered by any government as to what kind of education I should receive or from what kind of education I should be debarred. Education must not be allowed to be propagandist. We cannot afford to reduce India to the status of Germany or Russia in a matter of this nature. We want freedom in this. There must be ample room to make experiments. I have great regard for Mr. Gandhi but even *Avatars* as described in the Puranas had human.

weaknesses. Certainly, Mr. Gandhi and the High Command are also human beings. I refuse to accept a thing because a certain person, however high placed he may be, orders a certain scheme. This liberty is very important. They have been exactly following in the footsteps of the previous bureaucracy. Blue-blooded bureaucrats of the old type used to say that it was a great mistake on the part of the British Government to have opened colleges in this country. We find that the Congress also is opposed to higher education. We cannot allow that as Liberals. We believe in education. It is certainly true that, education is the one force for the salvation of the country in the future. If we curtail that our future is very dark and therefore this resolution should be passed with acclamation. We had hoped that education would be at least the one subject on which we should have had no difference with the Congress. My friends, you will pass this resolution and try your best to see that it materialises by constitutional means and not by Congress means. All these new fangled ideas are repugnant to the best traditions of education, and to the best interests of this land.

*Principal V. K. Joag (Poona)*: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I rise to support the resolution on educational reform which has been so ably moved for your acceptance by the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and seconded by Professor Altkar with his usual eloquence and humour. The resolution before you mentions three things. In the first place, it declares our considered policy that in matters educational as in other matters we stand for reform and reconstruction. As Liberals it has been our policy always to advocate reform and reconstruction wherever they are necessary. And because we stand for reform and reconstruction in the educational sphere, we say in the words that follow that we are opposed to the idea of curtailing expenditure on University education. I am sure, my friends, you will certainly agree with me when I say that it is no reform of education to curtail the resources of higher education and so we say that we are opposed to that idea. In the same manner those who have examined the Wardha scheme will agree with the view expressed by implication in the second part of this resolution that the Wardha scheme is no reform of education. It had been stated that a new discovery was made one fine morning by the great Oracle of Wardha, namely, that education should be imparted to pupils through some craft. I submit that this cannot be claimed to be any new discovery. It is another name for what is known in the educational world as the project method. It was tried in other countries and also in India by various schools not only run by private agencies but run by Government and local bodies under the old regime. The method therefore that is advocated is not new. What is new about it is the idea that the articles produced by children could be made saleable in the markets and that the produce so sold would secure for Government resources for running these schools as self-supporting institutions. As our President said yesterday, nowhere in the world has education ever been regarded as a self-supporting proposition. So I say that the only new thing in the Wardha scheme is this idea that we can make education self-supporting and that idea can never be regarded as anything but retrograde. We do not want to turn our children into factory hands. It would be a bad day for this country if ever this idea was put into force. It is the criticism of the people that has made the authors and advocates of this scheme revise their plans, and

we now congratulate them on the courage they have shown in revising their ideas. Further, we find that even the revised scheme is not to be made applicable everywhere but only in selected areas. We must congratulate the Bombay Government particularly on that decision. They are pretty certain in their own minds that if there are two kinds of schools, the old and the new, people would rather send their children to the old. Therefore they want to try their experiment in selected areas where the new schools would not have to compete with the old. Let them try the experiment and they will see for themselves the unwisdom of the whole scheme. If we are in favour of reform and reconstruction, then we must support the idea that University education should be expanded and not curtailed, and we must further support the idea that the Wardha scheme even in its modified form cannot be regarded as real reform of education..

*The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.*

#### Separation of the Executive from the Judiciary.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its great disappointment at and protest against the manner in which the several provincial governments, including those where the Congress party has formed ministries, have tried to shelve the question of the separation of the executive and the judiciary. The National Congress, from its very inception, had been always insisting on this reform and it is surprising that the Congress ministries should have shown themselves so apathetic, and in some cases even antagonistic, towards all suggestions in favour of the separation of the executive and the judiciary. The Federation commends to the public that it should not rest until this over-due reform is carried out.
- (b) The Federation views with concern the tendency on the part of some of the Congress ministries arbitrarily to interfere with judicial decisions under the garb of using discretionary powers vested in them under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Moving the resolution on the separation of the executive from the judiciary, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said :—

I have great pleasure in moving this resolution about separation of the executive from the judiciary which you have got on the printed paper. This demand for separation is an old demand, in fact the oldest demand voiced from Congress platforms for fifty years. When, therefore, Congress governments or governments run by the Congress party came into existence in various provinces, the public naturally expected that this reform which was voiced, as I have said, from Congress platforms for 50 years would be immediately taken in hand.

On the contrary, however, what we find is that the Congress governments in those provinces are fighting shy of this reform altogether. The reasons given are various. It is said in some provinces that now you have a popular government supported by a majority in the Legislature and further supported by a majority in the country; then this reform is still more necessary. The popular government having all the power behind it, the liberty of the subject has to be protected and the judiciary should be entirely free from the executive control. Therefore it is that we find in England with a democratic government the two functions are separated. There they have a democratic popular government but there more than in any other country separation of the judicial and executive functions is scrupulously insisted upon.

Again, sometimes the reason is given that separation involves great difficulties, that it will be very expensive and so on. These were excuses which the previous retrograde governments were giving to us all these years. And now these Congress governments are taking shelter behind the same excuse. There cannot be any question that this is a reform which must be taken in hand immediately and first because the liberty of the subject is much more important in any democratic government than anything else. It is, therefore, a great pity that the Congress governments are hesitating to carry out this reform. It may be that they are doing that because they do not want to surrender power and patronage and therefore wish to perpetuate this unholy combination. Their action in not carrying out that reform but decrying it, makes one suspicious as to what their intentions are in the matter. Therefore, it is our duty to insist on this reform being carried out immediately and without any further delay. I do not propose to deal with the other part of the resolution which I will leave for the other speakers to deal with. I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

*President* : I now call upon Mr. D. G. Dalvi, one of the oldest members of the party, to second the resolution.

*Mr. D. G. Dalvi* (Bombay) : I rise to second the proposition so ably moved by our leader, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. When the Congress governments assumed office some of us expressed our belief and congratulated ourselves on that belief that the Congress governments in office were likely to carry on the administration in the same manner in which Liberals in office in the years 1921, 1922 and 1923, had carried it on according to Liberal principles. That was the belief which some of us entertained and we were, as I said, inclined to congratulate ourselves on this great event of the Congress having taken office. But some of the speeches we have had since this morning and the illuminating address of the President have knocked that belief from the minds of most of us. If by that statement we understand that Congress are carrying on the administration by constitutional means, I agree ; but if it is meant to convey that the Congress in office have been carrying on their administration according to Liberal principles, I demur to that proposition. The resolution which I am seconding is the best illustration of my point, the refusal to carry out the reform of the separation of judicial and executive functions that we have been trying for so long.

Let me in this connection recall the efforts made by the Liberals when they were within the Congress and also after they left the Congress. If you refer to the files of the Bombay Presidency Association you will find that as early as forty years ago, an excellent report which contained a scheme for the separation of functions was prepared. That scheme embodied the idea that subordinate-judges should be given criminal powers in order that the expenses should not be so great as otherwise they would be. In the year 1920, under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Liberal party was in office though under dyarchy in most of the provinces. In the Bombay Government we had Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Dr. Paranjpye now present here. Similarly, in most of the provinces the Liberal party was in office just as the Congress is now in eight provinces. I may recall to your mind that in the second year of the Liberal party taking office, resolutions were moved for the separation of the functions in some of the provinces. Our

President may remember the fact that when it was moved in the United Provinces Council it was accepted on behalf of Government by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. In the Central Provinces the resolution was also moved and in some provinces committees were appointed for formulating schemes and the reports of those committees might be on the files of Governments. In these reports schemes were prepared but unfortunately local Governments could then do nothing without reference to the Government of India. I am told that when Lord Reading was Viceroy and Mr. S. R. Das was Law Member, both of them tried their best to give effect to the reports of the various committees, but the bureaucracy proved too powerful even for the Viceroy and the Law Member of the time. The Liberals went out of office soon after and the question was dropped. Then came several reactionary ministries, but when Congress took office we hoped that they would take up this matter as soon as possible.

But what is our experience? It is that when this question was first mooted at Madras, the Madras Prime Minister told us that the Congress in office would not carry out this reform because they thought that having now got the power they ought not to give it up, but control the judiciary. He went further and said, "Now that Congress are in office we will see that the executive officers will not go wrong and that we shall control them." After that statement came two statements of the Home Minister of Bombay and the Home Minister of the United Provinces. Dr. Katju has prepared a scheme but I know that the scheme is so half-hearted that our President was quite right in describing it as an "eye-wash." That scheme is only this that in a district where there are a dozen revenue officers a few of them may be relegated to do the criminal work exclusively but under the control of the district magistrate and not the sessions judge. In our own province our Home Minister had made a half-hearted statement. When pressed by the public, I am told that he tried to devise a scheme and a high judicial officer was asked to prepare it. I know from the newspapers that the members of the Poona bar held a meeting and made arrangements as to which of them was going to undertake the duties of an honorary magistrate, after that scheme was put in force. A curious sequel to it was the offer of the honorary magistracy to Mr. N. C. Kelkar. His correspondence will show that the scheme was meant to be carried out but eventually the whole thing was dropped. I remember that only in the last month or during this fortnight the hon. Mr. Munshi, speaking at Broach, said that the scheme of separation of the functions was not practicable. If that report be correct, the hon. Mr. Munshi has given up the ghost so far as this reform is concerned. It is therefore very necessary for us to re-emphasise our views. I will draw your attention to the last sentence of the resolution: "This Federation commends to the public that it should not rest until this overdue reform is carried out." Not only the public but the Liberal party should not rest, at any rate, in Bombay and Allahabad and one or two other places. We must carry on the agitation and see that these reforms are introduced as early as possible. Instead of asking the public to agitate the party itself should do it.

Coming to the second part of the resolution with which Sir Chimanlal has not dealt, I will explain to you the position very briefly. We have found since the Congress took office that there have been repeated instances of interference



with the judicial processes and findings of law courts by the executive government. No doubt, under Section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Code power is given to the Governor-in-Council and the Governor-General-in-Council to remit or suspend sentences according to their discretion. But in doing so a recent amendment of the section says that they should as a matter of precaution consult the courts from which the findings and the processes came and take their reports into consideration before they interfered with the findings arrived at and the punishment awarded. Now in the reports in the newspapers I have not come across a single instance of the government calling such reports from the courts and then taking action thereon. In the absence of such reports I am entitled to assume that the interference of the executive with the processes and findings of the judicial courts is arbitrary and unjustified. You will remember the bitter controversy in our city and the Assembly on account of the granting of bail to two accused persons known as *Sattorias*. The High Court refused bail, and yet the executive government granted it. But a more recent case is still worse. A certain station master in the U. P. was called upon to vindicate his conduct in a certain complaint made against him by three Muslim gentlemen in the United Provinces. His case of defamation against the three persons was pending before the chief presidency magistrate in Bombay. On the due date the chief presidency magistrate informed the complainant's advocate that he had received orders from the Home Minister and that the case was transferred to some magisterial court in the United Provinces, i. e., outside the Bombay province. The curious part of it is that the order of transfer was beforehand communicated to the accused party and not to the complainant. Ordinarily a case for transfer ought to go to the High Court if it is within the province. If it was outside the province it should have gone to the Governor-General in Council but now under the new Act the power has been re-transferred to the provincial Government unfortunately, and I cannot say that the local government has no such power. But the way in which it was exercised was most arbitrary. I know of another case which is still worse. The Central Provinces Government have recently cancelled the punishment and reversed the finding of the Nagpur High Court in a case of murder. The executive government in giving their reasons were not ashamed to say that they had gone through the record of evidence and found that the High Court was wrong in arriving at the findings. The Government therefore set aside the sentence. Now, the purity of judicial administration is the pivot of British rule in India and if this source of justice is poisoned by an executive which is subject to party influences and changes and if justice is subordinated to political considerations and expediency, then, do you think that people will have any more faith left in the judiciary, and their findings will have any value? Government have been acting most arbitrarily, and I think it is the duty of this Conference to protest as strongly as we can against these acts of the executive.

If more instances were needed of the Government giving the go-by to Liberal principles, as I understand them, I could go on enumerating them. We should make this the test of the fitness of the Congress governments to hold office. If they are going to shirk in this manner, if they will not separate the two functions, then they are unfit to carry on the administration. Even the old bureaucratic regime did not interfere with the findings of the judiciary in the manner in which the Congress governments are doing now. The

tendency to interfere is much worse in the case of the Congress governments. Therefore, I say we ought to make this a test case. If the Congress government did nothing else but carried out this important reform I for one will sing the praises of the government. But if they do not effect it I shall not be reconciled to the Congress ministry for any other good work that they may do. We are told by our President that the will is lacking. I assume the desire is not wanting. It may be that the Congress government may have tried and failed to put this reform in force because the higher authorities may not have allowed them to do it, or it may be that the bureaucracy came in their way. But if it were so, why do not they come out and tell us so? We shall then know how far the bureaucracy have interfered. It is only a possible explanation that I am offering in the light of our experience in the past. I put the burden of proof upon the Home Minister to prove that this theory is incorrect. He must satisfy the public what steps he had taken and to what extent he wanted the help of the public. Similarly if the finances stood in the way of the reform, let the Home Minister and the Finance Minister come before the public with their scheme and explain what extra funds were needed and I am sure, the Opposition in the Assembly will raise no difficulty in securing such funds, when millions are thrown away on doubtful projects by the Government. In the absence of any satisfactory explanation offered by the Government as to why they have failed to make even a beginning in carrying out this oldest reform proposed by the Congress, we are entitled to assume that the explanation given by our President that the will to effect the reform is lacking ought to hold good.

*Rao Bahadur D. G. Dittakar (Sholapur)* : With great hope that there will be an early separation of the judiciary from the executive, I earnestly support this resolution which has been so ably explained by speakers who preceded me. The principle of this resolution has been accepted by one and all, and there are no two opinions about it. But what we find is that instead of bringing that principle into actual practice the present government is sitting quite blindfold over the matter. Before they took the reins of office in their hands they talked much about this reform as early as possible. But since they got into power we find that they are doing nothing about it. It amounts practically to negligence for which they will have to be blamed if they do not bring about this reform sooner. What must be this attitude of theirs due to? Do they think that the principle once looked upon as good is now bad? I do not think they will dare say so. There are other excuses put forth for delaying this reform. One of them is financial stringency. As regards that also if the Government by acts of commission and omission involve themselves in many fresh difficulties, they will have to blame themselves. They must find out ways and means for bringing about this reform early. Next to God to my mind the most sacred thing in this world is 'justice'. And upon the satisfactory administration of this depends the peace, prosperity and happiness in any society. Hoping therefore that Government will not delay the matter any further and hoping that you will pass this resolution unanimously I conclude my speech.

*Mr. S. M. Varde (Bombay)* : I support this resolution. It is an unavoidable duty. The present ministers in the provinces are after all our ministers. It is true that they are elected by the majority of the people and that they have the popular voice behind them. But when these ministers fail

to do a very important duty and fail to grant a demand which has been made by the people for the last half a century, it is very regrettable fact. We must not therefore fail to protest against it. Can it be said that the Government could not introduce this reform for want of time? Just a few months ago we had seen how a law was hustled through the Legislature. Is it because they have no money that they are delaying this reform? If that is so, why are they throwing away crores of rupees in the name of prohibition. The only thing we can say is that the Government loves power, power which is granted to the Government under the new Act, and they want to retain that power by keeping the executive and the judiciary in their own hands and to utilize it for strengthening their own party. That is the only conclusion which we can draw from the delay caused in introducing this reform.

As for the second part of the resolution we have seen that gamblers have been released from jail for the sake of their business so that they should be able to continue their activities. We have seen murderers being released and ravishers let out of jail. All these things we have seen during the last 18 months. I say it is a condemnation rather than a certificate to democratic rule.

*The resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously.*

#### **Council and Office-Bearers for 1939.**

The President then moved and declared carried resolution No. 12 in regard to the Council and Office-Bearers for 1939.

- (a) The Federation elects Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Mr. M. D. Altekar and Babu Vishwanath Prasad as its General Secretaries for the year 1939.
- (b) The Federation elects the undermentioned Council for the year 1939. (See Appendix page 89.)

#### **The next session.**

The President also moved the following resolution from the chair and the same was carried unanimously.

The Federation resolves that the twenty-first session be held at a place to be decided upon by the Council in Christmas next year.

#### **Vote of thanks to President.**

*Sir Chimanlal Setalvad:* Our labours are at an end and it is my pleasant duty to move a hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President for the able manner in which he has conducted the proceedings of this session. (Hear, hear.) All of us who heard his presidential address must have been struck by the wealth of judgment, learning and knowledge which that address contained. In proposing him to the chair I told you that 11 year ago in this very hall we had the honour to have as President his father, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. This year the honour falls on his son and you will all agree with me that the son has not suffered in comparison with the father. We are very fortunate in having as our President for this session a younger man than we used formerly to have. We want younger and still younger people to join the ranks of the Liberal party and to work for the benefit of the country and I am sure that now that the hon. Mr. Sapru has passed the presidential chair I am sure that he will work more and more for the welfare of the Liberal party and guide its destinies. Ladies and gentlemen, you have seen how ably and tactfully he has conducted the proceedings of this session. He delivered his address

with vigour and force and it will be with us a happy remembrance for a long time. I do not wish to say more and I call upon you to accord him a hearty vote of thanks.

*Pandit Harishchandra Gossain*: I have been asked to second this resolution and I gladly do so. I met Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru many years ago when I was working under Mr. Surendranath Baperjee from whom I learned my politics. But I met our today's President only a few weeks ago at Poona, but from the short acquaintance I have already become a staunch admirer of his abilities. May God give him long life and strength to lead us to our goal.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir put the proposition to the vote and declared it carried amidst acclamation.

The President was then garlanded by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad amidst applause.

The session of the Federation then terminated with the singing of Vande Mataram.

#### President's Concluding Speech

In winding up the proceedings of the National Liberal Federation of India the President, the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, said :

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, ladies and gentlemen, I desire to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the generous terms in which you have proposed the vote of thanks and the too generous manner in which you have received it. I am conscious of my own limitations. I know that I did not deserve this position which has been occupied by some of the most distinguished sons of India. But when I was asked by the elders of the Party whether I would accept the responsibility of the presidentship of this session, I considered it my duty to accept that position. I knew that in the discharge of my responsibility I would have the guidance of my elders, the leaders of the Party like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dr. Paranjpye and Sir Cowasji Jehangir and our distinguished new recruit, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh. I also knew that I would have the co-operation of my younger friends, friends with whom I have very much in common, and whose ideals I share. I was and would have been content to remain a member of the rank and file of the Party. Now that you have placed me in this position, I must thank you for the generous co-operation which you have rendered to me so ungrudgingly, and which has enabled this Federation to attain the success that it has done.

#### Position of the Liberal Party "

In my opening remarks I said that we often felt depressed at the position of the Liberal Party. We are weak. We know that we cannot immediately provide an alternative government. But I am an optimist. The Liberal Party serves a useful purpose as a great thought centre. We are thinking always in terms of constructive criticism on all public questions and we need such criticism under a system of responsible government. There is no other independent party like the Liberal Party and it should be the endeavour of everyone of us to do all we can to make this party a mighty party in this land.

#### Federation

There are just one or two questions on which, perhaps, you will allow me to make a few observations. The first is the question of Federation. You have passed a resolution with which I desire to associate myself whole-

heartedly. I entirely agree with that resolution, with every word, comma and semicolon of that resolution.

I will not conceal from you that I have been a consistent opponent of the Government of India Act. I am a teacher of Constitutional Law in my University and in that capacity it has been my duty to study that Act in all its details and in all its implications, and I have come very deliberately to the conclusion that in its present form it is an Act which is calculated to retard India's development towards Dominion Status within the meaning of the Status of Westminster. That is the real criticism against it. Its extraordinary rigidity, its extreme conservatism, really frighten one and, therefore, it is that we have criticised certain features of the Federal scheme.

#### Imposed Solutions Dangerous

I pointed out in my address what should be the proper strategy in fighting it. I suggested what I thought would be the proper method of meeting the situation the Act has created, and it was in that spirit that I made certain observations in regard to the manner in which the Act should be handled if the Federation was imposed. I have made it clear that so far as we are concerned we have no faith in the method of mass civil disobedience. But I think it is our duty also to point out that imposed solutions are dangerous and that they can at times lead to difficult situations. I think Government ought to realise the strength of feeling that there is against the constitution in the country. It ought not to blind itself to the realities of the situation. We are unluckily not an effective force in politics, but the Congress organisation and the Muslim League have yet to make up their mind as regards this constitution. Some of them have been saying that we will do this or that if this constitution is forced on us.

#### Suggestions for Revision

Therefore, while I recognise the sincerity of his Excellency's recent speech, I regret that his Excellency has held out no hope of immediate revision of the Act. His Excellency's attitude seems to be this: 'Well, the Federal Act is there; you can take it or leave it. We want a stronger India and a stronger India will mean a stronger democratic world; I would therefore say to Government, try and have an agreed solution. I think there is sanity enough in this country to realise the dangers of revolutionary activities. If Government will make a generous gesture I think there will be response coming from our side also.'

There are some directions in which the Act can be revised without any amending Act, as for example in regard to direct and indirect elections. Then again there is the question of representation of states' representatives in the Federal Legislature. Friendly advice can be given to the Indian states and they can be induced to send only elected representatives to the Federal Legislature. Then also Government can give some visible demonstration of its desire to lead this country to Dominion Status by a change in the policy regarding the defence organisation of this country. These are some of the ways in which the Federal Act can be revised even without an amendment of the Act. We, of course, stand for the amendment of the Act. The franchise of the Council of State can be very much widened. That will to some extent lessen the conservative character of the new constitution. Then there are the provisions which lay down that the Council of State will have

equal powers with the lower house so far as finance is concerned. It is no use saying : 'The safeguards will not be used; they are not used in the provinces.' I think in fairness we are entitled to ask his Majesty's Government to consider the representations that we have made in regard to this Federal constitution in a fair and reasonable spirit. Imposed solutions, I will repeat, do not work; they work only 'creakily, and it is impolitic to impose a constitution which the country, right or wrongly, dislikes in its present form. The Act therefore should be revised on the lines suggested by us if it is to work satisfactorily.

#### Indian States.

I next pass on to the question of Indian states. I congratulate you very heartily on the resolution which you have passed in regard to the Indian states. Democracy with me is a religion. I believe in democracy and, therefore, I cannot but sympathise with the subjects of the Indian states in their constitutional struggle for democratic government. I think, given the will, it ought to be possible to establish responsible governments in all the Indian states within a decade or so. Our rulers have to recognize that in the 20th century we cannot be supporters of the divine right of kings. Institutions have to justify themselves at the bar of reason. Rulership has certain obligations attached to it and Indian state rulers must move with the times if they desire to live—and we desire them to live. Let them place themselves at the head of the democratic movement even as Victor Emanuel placed himself at the head of the national movement in Italy. They must identify themselves with the democratic forces in their state and I feel certain that if they do this their thrones will be as secure as the throne of the House of Windsor is. You cannot fight revolutionaries or revolutionary activities by denying to the people the right of freedom of speech, or the right of freedom of thought and the right of freedom of association. Can anybody truthfully say that in some of these states, in many of these states, freedom of association and speech is not denied?

We stand for constitutional agitation. You know what constitutional agitation is. The most comprehensive definition of it which is in consonance with the Liberal traditions and belief was given by the late Mr. Gokhale and personally I stand by that definition. We need more sustained and vigorous constitutional agitation and the Liberal Party provides a platform for all those who believe in it.

#### Representative Government.

There is just one other thing. In my opening speech I pleaded for representative government as some thing which can be established immediately in the Indian states. I also spoke of the most advanced type of representative government so far as some of the Indian states are concerned. Representative government does not mean representative institutions. It does not mean even the Minto-Morley reforms. The most advanced type of representative Government that the world has known was to be found in pre-war Germany and pre-Fascist Japan. In prewar Germany they had a permanent executive. The Kaiser appointed the executive. It was responsible to him. The Reichstag used to vote supplies, used to pass the budgets. That is the type of representative government—of course the Kaiser had reserve powers for carrying on the administration if the budget was rejected—that I had in mind. We have representative government in Ceylon. Properly speaking Ceylon has no responsible government yet. You had

representative governments in some of the colonies which have now developed into Dominions. So far as the Indian states are concerned I think it is necessary for us to say that these things should be done in the interests of the rulers of the Indian states themselves. British India and Indian India are realising that they are one organic whole and we have become interested in the Indian states because our future progress under this constitution is made dependent upon the rulers of Indian states. Therefore, it is no use saying Indian states must continue as they are. We do not want them to be eliminated. No. We are not among those who desire to see them eliminated but we do want radical changes, changes which will modernise and democratise the administration of the Indian states.

#### The Economic Issue

One more question and that is the economic issue. I want to make a confession. I am a Liberal and I am a 20th century Liberal and I want to approach these economic questions with a big vision. I think we have shown vision in the past and I think we shall show it in the future. We believe in justice to the underdog, What matters is social justice. Liberalism does not believe in monopoly and privilege. We have to recognise that our social system suffers from many injustices. They are revolting to the social conscience. Therefore it must be our endeavour to apply ourselves with vigour and courage to the problem of Indian poverty. We do not believe in confiscation and expropriation, but we do believe in social justice and I think that this has been the creed of the British Liberal Party and I say it is the creed of the Indian Liberal Party. As one who has been interested in social work and labour welfare, whose heart is with the poor and oppressed, I have felt it my duty to make these observations. I hope you will not misunderstand the spirit in which these observations are made. I will always remain loyal to the Liberal Party and we hope this party which was founded by such men as Surendra Nath Banerjee and Dinshaw Wacha and which looks to Gokhale for its inspiration and to Ranade as its prophet great and respected in this land. I hope this party will live to fight fascist tendencies which are developing not only in Europe but also in this country.

I thank you. I have also to thank on your behalf and on my behalf Sir Cowasji Jehangir, chairman of the Reception Committee and the other office-bearers for their wonderful hospitality. Look at the tea we had this afternoon. Would you call it tea? I would call it a sumptuous dinner. It is not our idea of tea. Look at the refreshments we had.

Then we must thank Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. He has been a source of inspiration to us. At his age he has been guiding us with his wise and sage counsel. Sir Chimanlal is one of the most valuable assets of the Liberal Party and we are proud that we have a leader in the Party of his eminence, character and vision.

Then we must thank the Maharashtra Sangit Vidyalaya for giving us excellent music. I am not a great judge of music. I am very unmusical, but even I enjoyed that music. It must have been very good indeed.

Then we have to thank the volunteers of the Girgaum Vyayam Shala who have worked devotedly and who have looked after our comforts so well. We have also to thank the Parle Balwant Akhada Volunteers, and we have to thank a dozen other volunteers under the direction of Mr. Altekar,

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our General Secretary, who has worked so devotedly to make this Federation a success. I would also like to thank in advance the ladies who will sing the national anthem for us.

I forgot our devoted assistant secretary, Mr. V. R. Bhende, who has been such a help to us. He is such an excellent draftsman. He came to my rescue on two or three occasions yesterday. We are very grateful to him.



# National Liberal Federation of India

## (TWENTIETH SESSION)

### TEXT OF THE RESOLUTIONS

#### I. The Liberal Party's Losses

The National Liberal Federation of India records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna, an ex-President of the Federation and one of the most distinguished leaders of the Party, who rendered meritorious services to the cause of the country in diverse ways for nearly 40 years.

The Federation also records with sorrow the deaths of Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Pandit Jagat Narayen, Sir Biseswar Nath Srivastava, Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukherji, Pandit Biswanath Tholal, Pandit Ramchandra Gossain and Mr. G. V. Ganu who were connected with the Liberal Party for a long time. All these Liberals rendered meritorious services to the country in their own way and the Federation offers its deep sympathies to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

*[Put from the chair and carried unanimously all standing]*

#### II. The Federal Constitution

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its opinion that the Constitution, especially as regards the Centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde. While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act, especially in the direction of (a) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of states the right of election of states' representatives, (b) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination, (c) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the Provinces, and (d) making the Constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position when there is an irresponsible government in the centre coupled with responsible governments in the Provinces is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the Constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential to the successful working of the Federal Constitution.

*Proposed by* : Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh (Lucknow).

*Seconded by* : Dr. G. S. Mahajani (Poona).

*Supported by* : Mr. N. M. Joshi. (Bombay).

” Mr. B. N. Gokhale (Bombay).

” Mr. L. G. Sabnis (Dharwar).

(and carried unanimously)

### III. Working of Provincial Autonomy.

(i) The National Liberal Federation of India notes with satisfaction that in all the Provinces, provincial Autonomy as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference so far from the Governors, and trust that this atmosphere will continue and soon lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces.

(ii) The Federation strongly deprecates the manner in which the Working Committee of the Congress Party has tried to impose its will and decisions on the provincial ministries in provinces where that Party has formed ministries. Such interference is calculated very seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government in the country.

*Proposed by* : Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona).

*Seconded by* : D. B. K. V. Brahma, (Nagpur).

*Supported by* : Babu Vishwanath Prasad (Allahabad).

” : Dr. P. N. Daruvala, (Bombay).

(and carried unanimously).

### IV Economic Development.

(a) The Federation advocates legislation intended to secure a reform of agrarian laws which while fair to all classes will secure to the tenantry their legitimate rights and in particular security of tenure and fair rents,

(b) the embodiment in Legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not been done,

(c) the relief of agricultural indebtedness and adoption of measures to check further fragmentation and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings,

(d) substantial aid in the development of the industries, big and small alike,

(e) a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country,

(f) legislation for the more adequate protection of the labouring classes both in urban and rural areas,

(g) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls,

(h) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas,

*Proposed by* : Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay)

*Seconded by* : Prof. M. R. Dhekne (Poona)

*Supported by* : Mr. P. G. Mehendargi (Ahmednagar)

(and carried unanimously).

### V. Reform in the Indian States

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India welcomes the proclamations by the rulers of several Indian states to grant to their subjects an increasingly greater association with their administrations, developing into responsible Government as their goal.
- (b) The Federation re-affirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian states for civil and political liberties.
- (c) The Federation trusts that the rulers of all states will realize in their own interests that, with the working of autonomous responsible Government in the provinces, it is no longer possible for them to continue to administer their states on the existing basis. The Federation, therefore, urges the rulers to concede to their subjects without any further delay the right of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of association, an independent judiciary, and to initiate measures for the establishment of Responsible Government.

*Proposed by :* Prof. R. H. Kelkar (Poona).

*Seconded by :* Mr. K. D. Acharya (Bombay).

*Supported by :* Mr. K. R. Pradhan (Jalgaon).

(and carried unanimously.)

### VI Defence.

- 1 The National Liberal Federation of India records its protest that the Government of India Act of 1935 does not provide for a close association of the responsible part of the Federal Government with the defence of the country.
2. The Federation strongly deprecates the exclusion of Indians from membership of the Chatfield Committee.
3. In spite of the huge and intolerable burden of military expenditure borne by the country since the inception of the British rule, the Government have utterly failed in their duty to equip the country adequately for defensive purposes. The Federation reiterates its demand for (a) the rapid nationalisation of the defence forces of India involving the replacement of British troops and the Royal Air Force by Indian Land and Air Forces and the substitution of the Indian for European officers in the Army, Navy and Air Forces of the country; (b) the redistribution of the existing defence expenditure so as to provide more money for the rapid development of the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army; (c) the removal of Provincial and Communal restrictions regarding recruitment to the army, (d) a wider expansion of the University Training Corps and the selection of cadets from the corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy; (e) the introduction of the military drill and the establishment of a cadet corps in schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee; and (f) taking all necessary steps to make the people of this country more self-reliant in the matter of defence.
- (4) In view of the tense international situation suggesting possibilities of a European War, which may render Indian ports and coastal towns

liable to air raids by hostile sea-borne aircraft, involving use of explosive, incendiary and gas-bombs against civil population of this country, this Federation urges upon the Government the need to undertake a more systematic organisation of Air Raid Precaution measures, including anti-gas training, protection against incendiary and gas bombs, organisation of fire-fighting squads and other allied Air Raid Precaution services.

*Proposed by* : Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Poona)

*Seconded by* : Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar (Bombay)

*Supported by* : Mr. N. C. Bharucha (Bombay)

(and carried unanimously.)

#### VII Appointment of Civilians as Governors and Judges.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India is emphatically of opinion that the practice of appointing members of the Indian Civil Service as Governors should no longer be continued as it has never been approved by public opinion in the country and is out of harmony with the new order of things.

(b) The Federation is of opinion that Governors should be men drawn from public life and the policy of appointing Indians as Governors should be promoted.

(c) The Federation urges that recruitment to the judiciary including the High Court should be entirely from the members of the Bar.

*Proposed by* : Mr. M. S. Sirdar (Sholapur)

*Seconded by* : Mr. G. C. Bhate (Roha)

*Supported by* : Mr. P. S. Bakhale (Bombay)

(and carried unanimously.)

#### VIII Indians and Consular Service.

(a) In the interests of safeguarding the rights of Indians living in other parts of the British Empire as well as in foreign countries, the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that a Consular Service of the country should be developed on the lines adopted by other Dominions of the Empire.

(b) Pending the development of such a Consular Service, the Federation urges the inclusion of Indians into the British Diplomatic and Consular Corps from which Indians have been so far scrupulously excluded.

(Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.)

#### IX Indians Overseas.

**Burma** :—The National Liberal Federation of India deeply deplores the recent riots in Burma which have resulted in bloodshed, extensive destruction of property of Indian residents and in desecration of their places of worship and urges on the Government of India the need of protecting Indians in Burma. While welcoming the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Burma to ascertain the cause of riots, this Federation hopes that the question of compensating the Indian victims of the riots will receive the careful attention of the Government.

**Ceylon :—**The Federation endorses the conclusions reached by Sir Edward Jackson in his report on Indian immigrant labour in Ceylon, emphasising the inadvisability of restricting it and appreciates his plea for equality of status for domiciled Indian labourers.

The Federation deplores the Village Communities Ordinance Amendment which denies franchise to the Indian estate labourer and urges on the Government not to re-open recruitment of labour for Ceylon, or to enter into any trade pact with Ceylon, until a satisfactory settlement of the franchise question.

**Zanzibar :—**The Federation regards the settlement of the clove trade dispute with satisfaction, though in the nature of a compromise entailing considerable loss to the Indians in Zanzibar, and in view of some complaints received, requests the Government of India to see to the proper implementing of the terms of the agreement by the Government of Zanzibar.

**Tanganyika .—**The Federation is of opinion that the transfer of Tanganyika to Germany would constitute a serious threat to the defence of India and would retard the economic progress of Indians in Tanganyika. The Federation, therefore, requests his Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration against the rendition of this territory to Germany.

**Kenya :—**The Federation emphatically opposes the proposed Order-in-Council which would permanently and legally debar Indians from holding land in Kenya Highlands. The Federation also views with apprehension the proposal of the British Government to reserve some parts of Kenya Highlands for the settlement of Jewish refugees from Europe, and objects to any preferential treatment being given to foreigners in Kenya which is denied to Indian residents there.

**South Africa :—**The Federation regrets that notwithstanding goodwill missions, Indian nationals in South Africa continue to be deprived of their political and municipal franchise in Natal and Transvaal on racial grounds. The Federation feels that while no satisfactory solution is likely to be reached pending the attainment of full responsible Government in India, time has now come for the Government of India to abandon their policy of protests in favour of active measures to secure the grant of the political and municipal franchise to Indians residents there.

*Proposed by :* Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, (Lucknow)

*Seconded by :* Major S. A. Paymaster, (Bombay)  
(and carried unanimously).

#### X Educational Reform.

- (a) While welcoming a reorganisation of the educational system so as to take account of different aptitudes and provide vocational courses at each stage of education, the National Liberal Federation of India views with concern the tendency manifested in certain quarters to curtail the opportunities now available to Indian youths for receiving higher education. It is strongly of opinion that nothing should be done to restrict arbitrarily admission to the universities or check the growth of higher education which has played a large part in the awakening of India.

(b) The Federation notes that the Wardha Scheme, as originally announced and which was highly detrimental to the interests of the country, has been fundamentally modified.

*Proposed by* : Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, (Bombay)

*Seconded by* : Mr. M. D. Altekar, (Bombay)

*Supported by* : Principal V. K. Joag (Poona)

(and carried unanimously.)

#### XI Separation of the Executive from the Judiciary.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its great disappointment at and protest against the manner in which the several Provincial Governments, including those where the Congress Party has formed ministries, have tried to shelve the question of the separation of the Executive and the Judiciary. The National Congress, from its very inception, had been always insisting on this reform and it is surprising that the Congress ministries should have shown themselves so apathetic, and in some cases even antagonistic, towards all suggestions in favour of the separation of the Executive and the Judiciary. The Federation commends the public that it should not rest until this over-due reform is carried out.

(b) The Federation views with concern the tendency on the part of some of the Congress ministries arbitrarily to interfere with judicial decisions under the garb of using discretionary powers vested in them under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

*Proposed by* : Sir C. H. Setalvad (Bombay.)

*Seconded by* : D. G. Dalvi (Bombay.)

*Supported by* : Rao Bahadur D. G. Divakar (Sholapur)

„ Mr. S. M. Varde (Bombay.)

(and carried unanimously.)

#### XII Council and Office-Bearers for 1939.

(a) The Federation elects Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Mr. M. D. Altekar and Babu Vishwanath Prasad as its General Secretaries for the year 1939.

(b) The Federation elects the undermentioned Council for the year 1939.

(List of members is printed in appendix).

(Put from the chair and carried unanimously.)

#### XIII The next session.

The Federation resolves that the Twenty-first Session be held at a place to be decided upon by the Council in Christmas next year.

(Put from the chair and carried unanimously.)

P. N. SAPRU

President, Twentieth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India.

Bombay,

December 31, 1938.

## National Liberal Federation of India.

### COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1939.

#### President.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, M. C. S., Bar-at-Law, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.

#### Vice-Presidents.

2. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., LL. D., Mylapore, Madras.
3. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Kt., D. Litt., LL. D., 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
4. The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., LL. D., Mylapore, Madras.
5. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M. A., D. Sc., Poona No. 4.
6. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
7. Sir Moropant Joshi, K. C. I. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
8. Mr. J. N. Basu, M. A., B. L., M. L. A., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
9. The Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. C. S., Servants of India Society, Allahabad.
10. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., Mylapore, Madras.
11. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K. C. I. E., M. L. A., O. B. E., Church Gate St., Bombay.

#### General Secretaries.

12. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, M. A., LL. B., Advocate, Girgaon Road, Bombay 4.
13. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Park Road, Vile Parle, Bombay No. 24.
14. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, B. A., LL. B., Leader Road, Allahabad.

#### Nominated by the President.

15. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal, Berar.
16. Rai Bahadur Brijendra Swarup, Cawnpore.
17. Mr. B. S. Kamat, B. A., Ganeshkhind Road, Poona 5.
18. Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
19. Dr. Khirodlal De, M. B., D. T. M., 232, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

#### ELECTED MEMBERS

##### BOMBAY

20. Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw, Kt., M. V. O., Adenwala Bag, Tardeo, Bombay.
21. Sir Homi Mehta, Kt., Manekji Wadia Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
22. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, Pedder Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
23. Mr. A. D. Shroff, B. A., B. Sc., (London), Savoy Chambers, Dalal Street, Bombay.
24. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
25. Mr. Vasant Rao S. Ravut, J. P., French Bridge, Chaupaty, Bombay 7.

26. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
27. Mr. N. R. Wadia, Motlabai Building, 120, Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay 1.
28. Mr. N. C. Bharucha, M. A., LL. B., (Advocate), 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2.
29. Mr. K. J. Dubhash, M. A., LL. B., (Solicitor), 79, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
30. Dewan Bahadur Chunilal M. Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura, Surat.
31. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
32. Mr. R. K. Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay 2.
33. Principal J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
34. Principal V. K. Joag, M. A., Nowrosji Wadia College, Poona 1.
35. Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I. C. S.—(Rtd.), 344, Shaniwar Peth, Poona City.
36. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City
37. Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M. A., Ph. D. Fergusson College, Poona 4.
38. Mr. S. G. Sathe, M. A., I. E. S., (Rtd.), Vineeta, Poona 4.
39. Mr. V. M. Apte, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Dhulia. (West Khandesh.)

#### Bengal.

40. The Hon'ble Sir Bejoyprasad Singh Roy Kt., M. L. A., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
41. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M. A., 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
42. Mr. H. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 1, Mullen Street, Calcutta.
43. Prof. B. B. Roy, M. A., Statesman House, Calcutta.
44. Mr. Satinath Roy, M. A., B. L., 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
45. Mr. P. N. Singh Roy, 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
46. Mr. Sudhanshu Kumar Mitter, 34/1, Egin Road, Calcutta.
47. Kumar Rajendro Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
48. Rai Nagendranath Mookerji Bahadur, D. B. E., Ranaghat, Nadia.
49. Rai Keshab Chandra Banerjee Bahadur, Sutrapur, Dacca.
50. Rai Fanindralal De Bahadur, 180, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara. (E. I. Ry.)
51. Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen, Solicitor, 44, Ramkanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
52. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
53. The Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
54. Raja Bhupendra Narain Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
55. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
56. Mr. Shiva Prasanna Ghose, 75, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
57. Mr. Bhagwandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
58. Mr. Shew Kissen Bhattar, 30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
59. Gosto Behari Mandal, Nawabgunge, Barrackpur, Bengal.
60. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghose, Sheoraphuli, E. I. Ry.
61. Pandit Harischandra Gossain, 3, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
62. Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, 11, Braunfeld Row, Calcutta.
63. Mr. D. C. Ghose, Bar-at-Law, 23, Devendra Ghose Road, Calcutta.



**United Provinces.**

64. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, Thornhil Road, Allahabad.
65. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh P. O. Dumraon, (District Shahabad).
66. Dr. Rajeshwar Bali, O. B. E., Darya'ad, district Bara Banki.
67. Kumar Rajendra Singh Saheb, "Tikra House," Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
68. Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Ran Mandi, Allahabad.
69. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shivala, Benares City.
70. Rai Brij Narain Gurtu, George Town, Allahabad.
71. Babu Bodh Raj Sahrey, Advocate, Civil Lines, Jhansi.
72. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Ganga Prasad Memorial Building, Lucknow.
73. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Advocate, Clive Road, Allahabad.
74. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dubé, Member, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
75. Mehta Krishna Ram, Leider Buildings, Allahabad.
76. Mr. Dalip Man Singh, M. A., LL. B., Advocate, Fatehpur, U. P.
77. Babu Surendra Nath Vama, Bar-at-Law, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
78. Babu Vishnu Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
79. Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Bihari Misra, 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
80. Mehta Mahipat Ram, Leader Office, Allahabad.
81. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, "Surya Bhawan", Fyzabad.
82. Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Narayan, Treasurer, Imperial Bank of India, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
83. Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, M. A., C. I. E., M. L. A., Lucknow.

**Madras.**

84. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettyar, Chettinad Palace, Adyar, Madras.
85. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Lama Rao, Kanti Nivas, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
86. Raja Sir Vasudev Raja of Kollengode, Kollengode, South Malabar.
87. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, North Gopalpuram, Cathedral, P. O. Madras.
88. Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Advocate, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras.
89. Mr. C. L. Narayan Sastri, Advocate, Vizagapatam.
90. Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, "The Ashram", Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
91. Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu, C. I. E., Ritherdon Road, Vepary, Madras.
92. Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
93. Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao, do. do. do.
94. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, do. do. do.
95. Mr. S. R. Venkatraman, do. do. do.
96. Mr. V. M. Nayanar, do. do. do.

**Central Provinces & Berar.**

97. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., M. B. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
98. Mr. V. K. Rajvade, Advocate, Nagpur.
99. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewala, Nagpur.

100. Mr. N. A. Dravid, M. A., Cradock Town, Nagpur
101. Mr. V. G. Mandpe, Dantoli, Nagpur.
102. Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
103. Rao Bahadur B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
104. Rao Bahadur R. M. Khare, Amroli Camp.
105. Mr. S. N. Bhalchandra, Advocate, Yeotmal.
106. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal (Berar).

**Punjab.**

107. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
108. Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
109. Lala Keshao Ram Shekri, Vakil, Civil Lines, Lahore.
110. Hon'ble Lala Manohar Lal, Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
111. Pandit Hardatt Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17, MacLagan Road, Lahore.

**Behar and Orissa**

112. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Anapur, Allahabad district (U. P.)
113. Mr. A. S. N. Moorthi, Berhampore (Ganjam Distt.)
114. Mr. L. N. Sahu, M. A., Servants of India Society, Cuttack.

**Assam.**

115. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, Shillong.
116. Mr. Chandradhar Barua, Jorhat, Assam.

**List of Members of the Reception Committee and Delegates.**

1. Mr. Nausir C. Bharucha, Advocate, 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay No 2.
2. Mr. Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, 41, Peddar Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay No. 6.
3. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., Setalvad Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
4. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K. C. I. E., M. L. A. Readymoney Mansion, Church Gate Street, Bombay.
5. Mr. Vasant Rao S. Ravut, French Bridge, Bombay No. 7.
6. Mr. Bhalchandra Narayan Gokhale, Advocate, 157-59 Girgaum, Bombay.
7. Mr. Dattatram Ganpat Dalvi, Advocate, Alexandra Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.
8. Mr. Burjor J. Shroff, Fakirji Lodge, Tardeo Road, Bombay.
9. Prof. Madhav Damodar Altekar, Prabhavati Niwas, Park Road, Vile Parle.
10. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Fort, Bombay.
11. Mr. Dinshaw D. Romer, Solicitor, 14, K. Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay.
12. Mr. B. D. Lam, Solicitor, 113, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
13. Khan Bahadur A. R. Bilimoria, Pallonji House, 2nd Floor, New Charni Road, Girgaum, Bombay.
14. Mr. Vishwanath P. Vaidya, Bar-at-Law, 6/10, Dean Lane, Fort, Bombay.
15. Mr. Kaikhushroo Jamshedji Dubash, Solicitor, 79, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay.
16. Sir Homi Mehta, Kt., 123, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
17. Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M. A., Ph. D., M. L. C., Fergusson College, Poona—4.
18. Mr. Balkrishna Sitaram Karat, Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
19. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Vallabbhai Patel Road, Bombay.
20. Mr. Wilfred E. Perriera, Solicitor, 101, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
21. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ali Baakza, M. B. E., New Queen's Road, Bombay.
22. Sir Hormasji C. Dinshaw, Kt. M. V. O., Adenwalla Baug, Tardeo, Bombay.
23. D. B. Chunilal Maneklal Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura Road, Surat.
24. Dr. Raghunath Purshottam Paranjape, M. A., D. Sc., Purshottam Ashram, Poona (4).
25. Mr. Beharam N. Karanjia, M. L. C., 8, Carmichael Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay 6.
26. Mr. Frank Oliveira, Bar-at-Law, The Haven, Mazgaon, Bombay.
27. Sir Dossabhoy Hormasji Bhiwandiwalla, 583, Chira Bazar, Bombay.
28. Mr. Kaikhoshru N. Chandabhoy, Gustad Chambers, Sir P. M. Mehta Road, Bombay.
29. Mr. Ramchandra Kashinath Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay No. 2.
30. Mr. Joseph Paul D'Mello, C/o Caslon Stationery Mart, 133 Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay.
31. Mr. M. A. J. Noble, 109, Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay.
32. Mr. Cowasji D. Mahalaxmiwalla, Halcyon Lodge, Vachhagandhi Road, Bombay.

33. Mr. Kharshedji Limji, 534, Sandhurst Bridge, Bombay—4.
34. Mr. Dinshaw Cowasji, 20, Fort, Street, Fort, Bombay.
35. Mr. Jamshedji Nusserwanji, M. L. A., Post Box No. 271, Karachi.
36. Sir S. S. Patkar, Kt., Hughes Road, Chowpatty, Bombay.
37. Mr. Sarvottam Ganesh Kantak, Vile Parle, Bombay.
38. Mr. Nawroji Rustomji Wadia, 120, Wodehouse Road, Middle Kolaba, Bombay.
39. Mr. Hari Ganpatrao Gharpurey, I. C. S. (Rtd.), 344, Shanwar Peth, Poona City.
40. Mr. S. D. Saklatwala, M. L. A., 24, Bruce Street, Fort, Bombay.
41. Mr. N. J. Alvares, Namice Villa, Dadabhoy Road, Vile Parla, Bombay.
42. Mr. Jamshedji Dhanjibhai Mahalaxmiwalla, Firuz Ara, Opp. Band Stand, Backbay Reclamation, Church Gate, Bombay.
43. Mr. P. S. Bakhale, Advocate, Soman Building, Kennedy Bridge, Bombay.
44. Sir Govind Balwant Pradhan Kt., Balwant Baug, Thana.
45. Mr. Vicajee Ardeshir Taraporewalla, 7/10, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay.
46. Mr. J. W. Gomes, Bar-at-Law, 24, Club Road, Byculla, Bombay.
47. Mr. Jehangir Cowasji Jehangir, Readymoney Mansion, Church Gate Street, Bombay.
48. Mr. Pestonji Dhanjibhoy Mahalaxmiwalla, 135, Church Gate Reclamation, Bombay.
49. Mr. Jehangir Pallonji Katgara, Jeena & Co., 45, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
50. Mr. Jiwaji Krishna Parulkar, 330, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.
51. Mr. Rustomji Nanabhai Boyce, 38, Fort Street, Fort, Bombay.
52. Mr. P. C. Tarapore, Editor, "The Daily Gazette" Karachi.
53. Mr. Mohamedally Allabux, M. L. A., 106, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.
54. Mr. Rustomji Dhanjibhoy Patel, 10, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay.
55. Mr. V. M. Apte, Advocate, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
56. Mr. Dinshaw Darabshaw Shroff, C/o S. B. Billimoria & Co., 113, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
57. Sir Ishwardas Lukshmidas Kt., Garden View, 19, Hughes Road, Bombay.
58. Mr. Nusserwanji Sorabji Gazder, Cuffe Parade, Pallonji House, Colaba, Bombay.
59. Dr. Amarshi Jivabhai Bhimjiani, 65, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
60. Mr. Dadabhoy Jehangir Registrar, Soonamai House, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
61. Mr. Nariman Dadabhoy Adenwalla, 418, Chhotalal Bhuvan, Kalabadevi Road, Bombay 2.
62. Mr. Jal.S. Ratnagar, Surya Mahal, Military Square Lane, Fort, Bombay.
63. Mr. Hormasji Ardeshir, Motlibai House, Parsi Bazar Street, Fort, Bombay.
64. Mr. Pestonji Manekji Kanga, Solicitor, 25, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
65. Mr. Dorab Bomanji Kapadia, Hirji Mansion, Gowalia Tank, Bombay.
66. Mr. Jamshed Cowasji Dubash, Palmlands, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

67. Mr. Mancharji Edalji Joshi, 630 Mancharji Joshi Road, Dadar, Bombay.
68. Mr. N. J. Readymoney, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
69. Mr. Ardeshir Bomanji Dubash, C/o A. B. Cursetji & Sons, 6, Rampart Row, Bombay.
70. Rao Bahadur Moreshwar W. Pradhan, Corner of Sai Baba Lane and Ghod Bunder Road, Santa Cruz, Bombay.
71. Mr. Kaikhushru Ardeshir Dubash, 6, Rampart Row, Fort, Bombay.
72. Mr. Kaikhushroo Jehangir Divecha, Ahmed Manzil, Warden Road, Bombay.
73. Mr. Cowasji H. L. Batliwalla, Opp. Petit Hall, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay No. 6.
74. Dr. T. M. Kajiji, Bar-at-Law, Villa Ghitta, Pedder Road, Bombay.
75. Mr. S. C. Cumbatta, Cumbatta Building, Queen's Road, Bombay.
76. Mr. Dwarkadas Kaliandas, "Krishna Kunj" Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
77. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, Somerset Lodge, Warden Road, Bombay.
78. Mr. Kaikobad Cowasji Dinshaw, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.
79. Mr. Naoroji M. Dumasia, C/o Times of India, Fort, Bombay.
80. Capt. J. D. Kothawala, 41, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay.
81. Dr. Sorab P. Mehta, 1, Govt. Gate Road, Parel, Bombay 12.
82. Mr. Ramchandra Krishnaji Garud, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
83. Mr. P. M. Apte, New Pratap Mills, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
84. Mr. Baburao Ramchandra Ransingh, Agra Road, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
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86. Mr. G. H. Kane, Electric Supply Co. Dhulia, West Khandesh.
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