

RESOLUTIONS

◁ PASSED AT THE ▷

TENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT MADRAS

On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1894.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on Cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant Mill Industry of this country.

Cotton Excise
Duty.

(b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State.

(c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all Cottons from "twenties" to "twenty-fours" from the operation of the Act.

(d) That the President be authorized to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of Survey and other cesses) and with the terms of sunnads of permanently settled estates in Madras; and, deeming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways all such re-actionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders, and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf.

Land Question.

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

and approved by the Secretary of State; and this Congress hereby entreats the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land-tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements.

RESOLUTION III.

Poverty of India.

Resolved—That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms :

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

Secretary of State's Council.

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; and suggests that in its place a Standing Committee of Members of the House of Commons be appointed.

RESOLUTION V.

Financial Enquiry.

Resolved—That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burdens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom.

RESOLUTION VI.

Simultaneous Examinations.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but firm protest against the despatch, as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covenanted Service is indispensable.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this service, constituted as it is at present, falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and the interests of the subordinate service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Examinations.

(c) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the

Congress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

- (d) That this Congress respectfully urges on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N.-W. P. and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case.

Judicial Service.
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RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

Medical Service.

- (b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant-Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members;

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

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congresses, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N.-W. Provinces, urges that no time be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab.

Legislative
Councils.
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- (b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892

are materially defective, and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit, with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

RESOLUTION X.

Vote of Sympathy
with Royal
Family of Mysore:

Resolved.—That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the Royal family of Mysore in their recent sad and sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom, ability and beneficence, but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties.

RESOLUTION XI.

Trial by Jury:

Resolved—(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

(b) 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.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away.

RESOLUTION XII.

Separation of
Judicial and Executive
Functions:

Resolved.—That this Congress having till now vainly appealed for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the gravest defects in the system of administration and one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction the admission of the evil by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross), and being of opinion that the reform is thoroughly practicable, as has been shown by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, M. M. Ghose and P. M. Mehta, entreats the Government of India to direct the immediate appointment in each province of a Committee (one-half at least of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the opinions of the several Governments thereon, at an early date.

RESOLUTION XIII.

The Punjab Chief
Court:

Resolved.—That this Congress re-affirms the opinion of the preceding Congress that the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interests of the administration of justice in this Province.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm conviction that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military Expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee.

Military and
Civil Expendi-
ture.

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

Public Education.

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

Omnibus Reso-
lution.

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

Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army ;

- (h) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of militia service ;
- (i) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India ;
- (j) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic embarrassment ;
- (k) The giving effect to the Report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to Prostitution and contagious disease, and the endorsing of their conclusions ;—
 - (i) That the system and incidental practices described in that Report, and the statutory rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888 ; and
 - (ii) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

RESOLUTION XVII.

Proposed further powers of District Magistrates.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

Forest Management.

Resolved—That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No. 22/F, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, dated 20th October 1894, and its high appreciation of the generous principle, which it enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interests to the needs and agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of forests.

And would further represent that in forests falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, grazing concessions, fodder, small timber for building houses and making agricultural implements, edible forest products, &c., may be granted free of charge in all cases, under such restrictions as to quantity, &c., as the Government may deem proper ; and that wherever hardship may be felt, under present conditions, the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas, and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the Department.

RESOLUTION XIX.

Liberty of the Press.

Resolved—That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary, and mischievous in its

nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the same and entreats its cancellation without delay.

RESOLUTION XX.

Resolved—That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money in land.

Water-cess.

RESOLUTION XXI.

Resolved—That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them.

Indian Colonists
in South Africa.

RESOLUTION XXII.

Resolved—That a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed for the purpose of presenting Resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 to His Excellency Lord Elgin; and that the British Committee of the National Congress be requested to arrange a similar deputation to wait upon the Secretary of State for India in London.

Deputations to
Lord Elgin and
Mr. Fowler.

From Bengal and Behar:—His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhanga, Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt., The Honorable Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, The Honorable Mr. Surrendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. J. Ghosal, Babu Saligram Sing, Mr. Shurefuddin, Rai Jotendranath Chaudhuri and Babu Boikunt Nath Sen.

From the North-West Provinces:—The Honorable Rajah Rampal Singh and The Honorable Baboo Charoo Chandra Mitter.

From Oudh:—Sheikh Rajah Hussein Khan, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo Gokal Chand.

From the Punjab:—Sirdar Dayal Sing Majithia, Baboo Kali Prosonno Roy, Mr. Jussawala, Shaik Umar Buksh, Lala Murlidhar and Bakshi Jaishi Ram.

From Bombay:—The Honorable Mr. P. M. Mehta, C.I.E.

From the Central Provinces:—The Honorable Mr. G. M. Chitnavis and Rai Bahadur C. Narainswami Naidu.

From Poona:—Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide, Mr. S. B. Bhat, Mr. N. B. Mule and Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar.

From Berar:—Rao Saheb Deorao Vinayek.

From Madras:—Manivikram Rajah of Calicut, The Honorable Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar, Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer."

RESOLUTION XXIII.

Resolved—That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "India," and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter, in Committee, for the year 1895.

British Committee
Grant.

RESOLUTION XXIV.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

Vote of Thanks to
British Committee.

RESOLUTION XXV.

Appointment of
General Secre-
tary.

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

RESOLUTION XXVI.

Meeting Place of
XIth Congress.

Resolved—That the Eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day, 1895, as may be later determined upon, at Poona.

RESOLUTION XXVII.

Constitution of
Congress.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled, and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of Delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and with this view the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of Poona to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their report; these reports, together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration.

ALFRED WEBB,

President of the Tenth Indian National Congress.

MADRAS,
29th December, 1894

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
MADRAS,
On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of December, 1894.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The first sitting of the Congress commenced at 2-30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 26th December, 1894, when the Honorable Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said :—

MY BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Tenth Indian National Congress and on behalf of the Indian community of Southern India generally, I offer you my most cordial greetings and welcome you to our city.

Seven years ago when Madras had the privilege of witnessing the third Session of the Congress, the position that I now so unworthily fill was filled by that illustrious Indian Statesman, the late Rajah Sir T. Madhava Row, K.C.S.I., who described the Congress as the "soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation" and whose death and that of Pandit Ayodhyanath and other conspicuous figures in our ranks have vacated places not yet adequately filled. But patriots and statesmen have to pay the debt of nature, and what we have lost in individual strength we hope we have been able to make good by increased intensity and extent of national feeling. Our organization in every part of the country has improved in influence and solidarity; it has extended to orders of society below the middle class; has roused the attention of our British fellow subjects; and, what is more significant of its influence, has provoked the envy and anger of a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community.

In the vast concourse of people which we behold assembled under this beautiful pavilion, in the thousand and more delegates of position and rank come from the North and South and East and West of this great Continent, in the festive joy that the celebration of this national occasion communicates at this moment to almost every house in this city, in the hundreds of meetings attended by thousands of people that have been held all over South India during the last six months, held not in cities and towns merely but even in villages and hamlets, to further the national cause, and in the numberless small and big channels through which money has flowed into the Congress coffers, a system of collection from house to house having been universally adopted by our Committees, by which the prince and peasant, the merchant and trader, the petty artizan and labourer, have been brought under contribution—

First Day.

Chairman of
Reception Com-
mittee's Address.

First Day.
 —
 Chairman of
 Reception Com-
 mittee's Address.
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you will see in all these, Gentlemen, the complete falsification of malicious predictions and the frustration of impotent envy, as well as the gradual maturing of the consummation of the forces which this movement embodies and attests, and which bind us all together in common fellow-feeling and in common devotion to our revered sovereign.

The political horizon of the educated Indian citizen is no longer his village or district, not even the capital city of his province, but it is now the whole Indian continent, a substitution which is so favourable to the growth of enlightened patriotism. Whether this process of the enlargement of our political vision will lead at length to a welding into a united and unified whole of the different sections of the population, as we hope and believe it will, or whether the consummation will be, as some of our well-wishers assert, a federal and peaceful association of them all, is a question which must be left to the future to solve. As a practical body, as a movement having certain tangible and immediate ends in view and striving to supply wants actually felt, and as an enterprise carefully steering clear of all visionary and merely sentimental objects, it is not the business of the Congress to devote itself to aims which are not within its reach and which will more properly engage the efforts of posterity. Nor is it our object to disregard the law of continuity in evolution, to break from old moorings, and to launch into a work of destruction and reconstruction. We most emphatically repudiate therefore that visionary and revolutionary character with which our enemies have endowed our movement, and claim for it a thoroughly practical and legitimate character, and a character sincerely loyal to all those elements in the British rule which are conservative as well as progressive.

We take our stand on the Proclamation of 1858, which we hold is the charter of our political liberties and is binding for all time to come on the representatives of the British sovereignty in this country to the same extent and in the same sense as those charters that the English nation, by their intense love of freedom and robust political spirit, have wrung from time to time from their unwilling and tyrannical sovereigns. Aye, Gentlemen, our charter is even more binding—if indeed there can be any difference of degree in the obligation of pledges given—because, while the concessions to the British nation were made under circumstances of a more or less coercive character, Her Majesty gave her pledges voluntarily and of her own accord, and under circumstances which, if Her Majesty had represented political principles and traditions different from those of England, would have furnished justification for less calmness, generosity and wisdom than so graciously inspired that immortal document. Gentlemen, we have been told recently by the highest official authorities that the Proclamation conveyed no pledges whatever to the people of this country, and that political expediency, as understood by the men in power for the time being, was the only criterion determining the obligations of the rulers to the ruled. Well, all I can say is, that this is a most unfair and perverse view to take, a view that would certainly sully the honour of the Empress and her responsible servants, would contradict the noblest traditions of British rule, and injure the best and the most abiding interests of the whole Indian Empire. You may remember, Gentlemen, what Her Majesty told Lord Derby when the Proclamation was being drafted. The noble lady that she is, the paragon of all feminine and royal virtues—may God prolong her life, and may her rule in India last as long as do the sun and moon—she exhorted him to remember that “it was a female sovereign who spoke to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them and after a bloody civil war, giving them *pledges* (mark the words, Gentlemen!) *which her future reign was to redeem, and explaining the principles of her Government.*” Knowing thus the true meaning of the Proclamation, let those who will, deny it, but until the Proclamation is formally withdrawn, and the sovereign of Great Britain and India formally announces that neither Justice, nor Truth, nor Integrity is the dominant guiding principle of British Indian rule, but that this principle is expediency, and expediency alone, as may be understood by the Viceroy or

the Secretary of State for India for the time being—until then the people of this country will take their stand on that most cherished charter of theirs and demand with confidence and determination the fulfilment of their legitimate, loyal and honourable aspirations.

We may derive satisfaction however from the belief that this attempt to belittle the importance of the Proclamation is confined to those Englishmen who are interested in the perpetuation of the present administrative system, and that the English nation, as a whole, including the responsible guardians of their imperial interests, will strongly disapprove of the attempt to uphold the ascendancy of a limited class of Her Majesty's subjects in disregard of her own deliberate and repeated pledges and of the contentment and prosperity of the Indian people so truly and dearly loved by her. But to convince the English people that such an attempt is being made and that the selfishness of the bureaucracy is the most dangerous enemy of the British Indian Empire, is our chief difficulty. Yes, Gentlemen, the Indian bureaucracy is selfish. I say that most deliberately, and the history of the last 35 years is my justification for saying so. It is for this reason that we have thought it necessary to strengthen our organization in England and to educate public opinion there, as well as to continue with unabated vigour and enthusiasm our work in this country. As was to be expected, this policy has borne fruit. We have secured the sympathy of a large number of Members of Parliament, while the English press no longer affects silent contempt, although misrepresentation as well as sympathy distinguishes its criticisms. It behoves us therefore, Gentlemen, to strengthen as much as possible the hands of the British Congress Committee and of our other friends. We are very anxious to draw closer the tie of sympathy between us and our English friends and rouse greater interest in that country on behalf of our movement. It was this aspect of the situation that induced us to invite a member of Parliament to preside over our deliberations, and on our having been able to secure you, Sir—Mr. Alfred Webb, through your truly patriotic and condescending fellow feeling, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves. Through you we are confident of enlisting the sympathy of a very important section of the House of Commons as well as of those true sons of Britain whose generosity and sense of justice are, like their love of freedom, of world-wide celebrity.

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

First Day.

Chairman of
Reception Com-
mittee's Address.

First Day.

Chairman of
Reception Com-
mittee's Address.

To abuse the opponent is a favourite form of argument with a certain description of people, and failing to meet us with fair reasoning or on the ground of justice or political wisdom, the opponents of the Congress, that is, of educated Indians, call us disloyal, and attribute to us revolutionary designs. Gentlemen, with mad men and with people who talk wildly under the exciting sense of losing interests, we have no concern. If there be any reasonable persons amongst our opponents, I should like to take them into my confidence and ask them why they think we are disloyal. If a rule which has established peace, order and security in the country, which administers justice as impartially as human tribunals can do, which constantly stimulates material prosperity, which has conferred on the people the inestimable blessing of Education, liberty of conscience and freedom of discussion, and of which, indeed, the possibilities for future good are even greater than what has actually been done in the past—if such a rule cannot excite the loyal attachment of the people, I am at a loss to know what kind of rule may be expected to excite their loyalty. Gentlemen, the fact is, the persons that charge us with disloyalty are the victims of their own guilty conscience, of some evil thought concealed in their minds, and it is only such persons that see disloyalty everywhere, and, like Macbeth, perceive a dagger in the air. Nor is it anything but the most ludicrous absurdity to see disloyalty in political agitation conducted on strictly constitutional lines and in a spirit of confidence in the rulers. What is the good of the education and freedom that have been vouchsafed to us if we do not make use of them for our own improvement. We have no desire but to live on terms of the utmost amity and regard with our Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects. We feel we want their guidance and their sympathy which, whenever shown, we have most sincerely and unstintingly reciprocated.

At no time were our best efforts more needed than they are now. Our country is passing through a period of crisis, which crisis will endure, I am afraid, in a more or less acute form, until India survives her present transition state and finds its fit place in the international system of the world. Not only the principles of Government, but the system of trade and industry, the provision for the security of the country, and the burden of the taxpayer himself, no longer depend on the needs and capacity of the country, but on the politics of Europe, and, regard being had to India's inability to bear the strain of this anomalous relation and to her limited resources, it behoves all responsible for her well-being to exercise the utmost care to husband and develop carefully those resources and save the country from possible disaster. An absentee Government involves a frightful drain on the country's financial resources, an overgrown military system absorbs one-third of the net revenue, the free trade principles thrust upon us have destroyed the old industries, the population has grown in advance of the food supply, and poverty is increasing from year to year. This is not all. There is a growing reluctance on the part of the Government to grapple with the problems arising from these evils, to do strict justice to the people whenever their interests clash with those of the ruling country, and to meet public opinion in a spirit of sympathy and confidence. We have also to reckon with a new evil that is rapidly coming to the front and threatens serious results, I mean, the evil of a hostile Anglo-Indian opinion which, powerful as it must always be, is ceasing more and more to represent that of the responsible official class, but echoes to an increasing extent the self-interest, the prejudices and passing feelings of those Englishmen who come here merely to earn their livelihood, who have no permanent stake in the country, and whose opinions on Indian matters do not always possess, for their soundness, the guarantee of education, enlightened patriotism, or past tradition and future fame. I need not say that this change in the constitution of Anglo-Indian opinion has made itself rather inconveniently manifest of late, and I am not sure that it has not controlled the decisions even of the Government. Consequently, discontent, irritation and a certain restlessness have seized the people, and the feeling between the ruling and ruled communities is not all that is desirable. Gentlemen, these are some of the evils of the

present situation, and I am confident that the issue of our deliberations will show a due estimate of these evils and will suggest adequate and practical remedies.

There has been, indeed, a good deal of disappointment. The decision of the Secretary of State for India on the Simultaneous Examinations Question and the extraordinary grounds on which that decision is based, have shaken our confidence in the liberal professions of the party in power. Indeed nothing can be more disheartening than that a Resolution of the House of Commons should be contemptuously set aside by the Indian bureaucracy. The scheme of the Provincial Civil Service has proved an extremely unsatisfactory measure. The reformed Legislative Councils have failed to furnish an effective and adequate means of obtaining official recognition for non-official public opinion. The system of criminal administration has not been improved. Our demand for a Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of our country, though it was about to be granted in 1884, has since been rejected as unpractical and undesirable. No steps have been taken to reduce the excessive military and civil expenditure of Government. And, lastly, Indian public opinion has failed to prevent the appropriation of over a crore of Rupees for a virtual increase in the salaries of the Government's European employees.

Still, by the side of these disappointments is the encouraging fact that our aims and demands are now known and approved to a wider extent by public opinion in the United Kingdom as well as in India, and that in regard to some particular matters the Government have moved sympathetically. An influential party of members of Parliament pledged to sympathy with our aspirations—if not to an actual support of our particular demands—has been organized. Our British Committee has been strengthened and has been able to do better and more work. And even such a typical bureaucrat as Sir Auckland Colvin, not to speak of Sir David Barbour and Mr. Samuel Laing, has admitted that the chief cause of all the financial woes of the Indian Government is to be traced more to the system of Government than to a depreciated currency, or to the other temporary causes, in which official timidity, in the face of large and inconvenient problems, is apt to take shelter. How is it, may I ask, Gentlemen, that it took nine years of ceaseless agitation by the Congress before the financial advisers of our Government could muster up courage to admit this fact—a fact which was but too patent to all disinterested minds! Let all who will, affect contempt for us—it is enough if we are able to convert our officials as we have been able to convert Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour.

Another important victory in our campaign is the admission we have obtained from Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley, besides other eminent authorities, that the combination of executive and judicial functions in the same officer is a serious evil and that it is only the want of necessary funds that stands in the way of the evil being remedied. In the administration of the Forest department a policy of regard for the interests of the agricultural population has been enunciated, though whether such a policy will be given effect to by local officers will depend on the watchfulness of our press and our public bodies as well as on the local Governments. In the Police department measures for the promotion of native Inspectors to higher offices, till now reserved for Europeans, are being matured. I am hopeful that other reforms will follow in due course on the lines of the Congress!

There can be no doubt that, although after the first few years the Congress as a great patriotic enterprise lost the attractions of novelty, it has lost no portion of its influence on the intelligent classes of the community as the only institution calling into play what resources of public spirit exist in the country and imparting weight and dignity to such non-official Indian opinion as gives itself expression from time to time. Nothing proves this fact better than the unprecedented outburst of enthusiasm throughout Southern India when the preparations for this Congress were set on foot in the middle of the year. The Reception

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Committee was formed in the month of August, and immediately our energetic Secretaries sent forth their shafts of circulars to pierce the pent-up enthusiasm of our mofussil friends, with the result that a degree of activity and disinterested co-operation sprang up everywhere; every nook and corner was permeated with the Congress enthusiasm, meetings were held, committees were formed, old organizations were revived, apathetic places were shamed into activity, private grudges were forgotten, jealousies disappeared, a very salutary spirit of emulation came upon every little community, and at length what appeared to be a colossal and burdensome task, the task of arranging for your satisfactory reception and for the conduct of business by the Congress itself, has been gone through with astonishing ease, with absence of friction, and with that most wholesome of all pleasures, the pleasure of excitement in the discharge of a serious public duty. The most remarkable feature in the work of our organization this time was the system of raising the necessary funds by appealing for help to every house and every place of business in the locality, a system which, first started in the city of Madras, was immediately adopted in every centre of Congress activity in all the districts of the province. The Reception Committee has collected till now nearly 40,000 rupees, of which nearly if not more than half was collected in exceedingly small amounts, in the shape of single rupees, of annas and pies. It is by no means an uncommendable spirit, I may observe, for men of respectable position, accustomed to command and brought up in the comforts of comparative affluence, to go about the streets every day, both morning and evening, entering and quitting house after house, explaining the objects and advantages of the Congress movement and its claim on the help of the masses however small, and doing all this without feeling their pride wounded or dignity compromised, and it is a spirit in strange contrast to that of individuals, not touched by the quality of self-sacrifice fostered by the Congress activity. What is singularly encouraging, the uneducated poor man gave as willingly as the educated man of the middle class. If there are persons amongst our own countrymen who cannot comprehend the educative influence, in the highest sense, of such a movement, not to speak of the demands for political concession that it directly makes, we can only pity their short-sightedness and pray that it may soon be replaced by good sense and far-seeing patriotism.

We do not conceal from ourselves the fact that an important section of our Mahomedan fellow countrymen have stood aloof from our movement under the mistaken impression that it is disliked by the powers-that-be, and that not to join such a movement, to denounce it, and to actually oppose it, is the surest passport to Government's favour and official advancement. But the time is gone, altogether gone, when subserviency to official power can play the role of real merit and win admission to the public service, and our deluded fellow countrymen are just now discovering that the game is after all not paying, and that in these days no community gets a hearing for its representations, especially when the governing power is vested in the hands of foreigners, unless those representations are backed up by a powerful and organized agitation. Educational Conferences are accordingly being organized, political societies are being established, and whispers of discontent are being heard—all showing that soon our Mahomedan fellow countrymen, though they may not all join the Congress, will press their claims by public agitation on lines parallel to our own. They are quite welcome to this method and we shall most cordially wish them success. They cannot have claims different from our own or claims with which we of the Indian National Congress do not fully and warmly sympathize. Only, let every community in India, the Mahomedan as well as the Hindu, the Parsee and the Native Christian, which wants to perpetuate itself, to preserve its national vitality in a healthy and unimpaired state, and to prevent seeds of decay from lodging themselves in the core and eventually poisoning the whole body politic, read aright the lessons of the past and of contemporaneous history. The nation that understands the change in the spirit of the age, and, quickened with the inspiration of national unity and greatness, adapts its institutions and appliances to the new conditions, beats in the struggle the rival, who, cherishing with strange fatality his stolid

conservatism and uninspiring recollections of the past, refuses to change, neglects national consolidation and rejects the suggestions of modern needs, and whose leaders are men regarding individual fortunes as of greater account than the interests and honour of the commonwealth.

Gentlemen, I have detained you too long. But before concluding I should like to take this opportunity of tendering, on behalf of the Reception Committee, my most heartfelt thanks to Colonel G. M. J. Moore, C.I.B., the President of the Madras Municipality, for the readiness with which he has rendered help to our Committee in providing the necessary comforts for the delegates, in making the required sanitary arrangements in the various camps, and in securing their convenience in various other ways, and, in short, for his not having been content with doing what a President of the local corporation might be ordinarily expected to do.

Gentlemen, this is a moment when we all feel that a great dream, a dream which in other times and places rulers and statesmen have dreamed in vain—the dream of the Unity of the Indian people—is about to be realized. At such a moment nothing but good ideas and pure aspirations occupy our minds, and the heart overflows with genuine goodwill and brotherly feeling. In the name of those who have co-operated in the organization of this Congress, in the name of the people of Madras and Southern India generally, I once more offer you my most cordial greetings. We receive you with open arms and extend to you the right hand of fellowship for having so kindly and so condescendingly responded to our invitation. (*Loud Cheers*)

The Honorable Mr. P. RUNGIAH NAIDU, again rising:—Now, Gentlemen, it is left for you to select your President and proceed with the business of the Congress.

RAJA SIR SAVALAI RAMASAWMI MUDELLIAR:—Gentlemen, it gives me immense pleasure to move the first proposition for your acceptance; it is one that needs no discussion or debate. This vast concourse of the Indian people, assembled from all parts of this great empire to deliberate on questions of the deepest interest to its welfare and happiness, requires the guidance of mature experience and vast knowledge for the successful termination of its proceedings. The methods of deliberation and representation adopted by the people of this country are those most familiar to our rulers, and it is but meet and proper that we should from time to time place ourselves under the guidance of eminent men versed in the methods and procedure of that august assembly which is pre-eminently the model for imitation by all the nations of the world, the British Parliament. (*Cheers*)

In our choice of a President to rule this great assembly we shall also be giving practical testimony of our anxious desire to unite in the closest bonds of union and fellowship with our western brethren, under whose benign guidance an all-wise and beneficent Providence has placed us. (*Cheers*)

I have therefore to propose the name of one who has evinced a very deep concern for the welfare of the people of this country, and has always made the cause of the masses the chief aim of his life, and who, in his own words, is “the soldier in political warfare ready to go to any land whenever ordered.” (*Cheers*)

With the firm conviction that my proposal will be accorded a very warm and enthusiastic reception by men assembled from all corners of this great empire representing the diverse castes and creeds that inhabit this land, I propose for your unanimous acceptance the quiet and unostentatious member for West Waterford, Mr. Alfred Webb. (*Cheers*)

Three hearty Cheers were then given for Mr Alfred Webb, M.P.

RAJA RAMPAL SINGH:—Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding this proposition and I have, in doing so, to point out to you two very momentous and noteworthy things. They are, these, the Congress, which showed such weakness in its beginning, has

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been slowly and surely progressing so as to enter into the sympathy of English gentlemen. (*Hear, hear, and Cheers.*) Up to this time we have had ten sittings, inclusive of the one in which we are met here, and we see that if half the number of meetings has been presided over by Indians, the other half has been presided over by Englishmen (*Cheers*), including my learned friend Mr Dadabhai Naoroji, (*Loud and continued Cheers*) because he is naturalised and a member of Parliament. The other point I should like to bring to your notice is this: Our "microscopic minority" has now so grown that it rules India from Cape Comorin up to the range of the Himalayas. (*Cheers*)

If Lord Dufferin had been a witness here to-day, he would have withdrawn his words on the spot. I have to say nothing more, but to second the resolution, which is a very pleasant duty for me to perform. (*Cheers*)

The Honorable Mr P. RANGIAH NAIDU:—Gentlemen, it is my duty to put it to the vote, and I hope all of you will vote for it by acclamation.

The motion was carried with enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. ALFRED WEBB, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, the whole assembly rising to their feet, then took the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT:—

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FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,—You call me to the presidency of the tenth meeting of the Indian National Congress. Thanking you for the honour, I proceed to discharge the duties of the post under a sense of its privileges and responsibilities.

The objects of these Congresses cannot be better stated than in the words of your first President:—"The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in [your] country's cause in all parts of the Empire; the eradication, by direct friendly intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of [your] country; and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in [your] Lord Ripon's ever-memorable reign; the authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day; the determination of the lines upon and the methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests."

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

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

You have met at Bombay twice, at Calcutta twice, at Allahabad twice, at Nagpur, at Lahore; you now meet at Madras for the second time. But seventy-two representatives attended your first assembly. The numbers gradually increased to over 1,800 at Bombay, since which meeting they have, on your own motion, for concentration of effectiveness, been restricted to about 1,000. Your proceedings have been conducted with dignity, fairness, courtesy, and tact.

Your Presidents hitherto have been distinguished men, mainly, as was right, from amongst your own people, and representing, as they should, some of the principal races and religions of India. Most eminent amongst these Presidents was Dadabhai Naoroji, not only because of his great abilities and his life long services to his country, but because of the position he occupies as your only Native representative in the Imperial Parliament. The electors of Finsbury have done themselves honour in returning him. As to your other native Presidents, the ability of their addresses, and the manner in which they conducted your proceedings, showed their fitness for the trusts confided to them. The lamented George Yule of Calcutta, almost one of yourselves, presided at your Fourth Congress. Sir William Wedderburn conducted the fifth. I have styled Mr. Naoroji your only *Native* representative in the Imperial Parliament. In Sir William Wedderburn you have another representative equally zealous and devoted—one of the faithful few whose clear conceptions of equality and justice have been unobscured by long official service. There is another name which, although not on the list of your Presidents, cannot be omitted in recalling, however slightly, your past proceedings—that of Charles Bradlaugh, “the friend and champion of India.” He attended and addressed your Fifth Congress. The report of the Sixth is formally dedicated to his memory. You never lost a better or an abler friend. Few men were ever so sincerely mourned by a larger proportion of the human race.

Having already placed in the chair two Scotchmen, you have now chosen an Irishman. Doubtless, after a becoming interval with native Presidents, you will call an Englishman. My nationality is the principal ground for my having been selected. I have none of the brilliant qualifications of my predecessors. On your invitation I take the position that was intended for a great fellow-countryman of my own. However, I do not question the fitness of your choice, for I am representative in several respects. I was nurtured in the conflict against American slavery. In the words of William Lloyd Garrison, the founder of that movement, “My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind.” To aid in the elevation of my native land has been the endeavour of my riper years. In the words of Daniel O’Connell, “My sympathies are not confined to my own green island. I am a friend to civil and religious liberty all over the world.” I hate tyranny and oppression wherever practised, more especially if practised by my own Government, for then I am in a measure responsible. I have felt the bitterness of subjection in my own country. I am a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party. I am one of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. I am a Dissenter, proud of the struggles of my Quaker forefathers for freedom of thought and action: a Protestant returned by a Catholic constituency—a Protestant living in a Catholic country, testifying against craven fears of a return to obsolete religious bitterness and intolerance—fears in your country and in mine—marked upon to impede the progress of liberty.

To be placed in this chair is the highest honour to which I can ever aspire.

That I have not resided in India is no disqualification. Free peoples are within their own borders the best judges of their own affairs. But where are concerned the interests of a large population governed by a dominant class, the members of that class, whose apparent interests lie in a continuance of that domination, cannot as a rule judge fairly. There are rare exceptions, such as Sir William Wedderburn, but generally speaking their vision is obscured by prejudices. West Indian slavery would never have been abolished by West Indian planters, nor American slavery by Southern Whites. Catholics would never have

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been emancipated in Ireland, the Church would not have been disestablished, or the franchise extended, by that class which was directly interested in the continuance of existing institutions.

Nothing in what I have said or intend to say must however be taken to imply a want of appreciation of the character and services of numbers of my fellow-citizens, whose lives have been and are being given to the administration and government of India. They were doubtless at first attracted to the service solely as a career in life. But residence here, sympathy with your people, and a sense of duty, rapidly impel to higher motives. They become sincerely anxious for your welfare and devoted to what they believe your highest good. Never has more conscience been brought to the government of a conquered country. We here are not set against them, unless, indeed, they are determined to set themselves against us. The services of men of their training, temper, and turn of mind may, perhaps for generations to come, be necessary. They are to be honoured and respected in their sphere. But they must not impede or prevent the gradual application to the government of this country of principles other than those laid down by statesmen of the first rank fully half a century ago. I might perhaps have been more affected than I have been by the attitude and language of many of them regarding your country and your people, were it not that it is such as I have been accustomed to hear from the same class in Ireland regarding my country and my people. If the anticipations of the former regarding your capacities and your future are as fully belied as have been the anticipations of the latter regarding our capacities and our future, you may rest satisfied. Closely allied, in blood and religion, as this class in Ireland has been to us, their efforts to govern independently of Irish opinion have resulted in failure. How much less likely is it that they can succeed here without availing themselves of your assistance more largely than heretofore.

In our efforts for reform and constitutional liberty, much will depend upon individual character and training; upon the extent to which we wisely administer the powers we have. The English are not naturally better or braver than other peoples. They owe their success partly to high average reliability and a high sense of duty. What they personally undertake they usually perform. Like others, they are moved by selfish considerations; but having, in politics or administrative office, once engaged for the public weal, they are not apt to neglect it for private interests; they can rely upon each other. Let us take pattern by them in these respects.

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

We hold to Imperial unity undisputed and intact. To question this would be idle; we do not question it, nor do we desire to question it. We believe that the period of small states—too often a burden alike to themselves and to the world, with their dissensions and wars—is rapidly passing away, and that a better era is dawning, when, under the ægis of immensely powerful states, the peoples can rest secure and enjoy real liberty. The series of events by which this change has been wrought is sufficiently painful, often unutterably shocking. We may well turn with horror from the record. I for one would rather be descended from those who rest in the graves of the conquered than from those who rode with victors. There is no true glory in mere domination. In public places and museums I turn with shame from the pitiful trophies torn from subject peoples. We must however accept the conditions of these changes. Let us enjoy their benefits, which are many. After all, the external prestige of nationality is not the important consideration. Individual liberty, the wise administration of local affairs, the educating of a responsible population—these are of far greater consequence. And imperial unity cannot realize its full strength and will not fulfil its true functions until all are trained to enjoy these benefits, and these benefits are extended to all. What man of ordinary intelligence could prefer Russian despotism to British freedom? British power in India will remain invulnerable against foreign aggrandisement so long as you believe that with the spread of modern ideas and education, which are largely due to British rule, will come an extension of English liberty.

There is no possibility of turning back. Once imbue nations with aspirations after progress and enlightenment, and they must go forward towards liberty. For fifty years the Anglo-Indian Government has been urging you to educate yourselves, to imbibe principles of constitutional liberty, to obliterate old divisions, to break down caste prejudices, to rise to the level of British citizenship, and to unite for the good of a common country. Taking up Sir William Hunter's *History of the Indian Peoples*, the first sentence that riveted my attention was one in which the hope is expressed that the Anglo-Indian schools would "become the nurseries of a self-respecting nation." The towers of a university were the first object that met my gaze the morning after my arrival in India. Nationality has well been defined in your debates as "The aggregate of those who are citizens of one country," [one definite geographical unit] "subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme legislature, 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. * * It has for its central stock, like the trunk of a tree, the people who have for ages and generations settled and domiciled in a country with more or less ethnic identity at the bottom, and more or less unified by being continually subjected to identical environments and to the inevitable process of assimilation." Those who accept any such definition circle in narrow grooves of thought if they believe that such nationality is inimical to Imperial strength and unity. It may in truth be its outcome and its crown.

Politics are amongst the most ennobling, most comprehensive spheres of human activity, and none should eventually be excluded from their exercise. There is much that is ludicrous, much that is sad, much that is deplorable about them. Yet they remain, and ever will remain, the most effective field upon which to work for the good of our fellows. The political atmosphere, that which we here hope to breathe, is one into which no thought of "greed, or lust, or low ambition" should enter. We desire the good of all. We work for all. No class, however lowly, however despised, must be shut out from our sympathies and our endeavours—from the expectations of that great future towards which we all yearn. We desire not alone the brotherhood of man, but the brotherhood and sisterhood of men and women. For in proportion as men and women sympathise with each other, take part in each other's pursuits, and strive for the common weal, in such proportion is public life elevated and purified. Amongst women are to be found some of your best and most earnest friends in the United Kingdom.

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Admitting the paramount necessity for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, we know that all questions relating to arms and the armed forces of the Crown must be treated with circumspection. We must weigh well our words and the difficulties of the situation.

In Ireland during most of my lifetime it has been a penal offence to carry arms without a licence, and licences are strictly guarded. In India you rest under closer restrictions. Some modification of the rules under the Arms Act is necessary, "so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, caste, or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued." With us the prohibitions are an insult to the soil; with you, to the race.

Nothing is more striking in considering the condition of India than its poverty compared with the wealth of the Western world, especially compared with that of the United Kingdom. (The riches of Great Britain are so enormous that the poverty of Ireland scarcely affects the general average.) The mean annual income of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom has been estimated at £33 14s.; that of the people of India, at from Rs. 20 to Rs. 27. Mr. Fowler, in his ministerial statement this year, dwelt upon the comparative lightness of the burthen of Indian taxation contrasted with that of the United Kingdom, forgetting that 5 per cent. on an income of Rs. 20 is a much heavier burthen than 7½ per cent. on £33. It is impossible, upon any basis of fair play, to justify debiting you with so many large items, such as the India Office and India Office expenses, recruiting depôts, loss on exchange, and the like, which really form a portion of the British home charges. If the maintenance of the Indian Empire is so essential to British prestige and greatness, if the honour and glory are to be Britain's, surely she, not you, should bear the heavy burthens. She does not attempt to collect similar charges from the Colonies.

The aggregate *annual savings* of the United Kingdom in the years between 1840 and 1888 have been estimated at £110,000,000, or over £300,000 a day. Such accumulations of wealth, combined with parsimonious dealings with poorer peoples, are irreconcilable with real belief in the precepts of righteousness.

The expenditure upon the Army in India, which in 1882-83 stood at Rx. 18,359,000 (including Rx. 17,000 for Afghanistan and Rx. 1,308,000 for Egypt), had in 1893 risen by 27 per cent. to Rx. 23,877,000. Any advantages to be derived from this increased expenditure have not been shared alike by British and by native troops. The pensions of European officers have been raised 37 per cent., of native officers only 11 per cent. Thirteen per cent. more per man is spent upon the British rank and file; 4 per cent. less per man upon the native rank and file.

Your taxes spent abroad have risen from Rx. 17,369,000 in 1882, by 31 per cent. to Rx. 22,911,000 in 1892. In the former year they amounted to 23 per cent., in the latter to 25 per cent. of your total expenditure. No country could permanently afford such a drain. These increases are not by any means entirely due to alterations in the rate of exchange.

These startling facts demand grave consideration east and west of Suez. Apart from a reference to the daily deteriorating condition of agriculture generally, I am not competent to speak on the state of your peasantry, but so far as all accounts go, official included, there are strong grounds to apprehend danger from the agricultural condition of the country. I am aware that this problem constantly engages the attention of the Supreme Government, and it is to be hoped that it will take a new departure in its policy of land revenue. Mere palliatives will never do. A judicious and statesmanlike survey of the existing situation should enable it to devise a satisfactory remedy. Whatever action may be taken to free the impoverished peasantry from the hands of the money-lenders will go a great way to ameliorate their

condition. And Government itself should modify its cast-iron system of exacting revenue at dates at which the cultivators are least prepared to discharge the State dues.

We must, however, not take a gloomy view of the situation. If you have greater difficulties to contend with than we in Ireland, you will remember that your population has been increasing, whilst ours has been reduced by over 40 per cent. within the past half century. Whilst you have lee-way to make up in education and material advancement, your relative progress has been and is out of all proportion to ours.

The justice of, and necessity for, adequate representation in your superior and local Councils is apparent, and naturally claims much of your attention. The administrative mutilation of the manifest intentions of Parliament in framing the Indian Councils Act is much to be deplored. I see that complaints have been made in every province where the enlarged Councils are established, that the distribution of seats for representation of the people is most unsatisfactory; and that, while some interests are over-represented, other important interests are not represented at all. This is not in accordance with the expressed views of British statesmen on both sides of the House when the Bill was discussed. Mr. Gladstone said: "I believe I am justified in looking forward, not merely to a nominal, but to a real living representation of the people of India." Lord Salisbury was no less emphatic: "If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, let us do it systematically ** taking care that the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India." How little have these anticipations been realized! We have here a striking instance of the extent to which administration can defeat the intentions of legislation.

It is indeed almost more necessary for the contentment of a people that they should have the administration rather than the enactment of the laws in their own hands. It is moreover desirable that judicial should, as far as possible, be separated from executive functions, and that civil and military employments in medical and other departments should not be held by the same persons. The average military officer, supreme in his own sphere, is of all others least suited by his training to administer civil affairs in a sympathetic and conciliatory spirit. And it has been well said "The frame of mind necessary for an executive officer and the frame of mind necessary for a judge are different. Executive officers ought to mix freely with the people, they ought to try to make friends with them, they ought to see this, and they ought to see that. A judge, on the contrary, ought to shut his ears against everything except that which comes before him in court. But an executive officer has, as such, to learn everything and to do everything, and when he comes upon the bench, he is expected to divest his mind of whatever he has heard elsewhere. Even the best officer of Government is after all a human being."

You have properly protested against the curtailment of your rights regarding trial by jury. Whether we compare the number of convictions before and since the institution of the system thirty years ago, or the state of affairs in districts where it was not established with that where it was established, there appears nothing to justify recent changes. Officials sometimes forget that the general attitude of the people towards the law is of more consequence than the number of malefactors sentenced. It is an old principle of English jurisprudence that it is better that many guilty should escape than that one innocent man should suffer. Love of law, the conception that it is for the good of all—so deeply implanted in the hearts of sovereign peoples, who have been able to mould it to their will—is naturally a plant of slow growth with peoples less favoured.

Regarding criminal procedure in India, the public conscience at home has been from time to time outraged by instances that have reached us of what appeared to be undue

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partiality towards Europeans. A number of such cases have been well-summed up in a book by Ram Gopal Sanyal recently published in Calcutta. The Dum Dum and the Guntakal cases appeared to many of us in Parliament disastrous miscarriages of justice, detrimental to British prestige, the outcome of that brutal contempt for your people which is unhappily still characteristic of many ignorant and prejudiced Europeans, and the product of that race hatred which it ought to be the Government's first care to stamp out. Even the appearance or suspicion of judging the efficiency of magistrates and police by their success in securing convictions should be avoided. We all hope that the Government of India, whose desire for impartiality and justice we all admit, is keenly alive to these evils, and will try its best to consider favourably your representations on the subject. I trust that ere long they may be removed.

Meanwhile let us not embitter our lives, or weaken our energies for practical work. Human justice is after all fallible justice. We all fall short where our own interests are concerned! Let what we believe to be injustice by others impel us to higher standards, to nobler ideals of life, to wider charity and forgiveness, to deeper trust in an Omniscience that will yet right every wrong and wipe the tear from every eye.

We rejoiced at the adoption of Mr. Paul's motion regarding Simultaneous Examinations; still more at the frank spirit in which it appeared to have been accepted by the Government. We thought it a great step forward—a solid advantage gained. We have been correspondingly disappointed by the extent to which official counsels have since prevailed, even to the reversal by a Liberal Cabinet of the solemn decision then arrived at. Such vacillation tends to weaken the power of the House of Commons. We have lately seen it instanced as a reason why the Upper Chamber should properly set at naught the resolution of the Lower. When public opinion has secured the acceptance by the House of such a great principle, it has a right to consider its work accomplished. I but voice the pain which this proceeding has caused to many of the most ardent supporters of the Government.

Upon the other hand, few actions of the present Government are more indicative of the progress of liberal ideas than the recent convention with Japan for the abolition of consular jurisdiction. This convention may not be without hopeful significance regarding your future. How comes it that powers over British citizens which it is considered inexpedient to accord to Indian judges trained in British law, have freely, and almost without comment, been granted to judges in Japan?

The education of the people claims the first attention of Government now-a-days. I regret that in your case the expenditure thereupon bears such a small proportion to that for military purposes. We must, however, individually bear in mind—at least with us in the United Kingdom there is need to bear in mind—that education in itself confers no special claim to employment by the State. Education fits us for life and enables us the better to use and to enjoy life. It widens our horizon. But we must not expect too much from it. It should be a blessing to all; it might easily be a curse to some, if it spoiled them for the proper discharge of the simple duties that come nearest to them.

I desire now to refer to three subjects—Drink, the Regulation of Vice, and Opium—which have more particularly interested many British friends of India. In this connection I must confess that, as a member of a professedly Christian land, I am almost ashamed to stand before you. Christians claim to carry a message of love and enlightenment to the world. You and we have come together; and what have been the consequences? Have you wronged us, or have we wronged you? Have you for individual gain forced ruin and demoralization upon us, or have we forced them upon you? These questions carry their own answers. We owe our highest civilization and culture originally to the East. In return we have handed back some benefits, but also some of the lowest products of Western civilization.

As to the Drink curse (largely introduced and widely extended by us), there have been repeated denunciations in your debates. It has formed the subject of a resolution at more than one Congress. The spread in India of this evil is fully discussed in the debate on the "Reform in excise administration" at your Sixth and Eighth Congresses. It is deplorable to hear that "people have become more addicted to drink, because it has been thought to be an adjunct of Western civilization;" that "It has been left for [your] Christian rulers to love it, stimulate it, and pet it, and make money by millions of pounds out of it." In this Presidency the excise licences appear to have increased fivefold within forty years. I understand that in India as a whole they have doubled within twenty years. The East India Company, ostensibly at least, strove to reduce consumption. Can we believe that such is the object of Government at the present day? There is scarcely a family in the United Kingdom that has not suffered from the ravages of drink. I am one of those who believe that safety only lies in complete abstinence. To many peoples our introduction of it has meant annihilation. You cannot be too much upon your guard against its insidious advances. I rejoice that the attention you have given to the subject has already contributed in the Madras Presidency alone to the closure of thousands of liquor shops. In such respects as these I have long been of the opinion that the crimes committed by society through Government against the people, are often greater and less excusable, and more disgraceful to character, than the worst crimes ever committed by the people against society and against Government. The former are deliberate and far-reaching. In a certain sense they are without justification, and every citizen is responsible. The latter have generally been committed by the irresponsible few in moments of excitement.

With regard to the odious Cantonment Acts, your testimony has been clear and true. At Allahabad in 1888 you unanimously resolved "That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object." This must have had considerable influence with the Home Government in the changes which it has prescribed, and which the Government in India is now so tardily carrying out. The history of this question is most significant from the 9th July 1887, when Lord Cross telegraphed to the Viceroy: "I apprehend system is indefensible and must be condemned," till 11th August 1893, when Lord Roberts had the manliness to apologize to Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Kate Bushnell for having denied the accuracy of their revelations upon the subject. But for the ability and devotion of these American ladies, officials would still conceal the truth from the British public, as they managed to conceal it even from the responsible head of a responsible department. What a commentary upon Indian administration! What an argument for local representation! That system of administration is indeed faulty which admits of simply docketing, without obeying, instructions that do not meet the approval of officials. It is easy, but cannot be permanent. For the first time—I say it without meaning offence—the methods of the Indian administration have been fully exposed; and since they have been detected in one particular, we at home must beware of too blindly trusting them in others.

To Opium I find little reference in your proceedings. It is a subject which engages the attention of many of the more thoughtful and conscientious of your friends. There are difficulties surrounding it. No doubt, we in the United Kingdom for our own purposes encouraged the use of the drug, spread its cultivation, and forced it upon China. How are we to retrace our steps? Certainly not at your expense. The decrease of the revenue from this source by 16 per cent. within the past ten years is a warning that such revenue cannot permanently be depended upon. Consideration for the rights of your Independent States complicates the problem. I cannot here initiate discussion upon it. Your business for this session is already planned and cannot be altered. However, at some time, your knowledge and

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advice would be helpful to those of us in the United Kingdom, who desire to do our duty in this matter.

The reforms we desire are not likely to be accomplished, your cause cannot be effectually pleaded, until you are satisfactorily represented alike in your Provincial Councils and in the Imperial Parliament. In proportion as each class and each interest within the United Kingdom has been enabled to make its voice heard in the Imperial Parliament, in just such proportion has that assembly been strengthened and dignified. That strength and that dignity will undoubtedly at some period be increased by representation from the component parts of the Empire. If the Empire is, as we believe it to be, one and indivisible, one indivisible spirit of liberty must pervade every portion of it. If all cannot eventually be raised to one level, all may equally be lowered. If absolutism is necessary here, absolutism will certainly taint and ultimately undermine the fabric of English liberty. Already the workings of ascendancy in India have not been without their influence in retarding steady liberal progress in the United Kingdom.

I have thus ventured, within the short time at my disposal, to lay before you my views regarding the questions that have most engaged your attention and are likely again to come up for discussion. You may the better appreciate the spirit in which I landed upon your shores and in which I shall follow your debates.

We may proceed to our task with hope and confidence. Within the lifetime of a generation you have obtained what may be regarded as the first instalment of reform, in the direction of the expansion and reconstruction of the Legislative Councils, which has cost other countries centuries of toil and effort. You have every reason to be proud of what you have achieved in other directions. You must not be cooled by temporary discouragements, by the unfaithfulness of some, the want of faith of the many. Reform progresses like the steady rise of the tide through many an ebb and flow of the waves. Confident are we that through all storm and cloud, the sun of constitutional liberty will yet shine with pure and beneficent effulgence upon your country. Let it be your individual care to carry back from these Congresses, into every-day life and every-day occupations, true elevation of mind, belief in your future, and your own power to mould your future. This future depends more upon yourselves than upon any political or financial changes. Before all you must cultivate a spirit of generous toleration and of charity between class and class and creed and creed.

Considering the general advancement of the world, from which no portion of its surface can be permanently excluded, we have every cause for encouragement, every incentive to press forward, setting no limits to the possible material and spiritual advancement of mankind. Never before were men and women so alive to their capabilities and to their responsibilities towards each other. Let us advance together in ever-widening combinations, with ever-broadening hopes, labouring for the good of all.

“ For oh! it were a gallant deed
 To show before mankind,
 How every race and every creed
 Might be by love combined—
 Might be combined, yet not forget
 The fountains whence they rose
 As, filled by many a rivulet,
 The stately " Ganges " flows.”

One of your sages has compared the soul of man to a bird, and earthly existence to the period marked by its flight through a room—out of the illimitable into the illimitable. By devoting ourselves to the good of others, we can best occupy that brief space. The wise assertion of common rights is enlightened altruism.

Here I brought to a conclusion this address, as, with the exception of a few sentences, I had prepared it in Ireland and on the ocean. Since then, I have landed in India, have seen some of your schools and colleges, have lingered in the crowded streets of your cities, have listened to the hum of your manufactories, have talked with your leaders, have watched the sun rise and set on the plains where such a large proportion of your population hardly wring their living from the soil. I now somewhat realize the surpassing beauty of your land. I have met you here face to face. How faint and weak, how inadequate to the expression of my inmost feelings is what I have written and spoken. Apart from those family and national ties, which to each one of us are the first of life's blessings—the choicest gifts of God—I regard this visit to India, and permission to take part in the proceedings of this great assemblage, as the highest privilege, and one that cannot but profoundly influence my remaining years. So far, two convictions before all others, press themselves upon me. The one: the greatness, apart from its inception and much of its history, of the mission of the United Kingdom in this land—the other: that this Congress movement is the necessary and logical outcome, the richest fruit of that noble mission, of which we citizens of the United Kingdom should be proud. You yourselves are taking up the work—the work which you and you alone can ultimately perfect—“the eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed, or national prejudices amongst all lovers of your country.” This is in truth the greatest combined peaceful effort for the good of the largest number of the human race that history has recorded. (*Loud and long continued Cheers.*)

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The PRESIDENT:—My first duty is a pleasing one; it is to ask Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea to read a letter, which was placed in my hands just before the meeting commenced.

The Honorable Mr SURENDEA NATH BANERJEA, who on rising was received with enthusiastic cheers, said:—

I may say you will be gratified with the pleasing announcement which the letter that the President has asked me to read contains. It is the announcement of a munificent and princely gift by one of the great men of your Presidency on behalf of the Congress cause. (*Cheers.*) The letter, which is from the Rajah of Ramnad, is as follows:—

“I have the honor to inform you that I have remitted a sum of Rs. 10,000 in aid of the funds of the Indian National Congress, as a small token of the sympathy which I feel for the movement, which is thoroughly loyal in its character and is fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of India. I trust that my donation will be received by the Committee of the National Congress.”

Three cheers were then given for the Rajah of Ramnad.

The PRESIDENT:—I now call upon the delegates of the different Congress Circles to elect the members of the Subjects Committee. Let the Secretaries of the various Congress Circles send up the list of the Members.

Election of
Subjects
Committee.

Mr. GHOSAL:—The following are proposed as members of the Subjects Committee:—

MADRAS.

1. THE HON'BLE P. BUNGHIA NAIDU GARU	...	...	...	Madras.
2. " " C. SUNKARAN NAIR	...	...	...	do.
3. G. PARAMESWARAN PILLAI, ESQ.	...	...	...	do.
4. M. VIRARAGHAVACHARIYAR, ESQ.	...	...	...	do.
5. RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU	...	...	...	do.
6. EARDLEY NORTON, ESQ.	...	...	...	do.
7. HUBERT MORGAN-BROWNE, ESQ.	do.
8. DEWAN BAHADUR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER, C. I. E....	do.
9. PETEE PAUL PILLAI, ESQ.	do.

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10.	SYED MAHOMED BAHADUR ...	Madras.
11.	G. SUBRAMANIA IYER, Esq. ...	do.
12.	M. R. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, Esq. ...	do.
13.	K. VENKATA SUBBA RAO, Esq. ...	do.
14.	V. ARUNAGIRI NAIDU, Esq. ...	do.
15.	THE HONORABLE MR. KALIANA SUNDARAM IYER	Tanjore.
16.	S. A. SAMINATHA IYER, Esq. ...	do.
17.	K. VASUDEVA IYENGAR, Esq. ...	Trichinopoly.
18.	THE HONORABLE N. SUBBA RAO PANTULU	Godavery.
19.	G. VENKATA RATNAM, Esq. ...	do.
20.	V. V. AVADANI PANTULU. ...	Masulipatam.
21.	SYAMA SUNDARA RAO, Esq. ...	Vizianagaram.
22.	A. KRISHNASAWMI IYER, Esq. ...	Tinnevelly.
23.	K. R. GURUSAMI IYER, Esq. ...	do.
24.	W. VIERASAMI IYER, Esq. ...	Salem.
25.	T. S. BALAKRISHNA IYER, Esq. ...	Coimbatore.
26.	K. SRINIVASA ROW, Esq. ...	do.
27.	THE HONORABLE A. SABAPATHY MUDALIYAR	Bellary.
28.	REV. STEPHENSON....	Gooty.
29.	RAI BAHADUR C. JAMBULINGA MUDALIYAR	Cuddapah.
30.	K. R. RAMASAMI IYER, Esq. ...	Malabar and Canara.
31.	V. RYRU NAMBIAR, Esq. ...	do.
32.	ACHUTA MENON, Esq. ...	do.
33.	J. SEYMOUR KEAY, Esq., M. P. ...	Secunderabad.
34.	P. RAMACHANDRA PILLAI, Esq. ...	do.

BOMBAY.

1.	D. E. WACHA, Esq. ...	Bombay.
2.	THE HONORABLE C. H. SITALVAD	do.
3.	DR. K. N. BHADURJI	do.
4.	W. A. CHAMBERS, Esq. ...	do.
5.	DR. M. G. DESHMOOK	do.
6.	A. DEV, Esq. ...	do.
7.	JAG MOHAN DAS VASIDRA VANDAS, Esq.	do.
8.	MULRAJ KHATAO, Esq. ...	do.
9.	GOKULDAS DWARKADASS TALATU, Esq.	Ahmedabad.
10.	GOVIND APAJI PATIL, Esq. ...	do.
11.	GOVINDARAO APAJI PATIL, Esq. ...	do.
12.	G. S. MUKHADAM, Esq. ...	do.
13.	DAYABHAI LJUTRAM, Esq. ...	do.
14.	S. R. KIRLOSAR, Esq. ...	Sholapur.
15.	S. N. SATHAYEE, Esq. ...	do.
16.	N. B. MOOLAY, Esq. ...	Ahmednagar.
17.	BALAKRISHNA RAMACHANDRA KOTWAL	Dhulia.
18.	VASUDEVA BAPUJE AKAT, Esq. ...	do.
19.	THE HONORABLE V. R. NATU, B.A., LL.D.	Belgaum.
20.	S. A. CHHATRE, Esq. ...	do.
21.	S. B. BHATE, Esq. ...	do.
22.	RAI BABADUR V. M. BHIDE	Deccan Circle.
23.	K. P. GADGIL, Esq. ...	do.

24.	K. G. NATU, Esq.	...	Deccan Circle.	First Day. — Election of Subjects Committee. —
25.	M. B. NAMJOSHI, Esq.	...	do.	
26.	PROF. G. K. GOKHALE	...	do.	
27.	R. D. NAGARKAR, Esq.	...	do.	
28.	RAJARAM YESHWANT RAJA, Esq.	...	Nasik.	
29.	R. P. KARANDIKAR, Esq.	...	Satara.	
30.	G. B. PHANSALKAR, Esq.	...	do.	
31.	V. S. SAHASRABUDHI, Esq.	...	do.	
32.	D. B. PARASNIS, Esq.	...	do.	
33.	DOWLAT RAM JETUMAL, Esq.	...	Sind.	
34.	G. PESUMAL, Esq.	...	do.	

BERAR.

1. R. N. MUDHOLKAR, Esq.
2. G. N. KANE, Esq.
3. L. C. BAPAT, Esq.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. RAO SAHEB BALANANDA RAO MAHAJANA.
2. C. V. NAIDU, Esq.
3. DR. ADARASINGHA GOUR, M.A., LL.D.
4. K. N. DESMUKHI, Esq.
5. N. K. KELAKARA, Esq.
6. K. V. JOSHI, Esq.
7. RAO SAHEB KASINATH RAO VAIDYA.
8. BAGHIRATH PRASAD, Esq.
9. LEESHMANA RAO.

N. W. P. & OUDH.

1. THE HONORABLE RAJA RAMPAL SINGH.
2. THE HONORABLE CHAROO CHUNDE MITTER.
3. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, B.A., LL.B.
4. A. NUNDY, Esq.
5. PANDIT TOOLSIRAM MISRA.
6. HAVIZ ABDUL RAHIM, Esq.
7. GANGA PRASAD VARMA, Esq.
8. PANDIT BISHAN NARAIN DAB.
9. PANDIT SHAM NARAIN.

PUNJAB.

1. LALA MURLIDHAR.
2. BAKSHI JAISHIRAM.
3. CAPTAIN BANON.

BENGAL.

- | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----------|
| 1. | J. GOSHAL, Esq. | ... | Calcutta. |
| 2. | THE HON'BLE BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA | ... | do. |
| 3. | BABU KALICHARAN BANERJI | ... | do. |
| 4. | REV. C. N. BANERJEE. | ... | do. |
| 5. | BABU MEHER MITTER. | ... | do. |
| 6. | BABU HERAMBA CHANDRA MOITRA | ... | do. |
| 7. | BABU KRISHNA KUMAR MITTER | ... | do. |
| 8. | BABU NIBRAN CHANDRA DATTA | ... | do. |

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9.	PASUPATHI NATH BASU, ESQ.	Calcutta.
10.	BABU PROMATH NATH MITTAL	do.
11.	P. N. MITTAL, ESQ.	do.
12.	PANDIT KALI PRASANNA KADYA BISHARAD	...	...	...	do.
13.	BABU BISHNU PADA CHATTERJEE	...	...	...	Hooghly.
14.	BABU KEDAR NATH BANERJEE	...	...	...	do.
15.	BABU SARAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI	...	...	...	Dacca.
16.	BABU JOTINDRA NATH ROY CHOWDHRI	...	...	...	24 Purgannahs.
17.	KALI PRASANNA ACHARYA, ESQ.	...	...	...	Rajshahye.
18.	BABU MADEB CHANDRA CHATTERJEE	...	...	...	Dinajpur.
19.	BABU RAKHAL DAS SEN	...	...	...	do.
20.	BABU AMARCHANDRA DATTA	...	...	...	Myrensing.
21.	BABU SASANKA KUMAR GHOSH	...	...	...	do.
22.	BABU BOIKANTA NATH SEN	...	...	...	Moorshidabad.
23.	BABU HEMENDRA NATH SEN	...	...	...	do.
24.	BABU AMBICA CHARAN MOZUMDAR	...	...	...	Faridpur.
25.	BABU PRITHISH CHANDRA ROY	...	...	...	do.
26.	BABU SARAT CHANDRA SEN	...	...	...	Chota Nagpur.
27.	HARA KANTA SEN, ESQ.	...	...	...	Bakerganj.
28.	BABU JADAV LAL ROY	...	...	...	Bogra.
29.	KUNJA LAL SHAHA, ESQ.	...	...	...	Pabna.
30.	BABU MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI	...	...	...	do.
31.	BABU SASANKA MOHAN SEN	...	...	...	Chittagong.

The PRESIDENT:—Is it the pleasure of the Congress that these names should be confirmed? (*Voices, Yes! Yes!*)

Mr. R. VENKATARATNAM:—I have an amendment to move.

The PRESIDENT:—What is the nature of your amendment?

Mr. VENKATARATNAM:—If you will allow me to speak, I will tell you.

The PRESIDENT:—You must state the terms of your amendment from your place.

Mr. VENKATARATNAM:—I move that a certain name be omitted from the Subjects Committee. (*Cries of, No! No!*)

The PRESIDENT:—Give me the grounds of your objection. Has he not been properly put forward by his district?

Mr. VENKATARATNAM:—My objection is that a gentleman of that nature (*Interruption*).

The PRESIDENT:—Your amendment is entirely out of order. I cannot consider any such amendment (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, let those that are in favour of confirming these names say "Aye" (*Voices, All! All!*) I declare these gentlemen duly elected. The Subjects Committee will meet in one hour at 5-30 p.m., and the Congress itself adjourns till 12 o'clock to-morrow.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, the 27th December, 1894.

The Congress met at 12 noon.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. Ghosal will now read out the rules for the conduct of business.

MR. GHOSAL:—Gentlemen, these are the rules for the conduct of business. Please hear them attentively, as the business of the Congress will be conducted according to these rules:—

TENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1894.

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS.

No one who is not a Delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter.

Every Delegate must address the assembly from the speaker's platform.

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

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

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

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

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

No other business shall be brought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been disposed of.

But afterwards, if time permits, any Delegate who shall have given notice in writing, at the commencement of the sitting, to the President of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, or a definite resolution, which he sets forth, proposed, shall have a right to move, but any delegate who at any time previous to rising shall have given the necessary notice may, with the permission of the President, rise and ask the President to take the sense of the assembly as to whether such subject shall be discussed. No speaking at this stage shall be

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allowed. The President will simply read out the subject and the proposed resolution and make any such remarks as he considers essential and take a vote of the assembly as to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative the proposer shall then set forth the subject and the resolution he proposes with such explanations as he considers necessary, and then after due discussion the question shall be disposed of in the usual way. If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped.

THE PRESIDENT :—Mr. Morgan-Browne has a short statement to make to you.

MR. MORGAN-BROWNE :—Gentlemen, your British Committee has published a Report and a statement of accounts for the current year. The delegates will be furnished with a copy of this Report upon application to Mr. Parameswaram Pillai, one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee. I also wish to state that for the convenience of the delegates and the secretaries of the various Congress Committees, there is put up in this compound an office where subscriptions to "India" will be received, and the names and addresses of the people subscribing for next year will be taken down. I trust that many will take the opportunity of registering their names as subscribers to the Congress organ "India" and paying their subscriptions. Let me just remind you, Gentlemen, that this is a cash office—no credit.
(Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT :—I desire to say that the letters I have received, as President of the Congress, are quite too numerous for me to answer. I have to thank the different writers. The letters have been handed over to the Secretaries and will be properly dealt with by them. Mr. Wacha, of Bombay, will now move the first resolution.

MR. D. E. WACHA, who on rising was received with Cheers, said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that has been entrusted to me runs as follows :—

(a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant mill industry of this country.

(b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State.

(c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will, without delay, seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all cottons from "twenties" to "twenty-fours" from the operation of the Act.

(d) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.

You will observe, Gentlemen, that the Resolution is divided into four parts, but, before I dwell on each of these, I may as well explain to you why it has been judged necessary by the Subjects Committee to give this Resolution precedence over all others. It is the urgency of the occasion which demands it. As you are all aware, the Excise Duty Bill will be read for the third time and passed into law this day. And this is the earliest opportunity which is offered to the Congress to make its voice, as the exponent of enlightened native public opinion, heard in the Council of the empire at Calcutta. We must therefore be prompt and speedy in our action. (Hear, hear.) Coming now to the subject matter of the Resolution, I may say it will not require any very lengthened observations from me to commend its adoption to you, for the question has been very ably and intelligently threshed out, not only by enlightened Native and English public opinion, as represented by the Press, but by experts, such as the Mill Owners' Association and the Government of India. Thus all India, so to speak, has exhausted the discussion on the merits and demerits of the piece of legislation which is now on the anvil. (Cheers.) Now, before I specifically refer to the different sections of

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the Resolution, let me say one word as to the Government of India itself. It deserves our warm gratitude for having at last been able to extort from the Secretary of State for India the concession to impose an import duty of five per cent. on all the finer classes of cotton goods. In this instance, I may mention, the Government of India has really voiced the needs of the people and nobly advocated their true interests. (*Cheers.*) It is to be sincerely hoped that, in all other matters affecting our permanent welfare, the advocacy of the Government will be of a similarly gratifying character. (*Loud Cheers.*) In such an event, I have not the least doubt in my own mind, and I daresay you will agree with me in that opinion, that our progress will be quicker and a great deal more satisfactory than hitherto. (*Loud Cheers.*) For, Gentlemen, remember that the Government, or rather the State, and the People are the same. We cannot be in opposition to it. For our interests are identical. (*Applause.*) The interests of the people are the interests of the State, and *vice versa*. But while we rejoice at the tardy justice which the Government has been able to secure from the autocrat at Westminster, it is at the same time a matter of regret that it should be accompanied by some disadvantages. These are of a two-fold character. Firstly, a large revenue has been needlessly sacrificed during the last twelve months; and secondly, it has been unfortunately deemed expedient to have a countervailing excise. As to the sacrifice of the revenue it may be observed that had the cotton manufactures of Lancashire been included in the Tariff Bill which was passed just twelve months ago, the Government treasury would have been richer to-day by well nigh a crore-and-a-half. (*Hear, hear.*) To that extent the sacrifice was needless. We have, as it were, made a present of it to the importers, when we might have stemmed the additional deficit expected at the close of the financial year and altogether obviated the necessity of so iniquitous a Bill as is now before the Supreme Legislative Council. (*Hear, hear.*) It is notorious that during the year the imports of finer goods, the value of which averages between 26 and 30 crores per annum, have been abnormal. At the very least they are 2 crores in excess of that average. The importers took time by the forelock and were shrewd enough to forestall Government in anticipation of the impending duty. So much then for the refusal of the Secretary of State to impose the duty at the proper time. The other and the more important disadvantage is the countervailing excise—of course, as a counterblast to the import duty. I shall directly show how it is uncalled for. Nay, not only uncalled for, but how unjust and impolitic. But before I dilate on that injustice and impolicy, I would detain you a while on what economists consider to be the principles of a sound and successful excise. These are three in number. Firstly, its productiveness; secondly, its economy; and thirdly, its equity. As to productiveness, we have it on the authority of the Financial Member of the Government of India himself that the revenue to be derived from the excise is not the reason for its imposition. But if then there is to be no productiveness, where is the *raison d'être* of the measure? Tested by the first principle, it fails to command our approval. Coming to the next principle, we are again told that the receipts will be barely commensurate with the cost of collection. The cost of establishment is large, while according to Mr. Westland, the revenue at the most may reach 7 lakhs, if all yarns between “twenties” and “twenty-fours” are taxed, and only 1½ lakhs if yarns between “twenty-fours” and “thirties” are taxed. Here again the test is not fulfilled. Then, as to the equity of the excise. It is, I presume, superfluous for me to observe that the equity is simply in the air. (*Laughter.*) Thus, tested in the crucible of the economists the measure miserably fails. Nay, it commands universal disapproval. I will go a step further and say that it has not even the merit which primitive methods of excise possess, namely, the exigency of the revenue. It will then be reasonably asked why is the Bill brought forward. To that we have a reply from the Financial Member himself. Because the Secretary of State deems it opportune to please the Philistines of Manchester. (*Shame!*)

Now, Gentlemen, in the first clause of the Resolution we say that the Excise Bill is unjust and impolitic. I shall endeavour to justify the two statements. Firstly, because no

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case whatever has been made out to show that the import duty on cotton goods will be protective in its character or act as a bounty on our home manufactures. I daresay most of you, if not all, have perused the very able and exhaustive memorial on the subject submitted some time ago to the Government of India by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association; also the minute of the Hon. Mr. Westland, dated 14th July last, which accompanied the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 7th August, recommending that, if any excise duty was to be levied, it should be on all counts of yarn above "twenty-fours." The former body collected statistics from 105 mills in the country, 70 of which are in Bombay, the centre of the industry, and conclusively demonstrated that of the total manufactures counts between "twenty-fours" and "thirties" only come to 6 per cent.; and that the total value of exports of Indian manufactured cottons above "twenties" does not exceed 86 lakhs of rupees. On the other hand, out of the bulk of all descriptions of cotton fabrics imported into India from the United Kingdom only 2 per cent. are of counts under "twenties." Virtually, then, Lancashire does not compete with this country in the coarser kinds, and India does not compete with Lancashire in the finer kinds. Thus statistics completely disprove the cry of protection. Absolutely nothing is protected by the import duty, which, therefore, in no way acts as a bounty on home-made cottons. This being the exact economic condition of the indigenous industry, can it be reasonably urged that the excise duty is justifiable? And if it be not justifiable, can we not characterise it as unjust? (*Hear, hear.*) For of what use imposing a duty for which there exists no justification? Again, as Mr. Westland observed in his speech, revenue is not the consideration. That simply emphasises the injustice. For if there be no necessity to levy it for purposes of revenue and if it is not even for purposes of counterbalancing the import duty, what is it imposed for? The Honorable the Finance Minister gives a reply to the query. It is to please the Secretary of State on behalf of those good and pious people of Manchester (*Laughter.*) I have, I trust, demonstrated to you the injustice of the levy. Let me for a moment refer to the impolicy of it. I say, and so do all who are keenly interested in the natural growth and development of the industry, that it is impolitic from the economic point of view. The flourishing cotton trade, I fear, is liable to be seriously hampered, though the Secretary of State seems to regard this contingency with a light heart. My belief is that not only will our future industrial development be retarded, but that the prosperity which has hitherto attended our manufactures will receive a rude shock, especially in Africa and Arabia. It is indeed most unfortunate. While the Government of India is sincerely desirous of witnessing a further development of the country's cotton manufactures, it is constrained under the arbitrary instructions of a superior authority to do the very thing which will arrest that development. (*Hear, hear.*) Are we not all aware that the future material progress of this country will depend on the advance it may make in its manufactures of all kinds of raw products? Do we not desire to become as far as possible independent of foreign countries for the finer class of cloths we now require—cloths of all descriptions, whose imports average about 28 to 30 crores per annum? I have great faith, Gentlemen, in the industrial revolution of India. She underwent one—a most mischievous one about a century ago. What with heavy export duties on indigenous cottons on the one hand, and light import duties on foreign fabrics on the other, our rulers actually killed the thriving cloth trade (*Shame*)—a state of things from which we have but recently emerged. Our material salvation, therefore, rests upon our making progress with the spinning of finer counts, (*Hear, hear*), and so long as artificial restraints of the character of this unjustifiable excise duty are put upon our industry it is vain to hope that we shall ever get the chance we want, and bring about that peaceful industrial revolution which would lead to our prosperity. On these economic grounds the measure will no doubt be considered extremely impolitic. (*Hear, hear.*)

I now pass on to the second clause of the Resolution, which records, and justly, the unanimous opinion of all India that in levying the excise duty her interests have been sacri-

feed. Surrendering in the fashion the Government of India has surrendered in the present case is a policy fraught with danger to the empire, for it is impossible to say how the authorities here may go on surrendering and surrendering. (*Hear, hear*) I have noticed with profound regret the extremely lame defence which Mr. Westland made in the Council Chamber the other day in reference to this surrender. The Government, he said, were powerless in the matter. The authority of the Secretary of State was supreme. Virtually, it would signify this, that the Government is simply the registrar of the ukases of the great autocrat for the time being at Westminster! In that case administration in India must cease to exist. Let it be conducted from the other end of the world. Gentlemen, we all feel humiliated at this spectacle—at this open declaration of its helplessness by the Indian Government! (*Hear, hear*) Surely, the *Englishman* is not far wrong when it severely criticises this attitude of our rulers here. Whatever be its views, and those of the *Pioneer* on other problems of the administration, none can deny that in this instance they are a correct echo of the feeling and sentiments of Anglo-Indians and Indians alike. Such helplessness, not to call it by a stronger word, is indeed most undesirable. Gentlemen, if I were Viceroy and Governor-General (*Laughter*) I would rather resign my post than be such a silent, humble and obedient servant to the Secretary of State. (*Loud Applause*) I would ten times advocate the cause of India and defend it to the last hour rather than surrender myself in the fashion the Government seems to have done. (*Loud Cheers*) I repeat there is a great political danger in surrenders of such character, but I will refrain from dilating on the point as not germane to the resolution. I therefore pass on to the third clause, which prays that Government may be pleased to obtain, as soon as possible, the sanction of the Secretary of State to exempt all yarns above “twenties” and under “twenty-fours.” Were such an exemption speedily granted, I am sure that all India would be pleased, while the industrial developments which we are now witnessing would continue on their onward natural course, leading to greater material prosperity to our people in the near future. Let us all devoutly wish that our prayer, which by the fourth clause of the Resolution we authorise our President to communicate forthwith to the Government of India, may be favourably considered. With these observations I cordially commend the Resolution to your approval. (*Loud Cheers.*)

THE HON. MR. A. SABAPATHY MOODELIAR, in seconding the Resolution, said:—
 Brother Delegates,—I think I have a very easy task to perform, after what has been said so eloquently and so exhaustively by my friend Mr. D. E. Wacha, of Bombay, so please, Gentlemen, do not expect from me any more remarks on the point. I will, however, take this opportunity of pointing out to you, Gentlemen, that this measure will cripple the industries of Madras as well as of Bombay, in fact of India generally. They say that the object of imposing this duty on our Indian manufactures is to satisfy the demands of the Lancashire people. You have all read the statement made by the Financial Secretary that the Government of India is quite powerless to exempt the Indian manufacturer from this excise duty, as it has been stipulated by the Secretary of State that the import duties cannot be collected, cannot be imposed, unless the Indian Government makes it a point to agree to the collection of the excise duty. Under these circumstances I think we have no other alternative but to bring to the notice of Government that all yarns ranging up to “twenty-fours” should at least be exempted; otherwise, not only will Indian industry be crippled in its infancy, but facilities will certainly be given to Japan and other countries, which are now taking up this industry very extensively, to compete and be independent of Bombay and other centres, from which at present they draw very large supplies. So, my dear brethren, all we can now do is to protest as strongly as we possibly can and ask our President to telegraph this Resolution without any delay, as I hear that the sitting of the Council will take place soon to decide this question. I have therefore great pleasure in seconding this proposition, and I hope you will accord your assent with one unanimous voice. (*Cheers.*)

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THE PRESIDENT :—The first Resolution has been properly proposed and seconded. Those of you who are of opinion that it should be passed please say "Aye." The Resolution was carried with acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT :—Mr. Boikunta Nath Sen will propose the second Resolution.

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MR. BOIKUNTA NATH SEN :—Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates and Gentlemen,—I have been entrusted with the second Resolution, which is to this effect :—

(a) That this Congress desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of the Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of survey and other cesses) and with the terms of 'Sunnads of permanently settled estates in Madras; and deeming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders, and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf.

(b) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his Despatches of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State; and this Congress hereby entreats the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land-tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements.

Now this Resolution may be called the Resolution regarding the land we live on. The whole of the Indian population is interested in the solution of this question: and I may say directly interested. Bengal enjoys certain privileges which the other sister provinces do not enjoy. But the vested rights of Bengal have been threatened, therefore Bengal too is directly concerned. The importance of the question is fully appreciated by all, and it has gradually in the course of five or six years secured for itself a certain amount of prominence. Now this question was first mooted in the fourth Congress. In the fifth Congress the Resolution was to this effect—I mean the Resolution on this subject:—"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 settlement of the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of the country." Now after this Resolution was adopted by the Congress, year after year Resolutions have been recorded from this Congress platform repeating the prayer for fixity and permanency of Government land revenue demand. Year after year it has been requested that practical effect might be given to the principles laid down in the Secretary of State's despatch of 1862, which has been approved by subsequent despatches, and that effect might also be given to the line of action indicated in those despatches. Now in the despatch of 1862, amongst other things, you will find this, that "after the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue, not only to those immediately concerned 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 insure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects." Now with this despatch before us, and with the noble and the liberal principle formulated in the despatch, we had, of course, good reasons to hope; but the question is—have our expectations been fulfilled? The successive measures adopted by Government are not evolutions of forward progress, but they are re-actionary and retrograde in their nature, and it is in

view of this that last year on this subject Resolutions were adopted by Congress similar to the one which is now being placed before you for your acceptance. In this there is only the addition that the Congress resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf. Last year there was the alarm noted. Now, Gentlemen, the imposition of cesses in Bengal—I mean the Road cess and the Public Works cess—was an infringement of the terms of the permanent settlement. It was in direct violation of the pledge that was given. (*Hear, hear*) It was not sufficient to threaten those who had been enjoying the benefits of a permanent settlement, but, over and above that, in Behar, which is included in Bengal, a cadastral survey was introduced. (*Hear, hear*) That was the third blow that was given. The fourth is yet in contemplation,—I mean, another cess for the maintenance of the Records of this Survey. Now this Cadastral Survey has been commenced, and the area of survey has been selected by Government, and I must say a very bad selection has been made. You know, Gentlemen, the Maharajah of Durbhanga (*Cheers*), who is the premier Zemindar of Bengal, (he was once a ward of Court, that is, the Government held the property in trust for him during his minority). During the Stewardship of Government, while the Government was holding or managing this property as Trustee, a cadastral survey entailing an expenditure of lakhs of rupees was held. His estates, then, ought to have been the last selected by Government for the purpose of re-survey. (*Hear, hear*) The landholder does not want it, no other tenure-holders of subordinate interest require it, the agriculturists do not require it; but the Government says against all these voices, "We require it." Why? Is it for fiscal purposes? Or is it for statistical purposes? Or is it for the creation of disunion between agriculturists, tenure-holders and Zemindars. I hope it is not the last. If it is for fiscal purposes, then it is patent, that the permanent settlement will be brutally assailed again. (*Hear, hear*) If it is for statistical purposes, the Government has no right to call upon the Zemindars or the agriculturists to make any contribution towards the expenses (*Cheers*), so that from all possible stand-points of view, from the different aspects of the case, the whole measure is unjustifiable. Now this Congress pledges itself to oppose by all legitimate ways and means such reactionary attacks on the part of the Government; and here I cannot help again mentioning the name of the Maharajah of Durbhanga (*Hear, hear*), in consequence of the bold attitude he has taken, the noble and magnanimous way in which, at considerable sacrifice, and I may say even risk, he has been trying to maintain the integrity of the permanent settlement. (*Cheers*) We ought to be thankful to him. This Congress is following a line which he single-handed has been following, and now that these things are going on, what are we to do? Last year we resolved that we should oppose the illegal interference of the Government by all legitimate means, but no definite method was pointed out, our legitimate ways and means were not definitely pointed out; this time you have it, viz., that we propose to petition Parliament in that behalf. Our perspective must be adjusted according to the altered circumstances; that is the only remedy left for the present. This is a grievance for which we ask redress, and this is the only legitimate way in which we can approach the fountain-head of justice; at the same time I must say that the diminution of the discharge from the channels of the fountain-head, caused by Executive intervention, is not a very hopeful sign for us. There might be tampering with the orders and mandates and Resolutions of Parliament; for our sad experience shows, as you will have occasion to hear from other speakers, that these mandates from Parliament are not always given effect to. (*Shame!*) Still we must persist; and I think you will all accept this part of the Resolution. I believe I ought not to take up your time any longer as regards the first part. I do not know whether I have exceeded my time, Mr. President. (*Cries of "No, No."*) (The President here intimated to the speaker that his time had not yet expired.)

✓ Now I come to the second part. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, with regard to this second part, you see there is a sort of concession on our part. I say concession on our part,

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because hitherto we have been asking for and demanding permanent settlement in the Government Land Revenue demand; that is we have been asking for fixity in perpetuity as it were. But you will see that to a certain extent we recede from that position. It cannot be expected—perhaps that is the opinion of the majority—that we should get that sort of permanent settlement which has been accorded to Bengal. But we can get it in a modified form. Now when the permanent settlement in Bengal was completed, that is in the year 1793, a contemporaneous minute from the Board of Revenue of Fort Saint George, recorded by Mr. White, was sent up and was approved by the Commission that was appointed for enquiring into the state of affairs of the late East India Company. It was in 1812 that that Commission placed on record its approval of the scheme proposing to extend the permanent settlement to this Presidency also. Thus from 1812 full fifty years passed away, and it was not until 1862 that we come to the despatch of the Secretary of State for India in which the Government lay down certain rules for the extension of the permanent settlement. The despatch of 1862 was again approved by that of 1865, and then there was a despatch by the Viceroy in 1882, which was also approved in 1885.

These despatches laid down certain rules for the extension of the permanent settlement. There were certain conditions precedent, *viz.*, the bringing under cultivation of a certain portion of the area. Four-fifths of the entire area was fixed as the amount to be brought under cultivation in order that the permanent settlement might be accorded to such local area. Now in some tracts, with the object of getting that privilege, the conditions have been fulfilled; in some other parts the conditions have been partially fulfilled; and if time will allow they will also surely be fulfilled. The fulfilment of these conditions is not an easy thing; it requires the investing of money. Here comes in the question of unearned increment. It is not the unearned increment which these land-owners are trying to get; they are investing their money, they are bestowing their labour, and they ask for a return. So you see, these persons who now hold under temporary settlement, are not at all asking for the unearned increment. They wish to have the fruits of their own labour and a return for the capital they have invested. Before the despatch of 1862 there was no stimulus whatsoever for investing money, because there was no knowing when the property might be re-measured, when there might be interference by Government again, and when the property would be snatched away from their hands. There was no security, no value, and therefore no stimulus for investing money. But the despatch of Government emboldened the people, it induced them to invest their money to improve the land. They have fulfilled their part of the contract, and if it had been, Gentlemen, a question between individual and individual, perhaps one would be inclined to ask "Why not sue?" (*Cheers*) Why not bring a suit for damages? (*Hear, hear*) Why not sue for specific performance of the contract? (*Cheers*) And the issue would have been a very simple one for a Civil Court of Justice to decide. But here you have Royal prerogatives. Here the Municipal Laws would not affect the party concerned. In the case of individuals there is what you would call a breach of faith, liability to damages, liability to perform specifically the contract agreed upon, for which you could bring a suit in Court; but with regard to the Crown, we supplicate, we entreat. You see this in the words of the Resolution, that this Congress hereby "entreats" the Government. (*Cheers*) We do not demand what we are entitled to get as a matter of right in the Civil Court, but we supplicate and entreat. Then again, we do not ask the Government to part with its entire control over the property; for we do not ask for settlement in perpetuity, as I call it in contradistinction to temporary settlement. Let a sufficiently long period be given to us with a certain amount of assurance—in fact, it is a microscopic demand that we make after all. What we say is—let there be some sort of assurance given to us so that we may be willing to invest money, and so that we may expect to get a sufficient return for the money that we invest and for the labour that we bestow. Now the Government will still have the power to make a fresh settlement; we say let the settlement be for sixty years, and let no enchancement be made for sixty years. This, I submit, is a very fair and

modest request, and the Government—at least for its own sake in order to get out of the difficulty, or at least to show an appearance of keeping its pledge—ought to accede to our prayer and our request. With these remarks I ask you to accept the Resolution. (*Loud Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—This Resolution will be seconded by the Honorable Mr. Natu, of Bombay.

THE HONORABLE MR. NATU:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—After the eloquent and able address of my predecessor it would not be proper for me to take up your time but for one very important thing, and that thing concerns the masses of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The gentleman who preceded me represents the Presidency of Bengal, and our opponents are likely to say that his interests coincide with the interests of the Bengal Zemindars; that he simply sheds crocodile tears; and that he himself, being a Zemindar, does not take an interest in the welfare of the masses. I think it necessary, therefore, to take up your time for a few minutes while I explain to you how the Resolution before you affects, to the greatest extent, the interests of the masses of this country. You know that in India 80 per cent. of the population is an agricultural population, and that the bulk of the Revenue derived by Government comes from land. So this question is not only a question for the people but also a question for the Government; it is the duty of the people to watch the increasing demands of Government carefully, and it is the duty of Government, or at least it is to the interest of Government, to take as much as possible from the people. In this conflict of interests it is always a most important thing for us to see how far Government is carrying out the pledges which it has solemnly made from time to time. So far as our Presidency is concerned I would simply point to two Resolutions which were passed by the Government of India in 1882 and in 1884. Those Resolutions were very useful to the people because they placed certain limits or checks upon the enhancement which was to be made on Revision Survey. There is the Resolution on a new revision of Survey in the Bombay Presidency. The Assessment was not to be increased in the case of a group of villages by more than 33 per cent. Now, even in spite of this Resolution, and even in spite of the promises made from time to time by well-known men like Lord Ripon, the present Government of Bombay have taken a retrograde step in unduly enhancing the assessment; and in that connection I will simply refer you to the instance of the Konkan Taluqs. The assessment on these villages has already been considered, and the Revenue from this group of villages has been increased by 44 per cent. In the case of Assam you know that last year the same Resolutions which were applied to the Presidency of Bombay were to a certain extent applied to other Provinces of India. Assam is an instance before us. There the increase of assessment was enormous. And what was the enormous increase? It was simply 100 per cent. And what was the increase in the Presidency of Bombay? It was 1,200 per cent. in the case of three Taluqs in the Ratnagiri District, and of three Taluqs in the Albag District, the poorest district. The limit put down was simply in the case of individual holdings; but the change from 100 per cent. to 1,200 per cent. is certainly a very great leap, and the question is certainly of such vital importance to the masses that from year to year we must bring it before the Congress, and year after year we must urge upon the attention of Government the necessity of redeeming the pledges given to us; for the whole peace and prosperity of this country depends upon the good-will of the masses, consisting, as they do, chiefly of the agricultural population. In India you will find that the Government, as has already been explained by my predecessor, not only failed to act up to the despatches of 1862 and 1865, but also failed to carry out the little promises which were made, and the little concessions which were accepted as Rules in the Presidency of Bombay and other parts of India. Those Rules have been over-ridden, and Government is not willing to carry out even those small concessions. Our country is not an industrial country; it is a country of agri-

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culturists; and every day the Government is putting a burden upon the agriculturists. Gentlemen, the support which you should accord to this Resolution will further show that this Congress does not wish it to be understood that it represents the classes only but also the masses of India. I would point out one instance from the Presidency of Bombay where the entire assessment of the land was increased by 12 lakhs. When we consider these facts we see that the question is one of immense importance to every one of us, requiring to be studied from all points of view. One word before I take my seat, and that is this. In discussing the question of permanent settlement we must always draw a line of demarcation between the permanent settlement which exists in the Presidency of Bengal and the little concessions that we ask for in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. In the case of the permanent settlement in Bengal the State has to deal with the middle-men, the Zemindars. In the case of Madras and Bombay the State has to deal directly with the agriculturists, the Talukdars and Ryots. Even in that case Government is so charitable in taking care of the interests of the Ryots that it has put checks upon the demands of the Kons; but at the same time it is not charitable enough towards the Kons themselves. Government is increasing its demands upon the Kons while it does not allow the Kons to increase their demands upon the Ryots. But there is another thing which I want to point out, and it is this, that while Government has enacted the Bengal Tenancy Act in the interests of the tenants it does not carry out that principle in its own case when it has to deal directly with the millions and millions of ryots in India. Government always says that the masses must be kindly treated; it also further states that the agricultural interests must be watched. There is a Bill before the Legislative Council—that is, the Deccan Agriculturists' Indebtedness Act. The Bill is so short that it has entirely disappointed all men in the Presidency of Bombay. As the Agricultural Committee suggested, their poverty is not due entirely to the Sowcars, but is much more due to the demands which have been made from time to time by the Government. So it must be noted that while the Bill is pretty useful so far as the Sowcars are concerned, the Government shelves the most important question so far as the Ryots of the Deccan are concerned, and it is sure not to take up this question because Mr. Lee Warner does not like it. (*Shame*) There is one other point. In the case of the Deccan Agriculturists' Act the Government was requested by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to take up the question of the demand, namely, that the demand should not be made in times of scarcity, and that Government should make concessions from time to time to the Ryots in times of famine; but that question has been entirely dropped. We say that whenever you introduce Revision Surveys you should simply adhere to your own terms, that you should simply limit your demand to 33 per cent. That is the only limited demand. We do not want a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. Foreigners, including the President who comes from a foreign country, should not be misled into supposing that the bulk of the population in India requires a permanent settlement in the sense in which it is understood in Bengal. It is a limited demand, a demand accepted by Government as proper and just and followed for some years. When the Government is hard pressed for money they should not commit a breach of faith, so Gentlemen, I request that this great and important proposition may always be brought before this Congress until we find that Government is pledged in the interest of these classes to fully redeem those pledges, and thus secure to us the benefits of pledges so solemnly given by men who really understood the case of the poverty of our people. With these few remarks I request that you will accept this Resolution without a voice of dissension. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—An amendment has been placed in my hands. The course I propose to follow is to let the proposer and seconder of the amendment speak, and then to call upon other gentlemen to speak. I have to remind the proposer and seconder of the amendment that they have only five minutes each. Captain Banon will now move the amendment.

CAPTAIN BANON :—Mr. President and Gentlemen, I have an amendment to propose and it is in the following terms :—

“That this Congress desires to urge upon the Government of India the policy and expediency of granting the fixity and permanency of the Land Revenue, and that if the only obstacle to the grant of a permanent settlement to all India be the former permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, this Congress, being solely actuated for the common good of all India, and not of one portion only, will, in the interests of the agricultural and labouring classes, offer no opposition to, nor make any protest against, the re-assessment, by the Government of India, of the land under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis.”

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

There is another matter also that I should like to bring to your notice. By passing this resolution regarding this permanent settlement, you alienate from you the support of the radical party in England who are against landlordism and the unearned increment. There is one last point that I want to bring to your notice and that is, the Budget Speech of Mr. Westland last year. He asserts that Congress brings forward many resolutions, but that all these resolutions cost money. “Will the Congress bring forward any resolution whereby money may come into the Government coffers?” he says, and he holds out a sort of condition or stipulation to us that if we find him money he is quite ready to grant our resolutions—any resolution that is at all reasonable. I have no doubt that if we do find him the money, we shall get several things that we are asking for, such as, a lighter Salt Tax, some reduction of Income Tax, less harsh Forest Laws, better organization of the police, and the separation of judicial and executive functions. Gentlemen, I have only five minutes, I cannot say any more; but I think you should bear all this in mind in considering the former resolution, and now with your permission I will sit down. (*Hear, hear.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—The amendment will be seconded by Mr Parthasarady, of Madras. (No one however came forward to second the amendment). There appears to be no seconder to this amendment; it therefore falls to the ground. I now call upon the Honorable Mr. K. Kalyanasundram Iyer to speak on the original Resolution.

THE HON. MR. K. KALYANASUNDRAM IYER :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in my humble opinion a permanent settlement of the land revenue due to Government is the only proper settlement suitable to the condition of this country. The main objection against a permanent settlement is that the nation as a whole is entitled to what is termed the unearned increment—that is, when the value of the land and its produce has increased in consequence of the increase of population and wealth and not by any exertions on the part of the land owner, then the State, as representing the community, may justly claim this increase; but however sound this claim may be in countries where lands have accumulated in the hands of a few, it loses its force in a country like India where the agricultural population forms the majority, nearly eighty per cent., and is almost identical with the community itself. If to

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this fact be added the consideration that about fifty millions of people depending on agriculture for their maintenance and support are on the verge of starvation, then it would be a fair demand on Government to ask that the agriculturalists be allowed to retain in their hands whatever increase they can get, so that the condition of these poor people might be bettered by direct and indirect means. (*Cheers*) While such are the arguments in favour of a permanent settlement, Gentlemen, the policy that is being pursued by Government seems to be one of a very opposite nature. There are already loud complaints that with respect to estates which have been once permanently settled the ryots and the holders are being encroached upon by Government. With regard to settlements which are most common in this Presidency, namely, Ryotwar Settlements, it used at one time to be held that a period of thirty years was the shortest interval within which a re-settlement might be made. But recently, in connection with one of the most important districts in this Presidency, this period was reduced by the Governor to twenty years. (*Shame*) Now, Gentlemen, what do these constant re-settlements mean? You have an excellent illustration in the methods adopted in the re-settlement of the district of Tanjore. The Government, being fully alive to the evils attendant on settlement operations generally, determined that the average out-turn of land should, first and once for all, be estimated upon scientific principles, and that in future revisions the rise in prices alone should be taken into account. The procedure adopted was this: the average yield of land was ordered to be estimated by a scientific classification of soil, but not to be checked and tested by actual experiments in harvesting; apparently this scientific classification of soil is so finely graded that the officers of the settlement department have often, with reference to one and the same soil, been obliged to differ from themselves and each other (*Cheers*); and with regard to the actual experiment made the result has been by no means more satisfactory. A small plot of land, the tenth part of an acre, was selected by the settlement department itself for the experiment in harvesting, and upon the result of this single experiment hundreds of acres, nay thousands of acres, were settled as being able to produce a particular out-turn. The Mirasdars of the district naturally objected to such a course; they loudly complained that the actual yield of the land in their possession was a great deal less than the estimate fixed by the department, and they clamourously demanded an *Amani* management for a reasonable period, for the purpose of determining the average yielding capacity of the land; but their complaints and their demands were alike rejected (*Shame*) and they were in fact told that if the actual facts were not consistent with the theory evolved by the settlement department it was so much the worse for their facts. Now, Gentlemen, the utter unreliability of this theoretical settlement is clearly shown by the action of the authorities themselves. The gentleman who was appointed the settlement officer of the district, after a classification of the soil, reported to Government that the re-settlement of the district would involve an increase of eighteen and a half lakhs of rupees, the assessment under the old settlement being about forty-one lakhs; but he added, that if the district were to be treated upon scientific principles an increase of twenty-eight lakhs would not be too much. (*Shame*) Apparently to the great loss of Government, he finally recommended an increase of only fourteen and a half lakhs. This was reduced by the Board of Revenue by two lakhs, and finally by Government to eleven and a half lakhs. Thus you see the final decision of the Government imposed an increase of assessment representing only forty per cent. of what should have been the increase according to the accurate scientific theory. (*Cheers*) This shows that the authorities themselves have no confidence in their scientific methods. (*Cheers*) Well, Gentlemen, these are the difficulties attending a re-settlement, but apart from these difficulties there is the fact that on occasions like these Government are very apt strangely to forget their recognised obligations. With respect to Tanjore the Board of Revenue reported that if the full additional assessment had to be imposed upon the district, it would become the duty of Government to lay out very considerable sums of money, for an equitable and economical distribution of water. Government was generous enough to recognise this obligation, but, Gentlemen, nothing has yet been

done in this latter direction, and, so far as the Mirasdars can see, there does not seem to be a prospect of anything being done in the near future. Yet the additional assessment has not only been imposed but actually collected. (*Shame*) This should be sufficient to convince you that the permanent settlement is the only proper settlement to be applied to India, but, if it is impossible for us to get from Government a permanent settlement, we ought to be content with the next best thing, namely, the period of sixty years which is referred to in the resolution and which is certainly not too long. I submit, therefore, that the resolution as worded is most moderate, and I hope that you will all unanimously adopt it. (*Cheers.*)

MANA VIKRAMA RAJA :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have much pleasure in giving my cordial support to this proposition, the more so as I come from a district (Malabar) where Revenue Settlement operations are now in full swing, and where the question of assessment has been seriously engaging the attention of my countrymen for some time past. You have doubtless learned from the able speakers who have just preceded me, how a land-tax in perpetuity was ever obtained or was ever attempted to be introduced into this country and how conducive it is to agricultural prosperity. They have told you in common with the worthy speakers at the fifth and sixth Congresses held at Bombay and Calcutta that an agricultural crisis alone obtained for them the boon of this system, and that Government has by its own action distinctly and unmistakably admitted that in its opinion the fixing in perpetuity of the Government demand is an unfailling, if not the only, remedy against all agricultural depression, and therefore promotes the agricultural prospects of a country. Be it noted that this admission on the part of Government is very material, as a sound administrative principle is involved therein, which is best shown by the action of Government itself. Now, Gentlemen, having stated this much, it only remains for me to explain how far this policy has been adopted with respect to my district. (*Hear, hear.*)

Before proceeding further, I must tell you, Gentlemen, that the time allotted to a speaker under the rules does not allow me to do full justice to this subject, though no one will deny that it is one of vital interest and admits of a thorough and argumentative discussion. I shall therefore simply lay before you, as briefly as possible, certain facts and considerations which will show you the justice of our demand and our right to claim it. (*Hear, hear.*)

Perhaps few of you, Gentlemen, know that unlike other districts, lands in Malabar are purely private property and that this has been so since the time of the colonisation of the district. The Hindu Rulers, despotic though some of them were, did not interfere with the integrity of this private ownership; these Rulers merely claimed Military Service from the landed proprietors in the exercise of their Sovereign rights, the State revenue being chiefly derived from customs and other excise dues. Consequently when the country passed out of the hands of the Hindu Sovereigns into those of their conquerors, all that the latter obtained were the rights and privileges which the former enjoyed. The Government having recognized the unique existence of this private ownership in lands, the question whether it can adopt the same principles of Settlement as have been adopted in other districts with respect to our district seems to me a debatable one. To make the whole thing clear I shall briefly indicate to you the various steps taken from time to time by successive conquerors in the Revenue Settlement of Malabar, and you will, when you have heard them, doubtless agree with me that the Government cannot, with any show of justice, revise the existing assessment, much less carry out the revision on the lines proposed by the local authorities. Now, Gentlemen, prior to the British rule, the Province was administered by Hindu Rulers who did not introduce any kind of land taxation. It was subsequently invaded by Hyder Ali, and even under him and his son Tippu, no definite and organized system of land assessment was introduced, though attempts were made now and then to introduce the same. In 1792 the district was formally ceded to the East India Company. On the cession of the district in 1792, Joint Commissioners were

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appointed for the management of the affairs of Malabar and Canara which were administered by the Bombay Government till 1801, when they were transferred to the Government of Fort St. George. The Commission was then abolished and the district subjected to the control and superintendence of collectors.

Even before this transfer, the Court of Directors and the Supreme Government of Bengal instructed the Bombay Government to consider the expediency of extending the system of Permanent Settlement to our district; while even subsequent to the transfer, steps were taken by the Madras Government for the introduction of this system into a number of districts, among which was included Malabar. It has also been amply demonstrated that the tendency of the authorities was to grant Permanent Settlements—that is to fix unalterable assessments in perpetuity—whenever there was a crisis. It now remains for me to show you, Gentlemen, that there was a serious crisis in Malabar about this time and that the authorities were obliged to resort to the expediency of guaranteeing the permanency of our land-tax. (*Hear, hear*)

Simultaneously with the transfer of our district to this Presidency, it was placed, as I have already told you, in charge of a principal Collector, Major MacLeod being the first officer so appointed. One of his first acts was to effect certain changes in the land assessments and in the exchange values of the current coins, with the result that the inhabitants rose up in arms *en masse*. He was unable to quell the stir and insurrection he had himself roused by his ill-advised innovations, and was obliged to resign and quit the country, handing over charge of the district to his successor, Mr. R. Rickards. This new officer's first act was to allay the exasperated public feeling by notifying that the old exchange prices would be revived, and that all complaints relating to land assessments would be carefully attended to and investigated. Later on in June 1803, Mr. Rickards called together all the leading *Janmis* and explained that, subject to the approbation of the Board of Revenue, he proposed to have a new *pymash* and adopt certain new principles for a permanent taxation. (*Cheers*)

These principles, which were fully explained to them, were approved by all the landed proprietors in the district who unanimously concurred in them and duly declared their acquiescence, praying that they might be permanently applied to all lands then under cultivation as also to waste lands which might thereafter be reclaimed. An agreement was thereupon formally signed and executed by all the *Janmis* in the district. These facts were duly reported to the Government of Madras which formally and finally notified the same, ordering their adoption as the basis of a permanent and unalterable Settlement. (*Loud Cheers*) A Proclamation on the above lines and fully setting forth these principles and facts was issued on the 21st July 1805 following the instructions already issued to all Collectors in 1802.

Now, Gentlemen, you can clearly see from the above account that the Proclamation was issued with the sole object of conciliating a people who had become disaffected on account of the innovations in the assessment brought about by Major MacLeod. This Proclamation and the agreement I have referred to plainly indicate that what the people wished for, and obtained, was a reasonable and permanent Assessment. These documents are not capable of any other interpretation than that the principles and money rates already agreed upon and fixed between the Collector on behalf of Government and the *Janmis* of the district were to be permanent and unalterable. (*Loud Cheers*)

Now, Gentlemen, I ask you to remember that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was granted in 1793 when there was a famine; that that of the N.-W. Provinces was also granted when there was a similar crisis; and that inferentially the tendency of Government has been to fix the land assessment in perpetuity when the exigencies of the circumstances necessitat-

ed such a step. You will also remember, Gentlemen, as I have just told you, that Government was in a similar predicament about this time. There was an insurrection in the district caused by the ill-advised innovations of a Collector. People rose up in arms *en masse*, and the only expedient which it was possible for his successor to adopt in order to restore peace and tranquility in the district was to guarantee fixity of tenure by a Permanent assessment of the land. This was accordingly done by the issue of the Notification of 1803 and the Proclamation of 1805, which may justly be described as our Magna Charta. (*Cheers*) It is thus amply demonstrated, Gentlemen, that what was intended to be granted, and what was granted, was a Permanent Settlement fixing the principles and rates of assessment in perpetuity and for ever. Nay, the assessment then fixed still continues unaltered according to the letter and spirit of the pledge, and the rates then fixed are applied even at the present day when waste lands are newly brought under cultivation, even though prices have since risen high at varying periods. This is accounted for by the fact that in fixing the commutation value in 1805 a very wide margin was left for any probable rise in prices for some succeeding years. Nevertheless, and in the face of the pledge already made, Government has determined to revise the existing assessment in spite of the repeated protests and representations of the people, and a scheme of settlement is at the present moment awaiting the orders of the Local Government. I may add that according to this scheme, the existing revenue in three typical Taluqs of the District under wet, dry, and garden lands will be increased by 95 per cent., 49 per cent. and 335 per cent. respectively, resulting in an aggregate increase of over 15 lakhs whilst their present revenue is only 10½ lakhs. (*Shame*)

It is also noteworthy that Government has adopted these rates of assessment as the basis of calculation in permanently disposing of lands escheated to the State, and that several capitalists have, relying on the said Proclamation, invested large sums of money in effecting improvements on lands which at the time of revision it is intended to tax in violation of all rules on the subject.

Under such circumstances, I have no hesitation in characterizing the present attempt to revise the existing taxes as a gross breach of faith, and an illegal and unwarranted interference with the rights of private property. (*Cheers*) You will thus see, Gentlemen, that so far as my own district is concerned, Government, in the first instance, is not only guilty of the charge of not extending the concession so humanely granted by the Supreme Government fully a generation ago, even though all the conditions have been satisfactorily fulfilled, but is committing a sadder breach of faith in revoking a Permanent Settlement already granted. (*Shame*)

Gentlemen, let us grant for a moment for the sake of argument that the Settlement already made in 1805 is not a permanent and unalterable one. Then the question arises whether the time has not arrived for extending to our district the concession of a permanent fixture of land-tax in pursuance of the policy adopted in the Despatches of 1862 and 1865. I can emphatically assert that the Malabar district satisfies all the conditions necessary to justify the introduction of a Settlement in perpetuity. More than four-fifths of the cultivable area is under cultivation, as the latest statistics prove, and all the main Railway lines and feeders have been completed or are under construction with every prospect of completion before the settlement of the district becomes an accomplished fact. There are no Government Irrigation Works in the district nor will there ever be any such works. (*Hear, hear*)

I fear that most of what I have told you now refers particularly to my district, Malabar, and my only explanation for so doing is, as I have conclusively shown, that in this particular case Government is revoking a Permanent Settlement already granted. I have already told you, in common with the previous speakers on the subject, how beneficial it is to fix the land tax in perpetuity and forever. No one can deny that it is calculated to accelerate

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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. Its advantages have without doubt been considered sufficiently important to have justified incurring the risk, if any, of the loss of a prospective revenue, to say nothing of the security to property which it unquestionably affords. (*Cheers*)

For these reasons I have much pleasure in supporting the important proposition now before you, which I trust you will unanimously adopt. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR. C. V. NAIDU.

MR. C. V. NAIDU :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, following my learned predecessors in the matter of this Resolution, the proposer, the seconder and the supporters of this sadly needed Resolution it would be superfluous on my part to venture any further remarks advocating its enthusiastic adoption. The heart strongly beats in every bosom, and urges every one to at least open his lips and utter such few words, as may prove commendable to your kindest appreciation. I hail from the Central Provinces, and as duty demands it I ought to speak at least a few words to show to you, Gentlemen, how badly we are really treated in the Central Provinces in respect of this Resolution. In the Central Provinces within the past four decades there have been three settlements. Invariably we have had during the last two settlements a fixity of duration that was 30 years at a time ; but most sadly during the present settlement, most astonishingly, and, I must say most unwarrantably they are going shamefully to reduce the fixity of tenure from thirty years. (*Shame*) They are going backwards to twenty and fifteen, instead of progressing ; when according to the time of civilisation we ought to be going onwards rather than backwards. Probably there are a few of the sister Provinces represented here who are in the same category as my own province—that is even if the assessment and the tax had surpassed the human conception because the Government does not think it its honorable duty to pry into the secrets of the resources of this country ; yet, at a most haphazard step, it goes on to assess according to its whims. My province is taxed at the rate of 65 per cent., though you know and you fully know according to Lord Ripon's despatches, that whenever there must be a permanent Settlement, it must not be more than fifty per cent. ; but in our backward province, our tax comes to 65 or 70 per cent. So it is also a shameful undertaking on the part of Government not to consult the comforts or the convenience of each. A word or two, if I am within my limits, I wish to say in regard to the amendment of my friend Capt. Banon. (*Hear, hear*)

THE PRESIDENT :—That is out of order as the amendment has fallen through.

MR. NAIDU :—I have been specially asked by my friends to express on their behalf the views of the rest of the Presidency in regard to the amendment.

THE PRESIDENT :—No, no. You must not deal with that.

MR. NAIDU :—I yield to your dictum and proceed. Gentlemen, I have nothing further to add than to recommend the Resolution to your unanimous acceptance. (*Cheers*)

MR. PETER PAUL
PILLAI.

MR. PETER PAUL PILLAI :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, I had the honour of moving this very resolution at the Congress held at Lahore last year, and to be the seconder of the same resolution concerning the same question of permanent settlement in the Congress held at Allahabad the year before last. Without repeating the remarks that I made on the previous occasions, I would confine myself to the consideration of the arguments adduced by the opponents of the permanent Settlement. Among the opponents, we have that conspicuous personage, Sir William Hunter. There are three important arguments adduced by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement and by those who would undo the Settlement already granted to certain estates in the Madras Presidency and the estates in Bengal. Here I would correct the misapprehension of some of the previous speakers who spoke as if there were no Permanent Settlement in this part of India ; on the contrary, there are estates whose area is somewhere about thirty thousand square miles under a Permanent Settlement granted in

1802. The three arguments adduced by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement are, firstly, that it is unjust to tax one part of the Presidency more than the others; secondly—and on this point we have a note by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (*Cheers*)—that a permanency of tenure which deprives the State, that is the community, of the benefit of the unearned increment caused by the action of the community and not by any action of the landlord, is now being most energetically contested; and, thirdly—as was urged upon the introduction of the Proprietary Estates Village Service Bill into the Madras Legislative Council—that Government is justified in imposing laws for the good of the country, which the Zemindars are bound to accept even to the extent of paying the taxation introduced in addition to the taxation fixed at the time of the Permanent Settlement. These are the three important arguments, that I would consider. With regard to the rate of taxation, according to the correct statements of the Court of Wards who have the accurate and correct accounts of the estates under their management, the average income of an estate under the management of the Court of Wards is 31·8 per cent. of the gross income. Now we find that the collection of rent or revenue while the estates are under the management of the Court of Wards is much larger than when the estates are managed by the proprietors themselves without the advantage of having the Officials to collect the revenue; again we find that the local cess is levied to the extent of 6½ per cent. to enhance the land revenue—you may call it local cess or any other cess, but it is a direct enhancement of land revenue—and so we find that on the whole the land revenue paid by Zemindars in this Presidency may be put down at 50 per cent. of the gross income. In Bengal, from what I hear, the average *peishcush* in proportion to the gross income is 22 per cent., and with local and Public Works cesses, and arrears of uncollected rents the percentage may be 40; and so we find that the permanently settled estates after all are not lightly taxed. At the time of the Permanent Settlement, the Bengal Estates were assessed at the rate of 90 per cent. of the gross income, whereas in Madras the percentage is 66 per cent. of the net income; on these estates the rate of assessment was very enormous at the beginning of the century, so much so that on account of the inability of the Zemindars to pay a large proportion of the revenue, several Zemindaris were sold or resumed; and so we find that these were not lightly assessed. In maintaining the contrary Sir William Hunter is not quite consistent. In reading his famous work “What England has done for India,” I met with the statement that the rate of taxation of the ryot is 7 per cent. on his income. Being a small ryot myself, I was astonished to find the data upon which Sir W. Hunter came to this monstrous conclusion. From my experience as a ryot, I paid 50 per cent. for some years and in others more than cent. per cent. of the income I derived. I had lately to write to the Tahsildar of my place regarding certain difficulties owing to which for the past five years I had not been able to derive a single grain out of my lands. Difficulties have been created in the cultivation of my land, so that after all, the rate of assessment of Zemindari estates is not so light as it is misrepresented to be. Are the ryots of the other provinces complaining of the comparatively light taxation of the Bengal and Madras Zemindars? I have never come across any complaint made by the ryot population. On the contrary, they find it a calamity and a national grievance of the gravest character that large proprietors should become extinct and ruined; and not only that, but that the Zemindars, Landlords, and Native Princes should become the refuges or asylums of the distressed population in British territories by a large patronage and by liberal charity. With these remarks I resume my seat. (*Hear, hear*)

Mr. S. A. SAMINATHA IYER:—Mr. President, Gentlemen and Brother Delegates—I am now called upon to support the proposition which has been moved so ably, and seconded so exhaustively, by gentlemen from Bengal and Bombay, and supported by my honorable friend Mr. K. Kalyanasundram Iyer, of Tanjore. I come from the same district, and I have the same grievance to complain of—namely, the recent Settlement that has been introduced into the district of Tanjore. The ground has been traversed so ably and so exhaustively by my friend, that I shall be tiring you by going over that same ground; so I shall content myself

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by referring to a few facts which have not been touched upon by him. I have been, from the very commencement of the settlement operations in that district, connected with the movement of the people objecting to the mode of operation carried on by the Settlement Department. (*Cheers*) From time to time the Tanjore People's Association was watching the manner in which the Settlement operations were carried on by the Settlement Department. The defects were pointed out, but the gentlemen who pointed out those defects, because they happened in a manner to be connected with the Government Department, were, in fact, found fault with for pointing out the real defects in the operation of that department. (*Shame*) Because they are Government Officials, surely they do not lose the right which a ryot possesses—to object to the mode of operation of the Settlement Department. (*Hear, hear*) They have two capacities, one the official capacity and the other—the capacity of Mirasidars. When there is a real grievance why should their mouth be shut? Why should they not honestly complain of the way in which their lands are being assessed by the Settlement Department? (*Cheers*) When the Settlement Commissioner recommended an increase of nearly 18½ lakhs of Rupees over the 41 lakhs now levied from the people of Tanjore, loud complaints were made. And what was the result? The Settlement Commissioner himself had to revise his figures, had to reduce the amount by 4 lakhs. Not satisfied with this, not satisfied with the way in which this 14½ lakhs was arrived at, memorials were prepared and submitted for consideration to Government, with the result that the Board of Revenue who had to consider the proposals of the Commissioner thought it advisable to cut down the figure by 2 lakhs. They arbitrarily cut it down by 2 lakhs, and no consideration was paid to our representation—I say so advisably, because had all our representations been fully considered, instead of 2 lakhs they must have cut down 7 lakhs. (*Hear, hear*)

We do not at all grudge an increase of revenue to Government; we are loyal subjects of Her Gracious Majesty; we are willing to come forward and help Government by contributing our mite when there is really a demand for increase of taxation. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, you will find that, not satisfied with the Board's decision, we waited upon His Excellency Lord Wenlock in a deputation, and a most gracious and kind hearing was granted to us by His Excellency. Our grievances were listened to with an amount of patience which almost surprised us. Many of our complaints were considered, not only by his Excellency, but also by the first member of Council, Mr. H. E. Stokes, to be well founded, and our expectations were raised. We thought that the 14½ lakhs recommended by the Board of Revenue would be cut down by 7 lakhs, as we were justly entitled to expect such a reduction. Hopes were created in us and not vainly, because they fully realised that all our recommendations were founded upon solid facts; and if a decision had been given then and there, the result would have been favourable to us. Time was taken; a month elapsed; and Settlement and other officers had a conference with His Excellency (*Shame*); with the result that instead of giving us what we were justly expecting at the hands of Government, we were given a lakh (*Shame*), a mere pittance, not sufficient to alleviate the misery of millions of people that were subjected to it. (*Shame*) That is the way we are dealt with, under the Government of His Excellency Lord Wenlock, whom we expected to deal with agricultural matters in a liberal spirit, judging from the address which he delivered when he was appointed Governor of Madras. Another point I wish to touch upon in this connection is this: One argument advanced in favour of the increase now imposed upon the Tanjore Mirasidars is, that the price of land in the Tanjore district has risen, and is rising; while the fact that the people are even now willing, with the increase that the Government has imposed upon land revenue, to pay a high price for the lands in their district is said to be an indication of the productiveness of the soil of their district. I say "No!", emphatically "No!". Tanjorians as a class are a home-loving people, a people who are almost all of them agriculturalists; they have no other means of investing their capital; they cannot

take, and will not take, to other modes of investment; they have a predilection for investing their money in landed property; and though the profit they derive from landed property is very small, they are still prepared to pay high prices for the land in their district. That is the only reason why high prices are still kept up notwithstanding the prohibitive assessment that Government has imposed on that district. If, therefore, the Permanent Settlement were to be introduced all through India, and if Tanjore should be one of those favoured districts to which this would be extended, it will be a great blessing which will be conferred not only on the Tanjorians but also on the other districts subject to this same Ryotwari Settlement. It is not Tanjore alone that has been subjected to this revision of assessment. Government having found that they have made a profit, and a very great profit indeed, by the revision of assessment in the Tanjore district, have extended their Settlement Operations to the unfortunate people of Trichinopoly, and from Trichinopoly they intend to proceed to Malabar, and then to Godavery and Kristna, and then to Madura and Tinnevely. We fully sympathise with the inhabitants of those districts. Because Tanjore was first settled, and a large increase has been derived, it is not right that Government should think that the other districts are equally capable of bearing the increase which Tanjore has been thought capable of bearing. Under these circumstances, I most heartily support the proposition that has now been brought before you for your acceptance, and I trust that with one unanimous voice, you will accept this Resolution. (Cheers)

MR. SARVAKUTTIKAY then addressed the meeting in Malayalam, his remarks meeting with frequent applause.

THE PRESIDENT:—The second resolution has been properly moved, seconded and supported. I now put it to the meeting. Those in favour of this Resolution say "Aye." (Voices, All! All!)

The Resolution was passed unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon Mr. Seymour Keay to move the next Resolution.

MR. SEYMOUR KEAY, M.P., who was received with enthusiastic cheers, said:—Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think that there is any apology necessary on my part in coming before you to-day for the purpose of moving a resolution which I must say, from my own point of view, and after the large amount of study which I have devoted to the subject, I consider to be not of less importance than any other resolution which is on the programme of this vast assembly. (Cheers) The resolution which I have to propose is as follows:—

"That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms:—That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation; and humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs."

I have said, Gentlemen, that I think no apology is necessary, and I think that you will all admit that this is the case when it is remembered that we are at this moment speaking on behalf of the people of an Empire consisting of no less than two hundred and eighty seven millions of human beings, that that Empire's population actually consists of no less than $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of the inhabitants of the whole British Empire, and that the population with which we are now dealing constitutes no less than $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of the entire human race itself. (Hear, hear) I say that during 32 years of close personal intercourse with the masses of the people in this country, the conviction has long ago been forced upon me that, although, as we know, we have in the Government of India a great Government, which has done much good, and which no doubt desires to do a great deal more, yet at the same time it is at this

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enormous disadvantage, that it is, and from its nature, must be, an alien Government, and that it must, as an alien Government, have this enormous drawback, namely, that it must be tremendously expensive as compared with the cost of any indigenous Government. (*Hear, hear*) What I hold is this, and what I ask you, with the vast knowledge which you, the delegates here present, bring to bear upon this question, to support me in saying, is this:—that this enormous drawback of expensiveness has caused, and is now causing, the people not to get richer and richer as they ought to do, but the great masses of them to become poorer and poorer every year (*Shame*), until at this moment there is a very large section of the population which is actually continually verging upon the point of starvation even in the midst of years of plenty. Now, Gentlemen, it was for this reason and with these convictions that we made a strong effort in the closing hours of our last session of Parliament, and brought forward a Resolution in the sense of the remarks which I have now addressed to you. We brought forward a Resolution demanding that an enquiry should be instituted into the condition and the wants of the people of India, and their ability to sustain the present enormous cost of Government. (*Cheers*) Well, Gentlemen, what was the result? We were met on the floor of the House of Commons by the official apologists in their usual strong phalanx of opposition to all enquiry whatsoever. I will give you a few words presently from the mouth of one of these official apologists, but at this stage and in now moving before you this resolution, I will at once proceed to give you a few of the hard and miserable facts on which our present action is founded. I hope that in doing so, we may be able to prove to ourselves and to the English Parliament and people also, that there is positive danger to the frame-work of the Government of India itself (*Cheers*), not from our speaking out as I am speaking to you to-day, but from our own and their silence (*Cheers*), if they continue to insist upon burking all enquiry as they are attempting to do at the present moment (*Hear, hear*). In the first place, Gentlemen, allow me to give you a general summary of a Parliamentary return which I was able to obtain on my motion three years ago. It is a return showing respectively the number and emoluments of the European and the Native officers employed in the Indian Government, receiving pay of Rs. 1,000 a year and upwards. That return shows that while, if you exclude the rank and file of the European soldiers, there are only 70,000 Europeans in the whole of this vast country, yet, of these 70,000 Europeans no less than 28,000 hold Government posts worth over Rs. 1,000 a year. What is the total of their pay? These 28,000 Europeans draw as pay the enormous sum of no less than 15½ crores of Rupees a year! Worse still, Gentlemen, the return shows that of these 28,000 Europeans, no less than 33 per cent., that is to say, 1/3rd part of the whole, although they are quartered upon your revenues, reside not in India but in England (*Hear, hear*)! In other words, they are absolutely non-effective for your Government. And the amount of pay or rather pension which these absentees receive comes actually to 6 crores of Rupees at this moment every year (*Shame*); and it is growing still! What country can go on standing that? On the other hand, we have the other page of the Return. We have there got a statement as to the Natives who receive pay from the Government of India exceeding Rs. 1,000 a year. Well I have already mentioned that there are only 70,000 Europeans, but there are not only 70,000 of you. There are 287 millions of you the natives of India. Yet of the whole 287 millions of Natives, there are only 17,000 persons employed in the whole Empire at a pay of over Rs. 1,000 a year (*Shame*). What do these 17,000 draw? These 17,000 draw actually only 8 crores of Rupees amongst the whole of them. In other words, what you have got is this:—the absentee Europeans actually draw from the revenues of your country more than double the whole amount of the whole salary of the whole of the Natives who are allowed to enter into the administration of their own country (*Shame*)! Now, Gentlemen, let us turn to the other side of the medal, and let us contemplate for a little the condition of those people who have to pay the enormous sums which I have just described. The other day, in August last, in the House of Commons, the Government officers were put up to say that any such enquiry into the condition of the people as we wanted was impossi-

ble. We met them in this wise. We pointed out that seven years ago the Government of India themselves of their motion and for their own purposes actually took upon themselves to make just such an enquiry as we asked for. But how was that enquiry carried out? It was actually done in the Secret Department (*Shame!*) I do not know why the starvation of scores of millions of people should be supposed to be an official secret. (*Laughter*). Anyhow, what did the Government of India do on that occasion? At one time a very high and distinguished officer of the Government of India, Sir William Hunter, then Director-General of Statistics at Calcutta, had published a little book called "England's Work in India". In that book he had made a statement to the effect that 40 millions of the people of India go through life upon insufficient food even in years of plenty. This statement went abroad. It was circulated extensively in England, and commented upon largely in the public press and in the House of Commons. The Government of India thought that it was desirable that, if possible, they should get statistics and reports from their own subordinate officers, with the object of enabling them to deny the truth of that statement. They did this, as I have said in the Secret Department. They issued a confidential circular to all the Local Governments and Administrations; and if it were not for the responsibility which lies on me to tell you the truth, I would be ashamed to go on and tell you the next step which the Government of India took (*Laughter*). The next step that the Government of India took, in order to get Reports from their officers in favour of their view, was to deliberately vitiate the whole case by absolutely misquoting Sir W. Hunter in this confidential circular. (*Shame*) Sir William Hunter had said that 40 millions, that is about $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of the population, go through life upon insufficient food. What did the Government of India ask of their Governors and Lieutenant-Governors and Administrators? They asked whether it was true, or only partially true, that the greater part of the population of India go through life on insufficient food. Comment is needless, Gentlemen. You know what this would be called, if it were done in private life. You know that no one would have dared to do it, except in the Secret Department of the Government of India. (*Shame*) Furthermore, each Government was told by the Government of India in the official circular that to get evidence in the matter, they should carefully select for the enquiry officers of judgment and discretion. (*Laughter*) They did appoint officers of judgment and discretion, and, of course, they got a great many replies tinged with the roseate hue which is always visible on the surface of all official records which are compiled by the orders of the Government of India. But what I have to say to you is, that, even in spite of all this careful warning, even in spite of all this careful misleading, the truth actually found its way even into these confidential replies. (*Cheers*) I will only give you three or four pictures drawn from this official, though confidential source, the confidential nature of which we were enabled with the greatest difficulty to break through by threatening the late Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir John Gorst, with untold difficulties and opposition unless he put the Blue Books into our hands. (*Cheers*) He put them into our hands as a means of keeping us quiet because if he had not done so, he knew that he would have fared worse. (*Shame*) You will observe from this, that I have every title to use these facts now, as I did last August in the House of Commons. (*Hear, hear*).

The first picture that I shall lay before you is a Census taken of twelve villages in the district of Rampore. In these twelve villages the population was found to consist of 2,000 persons. Of these, 1,600 were cultivators and the remaining 400 were labourers. What did the Deputy Commissioner, a high Officer of the Government of India, find on the most careful examination, and on an Industrial Survey of the whole of these twelve villages scattered in different parts of Rampore? He found that, after laying aside the rent and cost of cultivation, the whole amount left for the support of the people came only to Rs. 16 a year for the cultivator and Rs. 13 a year for the labourer. The next case is from the Report of the Commissioner of Rai Bareilly, with a population of 1,000,000 souls. This officer took

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a census of thirty average families scattered throughout the whole of that populous district, and he found that these thirty families consisted of 173 persons. He found that the gross crop amounted to the value of Rs. 2,800. He also found that for seed and for hired labour and for 25 per cent. interest to the usurer, there had been paid by these 173 persons the amount of Rs. 600, and that the rent which they had to pay amounted to Rs. 1,080. The result was that deducting this Rs. 1,680 from the Rs. 2,800, the balance for the sustenance of these villagers and their families amounted to Rs. 1,120. In other words these 173 persons, man, woman and child had each an amount of 6½ rupees a year for their support! (*Shame*). Well then, it may be asked, how did these people live at all? I shall not need to answer that question to you. (*Hear, hear*).

You well know that the capital of the country is being eaten into, and that the usurer is being applied to, because the ground will not give sufficient sustenance; and now the usurer's merciless demands have to be satisfied in addition to the demands of Government. But there was another small item to add to the Rs. 6½ per head a year. This pains-taking and zealous officer goes further, and gives us particulars showing how this additional item was made up. It was due to the fact that these 173 persons had been able to get work outside the land, and by that and other means had earned a sum of Rs. 750 amongst them altogether. This officer actually showed how this Rs. 750 was made up, and here are some of the items recorded in his report, which you delegates from India generally will well understand. It is actually from sources such as these that the revenues of a great Government are collected.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Weaving 5 pieces of cloth...	1	0	0
Salary paid to the village watchman	4	0	0
Sold the skin of a dead bullock	2	0	0
Sold butter during the year	3	0	0
Made 10 woollen blankets	10	0	0
Received a present from his brother	50	0	0
Earned by carrying palanquins	3	0	0
Thatching houses during the year	7	0	0
A boy eleven years old receives for his labour (per day)	0	1	0
Wife acts as midwife to the village, and brings the husband (per annum)	6	0	0

The result was that, besides the Rs. 6½ each earned on the land they were able to scrape together another Rs. 4 each from sources off the land; and from these two combined sources of income they were actually able to obtain as much for their sustenance as Rs. 10½ every year. And this was only after pouring into the Government treasury every earning which had been made by every man, woman and child in the whole of the villages.

The next picture which I have to offer for your view relates to a part of the Fyzabad district, with a population of 1,000,000. Major Anson was the Deputy Commissioner of that district. I do not know where he is now. Somebody may tell us that (*A voice*, "Korandum-pore"), I should be glad to hear that he has not been sent to some pestilential climate. (*Laughter*) This zealous officer went deeper still into the matter. He actually made out with the greatest pains and care a regular tabular statement of the different degrees of starvation of the inhabitants of his district. He divided for that purpose the whole population into six classes. We are not talking now of 173 persons, not of 2,000 persons, we are not talking merely of a census of twelve villages, but we are talking of the best estimate which Major Anson could form of the condition of the whole population of his district put together. He divides the population, as I have said, into six classes, and the classes are these. Of

course, first of all there is the cultivator or farmer, then the farm labourer, the petty dealer, the village artisan, the domestic servant, and the corn dealer. Major Anson puts down in this table of his, the amount of sustenance that each of these classes gets during the year. In the first place he starts from what is the official basis of calculation. He starts on the datum that 2 lbs. weight of dry grain or pulse daily is the minimum required for the healthy life of an adult engaged in agricultural pursuits—the famous 2 lbs. ration in fact (*Laughter*). The cultivator, he proves, gets $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of 2 lbs.; that is, he is at the top of the tree. The cultivator himself does not get 2 lbs., but he gets only $\frac{7}{8}$ ths thereof in the whole year, even during years of plenty. The farm labourer gets $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of 2 lbs.—that is, in other words, he has to carry on his laborious calling upon less than half of the 2 lbs. ration. The day labourer is better off, he gets $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of 2 lbs. The petty dealer is a little richer still and gets $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of 2 lbs. The village artisan and the domestic servant actually revel in luxury upon 2 lbs. of dry grain a day (*Laughter*). The corn dealer who is a single person is actually the only living individual in the whole district who gets more than 2 lbs. of dry grain a day. All the others are actually maintaining bare life upon 2 lbs. or wasting away in slow starvation upon less than 2 lbs. And even this result is shown to have been arrived at after throwing into the gulf every earning of every man, woman and child who lives upon the soil.

The last picture which I shall give you consists of a most important piece of evidence furnished by the Chief Commissioner of the Fyzabad district, with a population as I have said of 1,000,000. That officer refers the Government to their own Education Reports. They had been talking about educating the people, and he refers them to their own Education Report to shew that education is absolutely impossible in any shape or form amongst these cultivators or their families, for the simple reason that every child, from the time it begins to toddle, has to be sent out to work in the fields, for the purpose of adding to the attenuated incomes of the parents, in the manner I have described. (*Shame*). He declares that if a cultivator in his district were to send his child to school, he would simply lose 30 per cent. of the whole of the little income on which he manages to keep himself and his family from the verge of starvation. The Commissioner then adds his own opinion. He says "It has been calculated that about 60 per cent.—mark, 60 per cent.—of the entire population are sunk in such abject poverty that, unless the small earnings of child labour are added to the general stock by which the family is kept alive, some members of the family must starve." Then he sums up in these words. "With the bulk of these people education would be synonymous with starvation." This outspoken officer goes still further, and refers the Government of India to a published work of reference, the Oudh Gazetteer. He shews from that work that no less than one half of the population of those districts are compelled to sell themselves into a sort of slavery, merely for the purpose of getting food. I think the bond slave contract is called "Sewuk." No doubt the Delegates from Oudh will be able to understand it. I will quote to you the words of this distinguished officer on this woeful subject. He says "As every bond slave is a bankrupt, and as the bond slaves form a large proportion of the whole, it may be gathered that the agricultural classes are now deeply embarrassed. The only motive for entering into the bond slave contract is want of food and that this is an increasing motive is shewn by the increasing number of bond slaves." He then adds, "every second man met with in the fertile plains of Hisampur is now a bond slave." What then does this outspoken officer proceed to do? At the close of his letter to the Government, he calls upon them to do exactly what we in the House of Commons last August called upon the Government to do, and what I hope this Congress will now call upon the Government to do. This Commissioner of Fyzabad closes, I say, by begging and praying of the Government of India to appoint strong Commissions so that further enquiries may be made and a prompt line of action mapped out. How did the Government of India receive these statements from these Officers, which I have been giving to you? How did they receive the recommendation to appoint Commissions and to map out a line of action which was so earnestly

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put before them by their own distinguished officer? Did they proceed to appoint strong Commissions to investigate the state of the affairs of these suffering millions? No; they collected all these papers together; they labelled them "confidential" in red letters, and they buried them in the cellars under the Government Offices in Calcutta, (*Shams*) in the hopes that they would never be heard of more. I have shewn you, therefore, that the Government first tried to mislead these officers, and that when they failed in doing so and when they got replies which they did not want, they absolutely refused to carry out the recommendations of their own officers and burked the whole thing in the most dishonest manner. Is it not scandalous that in this country, with the publicity which is enjoyed in regard to official matters generally, the misery of millions of our fellow subjects should be held to be an official secret at all? I want to know why it should not rather be proclaimed upon the housetops, for the very purpose of ensuring that effective steps should be taken to remove the cause and to remedy the evil. Yet what happens? Simple terror seizes them whenever they hear us in Parliament standing up and demanding a Parliamentary or any other kind of enquiry. I shall prove this most conclusively, I think, by giving you what I consider to be a most damning indictment of this whole system of suppression of evidence by one of their own leading officials, no less a man than Sir Louis Malet who was then permanent Under-Secretary of State for India. What did he say about this question of an enquiry into the economic wants of India? In an official minute, which is published in an appendix to the Famine Blue Books, you will find a quotation in which he makes this most extraordinary revelation against his own fellows in the Secretary of State's Council. He says "If there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. Now I am compelled to say that since I have been connected with the India Office I have found a strong repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts." Then he concludes with this remarkable statement—"The only occasion on which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement opposition of some members of the Council was in my advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposals for an Industrial Survey of India." Why was it, I ask, that Sir Louis Malet found that all his colleagues joined together against him in the India Council for the purpose of resisting an Industrial Survey of India? Why, I ask, do they resist it still? There is only one answer. It is simply this:—They well know that such an Industrial Survey would show such an appalling picture of poverty and misery now existing under their administration, that upon the revelation of the heart-rending suffering of scores of millions of helpless human beings the British nation would rise up as one man and overturn their entire system. (*Loud Cheers*). Well, Gentlemen, as I have already said, I quoted some of these facts last August in the House of Commons. It was obvious that Sir Richard Temple, who was sitting opposite me, intended to follow me in the debate. Accordingly, I challenged him directly to traverse these terrible facts, and I said that when I sat down if he got up and gave even any colourable reply, or any fair or reasonable reply, to the facts which I had adduced, he would do the most unusual thing that an official apologist had done. I challenged him to do this, but I at the same time added that I knew that he would not. (*Laughter*). Well, thus conjured, he followed me in the debate; but what did he say? I call your special attention to this, because I think it proves, at all events, that in the House of Commons on that occasion we did score one considerable point against men who, like him, used to be trusted by the House of Commons, because forsooth! they had worn their official spectacles so long that they never failed to carry them about with them in their pockets. I will tell you what Sir Richard Temple was driven to say, and I will give you his precise words. He said, in direct and immediate answer to the statements that I had made, "Those sorts of calculations are not worth the paper they are written on, or even the breath with which they are uttered. The officials put an arbitrary figure for the supposed produce of land and then put their own value upon it." Mark the word "officials." They are all high officers of Government who served along with him as his own

colleagues. He further says "The whole data are all supposititious, and then they draw out "deductions which are impossible; what is the use of my detaining the House by going into such ridiculous figures as these? These supposed facts are not facts at all. All that the "Honorable Gentleman can possibly know is that there are so many people and that there are "so many acres of ground. These figures are simply tabular statements of particular theories. "I should say they are in fact shams, delusions, and snares which are presented to the House."

(Shame)

Here indeed was a curious rôle that I had to take up. I fear, Gentlemen, that the Chairman will be sounding his gong (*Voices* "Go on," "Go on,") I would not detain you a minute but for the fact that I have a few important things yet to tell you. However I shall be very brief. Here was I coming forward as I now come forward in defence of the characters of these honorable men, these high European officials of the Government of India. I came forward and said then what I say now; I denied then, and I deny now, that there is anything of the character of exceptional dishonesty among any class of European servants of Government. (*Cheers*) My belief is, and I distinctly say as I said then, that Indian officers are neither better nor worse than ordinary human beings. (*Laughter*) When an ordinary human being has no check upon him, there is no doubt that that human being will not always show the best side of his character. But here was an official apologist, Sir Richard Temple, actually coming forward on the floor of the House of Commons itself, and saying that these his own colleagues and fellow servants were nothing but "Frauds" and "Cheats" and "Shams." I utterly repudiate such an outrageous doctrine. I make every allowance for the shortcomings of our Indian officials. Their position is one of great responsibility but with little check, as I have said, and it being such, they are not likely always to shew the better side of their nature. But you must remember their temptations. They have no inducement to turn aside and investigate as independent men, like you or I may have. They have the temptation to do the contrary. Their position is this; their official table groans under pleasant and costly viands, and as they sit there at the feast, they have no inducement to look aside to see whether or not there is a skeleton presiding at the banquet; they have no temptation to see if there is any mystic handwriting on the wall; on the contrary they look only at the dishes that are before them and they go on enjoying them to the best of their hearts' content. (*Cheers*) But in all this what I want to point out to you is this, that there is no exceptional dishonesty whatever. It is true that the mass of optimistic officers do deceive their own Government, but that is only because they are themselves first thoroughly deceived. They are, as you know, transcendent optimists by their training in the Service from their youth up, and as such they are inclined to close their eyes to the despair and to the disaster which we, and all independent observers, see in perhaps the not far off future. Gentlemen, I speak in a most responsible position in the presence of all you delegates, and I say from close personal observation of the agricultural classes in India that it is useless for anyone to deny, that biting adversity is now eating into the heart of the great mass of the agricultural population. As the struggle for life becomes harder and harder, a deep and sullen sense of wrong is stealing throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is not the result of any single incident. I can certify with all sureness that it is nothing of the nature of race hatred or antagonism of any kind whatsoever. What is it then? It is the noiseless but ever increasing growth of gradually accumulating pangs. It is the embitterment caused by the steady advance of pinching poverty; when the daily toil becomes more incessant and yet the out-turn becomes less and less every year from the over-cropped fields; when the little savings, hoarded perhaps for two generations, have to be dug up from the floor of the mud hut and handed over to the Revenue officer; when the scanty meal becomes scantier; when the little condiment eaten with the rice or the pulse has to be intermitted; when the bangle on the arm of wife or baby has to be taken off and sold, and its proceeds paid over to the Revenue Officer (*Shame*); when the marriage of the daughter has to be postponed until the

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money-lender can be induced to advance the wherewithal. It is the sense of wrong and injustice felt, when the bread-winner is taken away from his home and imprisoned in the Civil Jail. It is the exasperation of a ruined family when the holding is confiscated for arrears of land tax, and when its occupant from that hour descends in the social scale, and, ceasing to be a farmer, becomes a landless labourer. Gentlemen, I will only add one word in conclusion. The only hope for India lies in bringing the real facts of this position before the English Parliament and people (*Hear, hear, and Cheers*), who, I assure you, have not at this moment the slightest conception of the real state of things. Once inform them of the truth, and I say, and I say it with all assurance, that the great heart of the English nation will grant you both speedy and effective remedy. (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT:—We shall now adjourn for half an hour.

The Congress re-assembled at 3-45 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT:—The third resolution will be seconded by Mr. Nundy.

MR. NUNDY.

MR. NUNDY:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, after the able and exhaustive manner in which the honorable member who had charge of this resolution has dealt with this subject, I am sure you will not require a lengthy speech from me to commend the resolution to your acceptance. Such an array of facts and figures has been placed before you that I am sure they will carry conviction to your minds, that the condition of the rural population of India is indeed desperate, and that it is high time that something be done for them by the Government of India. I shall not trouble you with any further statistics, but I shall confine myself to a few facts having special reference to the provinces I come from, namely, the North-West Provinces. I am sorry I have not got the last Administration Report of the Government of the North-West Provinces. I tried my best to get it, but I could not. I would have read a few passages from it. From that you would have come to the conclusion either that the speaker who has just addressed you was romancing, or that the Administration Report considerably indulged in romance itself. Here of course I do not profess to give the very words. The purport of the Report was this:—That the condition of the rural population of the North-West Provinces had of late years considerably improved. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, who began his career in the North-West Provinces, and after a service of considerable length left for the Central Provinces, and then for Burmah, returned to his Province about a year and a half ago. In the first Report that he issued he congratulated the people in very strong and unmistakable terms that, during his absence of twelve years or so, their condition had considerably improved. Now, Gentlemen, you might ask how it is that statements relating to the same people should differ so strangely as does the account furnished to you by the previous speaker and that of the Administration report of the Government of the North-West Provinces. I submit that it is not that the Lieutenant-Governor has deliberately placed on record facts or opinions which he does not believe, but that his opportunity for ascertaining the real state of things, is very scanty indeed, and not very often availed of. There are two sources from which he can obtain information—one, from personal observation, and the other, from reports submitted to him by his subordinate officers, Collectors and Commissioners. When he is on tour, if he likes, he has certainly an opportunity for ascertaining what the position of the people is. But you know, Gentlemen, what the tour of the Governor of a Province is. Surrounded as he is by officials, from the Commissioner down to a *Pasi*, it is almost impossible for him to come in contact with any of the people. It is very seldom indeed that he is able to make a personal visit to the villages and make a personal enquiry. He is entirely in the hands and under the guidance of officials. Certainly in some places where he goes he has addresses given to him, by members of the District Board or by members of the Municipal Committees. But what do these contain? They are drawn up under the inspiration and under

the direction of the official chairman, and simply set out the views of the officials themselves. (Cheers) My friends and myself from the North West Provinces were rather amused when we heard the previous speaker quote the remarks of the Commissioner of Fyzabad. Well, within the last year and a half Sir Charles Crosthwaite has been making a tour in certain portions of Oudh. He visited several places in the Fyzabad division, and in all those places addresses were given to him drawn up by members of the District Board, and by members of the Municipal Committees. Every one of these officials set out in glowing terms the fact that the country was becoming daily more and more prosperous, and that there was absolutely no ground whatever for grievances of any kind. The Lieutenant-Governor on several occasions made a reply congratulating the people upon the fact that the country was growing prosperous and that they were able to appreciate and recognise the real improvement in the condition of the country was becoming more and more prosperous every day.

Another source of information of which Governors can avail themselves is the reports furnished to them by the Collectors and Commissioners. Now, Gentlemen, you know there are District Officers and District Officers. There are some of them, especially those of seven or eight years' standing, as unfortunately most of our Collectors are, who are, as we may call them, more or less *shikaris*. So long as they can get their *shikar*, they are absolutely indifferent to, and they will not trouble themselves about, any other matter. There is also what is called the easy-going Collector, who thinks life too short for him to think of any thing beyond the daily routine of business. There is the ever-calculating Collector who has his eyes on the Commissionership. He makes it a point as far as possible to give such an account of the people as he thinks will coincide with the views of the Government under which he is serving, and you know very well that any Government would look with great distrust upon any of its officers who tried to make out a state of things which did not coincide with their own views. Those of my friends that come from the North-West Provinces will know of a case which occurred in the time of Sir John Cooper, where one of the District Officers persistently, and for a period of two years, I believe, submitted a series of reports commenting strongly on the administration of the country, and on the condition of the people. What was the result? The result was that he was sent away from the North-West Provinces to the Central Provinces! (*Shame! Shame!*) with a stigma on his name, and with a distinct understanding that he was never to become a Commissioner, although, I think, he was one of the cleverest European officers that ever came to this country. So the District Officer never became *pukka* Commissioner. Then again, Gentlemen, there are some officers who I am glad to say, are conscientious officers, and it is from the material offered by those officers that the previous speaker has quoted very largely. Gentlemen, I am not going to quote any further statistics. But there are one or two quotations I should like to give—they are very short ones—relating to the North-West Provinces, which will bear out the statement made by Sir William Hunter that nearly 40 millions of the people are on the verge of starvation and daily pass their lives with insufficient food. These reports sent by the Collectors were, thanks to the previous speaker, allowed to be published by the Government of India. As they were sent in response to a confidential circular, for a long time they did not see the light of day. I will just quote to you two paragraphs. One is about the province of Oudh which is now under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. Speaking of Oudh, Mr. H. C. Irwin of the Bengal Civil Service says "The great evil of rural Oudh is * * * the insufficiency of the produce of the land to maintain the population in comfort, after defraying rent and cost of cultivation. While this is so, of what use is it for Government to devote its energy, and its resources to anything but direct action on the sources of the evil. While the millions suffer from chronic hunger it would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by ornamental legislation or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want." And then Mr. Irwin winds up with the warning, "Let not the latter end

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“of our rule in Oudh so wholly forget the beginning as to perpetuate and stereotype the degradation of the cultivators, to remedy which we professedly annexed the country. The Mutiny should have been treated as an interruption of our policy, charged indeed with grave lessons worthy of being laid to heart, but not as a new revolution changing its aims and objects. Let it not be said of us by the future historian, that with all the means in our hands of raising the peasantry of Oudh from the squalid poverty and debasement which for centuries past have been their lot, we ignobly suffered them to perish for mere want of enactment that they should be saved”.

Then the Collector of Shajahanpur writes to this effect:—

“The poorer classes eat only the coarsest and cheapest grains, and can eke out a subsistence so long as these are procurable at not less than 14 seers to the Rupee”.

Mr. Holderness writing of the Pilibhit District says:—

“That the landless labourer’s condition is not all that could be desired. The united earnings of a man, his wife and two children cannot be put at more than three Rupees per month. When prices of food grains are moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their head, to buy cheap cotton clothing and occasionally a thin blanket. The small cultivator is slightly better off but he has not always enough to eat or sufficiently warm clothes.”

“Mr. Harrington, Commissioner of Fyzabad, maintains that the assertion that a large proportion of India suffers from a daily insufficiency of food is perfectly true as regards a varying but always considerable proportion of the population for a considerable part of the year in the greater part of India”.

I think, Gentlemen, these quotations, coupled with those which we have already heard from the previous speaker, show from official lips what the actual condition of the rural population of India is. But it might be said that these reports were submitted in the year 1882, and that since then perhaps there has really been a change for the better. I will just state some facts which will show that it could not possibly be that their condition has improved since 1882. The settlement is now going on in the North-West Provinces. I do not desire to say anything on the question of the settlement, but what I say is this:—that the re-assessment has in some cases taken the form of an increase in the revenue from 50 to 100 per cent. I know this from my own personal experience of the district in which I live, where it has been increased from 75 to 100 per cent. This has naturally been followed by the Zemindars trying to increase the rents of the tenants. It would be impossible even for them to meet the Government demands if they did not increase the rent; and many of them have asserted that, were it not that Zemindaris were ancestral property, they would rather give them up than pay the present rate of assessment. It cannot be said that within the last five years the settlement has contributed to the improvement of the condition of the rural population of the North-West Provinces. Then again, fifteen years ago, only in the large towns were there octroi duties, but now, under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, in almost every city with a population of from four to five thousand, cesses have commenced to be levied, and the cesses have been increased by 15 per cent. I do not know what is the case in other Provinces, but I must say it is simply scandalous as regards the nature of the articles on which this cess is levied. Fuel that is brought in, grass, vegetables and all other things that are articles of consumption of the poor are made subject to these cesses. That surely cannot contribute to any improvement in the condition of the poor. Another fact—(here the President struck the gong). One minute more and I shall have finished. This matter will form one of the subjects of discussion later on. The forest laws have been enacted in such a form that whereas ten or fifteen years back the Zemindars and the Villagers were allowed to graze their cattle in the forests, now these

have become close preserves. I now hear from the villagers that it is very difficult indeed to get pasture for their cattle. These laws within the last five years have contributed to make the position of the people more difficult. Then again, as you know, there is such a large export of corn from this country that of late years the prices have risen so high, especially in some districts of the North-West Provinces, that whereas thirty years ago grain was being sold at 2 maunds per Rupee, it is now sold at 22 seers per Rupee, while wheat which was sold at 14 maunds per Rupee, is now sold at 14 or 15 seers a Rupee. Thus, while, on the one hand, the income of the people is being considerably diminished, on the other hand, there is a considerable rise in the price of the articles of consumption. I am warned that it is time for me to stop and so I shall stop here. (*Hear, hear*)

LALA MURLIDHAR:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—During the five minutes that are at my disposal I will make my last will and testament. (*Laughter*) The question of the poverty of India has been discussed. (*Voices, "Louder, Turn this side."*) Gentlemen, I am not going to distribute sweets. I am crying like an old man for bread. (*Laughter*) The poverty of my English language entitles me I think to speak on the poverty of India. (*Laughter*) "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." If that precept were to be taken in its literal sense and accepted as Gospel truth, then I submit there is no happier country than India (*Laughter*) and no happier people than the Indians. (*Applause*) You should pity the rich people of England for the vast treasures of wealth they have hoarded and the numerous troops they have kept, and you should thank heaven that you have been placed in this desirable position, so that the doors of heaven have been opened to you while they have been shut against all the people of Europe. (*Laughter and Applause*) Why should you complain of the poverty of India? If you are to be possessed of riches and wealth there would be fear of being robbed by thieves and robbers. (*Laughter*) You have been saved the trouble and anxiety of hoarding riches, and you should lead the life of anchorites in the jungle as prescribed by the Shastras, and you should be content and happy with leading that life. (*Laughter and Cheers*) I deny that India is poor; on the contrary, I believe it is growing richer and richer every day. In support of my contention I will cite authorities which will be convincing, and which will silence the authority of the honourable Member of Parliament, the mover of this Resolution. Gentlemen, I cite the authority of the great and mighty Rajah of Benares, Rajah Siva Prasad (*Laughter and Cheers*), the authority of the mighty Rajah of Bhinga (*Laughter*) the authority of the ex-Nabob of Hyderabad. (*Laughter*) When India abounds with Patriots like these (*Laughter*) how can you say that India is growing poorer? You will see innumerable huts in place of a few palaces, you will see people crying by hundreds and thousands and millions. Then what more do you want? (*Laughter*) You are rich in the immensity of your poverty. (*Laughter and Cheers*) As for facts and figures why do you go to Sir William Hunter or any other authority? Go and see those figures in houses and see their squalid condition, pale and miserable, (*Hear, hear*) with no food to eat, and with no drink to take, and with no salt. Well then, is not that the condition of anchorites and holy people? What do you want more? Why do you ask Government for this or that? (*Laughter and Cheers*)

Does this all really represent the poverty of India? With all the delegates in their gala dress, dressed in European style and having every article of clothing, can you possibly think that it lies in their mouths to say that their country is poor? Have not the officials undergone a considerable amount of sacrifice by throwing open the doors of heaven to you, compensating themselves therefore by the so-called Exchange Compensation Allowance? (*Loud and continued Cheers*) Then they have disencumbered you of the heavier burdens, they have taken away the troubles from you, they have asked you to lead a quiet life, to have no concern in public affairs nor to be bothered about them in any way. You can sit at home and do your work. They have left their castles in England and are here as sojourners.

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Why should you complain when you lead such a happy and contented life? (*Laughter*) What! You are an ungrateful people. (*Laughter and Cheers*) Really you are. (*Laughter*) You ask to be admitted to the Government of your country? Why should you have all this botheration? (*Laughter*) Numerous troops have been employed to protect you and your lives. Numerous civil officials have taken the care off your shoulders. Then what do you want more? Litigation, which is a curse to the country, is eating into the very vitals of the nation; you want the Government to do this and that; you want to reduce taxation; you cry that India is poor. Have you done your share of the work; have you contributed anything towards reducing the poverty of the country; have you established any manufactories; have you discarded European clothing; have you shown to the world that you are really feeling and working for the poor? If you go to their houses and partake of their wretched food and live as they do, shivering with cold at midnight in those miserable huts with naked bodies; then you will feel the pinching poverty; then you will really feel the suffering of the people. Until you place yourselves in the position of the poverty-stricken people you will not be able to say that India is your mother-land, that the people are poor, and that you advocate their cause. Do advocate their cause sincerely. Pledge yourselves to squat rather on the bare ground than to send for chairs from Austria, three thousand miles away, which cost you Rs. 5,000. Act as practical patriots and show by your life that you truly and sincerely feel for the poor; then, the sympathy of all the poor and the rulers of the land shall be yours, and your names shall be placed in history, and God will be immensely pleased with you for having done your work. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, the time for my dissolution is at hand. (*Laughter: Voices, Go on, Go on*) One practical suggestion I would like to make to the delegates assembled in this august hall, and that is, act zealously, sincerely and loyally in the most respectful manner; strive day and night to remove the dark portion that is eating into the vitals of the nation; feel sincerely for the poor, treat them as your brethren, and discard all luxury. For luxury is not the share of the poverty-stricken people; it is only the share of the people cursed because they cannot afford to give anything in charity; because they cannot build hospitals; because they cannot even worship God without wealth and riches—so say our Shastras, so say all the wise men both of the East and West. Acquire wealth by all honest means; spend it on charity and on the poor, and show by your words and deeds that you do really feel for the poor. (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

BABU BISHNUPADA
CHATTERJI.

BABU BISHNUPADA CHATTERJI:—Mr. President, Delegates and Gentlemen,—We all of us complain of the shortness of our lives, but the five minutes' life allotted to the supporter of a Congress resolution after the illustrious speakers who have preceded me seems to me to be unusually long. Gentlemen, in rising to support this resolution I do not offer any apology for the hoarseness of my voice, for has not a Congress delegate had to cry himself hoarse over this very same subject from year to year since the first Congress met in Bombay in 1885? But the language of the prayer is the same, and we all know that we have got to repeat our prayers every day of the year consisting of 365 days. What then is the great question? The great question is, is India really impoverished? I answer the question in the affirmative, and to do so I rely upon the testimony of great men who have cared to open their lips and give us a bit of their minds. First of all, then, the idea was in the mind of Sir John Shore. The next man who got the idea was Mr. John Bright. The next man was Lord Lawrence, and then two ministers of the Government of India, Sir Evelyn Baring and Sir Auckland Colvin. Then we also have the testimony of men like Sir William Hunter, Sir William Wedderburn, and Sir Charles Elliott of Bengal; we also note that the Secretary of State for India, who may be styled the Czar of all the Indies, has himself admitted in 1886 that there is poverty among the people of India. I need hardly mention, Gentlemen, the name of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (*Cheers*) The Government of India have stated in so many words that "there is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population

“ which lives from hand to mouth (*Hear, hear*), is always in debt, does not save, and has little “ or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons.” Sir Charles Elliott of Bengal says;—“ I do not “ hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never know from year’s end to year’s “ end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied.” Now, Gentlemen, this is direct evidence, and I might say, in the case of the Bengal Government direct evidence coupled with the local investigation of what are officially called “ tours.” Gentlemen, it is said that a confession, a voluntary confession, can bring home the guilt to an accused person. This is the evidence, Gentlemen, of hostile witnesses and most unwilling witnesses. But this is not all. The last remark comes from the head of a Government whose Commissioners can swallow their words as glibly as they swallow ice cream on a hot summer’s day. (*Laughter*) I refer to Mr. Luttmann Johnson and also to Mr. Tuite. But even this is not all. There is corroboration. Have we not been told times without number that the annual average income per head of the population of England is now £41, and that of Turkey £4? Lord Cromer’s calculation, including the rich as well as the poor, however incorrectly, sets it down in India at Rs. 27, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s sets it down at Rs. 20. The Honorable Member of Parliament, Mr. Seymour Keay, has stated to you that the average annual income of certain men of Rampore and Rai Bareilly is Rs. 6. I will confine my remarks to a certain portion of Bengal, and will show by a rough calculation a similar result. The average labourer in Bengal (and I will confine my remarks to a certain quarter only, having nothing to do with any interests inland) gets work for seven months of the year. Taking his wages to be 3 annas per diem he gets annually, say, Rs. 42. Taking rice at Rs. 4 per maund, and taking his consumption to be a seer of rice a day, we have Rs. 36. If you deduct 36 from 42 the result is Rs. 6, which is what was shewn by Mr. Seymour Keay. And this is in reference to a single man. Just fancy to yourselves if he has a wife, and children, the doctor’s bill, the thatch to repair, and other necessaries of life to provide for! Bengal is not a garden of Eden, and the labourers are not so many walking Adams. (*Laughter*) He has to pay the cost of clothing too. Now, Gentlemen, we all know that many families in India have literally got to live upon one meal a day, and this, in a country where the land yields anything which can be desired. Is it too much, Gentlemen, after this, to say that fully 50 millions of the people of India are on the very verge of starvation? Yesterday the President told you, if I remember right, that some years back the population of England was 15 millions and that now it is 38 millions; while fully 40 million Indians (let me take the number of Sir W. Hunter not to mention that of Sir Charles Elliott) live on the very verge of starvation. You have heard of the recurring famines of Behar, of Central India, of Madras, and last though not least, of Faridpur. Gentlemen, is it, then, a wonder that there should be such famines, when so many people are literally living on the very verge of starvation? Everything was ready. The spark of a bad season was wanted, and the whole thing burst into flame, and the whole country put on the weird aspect of conflagration and of famine. Gentlemen, now let us see what are the causes. Well, it is not for me to narrate to you all the causes, but I should say that the first cause is stationary income and increase of expenditure by leaps and bounds. Under this head, by way of illustration, I would only mention Exchange Compensation, Military Expenditure, and adventitious shows to keep up the prestige of the British lion by such pageants as the Delhi Durbar and the Lahore Durbar. It seems to me it is the spectacle of a consumptive man in purple. Then I would mention other causes, namely, the natural decay of indigenous manufactures; the abolition of the caste system, or the division of industries; then the poverty of the soil, the visitation of floods and famine, giving rise to eternal indebtedness and law suits; and then the costly system of foreign Government, which has been mentioned to you by other speakers. Last year when supporting the resolution for the separation of the executive and judicial functions of a Magistrate, Mr. Mozumdar showed to you as clearly as possible that out of a saving of 230 lakhs (in a certain year), separation of these functions would, at the most, cost only some 7 lakhs. And that has not been done for Bengal, as we are told that it is not neces-

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sary to seek any such remedy, for does not Sir Charles Elliott tell us that Ganja and Opium are a highly concentrated food, and that the people should supply themselves with Kesur. (*Laughter and Cheers*)

The President struck the gong, and the speaker ceased speaking.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu, of Madras, to address the meeting in Telugu. Permit me, Gentlemen, to apologise to you for not understanding the vernaculars of this country. It is not the fault of my parents, for if they had had the least idea that I should one day be called upon to occupy this position, I am sure they would have given me quite a good education in the vernaculars. (*Laughter*)

Mr. Parthasarathy Naidu then spoke in Telugu amid frequent bursts of applause.

THE PRESIDENT:—The resolution has now been properly moved, seconded and supported; let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands (*Voices All, All*).

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. Norton will move the next resolution. An amendment has been put into my hands, but it is out of order.

Mr. Eardley Norton then came forward amid a perfect storm of applause. At this point Miss Muller (a Madras delegate, and the proposer of the amendment ruled out of order) who had taken up a position on the platform, while the audience were cheering Mr. Norton, attempted to address the assembly in disobedience to the President's ruling.

MISS MULLER:—I should like to know upon what grounds my amendment is ruled out of order. (*Interruption*) I have a right to ask the Chairman to inform me upon what grounds he has ruled my amendment out of order. (*Cries of No! No! Chair! Chair!*) I move an amendment—(*Interruption*).

THE PRESIDENT:—The amendment is out of order. Go on, Mr. Norton, please.

MISS MULLER:—My brothers, I should like to know how my amendment is out of order (*Voices "Sit down, Sit down" Chair! Chair!*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, sit down, please.

MR. E. NORTON:—I do trust, Gentlemen, you will obey the Chair.

Miss Muller then retired from the platform and the audience resumed their seats.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON:—Mr. President, the Resolution which I am asked to move runs as follows:—

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; and suggests that in its place a standing committee of members of the House of Commons be appointed.

It is quite impossible for me, Sir, within the time at my disposal to pretend to deal adequately with the resolution which has been entrusted to my care. I shall, therefore, confine myself to enunciating a few only of those principles which I assume will commend themselves to those assembled here, quoting by way of illustration a few instances to support those principles and my arguments. It is impossible for me to-day to do more than touch lightly upon the merits of the needed reform and illustrate by a few significant instances India's present unfortunate plight and the necessity for the concession she demands. Now, Sir, this particular reform, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, is the natural and necessary consequence of the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils which has given to the people of this country the first taste of a true though far off freedom; which has recognised, partially and with many jealous limitations, their right to elect their own representatives; and which has thereby conferred upon them the initial instalment of

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a freer and a greater self-government in the future which I trust, by their conduct of public affairs, they will justify the right to exercise and extend for the benefit of all mankind (*Cheers*). It is impossible now that there has been conceded to them—dimly perhaps and only partially, limited by restrictions which in my opinion are both foolish and unfair—the first fruits of their perseverance and self-denial, it is impossible for them to stand where they are, unless indeed they are prepared to surrender all those present and prospective privileges which invest living with dignity, and make life itself something more noble, more worth having, than the mere patient existence of the brute creation. Do you wish to go back upon these eight years' struggles, and do you wish to give up all that we have fought for and won? Or do you wish to press forward to the light, believing that you yourselves, like most other sentient human beings, and like all other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, are endowed with the right of making yourselves heard by the men of your own choice? If this, indeed, be your wish, as I believe, my friends, it is, and if you are not content to rest idle and indifferent where you are; if you are earnest in your resolve to make yourselves more and more fit for that greater and more generous franchise which must come to you in time, then you will agree with me that hand in hand with the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils must come the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. (*Cheers*) At present we stand sandwiched between officials in India and officials in England. (*Cheers*) I know not which are worse. (*Laughter*) We are asphyxiated by the air in which we live, which permits us only with difficulty to think, or do, or say. (*Cheers*) Until you get rid of that asphyxiating medium, until you break the last link which stands between you and your right freely to elect your own representatives, and to clothe them with the power, which the elected own in England and elsewhere, to make themselves heard effectively as your representatives in the Councils of the nation, and to regulate your taxation (*Cheers*) as well as your legislation, so long will you remain only partially enfranchised and only partially worthy either of the life which is yours by gift of God, or of the models which Great Britain has so long been training you to study, to imitate, to admire. Surely you must agree with me—I venture, of course, to speak only for Madras with which I am personally connected—that hitherto the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils has been followed by not unsuccessful attempts, on the part of the Government which administers the rules under which these Councils sit, to limit unfairly the rights, the privileges and the utility of the members whom the people have nominated. They are not yet endowed with sufficient freedom of speech or of debate, and it is in the hope that you will insist upon having these greater and necessary rights conferred upon them, that I ask you to vote for this proposition. I speak with personal interest on this point, because when I was last year at home I was in constant communication with Sir William Wedderburn and our old friend Mr. Hume; and both these gentlemen have commissioned me to tell you, that unless and until you strengthen their hands by sending them the resolution which I propose, you will not be doing what in you lies to give energy and vitality to the popular movement on the road to self-government. Why do we object, Sir, to the India Council? We object for this simple reason: that although its members are, possibly, imbued with the very best of intentions—mere intentions are not sufficient for practical politics—these same members are swayed by the same official interest, trained in the same official career steeped in the same official prejudices, as the men out here who, also with the best of intentions, are resolutely endeavouring to thwart and obstruct your moral, material and political reforms. Unless and until you sweep away the powerful association which, through all the intervening stretch of land and sea, is ever ready to help its fellow officials in this country, to condone their faults, to pander to their extravagance, to restrict your privileges, and to deny you your prerogatives, the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils must remain practically a sham. In speaking of Madras let me give one or two illustrations only—time will not permit me to do more—of the methods adopted by persons in whose hands the destiny of the local Legislative Council lies. It seems to me—and I have followed the debates with consi-

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derable scrutiny and interest—that the Government of Madras has been seeking with some success to solve the problem of how best to thwart the efforts of our representatives to elicit information or to undo wrong. For this purpose the Government has arranged a system whereby, by a sub-division of labour, nothing useful shall follow the action of the elected members. (*Laughter*) In the first place we have the senior member of Council who, whenever a pertinent question is addressed to the Government, is put forward to assume the position of a nineteenth century Delphic Oracle and to make himself even more unintelligible than usual. (*Laughter*) When this gentleman has succeeded in this not over-difficult task, we have the junior member of Council, with his reputation for honesty, pushed forward to give a point-blank denial to statements which on investigation are discovered to be true. (*Laughter*) We have the flat contradiction followed up by the admission of the truth in the interval between that meeting and the next, in other words, we have the flat contradictions followed up by an admission of their own inaccuracy. (*Laughter*) So far as I have seen, however, there is never any official apology tendered to the gentleman whose question has been met with a point-blank denial. However, the object of this particular illustration is this. What do you suppose is the real meaning of what I may designate as these local impertinences? They would not exist if the gentlemen who gave the answers, or rather did not give the answers, (*Laughter*) were not quite sure of the cordial approval and support of the members of the Secretary of State's Council in England. Let us look for one second at the constitution of that Council. I go back to the year 1884—as a matter of fact the condition of things has not much changed since then—and I find that of the fourteen members, seven are members of the Civil Service, five of the Army, one a Barrister and one an English Banker. Now, Sir, this particular Council is a Council the reason for whose existence lies in the fact that it is supposed to consist of members peculiarly qualified by long personal experience of India to know what the wants and desires of India really are; what are its ambitions and what its capabilities. The first thing that would strike a critic is the extraordinary fact that since 1858, when the Council came into existence, until to-day, not one Indian subject of Her Majesty the Queen has been offered a place on that Board. (*Shame*) Another point which seems to me singular is this: that not one single gentleman who pays us the compliment of accepting a seat on that Council, and who does us the honour of drawing £1,200 a year in addition to his pension for doing nothing that we want done, not one of these gentlemen contributes by way of taxes to the Indian Government. (*Shame*) Let me suggest that the constitution of the Council requires something more than mere mending. Look at the term of office of its members. Under the old Act of Parliament, its members were originally placed on it during good behaviour. That was found, I presume, to be rather a precarious tenure (*Laughter*) because it has been changed into an appointment for ten years, subject to recommendation on the part of the Secretary of State, who may at pleasure extend it from ten years to fifteen. Is not that somewhat of the nature of a permanent settlement with fixity of tenure (*Laughter*), modified, of course, by the benevolent interposition of a Secretary, kindly moved by his personal whims and caprices? Next, what with regard to the jurisdiction of the Council? I find that there seems to be some doubt as to what the Council can do and what it cannot do. The Duke of Argyll seconded by his Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne, was strongly of opinion that the Secretary of State's Council had no right to do anything whatever except to offer mere opinions. A little later, and I find that the Marquis of Salisbury seconded by his Lord Chancellor, Lord Cairns, was as strongly of opinion that on all questions affecting the financial arrangements of this country the voice of the majority of the Council is entitled to carry its full weight. In this conflict of opinion, it seems to me the time has come when we should interfere and put an end to the doubts raised by putting an end to the Council itself. (*Laughter and Cheers*) Then Sir, I find that Henry Fawcett, a name which ought to commend itself to every Indian who recognises the worth of a true and generous patriotism, publicly announced his mature opinion that with regard to all questions of frontier policy all Secretaries of State carried out their views, without reference to, and with-

out the consultation of, this particular Council. Then, what on earth is the use of this Council? (*Cheers*) If the Secretary of State is to be controlled by the Council, then abolish the Secretary of State. If the Council is to be controlled by the Secretary of State, then abolish the Council. The dual existence is useless, dangerous, expensive, obstructive. (*Cheers*)

Who can help being struck with the fact that, during the first ten years of its life the Secretary of State interfered to overrule it only eight times? I find each time he so interfered and overruled, it was with regard to some question of the Indian services. That is not a very important matter, and I fail to see why we should pay twelve gentlemen or more £1,200 each for settling the local disagreements of the officials in this country. Let me mention, Sir, by way of illustration, what the commercial capacity of the members of this Council appears to be. I will give you three instances as to the way in which they deal with commercial matters. To those more particularly who are so enthusiastic over the poverty of India and the question of trying to rearrange her finances, I need scarcely say that good commercial instincts and good commercial habits are matters of primary importance for the due regulation of this country's affairs. Yet I find commercial incapacity apportioned by the Council with admirable impartiality to its dealings with all three Presidencies. Thus: although Lord Canning in 1858 sent an urgent despatch to the Secretary of State strongly protesting against his contemplated action, that particular Secretary of State in Council sanctioned the construction of the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway, and guaranteed interest at the rate of 5 per cent. This was done after eleven years experience had taught that such concessions were irreconcilable with the true interests of India. The result of this was that the whole thing practically became bankrupt, and the Secretary of State had to purchase the railway at the cost of half a million sterling! Not content with this purchase of 1858, in 1859 the Council granted another concession, this time, by way of strict impartiality, (*Laughter*) in my own particular Presidency of Madras, to the Madras Irrigation Company upon substantially the same basis, guaranteeing to pay in perpetuity interest at 5 per cent. upon one million pounds sterling. Soon after this it was found the calculations were all wrong. The work never paid its expenses. What did the Secretary of State in Council do? He promptly advanced an additional £6,000 without security, with the result that eventually India had to buy this concern at par. (*Shame*) I have dealt with Calcutta and Madras. Let us see what is done in the Presidency to which Mr. Wacha belongs. I find in Bombay that in 1869 the India Council sanctioned the purchase of the Elphinstone Land and Press Company for Rs. 1,000 per share while the selling price was only Rs. 339. (*Shame*) These illustrations show that the commercial capacity of the gentlemen who receive handsome salaries and pensions from us is not so great as to entitle them to retain our confidence or our admiration. (*Cheers*) I will not enter upon more recent financial transgressions illustrative of the Council's commercial incapacity. We are all only too familiar with its proved incompetency on matters of finance. Now, with regard to the Council's method of legislation, let me quote a single instance, by way of accent, from the speech of a person no less capable than our former Premier, Mr. Gladstone. Emphasising the fashion in which Indian legislation is carried on, this is what he said: "Suddenly in the dark, in the privacy of the Council chamber, I believe in answer to a telegram, without the knowledge of Parliament, without the knowledge of the country, a law was passed totally extinguishing the freedom of the native press. I think a law such as that is a disgrace to the British Empire." So do I. (*Loud Cheers*) Yet this is what the expensive anachronism of the Indian Council does not blush to effect. (*Cheers*) Now let us look at some interesting figures illustrative of the licentious and criminal extravagance of these twelve or fourteen gentlemen at home. India has been charged—and has had to pay—£821,100 for the erection of certain buildings in England. Of this £540,000 has been absorbed in the construction and furniture of the India Office, a place not unfrequently devoted to giving, at the expense of India, costly entertainments to visitors to England unconnected with this country. (*Laughter*) I find that £70,000 have been spent on the erection of a library, £68,000 upon our old friend the Store Depot,

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and £100,000 upon the Indian Engineering College for the manufacture of experts who after importation find themselves shelved in favour of Royal Engineers. (*Laughter*) Now I come to the most extraordinary and alarming of all the items, namely, £38,000 which have been spent, Sir, on the construction of a Lunatic Asylum at Ealing. (*Laughter and cries of "Shame"*) Without wishing to be even inferentially discourteous, I admit I have a very intense curiosity to know who these Lunatics are. (*Laughter*) I want to know who are their fathers; (*Laughter*) and for what purpose they are bred to be nurtured at our expense. (*Laughter*) In England if a man has the advantage or the disadvantage, I do not know which, of having a lunatic father or son (*Laughter*), the cost of the lunatic is a charge either on his private family or on the parish rates. But when we in India send home our official lunatics, manufactured locally (*Laughter*), or when we find them sprinkled up and down the country-side, manufactured in England possibly by parents who find time hanging heavy on their hands (*Laughter*), we are called upon to meet an annual expenditure of £9,663. (*Shame*) That surely is an exorbitant demand on the part of those who place their private trade-mark on their offspring without the State's consent. (*Laughter*) India spends £136,588 on the salaries of her officials in England, and we find that this sum under the head of General Administration is swollen into a sum of £229,262. Five ships for the transport of soldiers have been built at a cost of £1,118,787 sterling. The annual upkeep of these ships was £277,072. I find another singular thing. I find that if a soldier in the service of the Queen, in quest of honour and glory, has won a distinguished service pension for valour in the field, whether it be in Afghanistan or Canada, in New Zealand or South Africa, if this distinguished soldier once comes within the confines of India the whole of his pension during the remainder of his official career in India is paid by the Indian tax-payer. (*Shame*) I find further that £192,227-12-10 are spent annually by way of absentee allowance to the highly salaried staff of your civil and military departments, who are enjoying themselves at your cost on privilege leave at home. I find, by way of contrast, that the Council of the Secretary of State for India was good enough to spend upon the natives of India, who are primarily entitled to the relief and the charities of the tax-payers of this country, the munificent sum of £218-14-8. (*Laughter and Shame*) India pays £74,470 annually on pensions, including a remarkable item of £10,033 which covers the pension of officers who were pensioned between the years 1834 and 1877, instead of being transferred to other offices in which they could have given India value for their annuities. (*Shame*) But this is not all. We pay, Sir, for an establishment in China. I should like to know why? We pay for a mission to the Court of Persia. I should like to know why? We pay our proportionate share of the Consulate at Jeddah? Where is Jeddah (*Laughter*) and what has India to do with the Consulate there? (*Cheers*) I find that for these items we are charged £25,366 per year. On the other hand the Colonies are called upon to pay nothing. When I say Colonies, I mean all those Colonies which can fight their own battles; for instance, Australia, Africa, or Canada. These are "invited" to subscribe by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But Hongkong, Colombo, Shanghai and Singapur are mulcted, like India, whether they like it or not. The great difference between the Colonies and India is that the Colonies are not at the mercy of the British Empire, because they have physical force, and India is at its mercy, because India has not physical force. This essential difference the India Council remembers and trades upon, and the difference accounts for the difference in treatment. (*Shame*) One would have supposed that it was sufficient to deal with large items like those I have mentioned, but it is impossible, in the review of the meanness of the Secretary of State and his Council at India's expense, to pass over in silence a very remarkable item. I find here, Sir, at page 56 of the Home Accounts of the Government of India 1893, amongst other things which the Indian tax-payer is called upon to pay and does pay, that he pays an annual sum of £1,329 for the annual up-keep and refreshment of 32 servants consisting of 28 housemaids not entitled to pension, (*Laughter*) one house keeper, and three charwomen. (*Loud*

laughter) If you will divide 32 by 12, each member of Council, excluding the President, that is the Secretary of State, but including the Vice-President, has about 2½rds of a housemaid all to himself. (*Laughter*) For that we are made to pay. (*Laughter*) By way of illustration of the absolutely illimitable extravagance of the India Office, let me mention two more items. First of all when a prince—his name need not be mentioned—came out to India some time ago India had to pay and did pay his expenses. But when the same prince went to Australia, Australia did not pay his expenses (*Shame*). I find also that it was discovered absolutely necessary for the imperial grandeur of Calcutta that the picture of a Viceroy and the picture of a Prince should be painted and hung up in the Council Chamber of that Capital. The pictures were provided and the tax-payer of India was fleeced to the extent of £812 for their cost. (*Shame*) I turn to lighter topics. I do not myself lay much emphasis upon, or feel much respect for, orders, garters, titles, ribbons, medals, and similar rubbish. (*Laughter*) But other people do, and it is a matter of taste. But I fail to see, Sir, why the extension of the Order of the Star of India should have cost us during the last five years £13,769 sterling. (*Shame*) One point more and I have done. We are prone to hail the advent of a new Viceroy with enthusiasm because we believe he will inaugurate a new departure and try to be fair and just as a ruler. But in the majority of cases I think we all hail his departure with unfeigned pleasure (*Laughter*), because we find at the end of five years that in the main we have been grievously disappointed. The golden vessel has degenerated into an earthy vase. Most of us are old enough to recollect when Lord Lytton came to this country and when he went away. It was quite right that he should go away. The great regret was that he did not go away sooner. (*Cheers*) For transporting him and his family from Calcutta to England this country had to pay the enormous sum of £5,280. (*Shame*) Now, some time ago—with this I will close—a man whose name like Fawcett's ought to conjure up in you a sensation of lasting gratitude—that great Quaker demagogue of the people, John Bright, (*Cheers*) said, when he opposed the formation of this particular Council with a deeper statesmanlike penetration than is possessed by those who call themselves statesmen in India, "These 15 gentlemen with handsome salaries, fair retiring allowances, and a good deal of patronage at their disposal, and whose work would be so easy that nobody was able to say exactly why they were appointed, would be the last persons to complain of the Act under which they were created, and they would find that their friends in that House and out of it, and in the Press, would say that nothing was so admirable as the Act passed in 1858, and the result would be that little or no concern would be felt in the affairs of India, and its interests would be to a great extent neglected; that complaints might be made of such neglect, but these fifteen gentlemen would still assert with the most unblushing countenances, that nothing could be better than their administration of India." It is because we realize that that prophecy, unlike most prophecies, has come true; it is because we desire to put an end to the evils which John Bright so graphically described, that I ask you to-day to adopt this resolution which will strengthen the hands of your British Committee at Home, working with marvellous devotion and unselfishness, unpaid, in the cause of Indian Reform. (*Cheers*) I trust, Sir, no man in India will, for one moment, shut his eyes to the real facts of the situation, nor suppose that this particular attack upon the India Council is likely to be successful at its first onslaught. It was not so we won the recognition of the elective principle. (*Cheers*) It would be folly not to recognise that we shall find arrayed against us in the future, as we found arrayed against us in the past, all that racial jealousy, all that personal dislike, all that individual antipathy, all that malice and envy and hatred and uncharitableness can summon to join and weld together in one obstructive whole, to impede our wishes, to repel our crusade, to crush our ambitions, and to drain our purses. (*Cheers*) But, my friends, as you have vanquished in the past so shall you be victorious in the future, if as in the past, you be true to yourselves, your country and your cause. (*Cheers*) I have delivered the message which our friends in England have asked me to give you. There has already been drafted a Bill which I hope will be brought forward in the next

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or in the immediately succeeding Parliament; and when we have this particular institution swept out of the way, then we shall breathe freely; then our taxes will be spent on our own wants (*Cheers*), then we shall be able to impose those taxes ourselves. (*Cheers*) Personally I am not very much enamoured of the suggestion that in lieu of the Secretary of State and his Council, we should have a standing Committee of Parliament at home, because I feel that the Standing Committee may in the course of years become the monopoly of the retired Anglo-Indian official who trickles into Parliament. (*Hear, hear from Mr. Seymour Keay*) But, like most selections in life, it is a choice between two evils. Some of us may prefer to abide by the evil we know of than fly to the evil of which we do not know. But, personally, I would sooner embark on any venture; sooner trust to any new tribunal; sooner pin my faith on any proposed combination, than entrust anything in which I felt a personal interest to the clutches or the carelessness of the India Council. (*Cheers*) With me there is no mending that Council. It must be ending. Let it be decapitated and its head decently buried in another continent to that in which lies interred its trunk, lest the two baneful things re-unite and the monster be resuscitated. (*Laughter and Cheers*) For a worse system than the present could not be invented by the ingenuity of man. The Council is a secret body; its discussions are not public; its conclusions do not see the light of day; it is not open to the influence of outside criticism; it is not responsible to Parliament; it cannot be affected by public opinion. You cannot have a worse body than that to rule or to misrule you. (*Cheers*) The standing Committee of the House of Commons will have at any rate this advantage: in the first place it will be very much less expensive, because it will sweep away the £1,200 a year of these gentlemen, and in the second place, you will have the advantage of its members speaking in public, subject to public opinion, subject to debate, and subject to criticism. (*Cheers*) So far as I am concerned this part of the resolution is only tentative. I shall be open to discuss and consider any better substitute for the Council whose execution we all desire so heartily to attend. (*Laughter*);

To you, Sir, (*turning to the President*) the President of this Congress and a member of the mother of all Parliaments, we Englishmen and Indians here assembled alike turn for comfort and relief; to you, who at this holy season of the year, have come among us bringing from your own united party a message of hope, of good will, of perseverance (*Cheers*); to you, who like us have graduated and are graduating still in the school of political persecution and political duress (*Cheers*); to you, whose life-long connection with the struggles of your own countrymen for liberty and for self-government must necessarily teach you to be in reverent sympathy with all men, who like ourselves are facing odds in our struggle for our rights. (*Cheers*) We believe that when you leave us, you will not forget us. (*Cheers*) Your closer contact and touch with the peoples of this country and with their aims and methods, since you have moved among them, will show you that there is much that is good and lovable in their character. (*Cheers*) And we are certain that, impelled alike by sympathy and conviction towards the unrepresented millions of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, you will give them the assistance as well of your voice as of your vote, when next they appeal for hearing and relief to the Imperial and United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT:—This resolution will be seconded by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar of Berar.

Mr. R. N. MUD-
HOLKAR.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—The resolution which has been moved in such eloquent terms and with such an array of facts and figures by my friend Mr. Norton may appear to some to be worded in rather a strong manner. But I am sure that when you have heard his facts and when you bestow your attention on the reason of the thing, you will be convinced that it is not as strong as it should be. We say in that Resolution that this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India as at present constituted to be a necessary preliminary to all reforms.

What we mean by this is that all that we have asked for will not be granted to us unless this body is removed from our path. It has been said very often in England, with regard to other things and other objects, that Ireland blocks the way. Here in India we might well say with another meaning that the Council of the Secretary of State blocks the way. (*Hear, hear*) You say that all your people are miserably poor, that you are overtaxed, that the burdens of the country ought to be lightened. It is the Secretary of State in London who governs you. He has a Council there, and it is his Council which stops the way, and obstructs the path of reform. You have been for years asking for the Permanent Settlement; in fact, several Secretaries of State have seen the necessity of granting a Permanent Settlement. Again, it is his Council that blocks the way. You have asked for that small modicum of reform, namely, granting a representative element with regard to the Legislative Councils. It again came in the way. It was the Secretary of State's Council. There is the Simultaneous Examinations Question. Who comes between you and the attainment of your wishes? Again, the Council of the Secretary of State. It is these gentlemen who, holding a high position in England, exercise that power, not for your good, not for the purpose for which they are appointed, but to frustrate the very object for which they were called into existence. I say advisedly that they violate the very principle for which the Law called them into existence. (*Cheers*) When in 1857-1858 it was proposed to take the Government of India from the Company, it was proposed that the late Board of Directors should be abolished, and that the old Board of Control should be abolished, and that India should be taken over by the Crown and be directly managed through a Secretary of State. It was objected by persons who were friendly to the old "John Company," that there would be no protection of Indian interests. Various measures were suggested. It was suggested that certain cities should have representatives. That was abandoned, and several other projects also were abandoned, and at last this Council was created. And for what purpose? For protecting the interests of this country. So this Council was created for protecting our interests. It was conceived that a body of experts was necessary to consult with the Secretary of State, because the man who would be called upon to fill the position of Secretary of State would often be utterly ignorant of the duties of the office, and therefore it was resolved that for protecting the interests of the people of India there should be a body of experts. Now that body consists for the most part of members of the Indian Services. It is these gentlemen occupying this position who are supposed to protect our interests! And they are supposed to protect our interests in two ways; firstly, as the final executive authority, and, secondly, as directing the policy of the Government of India from England. I say in regard to both these matters that they have failed, and failed egregiously. (*Cheers*) As executive authorities those who have held high positions naturally by their predilections, by the bias natural to their minds, view things as the officials here; and finally when the decision is passed here by the Government it is very difficult to get the Secretary of State or his Council to reverse it;—that is the final executive authority. And whether you look to high matters like those I have referred to, or to individual grievances, or cases like those of Crawford or Wilson Russell, the Secretary of State's Council does not fulfil its function, namely, that of protecting the interests of India. (*Shame*)

I shall mention to you only one particular instance of individual grievances. You know, Gentlemen—particularly those of you who come from Bombay—what the *Inam* commission is. When the *Inam* Commission was let loose in certain provinces, which need not be mentioned here, certain *Inams* were attached and the proceeds taken to the Government treasury pending investigation, which in some cases went on for a period of 25 years. At last it was found that the *Inamdars* were entitled and their claims were allowed. But during all this time Government had received the profits. The *Inamdars* asked for arrears. The Government of India disallowed the claim. (*Shame*) There was an appeal to the Secretary of State and his Council. Well, one would have expected that if the claim was just, Government would have taken time to verify the thing. No! Claims of right and justice like this would most

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certainly hamper the hands of our Council, and these claims were summarily rejected. (*Shame*) This is the justice which is received from the highest executive authority. Well; then, abandoning these individual instances, and abandoning also other matters, we find the Secretary of State's Council not serving its purpose in another way. When the law was passed, it was believed that in regard to financial matters at least the Council would be able to control and check the action of the Secretary of State. The Duke of Argyll had other views and in several instances the Secretary of State over-ruled his Council, and carried things with a high hand. Now, then, has the Council fulfilled its purpose? (*Cries of No! No! and Cheers*)

But you must not blame the Council; it is not the man or the Council, but the system which we are attacking. (*Hear, hear*) You also find that in several matters affecting most vital questions between England and India they are over-ruled and cannot enforce their action. That means that it is a Council which is utterly useless, and as it does not serve any useful purpose it ought to be abolished. On both these grounds, therefore, the Secretary of State's Council should be abolished. (*Hear, hear*) Then it may be asked, "What shall be put in its place? There must be some consultative body". Speaking for myself, I should much prefer an elective Council. That is a demand, however, which we may enunciate hereafter. For the present what we may verily ask is that there should be a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. (*Cheers*) Under the present system the Secretary of State is a perfect autocrat, because even if the Council were to push their views to the extreme and carry matters to Parliament, the Secretary of State, with a Parliamentary Majority behind his back, can easily over-ride the decisions of the Council. But if you have a Standing Committee of the House of Commons, chosen as that body would be from all sides, it would carry a weight and have a prestige which a Council like the Secretary of State's cannot have. It would carry far greater weight, and enforce its opinions with far greater authority than the present body, and on these grounds, therefore, Gentlemen, I second this Resolution for your acceptance. (*Loud Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT:—The fourth resolution has been properly moved and seconded. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands (*Voices, "All" "All"*)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—This brings us to the close of our business for the day; but there are some important matters to be brought before you. First of all, there is an announcement to be made by Mr. P. Ananda Charlu; next I am going to announce the business for to-morrow; and then I will read a letter received by me impugning my conduct in the Chair, as to which I shall ask for your opinion.

RAI BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU:—Gentlemen, on a former occasion the delegates had an invitation from the Cosmopolitan Club, and that Club has made up its mind to invite you all heartily on this occasion also. On the last occasion the delegates accepted the invitation, and I hope that you will follow the same course. The invitation will be for the 29th instant at 7 P.M. (*Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—The Members of the Subjects Committee will please remain here, as we mean to conclude our business now as soon as the meeting rises. Refreshments will be provided here for the members of the Subjects Committee. To-morrow the Congress will meet at 12 o'clock and sit continuously till four. We think that a more convenient arrangement than breaking up the business during the day. I have now to read a letter which I have received. It is my duty to read it to you. It is signed by three members of the Congress, but I do not intend to give their names:—

"To the President of the National Congress. SIR,—We feel that you have not complied with the rules of fair play by refusing to grant a hearing to Miss Muller, and by further refusing to

"give any reasons for your summary action. We protest against your action, and shall take steps to make public the indignation that we feel at your conduct." (*Shame, Shame*)

Now, I don't intend in future to give any explanation of my rulings. If you are not satisfied with my rulings in future, you can put me out of the Chair. But, seeing the extremely painful character of this incident, seeing the fact that the only lady in the place was engaged in it, and that she was the only English-woman here, and also that she is a relative of a dear friend of mine, I think I am entitled to give some explanation. According to the rules the Subjects Committee arranges the business here. It arranges the Resolutions, and it arranges the list of speakers. Miss Muller was not on the list of speakers; the amendment which she handed to me had nothing whatever to do with the Resolution before the meeting, and also, apart from that, would have been entirely out of order at any time in these meetings. I should have ruled it out of Order at any time. Now I desire to know whether after hearing this explanation, you think that I have complied with the rules of fair play? (*Cries of You have! You have! Three cheers were here called for Mr. WEBB and given most heartily, the audience standing.*) I am quite sure that you will support me in my future rulings, and I now consider that this most painful incident is entirely at an end, and buried in our recollections. The Congress now adjourns till 12 o'clock to-morrow (*Prolonged Cheers*).

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THE PRESIDENT.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 28th December, 1894.

The Congress assembled at 12 o'clock.

Third Day.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, in commencing the proceedings for this day, it is necessary that I should remark that the amount of business that we have to get through is very great. I was rather lenient yesterday, it being the first day, but I must be a little more strict to-day. I am willing to stop here till 10 o'clock but I doubt whether everybody would do the same. I must restrict the speakers to the recognised time. I have now to call upon Mr. C. Jambulingam Mudalier, to propose the fifth resolution.

Resolution V.
Financial
Enquiry.

RAI BAHADUR
C. JAMBULINGAM
MUDALIER.

RAI BAHADUR C. JAMBULINGAM MUDALIER:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates—The resolution which has been placed in my charge and which I move runs thus:—

This Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards the enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burthens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom.

Gentlemen, it is necessary that before I begin to explain the several component parts of this Resolution I should state briefly the occasion for the introduction of this Resolution at this Congress. You remember that about four months ago the Indian Budget Statement was introduced into the House of Commons, and that the proceedings at that introduction showed a marked contrast to the proceedings on similar occasions in former years. It gave rise to an enormous amount of animated and interesting discussion regarding several points concerning the welfare of India. We must express our gratitude to that Committee of India's true and trusted friends (*Hear, hear*), presided over by Sir William Wedderburn (*Cheers*) for the interest it has created among the members of the British House of Commons, in matters concerning the welfare of this vast Empire. (*Hear; hear*) We must express our gratitude in an equal degree to that band of 153 philanthropic members of the House of Commons (*Cheers*) who have promised to interest themselves in the impartial consideration of the questions relating to this great Empire. (*Hear, hear*) But, Gentlemen, we have also to express our gratitude and thanks to an official holding a high position in India, particularly in connection with the matter before you—I mean Mr. Westland, the Financial Secretary with the Government of India, to whose sophistry and bad logic is to be ascribed the fact that this year's Indian Budget aroused such unusual interest and attention. To him also we shall render our thanks without stint or reserve, because, but for his statement that exchange is the principal cause of the terrible deficit in the Indian finances of this year, it is probable that our eminent brethren of Bombay, the eminent economists of the Bombay Presidency Association, would not have been stirred up to immediate action, and probable also that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress would not have felt the need of publishing a note on Mr. Westland's Budget. Now, Gentlemen, on the motion to go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts our friend Mr. Samuel Smith moved an amendment in these terms. "That in the opinion of this House a full and independent

“Parliamentary enquiry should take place into the condition and wants of the Indian people, their ability to bear the existing financial burdens, the nature of the Revenue system and the possibility of reduction in the expenditure, also the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom, and generally the system of Government in India.”

Now, Gentlemen, this amendment of Mr. Samuel Smith's was seconded by no less an expert in Indian Economy than our illustrious countryman Dadabhai Naoroji (*Cheers*) and supported by one whose voice you have heard, and who having come from England is sitting before us as a delegate in this National Congress (*Cheers*)—I mean Mr. Seymour Keay. (*Cheers*) The Secretary of State, denying the premises put forward by the Indian party, granted, or at least promised to grant, at the very beginning of the next Session of Parliament a Select Committee. For what purpose? To inquire into the financial expenditure—expenditure only—of India, and nothing more. Gentlemen, we must render our thanks to the Secretary of State for this concession, though we may differ in our views as to the scope of the enquiry. The clock has been placed before me and I shall not be very long; but on this proposition I must ask your indulgence and also the kind permission of the President because I feel it incumbent to pass in review the statements made in the House of Commons by certain members of the Opposition, against which it is necessary that we should enter our most solemn and emphatic protest and send that message to England for the edification of those Members. (*Hear, hear*) Now, Gentlemen, I shall go into the subject. I think I can make you understand our position by a brief illustration, which may not be elegant, but at the same time expresses our ideas briefly and in a short compass. The action of the Government—if the promise of the Secretary of State results in action in the terms of that promise—seems to me like the conduct of a stupid cartman who loads or overloads his cart without considering and measuring the strength of his bullocks. The Government idea of making an enquiry into the expenditure only without making corresponding enquiries as to the capacity of the Indian tax-payer to bear the present burdens seems to be based on foregone conclusions. It postulates that the Indian people are very happy and contented under the present fiscal burdens, that they have nothing whatever to complain of, and that the present taxation can be continued without any diminution. Gentlemen, this ignores several points and several matters about which authorities have expressed themselves in no unmistakable language; it ignores the fact that the Salt tax is a most oppressive and galling tax touching the poor; it ignores the fact that eminent authorities have pronounced that there ought to be a reduction of the Salt tax at the earliest possible opportunity, at least to its former limits; it ignores the fact that the Income Tax as assessed at present is an extremely burdensome tax, especially on the poor of this country, because the taxable minimum is placed at Rs. 500, and it ignores also the fact that this Congress year after year on behalf of the poor of this country has been resolving, and sending out its resolutions, to raise the minimum at least to Rs. 1,000 (if not to the limit prescribed for the English tax payer, *viz.*, £150); it ignores also the fact that the opium revenue is at best a most uncertain revenue, and that it threatens to vanish so soon as China can produce its own indigenous article; it ignores further the tendency of the present temperance movement, which has found very valuable and strong support in the House of Commons; lastly, it ignores the grinding poverty of India, about which statisticians of eminence have pronounced and spoken in no doubtful language. That subject of poverty has been dealt with by a master, and it is impossible for me to add anything to that. But, Gentlemen, I shall only mention one circumstance which Mr. Seymour Keay omitted probably out of modesty—I mean the enquiries made by himself, the things which he mentioned before the British House of Commons. Five villages of the Bombay Presidency were selected by him for investigation, and he pointed out that the income of the inhabitants of these villages was not enough to meet the maintenance of the cattle and the starvation rates of the ryots and also the payment of the Government taxes. Gentlemen, Sir Richard Temple, about whom I shall have to speak much, with a self-sufficiency peculiar to himself, thought that he had

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demolished and pulverised Mr. Seymour Keay when he said "How then do these people pay the taxes?", conveniently forgetting for the moment that the chronic indebtedness of the Indian ryot is a proverb that could find place in dictionaries and books of proverbs, conveniently forgetting also that the cry for Agricultural Banks in this country to relieve the ryot from the strong grip of the money-lender is not a false cry, and that the Government is also anxious about it. But, Gentlemen, Mr. Seymour Keay has survived this pulverising process, and has returned to us, and we congratulate him for that. (*Hear, hear*) I shall say only a few words on the second point in this Resolution, viz., the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom, considering it superfluous and unnecessary for me to add anything to the speech of Mr. Seymour Keay relating to the poverty of India. The simple fact about this is that upwards of 20 millions of pounds are annually remitted to England for the purpose of meeting necessary and unnecessary expenditure in that country; and all this money is completely lost to this country. Mr. Eardley Norton, my friend, (*Cheers*) yesterday gave details very accurately from Blue Books about the need for this expenditure. I shall only add one item which he probably omitted in the long list and catalogue of figures he had. He mentioned that for a Lunatic Asylum in England £3,000 were spent for construction, but he omitted to say that the sum of £2,800 per annum is also spent for pay and pensions—of whom? I do not know. It is incomprehensible to minds that have not yet attained that maturity of understanding which is possessed by those inmates of the famous institution at Ealing. (*Laughter*) I shall not trouble you any more because my time is limited, but I must ask for your indulgence in this particular matter because it was on the identical proposition before the House of Commons that the opponents to this Resolution made speeches to which we have the strongest objection, and I do believe that this Congress will enter its most emphatic protest against those statements. For the present, Gentlemen, I begin with Sir Andrew Scoble, formerly legislative member of the Government of India. As to his views with reference to the necessity for enquiry into Indian affairs his objection, and a strong objection it must be so far as he is concerned, is that this will be a very tedious and costly procedure; as to the poverty of India he does not wage war with the statistics of the world. He conceives that the result of the enquiries which statisticians have made on the subject is that about Rs. 25 per head is the average income of the native of India. We find here an admission from an opponent of the calculations made more or less by Dadabhai Naoroji (*Cheers*) and Lord Cromer. But, Gentlemen, Sir Andrew Scoble finds a mysterious method by which the Indian population, in spite of their income of Rs. 25 per annum, get rich, healthy, happy, and contented. It is impossible for me to put in my own words what that explanation is and therefore I shall simply read his words and read them for your edification. This is what he says:—

"The only result of the enquiries which statisticians have made on the subject is "that about 25 Rupees per head is the average income of the natives of India. As far as "money transactions are concerned, this may be a fair representation, but as far as the "necessaries of life and the conditions which make up the difference between poverty "and wealth are concerned, these depend upon matters which are not purchased by "money, and into the provision of which money does not enter at all. The poverty of India "is relative."

I am sure, Gentlemen, that you are all greatly edified, and are informed as to the manner in which India gets happy and contented in spite of the 25 Rupees per annum. I now come, Gentlemen, to the only personage with whom I am concerned—Sir Richard Temple. Mr. Seymour Keay read two passages yesterday, and I shall not trouble you with them now, but I can simply say that he has got a sovereign contempt for all the statisticians of the world, and is not without resources to substitute something else for the figures of the statisticians, and that is his own knowledge of 25 years in India. He says "At the time I was in India the poorest labouring man could earn 5 Rupees in the month, that is Rs 60 a year." That is a

statement from his general knowledge of 25 years' experience in this country which he would boldly put forward against the statements of statisticians, who have laboured in the field of politics and Indian economy for years. This is with reference to official statisticians. With reference to unofficial statisticians he has got a very respectable phrase in calling Dadabhai Naoroji an "amateur statistician." Then, Gentlemen, this is a matter which you must seriously consider and tell me if that is really the state of things. With reference to the Civil Service Examinations he states :—"Certainly, we are most undoubtedly afraid lest men " who have passed the Examination should not be qualified for the great Civil Service, and " we are certainly afraid of the greater number of places being won by men of Bengal who are " absolute aliens to many of the people of India, and who would not be acceptable to the " rest of India. Madras is a peculiar case. Madras is quite the quietest, the safest part of " India, and then the people who must enter the Civil Service are quite homogeneous with the " natives of Madras. There, if anywhere, the plan might answer. But to have these Simul- " taneous Examinations is a danger which the Madras people foresaw and objected to. It is " not Madrasis who would get in but Bengalis, and they begged the Government that they " might be governed by Englishmen rather than by Bengalis".

I do not know, Gentlemen, which blockhead in Madras gave expression to that sentiment, but he has another delicious passage here about Dadabhai Naoroji himself :—

"I desire to speak with peculiar respect of the race from which the honorable " member springs. It is one of the most ancient and noble races in this world ; and among it " are many of the best friends I have anywhere. But I do say that they are not natives of " India, and the Honorable member when he spoke on behalf of the natives of India, did not " do so in the sense of being himself a native of India".

Do you say, Gentlemen, that Dadabhai Naoroji is not recognised as a native of India (Cries of No, No), to represent our case before the House of Commons. I conclude, Gentle- men, as I hear the call of the President that my time is out. (Cheers)

MR. H. MORGAN-BROWNE :—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates—You have all heard the Resolution, therefore I will not repeat it ; but I want you to notice at once the form of the enquiry which has been granted us by the House of Commons. That enquiry is a purely financial one, moreover it is a one-sided one—what you may call a one-legged enquiry ! (Laughter) It is only going to deal with the financial expenditure, and is not going to deal with revenue. What I want you to keep clearly in your minds is that this so-called financial enquiry is no part or portion of the larger enquiry which we have been asking for, and which we will continue to demand until it is granted us. I do not want you to consider that this enquiry is in any way a concession to the demand which India has made, namely, that the whole system of Government in this country shall be brought to the bar of public opinion in England (Cheers), and that there shall be such a stock-taking as was customary at the renewal of the old Company's charters. I want you to keep this enquiry entirely separate in your minds from that larger enquiry we are demanding, and I ask you to do so for this reason ;—they will endeavour, when this enquiry has been held, and when they have succeeded, as they probably will succeed, in making this enquiry abortive—they will endeavour to put you off from that larger enquiry by saying " We have granted you all that you have asked for." (Hear, hear) Remember also this ; the whole weight of the Government of India and the whole weight of that India Council will be brought to bear in order to make this enquiry in the nature of an audit. Now, Gentlemen, there is one thing we do not want in this world, and that is an audit of the Government of India's Accounts. The Government of India keep excellent Accounts. Their Accounts are admirably displayed—when you can understand them. (Laughter) We do not want an audit of the Government of India's Accounts. (Hear, hear) Now I want, if I can, to suggest a few points for your consideration

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with regard to that enquiry—I want to put before you a few of the methods of the Government of India's Finance. I first of all come to that question about the Famine Insurance Fund. Gentlemen, you all know that although there has been a Famine Insurance Fund in existence for something like 16 years, there is only one person or body of persons who never heard of that fund, namely, the Government of India. (*Laughter*) Thus the Government of this country have proved to their own satisfaction that they are at perfect liberty to appropriate the funds raised for that special purpose to any other purpose; and they have scoffed at the accusation we made that they have broken the pledge they gave to this country. I believe that in all matters of complaint against a Government, we should, as far as possible, found our case, not on the utterances and statements of the people of the country, but upon the statements and utterances of the Government itself; therefore for all these figures which I propose to place before you I have gone to one source and one source alone—the public figures and the public documents of the Government of India. (*Hear, hear*) Well, in 1878, the Government of India created a Licence Tax, afterwards changed into the Income Tax, and a certain local Cess to provide against the danger of recurring famines. What was it they told you at the time they imposed these additional taxes? Here is one of the pledges they made. This was said by Sir John Strachey himself. “I feel confident that I shall be able to satisfy the Council and the public that the resolution which the Government has proclaimed will be faithfully carried out, and that the proceeds of these new taxes will be expended for the purpose of providing what I have called an insurance against famine, and for no other purpose whatever.” Well, Gentlemen, the Government of India must forgive us if we have learnt not to put implicit reliance even in their most solemn pledges. At the time these assurances were made with that *ore rotundo* which the officials of Government know so well how to assume, at that very time public doubt grew strong, and a great many requests were made to the Government of India to define and re-define and re-define their position in this matter. At length the matter reached the ears of the Viceroy, that eminent personage who sits upon the Simla Hills, (*Laughter*) and a deputation came to him and suggested that the people were not yet satisfied with the repeated pledges given by Government; and then this peroration was addressed to them. “As the representative of the Sovereign in India I regret that such language should have been held to me by you. The sole purpose of the additional taxation you complain of was the preservation of the lives of the people of India from the effects of Famine; whatever may be the faults or shortcomings of this Government,” (A strange admission, Gentlemen! There are it seems faults and shortcomings even in the Government of India!) “its action in the matter to which your address makes reference was dictated by the sincerest and most anxious desire to give the people of India the greatest protection that could practically be provided for them against the calamities of future famine. To insinuate the contrary is to insinuate a calumny.” Gentlemen, we are now in a position not to insinuate a calumny but to make and register a very strong accusation in this matter. (*Cheers*)

What has been done with these taxes? In 1878 they produced something like Rx. 900,000; in the last year for which there are accounts I believe they are estimated to produce Rx. 1,730,300. During the last 16 years, for the sole purpose of providing the people of India with a Famine Insurance fund, taxes amounting in all to Rx. 17,429,592 were collected, out of which the Government of India promised to spend every year a sum of not less than 1½ Millions Sterling. Now let us see how they have kept their promises. For the 16 years the total expenditure on Famine Relief and Insurance amounted roughly to 16 crores of Rupees, that is to say, accepting the statement of the Government of India, we find, on the most liberal computation which we can make, only 16 crores of Rupees have been paid by the Government of India for this purpose; 24 crores of Rupees promised, and 16 crores paid; discount off the promises of the Government of India 8 crores of Rupees, or 33 per cent. (*Cheers*) This, Gentlemen, is

a very large discount to make on the promises of a big Government. I pass from the Famine Insurance Fund to the question of the Exchange Compensation allowance. It is proposed to take a million sterling from this Revenue, that is to say, to appropriate one million sterling of the Famine fund for the deficiencies of the Government of India. Now where is that million going? That million which is taken from the pockets of the Indian Tax-payer by breaking one of the most solemn of pledges, viz., the pledge to protect them from the possibility of famine, that money is going into the pockets of 900 comfortable Civil Servants of the Crown in India (*Shame*); that is going to pay the so-called Exchange Compensation allowance. (*Shame*). But Gentlemen, we are reasonable men; we do not object to Exchange Compensation allowance altogether, but we object to it when given, as it is. What is this Exchange Compensation allowance? At present it is in most cases an indiscriminate increase of the salaries of certain officials out here; and those officials are often the youngest as well as the most inexperienced. Every man, whether he came here twenty years ago when the Rupee was 2s., or whether he came yesterday when the Rupee was at 1s. 2d., is to be allowed to remit half his pay to England at 1s. 6d., so that the youngest servants of the State are paid for their untried services more than the course of exchange can ever have led them to expect. We object, and I think rightly, to indiscriminate Exchange Compensation allowance of this nature, and to these financial methods of the Government of India. (*Hear, hear*)

Now I come to another point—the question of stores. This again, I would suggest, is one of the points which should be rammed home at the Financial Enquiry. It does not matter that these matters which I am bringing before you are old stories, the public have not heard them often enough, and we want to bring them before the public and the House of Commons. Here is an entry in “Stores,” “Law and Justice; Engine and Tea-Roller” £426-8-2. What does that mean? (*Laughter*) There are many other strange entries, but my time is short, so I will pause for a moment over this entry:—“Political; Presentation Articles” £327-5-5. This entry re-calls to my mind several little meannesses of the Government of India. Do you remember the present that was made to the Sultan of Zanzibar by the British Ambassador? That was debited to the Revenues of India. (*Shame*) Do you remember the ball at Constantinople, which was also charged—some £8,000 Sterling—on the Revenues of the Government of India? (*Shame*) Do you know why that was charged? It was said that it was an excellent thing for India that England should be on good terms with the Sultan of Turkey. (*Laughter*) Then I mention to pass over “Stationery and Printing,” “Telegraph Lines in India,” “Stamps,” “Post Offices,” “Special Defence Works” that expensive theory of the Government of India the “Scientific Frontier”—and I ask “Why cannot you encourage home industries here in India instead of spending money on the falling rupee?” (*Hear, hear*) Last of all, Gentlemen, this question of stores reminds me of another thing and that is this: this Store Department, which spends 1½ millions of pounds every year, which, including capital expenditure, spent 4 million pounds of the Indian tax-payers’ money in 1892-93 (4 million pounds means 7 crores of rupees!) is one of the most corrupt Government departments that the world has ever seen. (*Cheers*) Let me tell you a little incident about this Department. When I was travelling in the Punjab I met an Anglo-Indian, himself an officer of Government, who told me this little story. Somewhere here in Madras there was a man who had helped a Colonel, a man of some influence, in a matter of some importance. This Colonel out of gratitude offered this man an appointment and wrote to him saying “I can get you an appointment as an Inspector of Stores in London at £250 a year.” He replied “I am very much obliged to you for your kind offer, but unfortunately I have a wife and family, and I cannot afford to take up the post on such a low salary,” and so, Gentlemen, the post went elsewhere. Afterwards the Colonel wrote to this man and said, “I am very sorry to hear you have declined the appointment, for it was worth £1,250 a year.” What does that mean? It means £1,000 a year in the shape of bribes. (*Shame*) Gentlemen, this is only one story;

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there are many more ; but I must pass on to a very important matter, and that is, to the Military expenditure of the Government of India, or rather to the methods of the Government of India in dealing with it. (*Hear, hear*)

There was published quite recently a return on Indian Military Expenditure. Now this is an instructive return because it shows you, although late in the day, some of the financial methods of this Government. The return is headed "East India (Military Expenditure)." The first thing you notice on opening the return is that the items of "Military Works" and "Special Defence Works" have been absolutely ignored. Now we put a question to Mr. Fowler, the Secretary of State for India, as to why in a return of Military Expenditure such an important part of Military Expenditure as that of "Military Works" was left out. He replied that the Return only dealt with Army Expenditure, and that "Military Expenditure" was the ordinary heading under which this is placed in the accounts. Well, Gentlemen, we turn up the Accounts of the Government of India, and we find no such heading as "Military Expenditure." In those accounts Military Expenditure figures under three heads, "Army Services", "Military Works" and "Special Defence Works." I do not see how we can exonerate the Government of India from either being extremely ignorant of their own accounts or else deliberately deceiving the public in England with the heading of Military Expenditure, which, while suggesting the whole, was meant to cover only a portion. (*Shame*) I am afraid that I have already exceeded my time allowance, (*Cries of Go on, Go on*) and so I must conclude: but before I do so, I must really bring to your notice one important matter, and that is the statement that the fall in the rupee is the sole cause of all the misfortunes of the Government of India. Now, Gentlemen, I am going to give you a few more figures, and I have done. We take the last decade, a period when there was no war and no famine—I speak under correction. No war expenditure was shown in the accounts, but in this instructive little Return to which I have been referring, it is shown that the war expenditure amounted to £11,000,000 during eight years; although that expenditure had been concealed and smothered amongst the general heads of expenditure of the Army. I am not speaking without the book, Gentlemen; there is literally in the accounts of the Government of India no mention of all this Military Expenditure on the frontier, which, in the return, is called exceptional war expenses. (*Shame*) During that decade there was nothing to disturb the finances of the Government of India. During those years the income of this country increased by 9½ crores of Rupees while the increase in the cost of exchange was only 7 crores of Rupees. During that same period Military and Civil Expenditure increased by no less than 12 crores of Rupees. (*Shame*) Gentlemen, the increase in the Revenues of this country exceeded the increase in the cost of exchange by 2½ crores, and by that same amount, namely, 2½ crores, the increase in Military and Civil expenditure exceeded the increase in the Revenues. I want you to appreciate these facts, which I am giving you on the figures of the Government of India. I want you to realize that these facts give the lie direct to the assertion of the Government of India that the fall in the rupee has accounted for the deficit and has been the sole cause of it. These figures show that the statement of Mr. Westland is an absolutely false statement. (*Shame*) and that that speech of Mr. Fowler's, for which he has been so much admired in the *Times* and the *St. James's Gazette* is founded on a fallacy, which contradicts the accounts of the Government of India and conceals the true state of affairs. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR. G. SUBRA-
MANIA IYER.

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, Mr. Morgan-Browne has said that the object of the enquiry for which we ask is not in the nature of an audit on a big scale. We do not want an enquiry of that kind, but the enquiry we want, and which we ask for, must be such as will embrace not only the various items of expenditure but also the general financial policy, the general results of the financial administration, and the general financial condition of the Government of India. We have tried to ask for an enquiry of that kind, although Her Majesty's Government has been willing to grant an enquiry of a limited nature. But what is the object? Why should we ask for an enquiry at all? Are there no

responsible authorities who will do that of their own accord? If there be defects and shortcomings in the financial administration of this country, will they not try to rectify them of their own accord? Well, Gentlemen, our belief is that they have failed to do that, and that, unless we bring to bear upon them the pressure of public opinion, the pressure of Parliament, those authorities responsible for the good administration of this country will not do that. Gentlemen, this is not a statement made without authority; this is not an irresponsible statement made by us Congress-Wallahs. As a fact, Gentlemen, such of you as have watched current politics in this country must be aware of the very general complaint that has been made with regard to the financial difficulties that exist in the system of the great machinery of the Indian Government, that there is no centre which bears the burden of responsibility. There is no place where responsibility can be spotted. There is neither an individual nor an authority whose business it is to control the administration of the country and to set right any defect—any departures from sound doctrines that might take place. The Government of India has not done it. The India Council has failed to rectify our financial errors. Parliament has failed to do it. The speakers yesterday and our Chairman himself have drawn your attention to the fact that amidst the enormous imperial and local business that Parliament has to discharge it most unfortunately forgets and ignores the almost boundless interests of this great country. It is unfortunate that it should be so, but still it is a fact that, although the constitution of the Indian Government vests the final control and authority in Parliament, Parliament from the very nature of the case fails to give sufficient attention to the interests of this country. Then, with regard to the Council of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, a good deal was said about the utter uselessness of that institution and I do not want to say anything more to-day; but all of you are aware that while the Council is often very powerful to obstruct progress and reform in this country, it is entirely powerless to effect any good against policies, fancies, or whims, or against any vested interests in Parliament. Then, coming to the Government of India, what has it done? I do not want to say a word in disparagement of the Government of India. The Viceroy and his Councillors are great and conscientious men. The Government of India has been managed and officered by men who hold the very highest places in the list of statesmen of the world; the history of no country contains, nay, can present a more glorious array of statesmen celebrated for the highest statesmanship and broad principles; and to the Government of no country in the world have been brought to a greater extent than to the Government of India the great principles of civilised Government in modern days. We admit all that, but, unfortunately, since the Government was transferred to Her Majesty directly, there seems to be a slackness come over the Government of India, and the interests of this country have been more or less neglected. Well, such being the case, the necessity arises for the people of this country and for their friends in England to ask for a proper enquiry. We have seen that this request of ours has been supported recently by some eminent Anglo-Indian authorities, amongst whom are, I may tell you, Sir David Barbour, Sir Auckland Colvin and others, while even the *London Times* has said—all these authorities have said—that the greatest defect in the system of the Government of India is that there is no place in which the responsibility for the proper Government of this country can be fixed. Sir William Hunter writing in the columns of the *Times* has gone to the extent of accusing the Government of India of want of honesty generally. When he criticised Mr. Westland's budget, in which Exchange was taken at 14d. per Rupee, although everybody knew that that rate was excessively high, Sir W. Hunter even said that Mr. Westland did that in order to mitigate the scandal of sacrificing 14 millions of Rupees of potential Indian Revenue to party exigencies in England; in other words, he asserted that this high rate of exchange was assumed in order to allay the public feeling against the exclusion of Manchester goods from the Tariff Act. Such being the case, Sir, it will not be said that we are presumptuous in asking for this enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their

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existing financial burdens. It may also from experience be said of this Government that during the last 30 years, the Government of India and those authorities who are responsible for the Government have had absolutely no policy in guiding the administration of this country. Well; this complaint of the financial distress in India is not a new complaint. Eighteen years ago Sir John Strachey made it, and then it is also known that conscientious Viceroy, eminent Viceroy, like Lord Mayo and Lord Lawrence, have made the same complaint, that the finances of the country require particular looking after. Yet all these warnings and all these experiences have been useless, and what is the guarantee, Gentlemen, that, whilst in the past experience has gone for nothing, in the future the constituted authorities of the Indian Government will take care that the financial policy of this country shall be definitely and properly controlled? Mr. Westland said in his budget speech that within the last 10 years, four new taxes had been imposed and the surpluses of the Provincial Governments swept off into the Imperial coffers. Still the financial difficulties have not disappeared, for the very sufficient reason that all the further proceeds of this taxation have been spent upon wars and upon Compensation Allowance to the European Employés of Government. (*Shame*) The *London Times* pointed out recently that there were three duties which the Government of India were bound to bear in mind. One of these duties was to enforce the strictest economy in the administration of the public funds. But how can the strictest economy be expected when the authorities in England ask the Government of India to contribute for all sorts of purposes? (*Cheers*) And then, another duty of the Government of India was to manage the financial affairs with greater forethought and prudence. But what inducement is there for the Government of India or for those gentlemen who constitute the Government to administer the finances with greater forethought and prudence? (*The President at this juncture struck the gong*) I shall conclude presently. The third duty is to avoid at all hazards any increase in Home charges, or sterling liabilities of any kind. That also is impossible because the Indian payments in England in whole or in part are met by fresh issues of sterling loans. Well, all these considerations point to the fact that unless pressure is brought to bear upon the authorities, and unless we request Parliament to institute an enquiry, there is no chance of the financial affairs of this country being properly controlled. I, therefore, most heartily support the Resolution that has been placed before you. (*Cheers*)

MR. R. D. NAGAR-
KAR.

MR. R. D. NAGARKAR :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which has been so ably proposed, seconded, and supported by the speakers who have preceded me.

The Resolution, as you will see, presents a twofold character. In the first place it embodies the expression of thanks to the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain for the Committee which it has given us, and in the second place it embodies a prayer to the effect that the scope of the enquiry which has been assigned to this Committee should be so far extended as to include within its operation an enquiry into the ability of the people of India to bear the present financial burdens, and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom; for it is perfectly clear that if the enquiry is to be conducted on the lines and within the limits which have been assigned to this Committee, such an enquiry will not bear practical fruit. All know that the scope which has been assigned to this Enquiry is limited to an examination of the Expenditure side only, and that on grounds of policy all examination of the Revenue side has been taken away from its cognizance. Our life-long cry against British Administration is that it has been increasing the expenditure beyond all reasonable bounds, and has actually driven the people of India and the Indian Administration to the verge of starvation and poverty. (*Shame, Shame*) You all know that when we speak of Expenditure we do so in reference to the Revenue aspect of the question, and if you give a moment's thought to the consideration of the subject, you will be able to realise fully that, with regard to many important heads of administration,

Revenue and Expenditure are indissolubly bound up together, that they cannot be considered independently of each other, and that one cannot be separated from the other. You might spend fifty times more money, but if you are able to show that increased expenditure is calculated to bring in a proportionate increase in the Revenue without causing any additional hardship upon the people, then the increased expenditure, far from being condemned would rather be welcomed; but, on the other hand, if the increased expenditure does not bring in a proportionate increase in the Revenue, then such a situation of affairs becomes a matter for serious anxiety, and involves considerations of the soundness or otherwise of the policy of the British Administration towards India. *(Cheers)* A mere increase in expenditure is not necessarily to be condemned, nor is a mere decrease in expenditure necessarily to be applauded, but condemnation or applause is to be applied only when one branch of the administration has been examined in the light thrown upon it by another branch of the administration. *(Hear, hear)* All this, Gentlemen, I have stated by way of illustration, to show that in most important heads of administration questions of Revenue and Expenditure are entirely dependent upon one another, and that it is absolutely impossible to do adequate justice to the one without taking cognizance of the other. *(Hear, hear)* The proposal for including the examination of the Revenue side of the administration within the scope of the enquiry which has been assigned to this committee being a matter of absolute necessity, it can also be supported on other important grounds. You are all aware that as far back as the year 1870 or thereabouts, the British Parliament appointed a similar Committee of Enquiry which was popularly styled the Fawcett Committee because Mr. Fawcett, whose immortal name stands indelibly engraved on the hearts of the whole Indian nation, was one of its members. *(Cheers)* This Committee, having continued its labours for four full years, recorded a huge mass of evidence, but had no time to give a Report or to summarise the evidence it had collected, because by the time the labours of this Committee had been nearly completed, the British Parliament was dissolved, and along with it this Committee also was dissolved. If the scope of the enquiry of the present Committee is extended, and an examination of the Revenue side of the administration included in it, the work of this Committee will have been much simplified. They have only to fill up the gap which the last Committee left at the end of 1882, and to examine half a dozen witnesses, the heads of each department, with a view to ascertaining the change that has taken place during the last 20 years; and when this is done the enquiry will not occupy a very large portion of the Committee's time. From this you will be satisfied, Gentlemen, that the inclusion of an enquiry into the Revenue side of the question is an absolute necessity, and that unless it is conducted hand in hand with an enquiry into the Expenditure side, no Enquiry will ever be complete. If the Secretary of State or the Parliament of England are not pleased to allow that, then they had better save themselves the trouble of appointing any Committee at all, because we are of the firm conviction that unless the Committee is constituted on the lines which we have indicated in our Resolution, the result of the present Committee would eventually be to create a feeling of general discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the whole Indian Nations. *(Cheers)* With these remarks I most heartily commend the proposition to your acceptance. *(Cheers)*

Mr. A. C. PARTHASARADY NAIDU then addressed the Meeting in Tamil amid frequent bursts of applause.

THE PRESIDENT:—The fifth resolution has been properly moved, seconded, and supported. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands. *(Voices, All, All.)*

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution will be moved by the Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjee.

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THE HON. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA, who on rising was greeted with tremendous cheering, moved the following resolution :—

That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but firm protest against the despatch as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability, founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covenanted Service is indispensable.

That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this service, constituted as it is at present, falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and that the interests of the subordinate service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Examinations.

That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph, and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the Congress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

That this Congress respectfully urges on Her Majesty's Government that the resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893, on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most cordially for the kind greeting which you have accorded me. I do not take it in the light of a personal compliment, but as the expression of your enthusiasm—I was going to add of your unabated enthusiasm for the Congress cause. (*Cheers*) I have heard it said that our enthusiasm is on the wane, that the first fervour of the early days of the Congress movement is fast disappearing. I desire those sceptics who indulge in sentiments such as these, to witness the grand and imposing spectacle of to-day (*Cheers*), and to be convinced of the error of their ways. Oh, No! our enthusiasm is not on the wane. It continues to glow as brightly as ever (*Hear, hear*), and so far as some of us are concerned, it will continue to glow until the vital spark of life itself has been extinguished (*Loud Cheers*), and then we shall bequeath it, as a sacred legacy, to those who, coming after us, will bear our names, will profit by our labours, and seek to extend the ever-widening sphere of our political rights, and to hasten forward the accomplishment of the perfected destiny of an emancipated people. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, last year about this time, we were rejoicing that the House of Commons had definitely affirmed the principle of Simultaneous Examinations. Last year about this time, in Congress assembled, we expressed the hope—I was somewhat sceptical about the matter—that the Government of India would see its way to give effect to the resolution of the House and fulfil the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of India. Those hopes have now been blasted. We meet to-day under the shadow of a great disappointment; but we need not despair. More than once before this have we led a forlorn hope to victory. More than once before this have we triumphed against vituperation and scorn and ridicule, and I hope and trust it may yet be possible for us to shatter to pieces the stronghold in which Anglo-Indian prejudice has found a safe and a last asylum. (*Cheers*) It would not be the least memorable of the many achievements of the Congress. It would be the crowning triumph of this generation. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, speaking at Madras from this platform, speaking for myself, I say that it is impossible to withhold the tribute of our gratitude and admiration from the only Govern-

ment in India, the Government of Madras, (*Cheers*) which supported the resolution of the House of Commons. I know that since then a change has come across the spirit of Lord Wenlock's dreams. I remember his Vizagapatam speech. *Scriptum manet*. What has been written remains and that despatch will continue to be regarded, at any rate for the time being as a monument of the disinterested philanthropy, which is only another name for far-sighted statesmanship, of the Government of Madras. (*Cheers*) I know not how it is, but the conduct of Madras officials has often appeared to me in the light of a riddle, which I have not been able to solve. (*Laughter*) You gentlemen of Madras may be more fortunately situated in this respect (*Cries of No, No*), and may possibly be able to give me an answer (*No, No*), Madras officials, in their own country and under the wholesome influence of Madras opinion, have often been known to be the champions of progressive ideas and of liberal Government. Transferred to Bengal, placed under unhealthy influences and unholy associations, they became the apostles of reactionary measures. (*Laughter*) When the Vernacular Press Act was imposed upon every other province in India, Madras escaped the scourge, because the Duke of Buckingham, the Governor of Madras, would not have it. (*Cheers*) When every other Government voted against the resolution of the House of Commons the Madras Government voted in favour of it. (*Cheers*) But strangely enough it was a Madras official, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, who from his place in the Supreme Council, stood as sponsor to the Vernacular Press Act. And, again, it was a Madras official, Sir Philip Hutchins, who was the author of the jury notification (*Hisses*), the inspirer and the malignant genius of the policy of Lord Lansdowne. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, one word more about Lord Wenlock. He has asked us to wait and watch and to submit to the orders of the Secretary of State. We desire to tell Lord Wenlock and all else whom it may concern, that we cannot submit to a decision which will have the effect of stereotyping our political servitude. (*Hear, hear and Cheers*) We cannot afford to palter with our birthright, nor sell it for a mess of pottage. Our Sovereign has passed round the word of emancipation, she has declared that we are to be free; that we are to be eligible to the highest offices in the State; Parliament has endorsed the mandate; and we shall see to it that no minister of the Crown, however highly placed he may be, that no Government, however influential it may be, is permitted to nullify the gracious pledges of our Sovereign and the authoritative declaration of Parliament. Gentlemen, last year about this time, I have already remarked, we were rejoicing about the resolution of the House of Commons. These rejoicings have given place to disappointment. I do not know what view you take of the despatch of the Secretary of State. I regard it in the light of a deliberate affront offered to the public opinion of this country. We prayed in Congress, we prayed in our public meetings, we deluged the House of Commons with petitions in favour of Simultaneous Examinations. I must not omit to mention the one solitary protest which was sent to the House of Commons—it emanated from this city. (*Laughter*) Half a dozen nobodies (*Laughter*), whose names I do not remember—I do not care to remember their names—met in the back slums of your city, concocted a bit of paper which they called a petition to Parliament, and sent it to the House of Commons. (*Shame, disgraceful*) I think their conduct was very disgraceful. Whom was it presented by? It was presented by no other person than General Sir George Chesney. (*Hisses*) Who is General Sir George Chesney? He was the late Military Member of the Viceregal Council, and, what is more significant, the father of the editor of the *Pioneer* newspaper. (*Laughter*) Well this solitary protest, emanating from the back slums of your city, signed by half a dozen nobodies, was presented to the House of Commons, by the late Military Member of the Viceregal Council. (*Laughter*) It was indeed a desperate cause which needed such an upholding. Baron Reuter—I think I ought to call him Baron and give him all his honours—thought the event to be of such great political importance that he flashed the intelligence from Europe across to Asia for the edification of the two hundred and fifty millions of the people of India.

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Well, Gentlemen, we thought we had made some impression on the Ministry, for the late Under Secretary of State Mr. George Russell, from his place in the House of Commons, declared—I think it was in connection with the budget speech—that the Government, having offered its opposition to the resolution, would not throw further difficulties in the way of its being given effect to. How did the Ministry proceed to carry out this part of their promise. They proceeded to carry it out in the same way in which they generally carry out their promises. (*Laughter*) They addressed a despatch to the Government of India. The Government of India in its turn solicited the opinion of the local Governments. Mark you, the *modus operandi* followed by these various Governments; they consulted in secret; they deliberated in secret; they wrote their despatches in secret; they submitted them in secret; nobody heard a word about the matter; they did not take the opinions of those public bodies whose opinions they are accustomed to solicit in regard to questions of public importance; and they were wise in their reticence (*Laughter*), because they knew perfectly well that, if they had followed the usual procedure, consulted the various local bodies—Hindu and Mahomedan—for I refuse to believe that any conscientious Mahomedan (barring, of course, the celebrated half-a-dozen nobodies of your town) that any conscientious Mahomedan could have voted against the resolution of the House of Commons (*Cheers*)—I am perfectly convinced that, if they had consulted the public bodies, and followed the usual procedure, there would have been an overwhelming consensus of opinion in favour of the resolution of the House of Commons. Well, Gentlemen, the Secretary of State based his orders upon these various despatches which that high functionary received. The despatch of the Secretary of State is an extraordinary document. It contains three paragraphs extending over thirteen lines. (*Laughter*) I desire to call your attention to the number “three” which is unlucky with us Hindus (*Laughter*), and the number “thirteen” which is unlucky with Christians. (*Laughter*) The despatch is short and sweet; brevity they say is the soul of wit; brevity is the essence of this document; but I must confess its wit is not apparent. The Secretary of State in that document invites the Government of India to state the conditions subject to which, in the opinion of the Government, the resolution may be given effect to. Mark the loyalty of the Secretary of State to his masters, the House of Commons. It is evident from the words of the despatch which I have just quoted that, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, the resolution of the House of Commons cannot be given effect to in its entirety for he wants an expression of opinion from the Government of India, as to the modifications subject to which the resolution may be carried out. The views of the Secretary of State—the sinister views I was going to add—become more apparent in the second paragraph of the despatch. The Secretary of State openly invites the Government of India to open the battery of its hostile criticism upon the doomed resolution of the House. The Secretary of State says, in the language of diplomacy which is usual on such occasions, that he has no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government of India with regard to any remark which the Government may think fit to make upon the resolution of the House of Commons. I should like to know what the Secretary of State himself would think if the Government of India were to send round a despatch, which it had received from the Secretary of State and invite the various subordinate Governments to treat it in the spirit of hostile criticism; but, perhaps, that is only an error in form, a mistake in procedure. We come to something which is a great deal worse in the third paragraph. He says that it is to be an indispensable condition on the part of any recommendation which the Government of India may make, that an adequate number of appointments should be held by Europeans. The Secretary of State need not have taken the trouble to say so. It was a mere work of supererogation. At the present moment the Civil Service is the monopoly of Europeans. I don't quarrel with them for it. It is their monopoly, and we are trying to break through the monopoly. There are about 940 appointments in the Civil Service, and how many, do you think, are filled by Natives of India? About 40. What is the native population of India? It is two hundred millions. The European

population consists of seventy thousand souls, exclusive of the Army. Out of two hundred millions, forty persons only are deemed qualified to hold appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service. (*Shame*) Out of seventy thousand, nearly a thousand are deemed to be qualified for appointments in the Civil Service. (*Shame*) These figures involve the greatest slur upon the Government of this country, for these figures, if they mean anything, mean this—that, after a century of British rule, after a century of enlightened administration and liberal education, only forty of our countrymen have been qualified for service in the higher appointments under the Government of this country. (*Cheers*) Well, Gentlemen, if Simultaneous Examinations were conceded, I am quite sure that for many years to come the ratio would not be sensibly diminished for, as the Madras Government very properly observed in their despatch, the immediate effect of Simultaneous Examinations would be an accession in the number of candidates competing at the Examination, but not necessarily an accession in the number of successful candidates. But, Gentlemen, when the Secretary of State lays down this recommendation in this naked form, in this undisguised fashion, he invites a protest and a remonstrance; for the Secretary of State now, for the first time, introduces the element of racial disability into a question from which considerations of racial disability have been eliminated for a period of more than thirty years; for what does the order of the Secretary of State amount to? It comes to this that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, and, say, that fifty appointments were competed for, and the first fifty candidates were Natives of India, all of them would not get the appointments—some of them would be disqualified by reason of their race; they would suffer for the crime of colour. (*Shame*) Would the Secretary of State venture to introduce a condition like this just now? If not, why should he be permitted to conjure up into existence the dead, buried and forgotten spectre of racial disability? (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I say that the despatch is inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833. You remember the eighty-seventh section of the Charter Act. It lays down:—"That no Native of India nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company." The point was carried a little further by the terms of the Queen's proclamation. Let us repeat the Queen's proclamation; let this great assembly stand up in reverential awe of that great proclamation, which we have come here to vindicate, to uphold and to maintain. (*Here the whole audience stood up.*) "It is our further will that so far as may be our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to all offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, their ability and their integrity duly to discharge." Gentlemen, we take our stand upon this proclamation; the proclamation is our watchword, our battle cry, our Magna Charta, not a Magna Charta wrung by Barons in open revolt against their king, but the spontaneous gift of a beneficent sovereign. (*Cheers*) It heralds the dawn of a new epoch in the history of this country: it represents the establishment of a closer relationship between the Queen of England and the people of India; it is the starting point of modern Indian history; it was given on a great and historic occasion; it is a sacred document, and to mark its solemn character Her Majesty was pleased to invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon it, "and may the God of all power," she exclaimed, "grant unto us and those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people." Yet a document of this character, of this magnitude, of this solemnity, of this sacred nature, is sought to be repudiated by the Government of Lord Lansdowne. (*Shame*) I feel myself as a loyal subject of the Crown overwhelmed with a sense of shame and humiliation at the action of our Rulers who pretend to be the ministers, the faithful, the loyal, the devoted agents of our Sovereign; the proclamation is repudiated, its solemn character is called in question, for this is precisely what the Government of India does in the despatch to which I have called your attention. The Government of India says

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it is not necessary to make the concession for the fulfilment of the so-called pledges, upon which the claim is founded; and these so-called pledges were given by our Sovereign on a great and historic occasion invoking the aid of Divine Providence to enable her to carry them out. Gentlemen, if I can show you that the worst Government that we ever had and the best Government that we ever had both unite in testifying to the solemnity of these pledges, we shall have made out a strong case in favour of our contention. Undoubtedly the worst Government that we ever had—it is a matter of history, it is a matter of public notoriety, a matter of general accord—was the Government of Lord Lytton—it was the Government of the Vernacular Press Act, the Government of the Arms Act, the Government which initiated the policy of aggression beyond the frontiers, a policy which has been fraught with that reckless military expenditure which our friend Mr. Wacha deploras from year to year in vain from his place in this Congress. What does Lord Lytton say about this matter? I hope I am not tiring your patience. (*No, No*) In a speech that he delivered in March, 1877, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he said that the proclamation of the Queen (I quote his words) contains solemn pledges spontaneously given and founded upon the highest justice. He went on to observe that these pledges have not yet been adequately redeemed. Then in that secret despatch which has more than once been quoted in our discussions, in that secret despatch which he wrote to the Secretary of State, he said, "We have cheated the people of India." (*Shame*) The word "cheated" is his own word, not a paraphrase of my own. "We have cheated the people of India; we have broken to the hope, the words of promise which we have uttered to the ear." That was what was said by Lord Lytton. The best Government that we have ever had was undoubtedly the Government of Lord Ripon (*Enthusiastic Cheers*), the Government which repealed the Vernacular Press Act, the Government which conferred upon us the inestimable boon of local self-Government, the Government which introduced a higher tone, a higher and nobler moral ideal into the Administration and placed that Administration for the first time in touch with popular sympathies. Well, Gentlemen, during the height of the Ilbert Bill discussion this matter of the proclamation of the Queen engaged the attention of the Viceregal Council. There was a gentleman of the name of Mr. Thomas. I think you gentlemen of Madras may know him; he hailed from this Presidency. He was Member of the Supreme Council at that time. He had read a little work issued at that time by Sir James FitzStephen; he was well grounded in that work, and he was an apt disciple of Sir James FitzStephen. He observed in the course of a speech that he made from his place in the Supreme Council that the proclamation enjoined no duty, imposed no obligation, laid no mandate on the Government of India. (*Shame*) Against this solemn and public repudiation of the proclamation Lord Ripon raised his voice in indignant protest. Let me read those words which have been read a hundred times in the past—they will be read a hundred times in the future—they will be read by generations to come until the terms of that Proclamation have been vindicated and fulfilled to the letter.

"To me it seems" exclaimed Lord Ripon, "a very serious thing to put forth to the people of India a doctrine which renders worthless the solemn words of their Sovereign and which converts her gracious promises, which her Indian subjects have cherished for a quarter of a century, into a hollow mockery as meaningless as the compliments which form the invariable opening of an oriental letter. The document is not a treaty—it is not a diplomatic instrument—it is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The document, therefore, to which Sir FitzJames Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence. I have read in a book, the

“ authority of which the Hon'ble Mr. Thomas will admit, that righteousness exalteth a nation, and my study of history, which has not been limited, has led me to the conclusion that it is not by force of her armies or by the might of her soldiery that a great empire is permanently maintained, but that it is by the righteousness of her laws, by her respect for the principles of justice. To believe otherwise appears to me to assume that there is not a God in Heaven who rules over the affairs of men, and who can punish injustice and iniquity in nations as surely as he can in the individuals of which they are composed.”

But, Gentlemen, I have yet a higher authority than the authority of Lord Ripon in support of my view; that is the authority of Her Majesty the Queen herself. I hope that is an authority which will be accepted by Lord Lansdowne and his quondam councillor Sir Philip Hutchins. Her Majesty, when the proclamation was being discussed, wrote a letter to Earl Derby, at that time Prime Minister, requesting him that he would be good enough, to write the Proclamation in his own language, in terms which would be worthy of a female sovereign addressing a vast and a distant population, and for the first time in their history giving them solemn pledges. But, Gentlemen, the Government of India relies upon a saving clause—“So far as may be.” The saving clause won't save the Government. (*Laughter*) That is perfectly true. The saving clause must be interpreted in connection with the context. What is the character and the scope of the proclamation? It is a noble declaration of a beneficent policy; it is a royal proclamation, and must be interpreted in the spirit of queenly beneficence. Those who have recourse to tactics of this description seem to me not to understand the slur and humiliation which they involve upon the honour of their country and Sovereign. To say, as Lord Ripon puts it, that a proclamation has been issued purporting to make solemn promises when, as a matter of fact, no such promises are made, is to be guilty of an unheard of piece of hypocrisy. It is a proceeding which may recommend itself to the approving judgment of official experts, but, if accepted, it would represent a piece of diplomatic mendacity unworthy of those who have recourse to it.

Gentlemen, there are one or two other matters which I wish to touch upon very briefly. The Government of India tells us that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted the Provincial Service would suffer. I should like to know since when the Government of India has developed this wonderful concern for the well-being of the Provincial Service. I remember the years 1870, 1880, and 1890. Through the space of twenty years there was not the smallest manifestation of this anxiety for the betterment of the prospects of the Provincial Service—it has probably been stimulated by our agitation in connection with Simultaneous Examinations. What the Government of India really says is this, that the Covenanted Service is not intended for you gentlemen of India, it is meant for Europeans. But here is another service. You may enter it and we will improve it for you, but really this is the service that you must confine your ambition to. You may remember that in 1870 the Parliamentary Statute was passed. Under that Statute rules were to be framed by the Government of India subject to which rules, members of the Uncovenanted Service were to be promoted to appointments hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service. The Government framed half-a-dozen rules in as many years, then it paused for another six years, and then appointed a member of the Uncovenanted Service to an appointment hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service. If the Government is really so anxious about the well-being of the Provincial Service, might I be permitted to ask how was it that the Government did not accept that part of the recommendation of the Public Service Commission which provided that the appointment of a Divisional Commissioner and a member of the Board of Revenue should be reserved for the Provincial Service, or how was it that the Government of India did not, in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, alter the schedule attached to the Act of 1861 for the betterment of the Provincial Service?

I have been told that the martial races would resent the holding of Simultaneous Examinations. Why the martial races should resent it is a thing which I cannot understand.

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They do not care for civil appointments. Their ambition lies in a different direction altogether. They want to be the captains of our army, the leaders of our battalions. They say that the Central Asian subjects of the Czar are admitted into the commissioned ranks of the Russian army; they pray that they may be placed on the same footing with the Mahomedan subjects of the Czar. The Government will not gratify their ambition in this respect and ascribe to them fancied grievances which they never feel, and make them the pretext for denying us that justice to which we are entitled. Then again it is said that an Indian official is placed at a disadvantage in comparison with a European, if he is called upon to deal with those unhappy riots and disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans which have taken place in recent years. I think, Sir, I speak the sense of this great Congress and of every educated Indian, be he a Hindu or Mahomedan when I say that we deplore these differences and these disturbances (*Hear, hear*), and we go a step further and observe that the Government of India is directly responsible for these disturbances by following a policy of "Divide and rule." (*Shame*) I think it is very shameful that the Government of India, which is responsible for this state of things, should take advantage of it to deprive us of our legitimate claims and aspirations. I am sure that tactics so discreditable would not recommend themselves to the judgment of the British public or to members of Parliament, two of whom we have on this platform. (*Cheers*)

One point more and I shall be done. It is said that the masses do not wish that we should fill the higher appointments. It is a monstrous proposition to bring forward that the masses would prefer foreign Magistrates and Judges to Magistrates of their own race and colour. This represents a perversity in human nature, a miracle in human disposition which I am not prepared to accept upon the *ipse dixit* of the Government of India. Gentlemen, if the Government is really so careful and so solicitous of the interests of the masses, might I be permitted to inquire why it does not reduce the Salt Tax, which presses so heavily upon the masses? (*Laughter*) Might I be permitted to enquire why it does not abandon the opium revenue which demoralises the masses; might I be permitted to ask why it does not raise the taxable minimum for the Income Tax which would afford sensible relief to the masses? These are things which the Government will not do; but when it wants to defeat the legitimate aspirations of the educated classes then forsooth it becomes the champion of the masses. (*Laughter*)

Gentlemen, there can be no question that we have sustained a great defeat, and I think we owe it to ourselves that we should convert this defeat into a victory. We should consecrate our efforts by that spirit of lofty self-denial and patriotic devotion which, by making men divine, renders human endeavour irresistible. We are bound to win the fight in which we are engaged;—

"For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding Sire to Son,
Though often lost, is ever won."

In a conflict between the Government and popular rights the popular side has always triumphed. (*Hear, hear*) The victory has always remained with the People so long as they have manfully stuck to their guns. I cannot persuade myself to think that the sacrifices which we have been able to make in this connection have at all been commensurate with the greatness of the occasion or the urgency of the crisis. Where is the universal protest against Mr. Fowler's despatch? The whole country should ring with the voice of indignation. It is no use recording a resolution like this and then going to sleep over it. It is no use recording a resolution like this unless we are in a position to make every town, every hamlet, every province, every district ring with the cry of indignant protest against Mr. Fowler's despatch. Gentlemen, it is possible for each one of us assembled here to do something according to the measure of our capacities and the measure of our opportunities. There are more than 1,000 delegates before me; may we not resolve before the year 1895 has closed,

to send each one of us to Parliament a petition containing at least 1,000 signatures? Then we shall have before the year 1895 has expired at least 1,000 petitions laid before Parliament with a million signatures. Our numbers will make an impression upon the House of Commons, they will make an impression even on that fossilised institution, the India Council. (*Laughter*) I am sure if Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji were here (*Cheers*) he would make this appeal to you, only with much greater force and emphasis than I can command. Gentlemen, it may be that notwithstanding all these efforts we may not succeed; it may be that success may not crown our efforts on this occasion; it may be that the flag which we hold aloft, the emblem of battle and the emblem of victory, may droop from our sinking hands; but we may be quite sure that others will rise up in more fortunate times who, working under happier conditions, will carry that flag triumphantly to victory. (*Cheers*) It is this hope which sustains, animates, cheers, and comforts us. I am confident that twenty years hence when the dust and heat of this controversy will have been allayed, English statesmen will wonder how their predecessors in office could have refused so reasonable a measure of concession to the just aspirations of the people of India. But so it has always been with the rulers of men who decked in brief authority, too frequently forget the terrible responsibility which, under the Providence of God, devolves upon them in respect to those who are placed under their care.

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

THE HON. RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I rise on this occasion after my able friend the Hon. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea, I do not rise with the empty ambition to speak before you or distinguish myself by my speech, but I simply rise according to the English saying, that Nelson said, 'that every Englishman should do his duty.' I simply rise to express my sentiments on this occasion, but not to inflict a speech upon you. Speaking on this occasion, Gentlemen, first I should like to read to you the promises which have been made to us by the Queen and her predecessor, then I will try to show you how by the representatives of Her Majesty some steps have commenced to be taken to violate these pledges, and then I will bring before you the circumstances of India which urgently require some conciliatory measure to enable us to keep our place as a nation, because the best riches of the country consisting in the produce of the soil do not profit us as they should do, as I will show you later on.

The next thing for retaining the riches of the country is to engage in trade, and even that is not entirely in our hands. The monopoly of the Indian trade is in the hands

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of alien merchants. The third and last resource to keep the country in its proper position is Government service. Even that is at hazard. I am coming gradually to these points, but you will allow me first to begin with Her Majesty's promise, and then I will show you how that promise has been defeated. This is from the letter of the Governor of the Punjab, who has been so well praised for his conclusive letter which he has written against this Resolution of Parliament. In order to understand our present position with regard to this question, it is necessary at starting to look back to its past history. That history, so far as regards what we deal with here, began with Section 87, cap. 3 & 4, William IV., which runs thus: "Be it enacted that no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of Her Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place of office or employment under the said Company". I may be allowed to point out to you what this meant. I may be permitted to read a little further by which you will see that not only the Civil Service but the Military Service appointments also were opened to us. (*The President struck the gong*). I must submit to the chair, but I hope I shall be allowed to go on for a little time more. Lord Ellenborough, in the debate of the 5th of July, 1833, charged the Government with proposing to place the political and military powers in India in the hands of the natives of India. Then comes Her Majesty's Proclamation which you have all heard. As we did not appreciate these blessings, no objection was thrown in our way, but when a few of our Bengali friends passed their Examinations successfully in England then Lord Lytton's Government began to meditate, and he wrote a letter, a private letter, after consulting all the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, to Lord Cranbrook, and in this he proposed that the systems of the Military and Civil Service should be identical, and the Examination for the Civil Service should be closed for Indians. (*Shame*) To this Lord Cranbrook replied that shutting up the Board of the Civil Service would require the sanction of Parliament, which he said "he did not like to undertake because he did not expect success". (*Laughter*) He asked Lord Lytton to propose some other scheme, and the other scheme proposed was to reduce the age of the candidates from 21 to 19. These promises were made. I have got two other letters, but I need not read them, because the gong is gone. There is a letter which Her Majesty wrote to Lord Derby and which our able proposer has already mentioned here. Well, Gentlemen, when the authorities saw that we were not ready to avail ourselves of the gracious promises of the Sovereign, they were silent; now that they perceive that we crave the fulfilment of those promises the Government are endeavouring to nullify the pledges of the Crown. (*Cheers*) It seems to me that the promises or, as they have been called by the late Viceroy, "so called pledges," were not intended to be redeemed. They were simply made to satisfy us, but were never intended to be fulfilled. I have told you, that the circumstances of India are in a most deplorable state; to prove this, I must quote you one instance. I cannot help doing it because it is a triumph for India. There is an Urdu proverb which says that "There is no beauty if a man of the party cries out for justice and brings forward his claim; but there is a glory if the members of the Government themselves come forward and admit the righteousness of our claims." (*Hear, hear*) Gentlemen, when this Congress was going on for the first time at Allahabad I incurred the great odium of Sir Auckland Colvin. I had been the only Taluqdar favourably disposed to the Congress. I was advised by his Honour, and urged not to have anything to do with this movement. I was told that it was a movement hostile to Government, and every means was adopted to persuade me to give it up, but of late I see that his Honour is himself favourably inclined to it. The first quotation I will read to you is this: His Honour says: "Unless exchange materially rises without the Rupee appreciating in India, either the growth of Military and Political expenditure must at least be put an end to, or the English Tax-Payer must contribute permanently towards the defence of India. The only remaining alternative is bankruptcy. If we enter on a course of successive measures of fresh taxation Russia without moving a man or a gun needs only to bide her time." The fact of India's poverty has been admitted, and

the monopoly of trade is in the hands of alien merchants; the cultivation of the soil, the mines, the mineral wealth, and the forest products of the country are being heavily taxed; we do not derive that profit that other countries receive from the lands; the mines of this country being worked by alien merchants, we do not derive benefit. The only thing we can look to for our support is at present the Civil Service. The Civil Service costs nearly 13 crores and some lakhs to the country; the Military Service costs the country 23 crores and 75 lakhs. We cannot ask for Military Service. — We have only to depend on the Civil Service. If a Simultaneous Examination is not held in this country, we cannot properly compete with our brethren in English. English candidates are in their own country amongst their own people, taught by their own tutors; whereas we have to go over land and water to a place quite unknown to us, there to be taught by alien tutors, while we have to live amongst foreign people, and then to prepare our lessons. Therefore it would be highly unjust and unfair to us if a Simultaneous Examination is not held in this country. (*Cheers*)

MR. R. VENKATA SUBBA ROW :—Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—In coming forward to support this Resolution, which has been so ably and so eloquently moved and seconded, I find myself in a very unenviable situation. I find that much that I wished to say upon this subject has already been anticipated, and, what is worse, I have to speak with the words of one of our greatest orators ringing not only in my ears but in your ears. (*Applause*) Nevertheless I proceed to speak; the importance of the subject inspires me with courage, and the indulgence which I hope to meet with at your hands arms me with strength. I will not, however, scrutinise the despatch of the Secretary of State against which Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea entered his most emphatic protest. (*Applause*) That is unnecessary. That document is beautifully transparent. It cannot stand the light of reason, and I do not like to compromise before this large assembly the authors of that document. Remember, Gentlemen, that, with all their faults, our Secretary of State, our Viceroys, and our Governors are all big men with big titles, drawing big salaries; and that the only good they can do to us is to deny, and, when that is not possible, to delay, our rights and our privileges. (*Hear, hear and Laughter*) They are still entitled to our esteem and regard and perhaps also to our thanks, because they stimulate us to work and win battles with greater speed though not with greater ease. I will not, therefore, undertake the unpleasant and uninteresting work of dissection, but I will proceed to make a few anatomical observations upon that wonderful production, so that you may not be misled by the high parentage it claims, both on the maternal and the paternal side in the Council of the Secretary of State for India and in the Council of the Viceroy in this country.

Gentlemen, this is not a mere figure of speech. It is something more than that. It has a very strong, if strange, foundation in fact. The history of this wonderful despatch commences on the 22nd of June last year; when the Right Honorable the Secretary of State, in obedience to the mandate of the House of Commons, with much reluctance and amidst the protests of kith and kin resolves and proceeds upon a communication with the Viceroy. The event is announced; we hail it with hope, and we jump with joy. The Under Secretary and others give us the assurance. As to the result of that event, Lo! on the 19th of April of this year, nearly ten months afterwards—nine months and 10 or 12 days after the communication reached the Viceroy—after this full period of gestation the birth of a monster is announced with glee and satisfaction. (*Loud Laughter*) Our Anglo-Indian friends sing lullabies. Shall we cry or laugh? Gentlemen, the event is too serious not to kindle our indignation, too serious not to make us resent the mockery involved in it; for what is it but the most serious matter affecting the welfare of three hundred millions of Her Majesty's loyal subjects. To hold out hope and keep everybody on the tiptoe of expectation; and then at the end of ten months to tell us coolly to go on and chew the bitter end of disappointment after the sweet hopes we entertained—what is it but a mockery of the most childish type unworthy of the dignity and honour of Her Majesty's Ministers; unworthy of the English character; unworthy of the

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prestige of Britain, undeserved by the loyal sons of Hindustan? When, on the 19th April, Mr. Fowler accepted the recommendation of the Viceroy, it does not seem to have flashed across his brain that he was bound at all events to give some effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, at least out of respect to the despatch of his predecessor Lord Kimberley, or in consideration of the assurance given by the Under Secretary, Mr. George Russell, or at least on account of the respect due to the great body that passed the Resolution, and the source from which it emanated. Gentlemen, Mr. Fowler failed in the discharge of a most important duty, and has violated the most solemn pledges and promises given to the people of this land by Her Most Gracious Majesty to the people of India, and repeated over and over again by Her Majesty's Ministers and representatives. (*Hear, hear and Cheers*) Gentlemen, I will not go into these pledges and promises, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea has quoted them all to you and he has also explained them to you, how these pledges and promises for so many years remained unfulfilled. I will, therefore, put the case simply before you, to see how the case stands and how the despatch of the Secretary of State has done us a very great injustice. What is our case? Gentlemen, there are competitive examinations held, at which candidates are selected for the Civil Service of India. Well, if it was declared that these examinations are not open to the natives of this country I should not be standing here to argue this particular question. But our rulers do not say that. They say that these examinations are open both to Englishmen and Indians. They say that they proceed only upon considerations of merit as determined by these competitive examinations. They do not object even if all the successful candidates at these competitive examinations should turn out to be Indians; they would raise no objection whatever. But with all this fairness of principle, with all this love of even-handedness, with all this good feeling for Indians, our rulers do one thing which practically nullifies their benevolent intentions. They hold their examinations in London, and in London alone, near the homes of Englishmen and far away from here, far off from the native place of those who are directly interested in those examinations. Now, Gentlemen, what did Mr. Paul's resolution wish to effect? He simply proposed an additional examination centre. He never wished to augment the Statutory service for Indians, he never proposed to abolish London as the place of examination, even though he would have been justified if he had done that, because the examination for the Civil Service of this country ought to be held in this country— (*Here the President struck the gong. Voices, Go on, Go on*)

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, I must really claim your indulgence. I am trying to conduct the proceedings of the Congress as well as I can. If you go on at the present rate, the business will not be done till 12 o'clock. I must ask you when I strike the gong not to say "Go on, Go on." You have done it in every case, and there must be a limit to everything.

MR. VENKATA SUBBA ROW :—I do not know how to proceed. It is an important thing, and I am the only Madras speaker to speak upon it. Unless the President is a little more indulgent, I had better not proceed at all. (*Voices, Time, Time and Go on, Go on*) I am perfectly willing to obey the chair, and I do not wish to go on for a minute unless that is your desire.

THE PRESIDENT :—I will give three minutes' time to the speaker.

MR. VENKATA SUBBA ROW :—Well, Gentlemen, I do not wish to enter into the objections raised against this resolution in the despatch of the Secretary of State for India. I will simply urge upon you that we must protest against it, and pray for Simultaneous Examinations; we must appeal to the Government of India once more, and if we find once more, as before, that no good can come out of it, let us appeal to the House of Commons, the great representative assembly. Let us appeal to that and ask that honourable house to re-affirm its resolution which has been set at naught by the Secretary of State. (*Cheers*)

Let us not despair of success. With justice on our side, with right on our side, the sanctity of self-sacrifice, with the sympathy of nations on our side, who can doubt that

victory will be on our side? Who can doubt that the blessing of God will be on our side? Who can doubt that the force of opposition will melt away before our march? Who can doubt that ere long we shall wave the triumphant banner of the Congress in this second campaign of our political deliverance? May we not hope that we shall meet with that victory? Gather courage from our enlarged councils; gather hope from the presence on this occasion of two distinguished gentlemen who did themselves the honour and us the justice of voting in favour of Mr. Paul's Resolution. (*Applause*) May we not hope that the presence of these two distinguished gentlemen, our illustrious President and Mr. Seymour Keay, will help to win the sympathies of other members? May we not hope that the life-work of our Grand Old Man will be crowned with fruit even in his lifetime, and that the gracious Proclamation of our noble Queen will be vindicated and fulfilled, to the eternal glory of her reign, to the undying fame of England and the everlasting happiness of India? (*Cheers*)

MOULVIE HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, I have risen to support this Resolution, and I support it very strongly and most heartily. Gentlemen, you have heard all the reasons in support of this Resolution, adduced by previous speakers. I am going to particularize only one with a somewhat sectional motive—as distinguished from a selfish one. Gentlemen, there is no doubt that Mahomedans have become poorer in comparison with their former state; it is alleged, and it is not denied, that they are poorer than other communities at present. Certainly in former times they were predominant in every branch of the Public Service, but unfortunately their numbers have gradually so thinned that they are now few and far between. This fact I am sorry to say is owing to their own apathy and indifference in obtaining the English education provided by the British Government equally and alike for all. But now, after losing all that they had, they have become wiser, and are trying to obtain that English education, and I am glad to say that the percentage of the English educated Mahomedan boys is on the increase. I have the sad experience to relate that a friend of mine who had every hope of coming out successful, and who was fully expected by all who knew him to pass that severe examination for admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, could not go to England, merely for want of funds. Thus all his hopes of becoming a Civil Servant and of serving his country in that way have been damped. And I suppose there will be found a good many similar cases among Mahomedans all over India. Gentlemen, you know that it is not the richer and wealthier classes that take to the service all over the world; it is generally the middle class that desires to join the public service of the land. But it is beyond the means and power unfortunately of the Indian middle classes to send their youth to England. (*Hear, hear*) If the Civil Service Examinations were held in India it is my sincere conviction that Mahomedan youths would derive greater benefits than they can ever derive if the Examination continues to be held in London only. Of course, Gentlemen, their share in the service cannot be expected to be more than what is proportionate to their population, and those of my Mahomedan brethren who oppose Simultaneous Examinations base their opposition on the fear that Mahomedans would be nowhere in Competitive Examinations. This very plausible ground has been accepted by some of the local Governments. But, Gentlemen, considering the progress that Mahomedan youths are now making in education, and the fact that in University Examinations also some of them have obtained the highest distinction, I think there is not much reason for entertaining any such fear. (*Hear, hear*) And, supposing they are not prepared to derive sufficient benefit from the institution of Simultaneous Examinations, Gentlemen, is it right that for the sake of one out of five boys, the four remaining should be stayed for an indefinite time from getting their hopes realised? In my opinion the best remedy for Mahomedans under the circumstances, is to support rather than to oppose this beneficial resolution, which will undoubtedly confer blessings upon them as upon others. With these remarks I support this resolution, and I commend it to your acceptance. (*Cheers*)

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MR. M. V. JOSHI.

MR. M. V. JOSHI:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, you have heard the eloquent address of our friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. All that is to be said on this subject has been already said, and it leaves me, or any other speaker in fact, very little to say on this topic; but still I would put before this assembly for its consideration certain points which to me seem to require a certain amount of handling. The points are these: In looking to the history of the Resolution of the House of Commons passed in June, 1898, we have to consider the painful fact that after all, our efforts, or rather, the efforts of our allies and supporters in the House of Commons, were not crowned with success. But what has been done? The evil that has been done in the despatch of the Secretary of State is this: that the Secretary of State has introduced a new principle by way of racial distinction. (*Hear, hear*) I say, Gentlemen, that this is a monstrous principle to introduce in the case of this country, for this reason: that if you once admit the principle that a certain minimum number of Europeans is necessary in the Civil Service of this country, there will be a time not very distant when you can imagine the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy stopping you from going even to England and competing through the channel that is open to you at present. Once accept the principle that a certain minimum number of Europeans is necessary in the Civil Service of this country, and I say that the day will not be far distant when they will try their best to cut our number down and not allow us even to go through the Competitive Examination in England. Well, Gentlemen, another feature which has been altogether lost sight of is this, that this setting aside of the will of the Imperial Parliament by the Executive, by the responsible ministers of the Crown, involves a constitutional principle of far-reaching importance. (*Hear, hear*) I beseech you, Gentlemen, consider well this point, and see that this subversive doctrine is not allowed to remain unchallenged. (*Applause*) This resolution when it was passed by the House of Commons caused great rejoicings throughout the length and breadth of the country. But when you find the House of Commons itself defied and baffled in this way by the responsible ministers of the Crown, I say that this is all the hope now left to us. But let us not despair. The constitutional principle and the violation of it are matters of consideration to the English public, as well as the public in India. But to us out here at any rate, and to the whole world if you please, there is the ludicrous spectacle of an Imperial Parliament sitting and its behests defied by the ministers of the Crown. I say there never was such an occasion in the record of Parliament or of Indian history before. (*Hear, hear*) That is a point which must needs be well considered. As I say, Sir, this point cannot fail to affect the prestige of the British Government in India, and that is a point well worth being considered by the responsible ministers of the Crown, including the Secretary of State for India. Well, Gentlemen, the prospect before us is not a brilliant one. Our enemies are strong in the strength of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, (*Hear, hear*) our capacities are very limited indeed, our weapons are few, our allies and supporters in the House of Commons are only very few. They form a small minority; they are a devoted minority no doubt, but still they are a very small minority, and do not identify themselves with any of the political parties in England. That makes this struggle very difficult; but at the same time I would ask you not to lose hope and courage, because unless we fight this battle as manfully as suggested by our friend Mr. Banerjea, unless we fight this battle, I say, on the lines laid down for us before, unless we make the sound of this country, the voice of this country, din into the ears of the British public, until then we stand no chance of getting any of the grievances redressed which are referred to in this Resolution. Then the task before us is this; we have to create a public opinion, not only here, but, as I say, we have to take our complaint to England by such ways and means as may be considered sufficient by this august assembly. I commend this proposition to you with these few remarks. (*Cheers*)

PROFESSOR G. K.
GOKHALE.

PROFESSOR G. K. GOKHALE:—Mr. President and Gentlemen, after listening to so many speeches on this subject, I should not be surprised if you were disposed to revolt against the infliction of yet another at this late hour. All I can say by way of apology is that it is not

of my own choice that I come before you to attempt the infliction. Gentlemen, during the last year and a half, this subject of Simultaneous Examinations has been so prominently before us that it has thrown into the shade almost all other questions of current politics, and we might well say about it what Edmund Burke once said of the American question. We have had this question in every shape. We have examined it from every point of view. Our invention has been exhausted. Reason is fatigued. Experience has given judgment. But Anglo-Indian obstinacy is not yet conquered. (*Cheers*) And remember, Gentlemen, this that we have to conquer is perhaps the worst kind of obstinacy; for it is not based so much on wrong judgment; it is not based even so much on prejudice; it is obstinacy based on the strong foundations of self interest and love of domination. (*Hear, hear*) Well, Gentlemen, I have no wish to take you over familiar ground, but there are two or three points connected with this controversy which suggest some rather serious considerations, and with your permission I will make an observation or two about them. And the first point to which I would invite your attention is that to which such prominence has been given in the resolution which we are considering, namely, that about an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service. Gentlemen, when we speak on this point let there be no mistake and no misunderstanding. Those who may have read the literature on this subject must have been struck by the fact that till recently British Statesmen, however anxious to lay down some such principle as that now enunciated, have always felt that they could not do so openly, and have always therefore thrown a politic veil over the whole thing. Those scruples however, have now disappeared, that veil has been torn off, and it is this circumstance which fills us perhaps as much as any other, not only with disappointment, but with alarm. (*Cheers*) The Government of India and the Secretary of State have now authoritatively laid down that a certain minimum number of posts, and those the highest, must always and for all time to come be held by Europeans; and most of the local Governments have supplied a key to this proposition by saying in their despatches that that minimum has now been reached. The doctrine of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, therefore, means that the present arrangements should be perpetuated, and is, in fact, an attempt to keep us always under as a subject race. Gentlemen, is it not plainly our duty as men not to allow this barefaced attempt to succeed? Some of our opponents often say:—"But you are a subject race." Now all that I would say to such men is this, "We know we are a subject race, and the consciousness is humiliating enough; and they are not good friends of the Empire who indulge in the pastime of needlessly reminding us of the fact." It is true that England has come here as a conqueror, but she has of her own accord solemnly pledged herself not to hold the country as a conqueror. (*Hear, hear*) Let our opponents put themselves into our position, and then say what they would feel. I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to love one's country. I believe they will allow that it is not wrong to have a high ideal for one's country. And then I believe they will allow that it is not wrong for us to be dissatisfied with our present condition. Well, Gentlemen, the pledges of equal treatment which England has given us have supplied us with a high and worthy ideal for our nation; and if these pledges are repudiated, one of the strongest claims of British rule to our attachment will disappear. (*Cheers*)

Another point to which I would invite your attention is this. It is often stated that if Simultaneous Examinations were granted, the Bengalis would swamp the entire service, and that this result would be resented by the people of the other parts of the country. Now, Gentlemen, in the first place this assertion does grave injustice to the people of other parts. I believe most of us can hold our own even against Bengalis. But assuming for the sake of argument that that would be the result, what then? Are not the Bengalis nearer to us than the Europeans who have at present a monopoly of the service? We have at present in the Bombay Presidency a Bengali gentleman as a Sessions Judge. Now, there may be abler men in the service, but one more respected by the people, or regarded with greater feelings of affection, is nowhere to be found. (*Cheers*) Then, Gentlemen, our opponents often say that the relations

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between Hindus and Mahomedans in this country are such that Hindus will not submit to the authority of Mahomedans, or Mahomedans to the authority of Hindu Collectors and Judges. But let those who rashly encourage such feelings beware of what they do. For if once such feelings were to prevail generally what would there be to stand in the way of their application to the case of smaller officers also, such as Tahsildars, Subordinate Judges and Police Officers? And then the task of Government would be impossible, unless indeed the country were cut up into two camps and the Hindus shut up in one and the Mahomedans in the other. Then, Gentlemen, it is often urged that the Provincial Service has been specially constituted for us and that we should be satisfied with it. Well, all I can say in regard to Provincial and Statutory Services is that they can never satisfy the people. Take, for instance, the Bombay Provincial Service. I have paid some close attention to this subject, and I have no hesitation in saying that as at present constituted it is a disgrace to the Government and an insult to the people: There is not a single redeeming feature in it. I will give you only one illustration. Take the standard that the Bombay Government has prescribed for the competitive examination for this service. Remember, Gentlemen, these members of the Provincial Service are one day to be appointed to the posts detached from the Covenanted Service and thus placed on a level with men who have passed the London Civil Service examination, which is perhaps the stiffest examination of any that we know of. And yet what is the standard of education that the Government of Bombay has proposed for the competitive test? The Government of Bombay proposed that these men should know English sufficiently to understand official Reports. (*Laughter and Cries of "Shame"*). This is all they want. As regards the second language there is no classical language, Sanskrit, Persian, or Greek. All that is expected of these men is that they should show a moderate acquaintance with one of the vernaculars of the Presidency. Perhaps you may say if the literary side is defective the mathematical side is strong. These men are probably required to pass an examination in differential and integral calculus. No! nothing of the kind. These men have to pass an examination in Arithmetic up to simple interest (*Laughter*) not compound interest, Algebra up to simple equations (*Laughter*) not Quadratic Equations, and the first two books of Euclid. This is all the Mathematical test. These men are one day to take their places by the side of men who have passed the London examination one of the stiffest and severest examinations, which is equivalent to the M. A. examination. When these men come to be appointed to these posts, is it possible for them to command respect? Is it possible for them to respect themselves? The whole of the Provincial scheme of the Bombay Government is so utterly ludicrous that it is impossible to believe that it emanated from a responsible Government. All that we say therefore is that no solution of the question based on a Provincial Service will ever satisfy us. (*Cheers*) Taking a dispassionate view of the whole situation, we have every right to urge that Simultaneous Examinations ought to be granted to us, and so I am glad to say that, taking the whole thing into account, there are good grounds for hope. It may be that for a moment we have been cast down by defeat, but the circumstances to-day are more encouraging than they were several years before, when our leaders fought single-handed for the Indian people to get the concession we have been praying for. Whatever may be said of the Madras Government, and in whatever way the officials of that Government may now act, the despatch of that Government remains a document of which the Madras people may well be proud. We have the resolution of the House of Commons. Lastly we have a strong public opinion becoming stronger and stronger every day, which may inspire us to continue the fight which is bound to be a long and arduous one, in behalf of generations yet unborn. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR. GHULAM AHMED KHAN, of Berar, addressed the meeting in Hindustani.

MR. SEYMOUR KEAY.—Mr. President, Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, at this late hour I only venture to say that I have one claim to come forward and to detain you

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for a few moments, and that claim consists in the fact that I was privileged to do something towards the carrying of the successful division in Parliament with regard to these Simultaneous Examinations; (*Cheers*) and that division was made successful, I may say, entirely because of the solid phalanx of devotion to India which we, who whipped up that division, found in the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party, (*Cheers*) of which your President is such a worthy and an honoured member. Well, Gentlemen, I also have the honour to be the member of the House of Commons to whom Mr. Gladstone gave (in answer to a question of mine) the promise which was the foundation of all the subsequent proceedings. The promise as you know was very fairly worded. The promise was that the Government of India would be addressed at once and that they were to be asked to say "In what mode and under what conditions and limitations the Resolution of the House could be carried out." Now, Gentlemen, we at once said that that was a satisfactory statement. There was no statement whatever that the Government of India was to be asked whether or not the Resolution of the House of Commons was to be carried out. There was nothing of the kind. It was only in what mode and under what conditions or limitations the Resolution of the House could be carried out. (*Hear, hear*) Well then, in this form the matter went to the India Office. What happened then? The India Office in the first place waited for twenty days, and did nothing, as was quite characteristic of them in such cases. (*Laughter*) They then wrote to the Government of India a brief letter, which has been well described by the mover of this Resolution. They certainly put into that letter the very words which Mr. Gladstone had promised to me should be used; but they added at the tail-end of the letter a scorpion-like sting. That sting was that they added the so-called "essential condition" of which you have heard to-day, namely, that there should be an irreducible minimum of Europeans in the service for ever, and for all time to come. (*Hear, hear*) Now, it is very seldom that I have any occasion to come forward as an apologist for the doings of the Government of India. But I must say that on this occasion justice should be done to them by putting the boot upon the proper leg, and the proper leg to put the boot upon is the leg of the Secretary of State and his Council in London. (*Laughter*) Because what he did was to append this condition for the consideration of the Government of India along with and in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's promise. He did this simply for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the Government of India to reply in any other terms than that they could not carry out the Resolution. I will do the Government of India justice to say that they told this to the Secretary of State to his face. You must allow me to quote from their reply to the despatch. They could not speak clearer and they could not say in plainer words that he, and not they, was responsible for the adverse reply. They said to the Secretary of State, "in referring the matter for our consideration, your Lordship has pointed out that it is indispensable that an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service should be Europeans, and that no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil that essential condition." They go on to say, "But it appears to us (the Government of India) that this condition, if conceded, is itself destructive of the Resolution, which requires that all who compete should be finally classed in one list according to their merit." They then conclude as follows:—"We are therefore compelled to the conclusion that to give effect to the Resolution in its entirety is wholly incompatible with the essential condition on which your Lordship has so strongly insisted." (*Cheers*) Well, Gentlemen, I have cleared the Government of India from a part of the odium, at all events, but not from all. I fear I must admit that they were only too willing to find the essential and impossible condition in the Secretary of State's letter.

They then proceeded with the solemn farce of sending out the letter to their subordinates, and what did they do then? They then ventured to super-impose even more impossible conditions, in order further to secure a reply in the negative. That is how the farce went on. In the few moments which I have, I will only call your attention to one or two of the most extraordinary arguments which have been used against Simultaneous Examina-

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tions in the Blue Book, and which have not been adverted to on this platform to-day. What are we told in the first place? The Bombay Government was good enough to come forward and say that they recognised that the desire on the part of the natives of India to enter their own Civil Service is quite a natural aspiration. But what do they immediately add? They say that though it may be quite a natural aspiration, "we cannot suppose that this aspiration could be a ground for serious political action." The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab goes farther still. He also admits the aspirations of the natives for employment in the administration of their country but declares, in so many words, that they should not be given the weight of a feather, (*Shame*) if they conflict with British ideas of what they think best for the benefit of the people. Gentlemen, the benefit of the people fills these papers like a flowing river. Nothing whatever is said about the loss of European appointments. Oh no! On the contrary, what is the chief reason given by the Government of India themselves and adopted by the Secretary of State for refusing these Examinations? It is not that there would be a single European shut out of the service. Nothing of that sort. Never for a moment. The reason is stated to be their burning fear that the Sikhs and Mahomedans of the North would possibly be excluded from public employment. (*Cheers*) Then there is the question which was mentioned by a previous speaker. It had been alleged that the Bengalis would monopolise the service. A previous speaker well said that the Bengalis are after all nearer to the other nations than Europeans. But the Government of India just places that upside-down, and declare in unmeasured terms that the greatest possible and the crowning advantage of the European is that he is an absolute alien both by religion and by race. Why? Because in consequence of his absolute non-connection with the people he is perfectly certain not to take sides in local quarrels. You cannot fail to see the absolute dishonesty of that argument, because if it were an argument at all, I need not say that it would apply to England just as well as to India; and it would be just as true to say that for that reason it would be for the benefit of England, and that England would be much better off, if her Civil Service were to be peopled by Russians instead of by Englishmen. (*Cheers*)

Well, Gentlemen, I don't think I need go further in showing the absolute insincerity and hypocrisy which obtains throughout these despatches. I want to know why there is only one thing which is not found in the whole of the hundred and ten pages of that Blue Book. There is not a hint or whisper in it of any admission that the natives of India have even the faintest right to live on their own soil, much less that they have any preferential claim over the other subjects of the British Empire to administer in their own country. On the contrary there is the direct opposite of such an admission, and there is a deliberate denial of this written on the face of these papers by responsible Governors, and by Mr. Garstin of Madras. They actually set forth this glaringly absurd argument;—that if you were to allow the Indians to hold examinations in India it would be nothing less than a scandalous injustice to the inhabitants of other parts of the British Empire, such as New Zealand, Australia and even far-off Canada. Why did not they put into the Blue Book another thing which they have omitted. Why didn't they come forward plumply and honestly and say "We have a great many comfortable appointments and we want to keep them for ourselves"? Why, I can respect a class of officials who come forward with honest truth in their mouths like that, but I repel the suggestion that any of the arguments to be found in any of these papers can be treated as having the faintest tinge of honesty or statesmanship. On the contrary, they are crammed with phrases of Pecksniffian hypocrisy. I will now close, as the gong has already sounded, with one sentence which, on careful examination and perusal, defines what has been done in these papers. I say that the decision which has been passed upon them is in the first place a frightful injustice perpetrated on the Indian people; in the second place it is a gross unfairness committed against the Government of India's own officers, to whom this matter was pretended to be referred for their impartial opinion, and in

the third place I say that it is a breach of faith with the House of Commons. Yes, Gentlemen, we will be prepared to stand by what we say, that it is nothing more nor less than a positive breach of faith with the British Parliament, (*Cheers*) and I join with other speakers and with you in trusting that we are very far from finished yet with this matter of Simultaneous Examinations. We have once defeated our own Government for your sakes and we are perfectly prepared to defeat them again: (*Cheers*) If the fortune of the ballot gives us only a fair chance, we will have another Resolution this session. (*Hear, hear*) We will go on in the hope that we may at last be able to secure the performance of what after all is nothing but the simplest act of ordinary justice to the Indian people. (*Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Let those who are in favour of this Resolution hold up their hands. (*Voices All, All.*)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution will be moved by the Honorable Mr. N. Subba Row.

THE HON. MR. N. SUBBA ROW:—Mr. President, Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is in the fitness of things that this Resolution should come at the fag end of the day, for you know the announcement made by the President that we are to disperse at 4 o'clock.

THE PRESIDENT:—No, no.

THE HON. MR. N. SUBBA ROW:—I am corrected by the President that we shall go on up to a late hour. However, in the fitness of things it comes as it were at the fag end of the day because this fact illustrates the manner in which the work is done in our Mofussil District and Sessions Courts. The resolution which I have the honour to place before you is a very simple and a very short resolution. The resolution is this:—

“This Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and that the high Judicial Service in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case.”

I shall simply state a few facts in support of the resolution just now placed before you, and I shall confine myself briefly to the Province to which I belong, namely, the Madras Presidency. In this Presidency the office of the District Judge is recruited from the ranks of Sub-Collectors, officers who have spent the greater portion of their official life in executive work, and who by the time they come to be appointed as District Judges are well imbued, as it were, with an executive frame of mind, not with a judicial frame of mind. It is these gentlemen that are called upon to discharge the responsible and important duties of presiding over the highest Court in each district. Now, these officers of the Sub-Collector's grade—are they men who have distinguished themselves in the service, who have shown, in the course even of their executive work, their comprehensive grasp of the matters placed before them? Are they men who have the highest ability, the highest talents? I regret to say that generally it is not so. The department of the Judicial service has not earned the reputation of being recruited from men who have distinguished themselves by their ability, or whose services have earned the reward of a seat on the bench. However, even granting that these officers are men of ordinary average service, we shall see how this selection is further made. These officers when they are once appointed are not allowed to continue to discharge the duties of the new office. Once a Sub-Collector is appointed to the grade of a District Judge, there is no guarantee that he will be retained in that office; to-day a Sub-Collector, to-morrow an acting District Judge, the third day an acting District Collector, and back

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again the fourth day an acting District Judge, forwards and backwards till by some chance, or it may be by some specially meritorious bad act, (*Laughter*) he is finally fixed to the District Judge's place. (*Shame*) Such is the mode in which the judicial service in this Presidency—I say it without any fear of contradiction—is recruited: and when it is so recruited do you wonder that the judicial service has become to be regarded as the inferior service, and that it is not generally coveted by members of the Civil Service? Gentlemen, the result of the present system is seen in the kind of work turned out by our District Judges; and the kind of work turned out is noticed year after year in our administration reports and is viewed with dissatisfaction. I have been connected with mofussil district courts for the last fifteen years, and I must say I concur with the wording of this resolution very strongly. Even though our District Judges are of some years' standing some of them, I may say most of them, cannot write judgments according to the Code of Civil Procedure—the A.B.C. of the Law which they are called upon to administer. (*Shame*) I know of specific judgments which have been returned for this reason to a District Judge of some years' standing in the Service. It is no wonder, therefore, if these officers, saturated with the executive training which they have previously received, should not consider it of the first importance to hear the pleaders engaged in cases fully, thoroughly, and with the greatest patience; and we need not be surprised even if a District Judge should come to the bench with a written judgment before hearing the arguments of the Bar. (*Shame*) These are the District Judges who have got appellate jurisdiction over experienced subordinate Judges and District Munsiffs in our Presidency. These are the District Judges who are the final arbiters in all regular appeals, who are the final arbiters in all small cause suits, and who have unlimited jurisdiction in all property cases. Now with the improvement in character, and advancement in knowledge of law on the part of these subordinate Judges and District Munsiffs, and with a progressive Bar at each centre of the district the inferiority of the District Judges is becoming day by day more and more apparent. I shall trouble you only with a short quotation from the Administration Report of this year. It says, "It is impossible to view the results of the year with entire approval, and in certain cases they can only be described as eminently "unsatisfactory." Yet it is these Judges who preside over the highest Court in the district, and have Appellate jurisdiction over experienced Subordinate Judges. You will believe me when I say that one District Judge heard eight appeals from the Subordinate Judge and reversed every one of them, though that Subordinate Judge was a very experienced man and had been in service for several years as a District Munsiff, and as a pleader for a good many years more and received very different treatment at the hands of the High Court in certain other judgments which came up on appeal. (*Hear, hear*)

Now, in thus drawing a gloomy picture of our halls of justice, let me not be understood as finding fault with the Government officers who are called upon to preside over the Court. They are men of high culture. It is not their fault, but it is the fault of the system which calls upon them without sufficient training to fill the high and responsible position of dispensing justice between man and man. This is not their fault, it is the fault of the system to which we have all to submit, and, besides, there is one other important circumstance which adds, as it were, to the inferiority of the District Judges. That is the canons of judging the efficiency of the judicial officers. The canon is not to judge by the quality of work but by the quantity of work turned out by them—not by the soundness or justice of their decisions but the number of the decisions delivered. That is the canon that prevails throughout all the Courts in the Madras Presidency. It is that canon which is responsible for the deterioration of this class of officers; and with a large number of decisions and reports and text books flooding us every day, we have no reason to find fault with District Judges for not being posted in these decisions. They have no time to read them. They have no previous training to follow them with interest; it is no congenial task with them, and, therefore, you should not blame them if they are driven more

and more to brush aside all artificial law, and to rely on their own unadulterated common sense. (*Laughter*) For the reason I have stated, we ought not to be surprised if our District Judges come to consider that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof"; and that this expiatory period of judgeship must somehow or other be gone through in order to earn their pension of £1,000 a year for the work they have done in this country. (*Hear, hear*)

Of course, I must not be understood as saying that in this large class of Judicial officers we do not stumble now and then on some really good and efficient District Judges. What is the feeling of these good District Judges—men who have taken congenially to the task and distinguished themselves in the service? I may tell you that I had recently a conversation with one of the most eminent and satisfactory District Judges of this Presidency. I had a talk with him on this subject, and he said "You know I was specially qualified, you know I passed an examination in Law, I have been a Registrar in the High Court; and will you believe me," he added, "when I first took my seat as a District Judge, my heart sank within me at the thought of my responsibility in administering law." That was the feeling which that eminent and most satisfactory Judge expressed to me only recently, and he requested me to press the matter strongly upon Government and see that the present mode of recruitment is bettered. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, if the evil stopped here, there might be some satisfaction. Unfortunately, the evil does not stop here. According to our rules, according to our Charter, one-third of our High Court Judges should be recruited from this class, the class about which we are speaking, that is to say, two judges of the High Court should be recruited from this class. What is the result of this system of recruitment? You have only to ask any of the lawyers practising in the High Court and Mofussil Courts. No eminent lawyer will care to predict what turn any case may take in any particular Court. I must say this system is responsible for a substantial increase in litigation; in fact, litigation has become a question of gambling, a question of toss up, and no one can be sure, notwithstanding he has a good case, that that would be the view which would prevail in the Courts. (*Shame*)

I am glad to think that there is some hope that this state of things may come to an end at no distant future. For when the unsatisfactory state of recruitment of our Judges, was brought to the notice of His Excellency Lord Wenlock, His Excellency said that the present condition of affairs was not so satisfactory as it might be, and that the subject was receiving the careful consideration of Government. I am sure you will join me in the hope that before Lord Wenlock leaves these shores, His Excellency will see that this necessary reform is given effect to, and will leave behind him a permanent mark of his good intentions and broad sympathies. (*Hear, hear*) I am encouraged to indulge this hope, because it is during his tenure of office that the first instalment of reform, the separation of judicial from executive functions, has been carried into effect. This is the first Presidency in which that reform has been carried into effect in the subordinate ranks of the Magistracy, and the result of that reform has been a great success, and has given great satisfaction to all the people of this country. We thank the Madras Government, not simply for the reform which is of immediate benefit to us, but for the example which it has set to other Governments showing that the question of separating executive from judicial functions can be solved without difficulty. (*Cheers*) Therefore, I say we have very good reasons for viewing with dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher judicial service in this country. The remedy which we suggest is that it should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case. Now on that point I have only to draw your attention to the remarks of Sir Charles Paul, Advocate General of Calcutta, in an interview which he had with Sir Raymond Blathwayte. These remarks are of very great significance in connection with this subject. He says, "It is a mistake in these advanced days to appoint Civilians to high judicial posts which ought to be filled properly by thoroughly trained and thoroughly experienced Barristers and Pleaders. What can an ordinary Civil Servant, however intelligent and well educated he may be,

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“ know of the tremendous complications and the innumerable technicalities of a mixture
“ of English and Mahomedan laws? We have a number of codes; all of a strictly technical
“ character, based principally on English Law. Now, it often happens that Sectional
“ orders issued by Government do not clearly and expressly state the law on the points to
“ which they refer. It is taken for granted that the Administrator, Judge or Magistrate,
“ knows the law; but he frequently, being a Civilian, does not know it. It is absolutely
“ necessary, therefore, for men who have to construe these Sections to be acquainted with the
“ principles on which they are founded. It is hopeless to expect men merely by the light of
“ nature to arrive at a proper interpretation of the Sections. Many years of extensive practice,
“ and a long familiarity with principles and cases, will alone fit a man for so great a task. I
“ would here particularise the frequent unfamiliarity of all non-professional Judges with the
“ law of evidence. Points of law which arise in the course of the examination of witnesses
“ require to be readily decided. I do not think that under our present system there is sufficient
“ ability or enlightenment for that purpose.” This is the conception which Mr. Paul, the
Advocate General, formed. I am sure every one who has got any knowledge of the working
of our Courts will agree with him that the main source from which the judiciary should be
recruited should be the Bar. (*Hear, hear*) You will note that we do not go so far as Mr. Paul’s
remarks. He says the judiciary should almost exclusively be recruited from the Bar. What
we say is that it should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than it is now.
So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, this is not at all done. Therefore, we ask
that at least some attempt should be made in that direction. So far as the scheme of
recruiting the service is concerned, it is a large scheme which has to be worked out.
So far as I am concerned I have thought it out, but it is unnecessary to place those things
before you. Seeing that British Justice is the stronghold on which we rely, we ask that those
who preside over these Courts should be able to dispense justice between man and man, which
is the point on which British prestige is so much founded. (*Cheers*)

MR. K.G. NATU.

MR. K. G. NATU :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, in seconding
this resolution I have much pleasure in testifying that the subject matter of this resolution
forms the marrowbone of British justice and British administration. Time was when justice
trembled when it had to deal with a powerful man. The aggrieved party, if weak, saw
hardly any hopes of getting redress when he had to contend with a millionaire. In fact,
Might and Right went hand in hand. They were synonymous terms. But there was a dawn
of better things; British light and British power came into this country, and with it also
British justice. You have observed how at times even the greatest men have been brought
to justice before the bar of Parliament. I am saying this, simply because I want to impress
upon you the importance of justice, and to show what sort of men are sent out here in
order to administer noble justice. Civilians are sent out to this country by Government. Very
well! But as soon as they have come, as soon as they have spent a few months in getting
a smattering of the language of the district, they are placed in charge of three or four taluqs,
with powers magisterial and over the revenue; and you know that a Magistrate is as much
a Judge as any. Frequently justice mis-carries owing to ignorance of the language. How often
have you heard of violent hands being laid on poor syces by their angry masters owing to
ignorance of the language. For instance the expressions घोडासुर्योतिनाथ and नाकांत थडीवागते
are literal translations of the corresponding English phrases “Tie the horse in the sun,” and
“I have got a cold in the nose.” (*Laughter*) But what Mahratha is there who pretends to under-
stand the meaning conveyed by them? I remember a well-known Judge who laid claim to
being a thorough Mahratha scholar, and who for many years presided at the Zilla sessions. In
a case tried by him, one of the witnesses happened to say ह्याचतांब्या. The judge got out of
temper and said to the witness. “You are a down right liar. How the devil can you change
silver into copper?” (*Laughter*) After his first fury was over, he was told that *Tambay* means
a vessel of any metal and not necessarily of copper. This was the case with a man who laid pre-

tensions to scholarship. You may easily judge of those who come to India and pass in the Vernaculars of the country in about a couple of months. (*Hear, hear*) Therefore the requisite in the course of judicial training is a thorough knowledge of the language and habits of the people; and the next thing is a knowledge of the law of the land. The Civil Service Examination held in England prepares a kind of general groundwork, but it does not qualify the student for any special branch. This has to be studied as a speciality. He comes here as a Collector, occupies that position for a few months, then he is transferred to the office of Assistant Judge, with appellate powers; both in civil and criminal cases. Now, I can understand the sudden change of status. But I cannot understand that a sudden change of status is commensurate with a consistent change of character. It is not possible that the change is sufficient to introduce into the mind of the man a thorough knowledge of the Hindu or Mahomedan laws, or of the Civil Procedure, as soon as he is transferred from the place of Collector to the place of Judge. It is impossible. The worst of it is not come; it is yet to come. Government has of late created a number of Judges called the benches of Magistrates. I have every regard for the system; the system is not to be found fault with; it is the men that fill the posts, who are placed as Magistrates to govern us. They can send a man to prison for two years. They are a class of Magistrates sent out to us who have spent their lives in counting figures, men who had to find levels and to construct bridges, men who knew nothing but to live on ancestral property, who had nothing to do but to gossip, men who are perfectly innocent of law or procedure. These men are made to sit in judgment, to decide upon the arguments adduced before them. They are the men who are to draw the line of demarcation as to where the criminal ends and the civil begins; (*Laughter*) and yet they sit in judgment upon us; they are to decide most important questions of life and liberty, and I may say, with sheer disregard to the cause of justice. This creation of Judges, this mode of administering justice, really lowers in the eyes of the people that deep respect and profound veneration with which the surrounding nations have looked upon British administration and justice. I would therefore humbly pray to Government "Train your Judges and let them judge." With these few remarks I second the proposition. (*Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT:—A representative from Tinnevely, Mr. A. R. Krishna Iyer, has expressed a wish to speak on this resolution. I now call upon him to speak.

MR. A. R. KRISHNA IYER:—Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, the proposition that I have the honour to support is a proposition that has already been proposed by Mr. Subba Row. Coming to my arguments immediately, we all know what an important part practice plays in the development of theory in all sciences. Theory and practice are so related to one another that the one assists the other in various ways. The inter-relation between theory and practice is so great that nothing need be said about the inter-relation between the two; and Law being a highly complex science, the plea of practice upon theory is here illustrated to a greater extent than in any other department of knowledge. It is only when theory is put into practice that theory is better understood, and this is pre-eminently so in the highly complex department of the science of Law. Therefore Gentlemen, we see what trained legal practitioners can do towards administering justice as Judges. The sphere of an executive officer is entirely separate from the sphere of a judicial officer; the frame of mind calculated to make a good Judge is different from the frame of mind which makes a good Collector. One is an executive officer, the other is a judicial officer. The District Judge or any other Judge will be praised if he takes time to write a judgment, even in a small and simple suit; whereas a Collector will be blamed if he hesitates, even if the hesitation be properly grounded, even for five minutes, with reference to a quarrel or an affray. What is wanted for one frame of mind is the power of grappling with difficulties. There is not time enough for the Collector to grapple with difficulties. But the Judge is more calm; he is better fitted to exercise his

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duties as a judicial officer. Such being the vast difference between the frame of mind calculated to fill the responsible position of a Collector and that required for filling the responsible position of a District Judge or any other Judge, we must take care that such officers alone are appointed for filling the post of Collector and for filling the post of Judge as have the necessary qualifications; while to transplant an officer from one department to another will be a serious absurdity (*Voices Time, Time*). Therefore on other grounds also I heartily support the Resolution that has already been seconded. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next resolution will be moved by Dr. Bahadurji of Bombay.

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DR. BAHADURJI:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen: the Resolution that has been entrusted to my care reads as follows:—

(a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

(b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and prays that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

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

The subject of the resolution I have just read to you has engaged such a considerable share of public attention since it was first spoken to from the Congress platform last year, that I need hardly enter into details again. The question of Simultaneous Examinations is, no doubt, of great importance to the public, but you will agree with me that the subject of the medical service of the country is of equal, if not greater, public importance, and that it is a matter of surprise and regret that it should have so long remained unnoticed by our popular leaders. They would seem not to have noticed that, in the very matter of Simultaneous Examinations, the Covenanted Civil Medical Service of India most directly demonstrates that the opponents of Simultaneous Examinations have rather overstated their case and drawn on their imagination as regards the *sine qua non* of a long residence in England for the acquiring of that mental, moral and magnetic equipment which alone can impart the necessary administrative ability and courage, and social adaptability to Indian youths as members of the I. C. S. For, indeed, many an Indian member of the Covenanted I. M. S. had only to voyage to England to pass the Burlington House Examination to obtain his commission, and this accomplished (in a few weeks after arrival in England), he had only to put in his regulation six months at Netley before he returned to India as a member of the I. M. S. What, then, have the opponents of Simultaneous Examinations to say to the fact that Indian Members of the Covenanted I. M. S. acquired administrative ability, courage and social adaptability, qualities required in no smaller degree in the military than in the civil department, but also imbibed martial spirit by a mere effort of a trip across the sea to obtain a commission in Her Majesty's army? (*Laughter*)

To examine briefly the subject of the Resolution, let us study the different parts separately. I shall deal mainly with the first two sections, leaving the last to my friends.

who will follow me. The first part says that the constitution of the higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and very costly, and prays that the constitution be revised and remodelled on the basis of what obtains in other civilised countries. To realise the absurdity and the mischief of the present constitution of our higher Civil Medical Service, let us contrast it with what it is all the world over. The Civil Medical Service of any country is concerned with the several departments of education, of sanitation, of special scientific and expert work, as of chemical analysis and of civil medical relief. The practice outside India is to recruit the service from the open profession of medicine and science, the necessary qualifications being a special training and ability, and no mere ordinary practising license or degree: men are found for posts and not posts for men. But in India it is far otherwise. The selection is restricted to a small class of men who form the stock in trade, so to say, of a military depôt, called the Indian Medical Service. The competition for this service is open to any one who possesses a British qualification in medicine, surgery and midwifery. Many of our graduates, and even plucked students, who could afford a trip to England, scored such easy victories in the competition some years ago that their overwhelming numbers raised an alarm and led to the closing of the service against them for the time being. It was thrown open again, but some agency or mystic force has since prevented the Indian candidates from regaining their old position in the pass list. This covenanted military service requires for its own military purposes—the purposes for which the enlistment is intended—some 170 men; but, like all depôts which have a large stock of articles lying idle, this service depôt has more than twice that number of men for whom the Military Department has no room or work, and it is for these military men that work is found in the Civil Department as posts become available, and they are trotted out in plain clothes as professors or political agents, guardians of jail-birds, or Civil Surgeons, Sanitary Commissioners or Chemical Analysts, etc., etc., under orders from the Civil Surgeon-General, also a *médecin militaire* in plain clothes. Scientific and expert advisers to all other civilised Governments are individuals who have worked at special and scientific subjects and possess special qualifications. But in India it is a single individual who advises Government on all matters connected with the science of medicine. He is the Civil Military Surgeon-General, i.e., the Surgeon-General in plain clothes. He rises to that position not by virtue of any scientific work or merit, but by a special process of development through the grades of Captaincy, Majorship, Major-Generalship to which he must gravitate by the mere weight of years. And the mere fact of his donning the hat of the Surgeon-General is taken by Government to infuse into his head the expert knowledge not in one branch but in all the different departments of science and medicine. (*Laughter*)

Again, the genesis of a medical profession in India is equally peculiar. All the civilised world over it is by a special training in a special subject after graduation that one becomes a professor. But in India the course of training requires at the outset two years' shooting and messing with a regiment, and then the experience, perhaps, of a general practitioner as a Civil Surgeon, or of a guardian of jail-birds, or of some such other work; after this special process of development or rather degeneration a *médecin militaire* may be electroplated as a professor, should he happen to possess the special connections where with to excite the electric fluid in the Surgeon-General's Office. (*Laughter*) But this is a wonderful fluid; it has the power to make a Professor of Pathology, for instance, disappear from the chair of Pathology only to reappear as a Professor of Midwifery! That this is all anomalous and indefensible in principle needs no argument to establish. That such a constitution of a Civil Medical Service must be very inferior in its working will be readily accepted and can be easily demonstrated by a few actual examples within one's personal knowledge. Examples are illustrations of the evils of a system of which the special cases are themselves the victims, and it would be only narrow-mindedness to construe the citations as personal attacks. Under this absurd system a Professor who has never

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had any training in Biology—has not even looked into the inside of a frog—becomes gifted with the audacity, not to say confidence, to pretend to examine our Arts and Science Graduates in Comparative Anatomy. Under this absurd and mischievous system the Professor of Zoology has to be a born Ophthalmologist and *vice versa*. What does the teaching in Biology consist of? Some two dozen readings from text-books from a pulpit decorated with bottled pickles of zoological specimens; the readings over, the class repairs to a museum where a single personally conducted tour by some obliging curator begins and completes the course of practical zoology! Is this not a fraud both on the University and on the public? Under this unnatural system, a Chemical Examiner who has not a day's experience of his work to boast of, and whilst he is still learning his work from his assistant, considers it a very natural thing to report on the work of his assistant from the superior place into which he finds himself pitchforked. Again, the teaching of Physiology, for instance, may continue to be of the most primitive kind, till an outsider exposes it, works violent changes in the College, and causes the teaching of this very important subject to be intrusted to capable and proper hands. Under this system again, Government themselves, by attempting to extort all possible knowledge from a medical head which they cover with the Surgeon-General's *topes*, as a matter of course, when the individual arrives at the age of investiture, make themselves the laughing-stock of the thinking world by the novel ideas extracted from some Surgeon-General. Not so long ago a Surgeon-General deliberately declared that experimental physiology had nothing to do with vivisection. It does not require much technical knowledge to understand that the very contrary is the case, for physiology deals with the phenomena of life, and experimental physiology deals with experiments on living beings. Again, Government medical advisers may not know the ordinary requirements of scientific research. Three laboratories in the Bombay Presidency have been rendered useless for the purposes for which they were built. One has been turned into a carcass incinerator, another into a go-down, and the third one Lord Harris assured us the other day would be put to some useful purpose, and he further assured us that after all the expenditure on these was not a matter of lakhs but only thousands. Not only this: the *Times of India* remarked the other day that for scientific purposes a pound of ice or a pice worth of kerosine oil would give a bacteriologist any desired temperature for his cultivation purposes. This knowledge was unfortunately not in the possession of the highly paid scientific advisers of Government, who were compelled to vote further sums of money for the removal of their scientists and their baggage to more shady regions. But one need not multiply these instances. The monopoly of the I. M. S. not only recoils thus on the heads of the monopolists themselves, but what is more important from the point of view of the interests of the country itself, it prevents all growth of talent in the country, degrades the profession of India, as we shall see presently. (*Applause*)

It has been urged that the appointments must be so reserved for the Imperial purposes of a Military reserve. To begin with, a reserve of nearly 400 men for an effective service of less than half that number is an absurdity in which the military department alone can revel. But the reserve argument accuses the Government of hypocrisy and dishonesty. The Government have publicly declared that the medical schools were founded for the cultivation of the medical science of the West, for the benefit and happiness of the Indian people, and "not for any Governmental or Executive wants," and that they fostered the growth of science and higher education for their own sake. If these then be no longer their intentions, or rather the intentions of our latter-day Government, let them say so honestly, and not keep posing as honest patrons of science and education. The conditions under which the growth of science and medical education has suffered so long carry their own condemnation, and it is time the Indian people and not only the profession, rose as one man to appeal to the authorities to emancipate medical education and science from the thralldom of an aggressive Military Department, which has no moral or legal right

to the monopoly it has built up for itself (for their covenant is purely a military covenant, and has no reference whatever to any right—much less extraordinary right—to civil appointments). It is only by such emancipation of medical education and science, by throwing open their fields of work to the best talent available in Europe or in India, that India can hope to advance to a forward place in the march of civilisation in the matter of scientific assimilation and growth. (*Loud Applause*)

Scientific Congresses in a land where science is allowed no fair play, and where there is no such thing as a scientific profession, are but false emblems of scientific progress. I was asked to join the Calcutta Medical Congress. I should have been delighted to take part in any proper Medical Congress. But I did not join this Calcutta Congress for the simple reason that it is no genuine Congress of a homogeneous liberal profession. Compared with genuine Congresses it had the elements of sham and hypocrisy in its very constitution. For, look the facts straight in the face. Here is a group of men—the monopolists—asking their bondsmen to rub shoulders with them just for the purposes of a good gathering. Men who have been looked upon as an inferior lot, incapable to rise to the position of their teachers in their own *alma mater*, unfit to take part in the work of scientific medicine, are now suddenly considered fit to discuss scientific works with masters and superior persons. A mere Congress gathering gives no unity to the profession in India, and removes not the unjustifiable limitations placed on its Indian members. The question of economy having been fully discussed on previous occasions need not be again taken up now. Only recently some military scenes have occurred in the matter of some dozen appointments which have increased the military expenditure by thousands, and it was time the whole question was gone into by an open public inquiry. (*Cheers*)

To turn to the second part of the resolution, *viz.*, the subject of the Subordinate Medical Service. It has three branches. First, the Assistant Surgeons. These are our graduates in medicine, who have passed both educational and professional tests higher than those required for the I. M. S., and being Assistant Surgeons on Rs. 100 a month rise to be old Assistant Surgeons on Rs. 200 a month, and retire on the grand pension of Rs. 100, (*Shame*) whilst members of the Military Service who sponge on the Civil Department rise from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500. The Assistant Surgeons do, and have done, all the work, even field work as Volunteers in the Afghan and other campaigns, of the Civil Military Surgeons, but without their pay or their position. The highest career is open to members of every other faculty of our Universities, but altogether closed to members of the Medical faculty. It is surprising that members of the sister faculties did not perceive for so long the unjust treatment accorded to their fellow graduates. A special service, the Uncovenanted Medical Service, on the lines of the uncovenanted counterpart of the I. C. S., was specially created more than twenty-five years ago for the employment of Indian graduates, but the Military Surgeon-General has contrived to make it a complete dead-letter by absorbing all the appointments into his military schedule. If, indeed, in twenty years the medical school of Bombay, for instance, can not turn out a fit enough graduate for the Uncovenanted Medical Service, it is high time the College constitution was overhauled. (*Hear, hear and Applause*) The Assistant Surgeons have often complained. Instead of redress, they have received nothing but threats from the domineering Military Surgeon-General, who contrived to keep out all evidence before the Public Service Commission in the matter of the wrongs they all along inflicted on their victims—the subordinate service. It is time the public moved in the matter and demanded an open public inquiry. (*Cheers*)

Then there are two other enlistments for the subordinate service—one military and the other civil—the former being open to Christians only. But see what difference the element of religion makes in the treatment accorded to the two classes. John, the Christian, and Pandu, the non-Christian, both seek admission to their respective services. John the Christian need not know more than the High School fourth standard, reading, writing, and sums,

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but Paudu, the non-Christian, must pass a much higher test. They both go through the same professional course and examination. If anything, Paudu has to undergo a severer examination. John, the Christian, then begins as a Military Apothecary, and works under the regimental Surgeons. His salary ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 450. He may, however, be promoted to the uncovenanted grade and given even Rs. 750 by being found a post in the Civil Department. His new designation is Assistant Surgeon, I. M. S., and he rises from the rank of Lieutenant to that of Major. But Paudu, the non-Christian, begins as a Hospital Assistant and dies a Hospital Assistant. (*Shame*) His work is as vast as it is responsible. He practises medicine, surgery and midwifery. He it is who really dispels the ignorance and prejudice of the masses in regard to the western system of medicine. He treats a thousand times more cases in a month than the highest officer of a hospital does in a year. On his judgment, intelligence and integrity depend the lives of his fellow citizens in the mofussil, questions of life and death turning upon the nature of his evidence in medico-legal cases. But, alas! the respectability and responsibility of this most important servant of the State are in an inverse ratio, and that too in very abnormal proportions. One feels almost ashamed to say that the non-Christian Paudu who does such responsible and excellent work for the Government is paid no higher salary than is paid to a senior *punka-wallah* in the hospital, or a cook or a coachman. The scale of his pay is Rs. 16 to Rs. 80 odd. (*Shame*) Can there be any other reason for this great difference in treatment between the Christian Apothecary and the graduate Assistant Surgeon and Hospital Assistant, in every way his superior, and superior in many respects and equal in others to his Christian brethren generally, than that the specially favoured class belongs to the Christian race? (*Loud cries of Shame*) Is this religious tolerance or religious persecution by the polished methods of modern times? It is hard to believe that the responsible representatives of Her Majesty in India can be at all aware of this incredibly unfair treatment meted out to their most responsible, patient and faithful servants. There is not a department of State administered by civilians pure and simple, where any such horrible system of slavery is practised on its minor officers, as has been so atrociously done by military usurpers of the Civil Medical Department. Will the public stand this any longer? Now that it has been familiarised with these manifest wrongs which scandalise the fair fame of British justice and fair play, it is its bounden duty to appeal to the authorities for immediate redress. Let every presidency town hold public meetings to memorialise Government for a public inquiry such as the Congress prays for, and let the leaders of the people do their duty by the people and work for this public cause—a cause so intimately bound up with the material progress of the country. (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

RAI BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU :—Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, my appearance before you is due to a strong sense of duty in me to tell you all, that the proposition which has just been placed before you is not the embodiment of a grievance on the part of medical men only. It is a question which is entitled to as serious a consideration as any other we have yet discussed or may yet discuss. Dr. Bahadurji has attempted, and has succeeded in his attempt, to open our eyes to a stupendous wrong that is in our midst; he has given you a great deal of information, and he has given you all that information with an eloquence which might have carried you away from the facts; he spoke so eloquently that I have some fear that in your admiration for his eloquence you may not have noticed certain contrasts to which attention is due. I shall therefore—without eloquence—contrast those facts for your consideration. He called your attention to the Medical Service which consists of a higher and a lower grade. In the higher grade there are two states—one military and the other civil. Enlistment for the military takes place in England, enlistment for the Civil takes place in India. It is necessary to note that geographical peculiarity, because it will enable you to find out certain differences existing, to which I shall presently call your attention. Now, to those who are enlisted in England the starting pay is Rs. 500, to those who are enlisted here the starting pay is Rs. 100. To those

that belong to the Military Service enlisted in England the goal in hope is Rs. 2,500; to those that enter the Civil Military Service of this country the highest hope is Rs. 200—not a question of thousands at all. (*Shame*) Another important feature that deserves to be noticed is this: To enter into the service recruited in India, those who wish to qualify for medical education have to be either Matriculates, First Arts men, or Graduates, whereas for qualifying in England for the other highly paid Service the educational qualification is that they need not be even Under-graduates. Now, there is another important circumstance worth noticing, which is this. Under the Indian Medical Service you can rise up to what is called Assistant Civil Surgeon; you can never become a District Surgeon. A comparison has been instituted between the Covenanted Civil Service and this. In connection with that I may point-out to you that although there is a covenant on the part of the Government with the persons who enter the Covenanted Civil Service, that certain appointments should be given to them—although some of those appointments are taken away or attempted to be taken away, yet here, without there being any such binding covenant, not a single District-Surgeonship is open to be given to the person who graduates in this country. If you want to become a District Surgeon go you must across the waters, go you must to pass the examination which shall give you an entrance into that service which I have described. In the lower, again, there are two classes. The facts have been mentioned; I shall simply call your attention to the contrast that exists. The “Apothecary” was the former name; “Hospital Assistant” is the name bestowed on the less favoured gentlemen. The apothecary’s place is now taken by the more high-sounding title of “Assistant Surgeon.” He indeed, is recruited in this country, but is attached to Military Service; he begins with a pay of Rs. 56, and may rise to Rs. 450; whereas the other gentleman, the Hospital Assistant, having nearly the same medical training and education, has to begin with Rs. 16 and can never rise beyond Rs. 80. The educational qualification apart from the medical training possessed by these gentlemen is also worthy of contrast. The Fifth Standard is enough for the more highly paid man while the Seventh Standard is necessary for the less paid man. Gentlemen, one further point of distinction I shall notice, and that is, the apothecary—the military apothecary or the Assistant Surgeon—must be Christian; the Hospital Assistant, be he ever so clever, can never enter that Service. Now, that is the main and the only distinction, and it carries with it that the one man who is a Christian begins with Rs. 50 and rises to Rs. 450, but the other man, not being Christian, has to begin with Rs. 16 and concludes with Rs. 80. (*Shame*)

DR. M. G. DESHMOK :—Mr. President and Gentlemen You must have seen by this time that what we ask for is nothing more than to do away with the monopoly of all Civil Medical and Scientific appointments in this land by the Military Medical Service. We do not ask that the higher appointments in the Civil Medical and Scientific Service be given to one class or to another. What we ask is that these appointments shall be thrown open to all classes alike. Gentlemen, monopoly of every kind has its own peculiar evils, but in the case of filling appointments of a scientific nature, appointments which require scientific training and special qualifications, restriction in the selection of these appointments is productive of great evils and is most unsuitable. Monopoly, Gentlemen, of this kind should have no place in the case of appointments relating to the scientific and medical services; for the greater and wider the field of selection that is thrown open to such appointments, the better and the more qualified are the men who can be obtained for these services. No political exigency can be called into requisition to support this monopoly, no bureaucrat of the deepest dye can cry out danger to the State, even if the highest scientific and medical appointments are filled by men not belonging to the ruling class. (*Cheers*) Therefore monopoly by the ruling class alone is unsuitable and undesirable in this case. Monopoly again is unsuitable in this case because the monopoly was first created at a time, when probably there was in this country no scientific medical profession existing; but now it is almost more than a third of a century that medical education and scientific education have been given in different centres of this country, and there is enough,

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indigenous material produced from these centres. It is, therefore, high time that this monopoly should be broken, and this indigenous material utilised in filling up the higher appointments of the scientific and medical service. There is again one advantage in using this material of indigenous character; there is a financial advantage; and therefore both in the interests of fair play and justice, as well as of efficiency of service and economy of administration, the sooner the monopoly is broken the better. (*Hear, hear*)

With regard to the third point of this resolution, what I have to say is, that this is the apt time when our Congress should with one voice protest, and call the attention of Government to the desirability of removing the disability under which the assistants of the Chemical Analyser's Department labour, a disability by which these gentlemen, these hard-worked servants of Government, are rendered ineligible to attain the higher ranks of that same department. Gentlemen, the assistants in reality do all the work, the work of a scientific nature and of special requirement. They do all the work of this department, while they are compelled to work under superiors who have very little special training, and who have no experience. I speak on this subject from my own personal experience. Gentlemen, I may tell you in speaking of this personal experience that I am not standing here to air my own personal grievances, for although after serving for thirteen years in the Government service I was compelled to resign that service, yet, I have nothing to gain, by airing my grievances here, as I do not seek re-entrance into the service; but still the experience which I have gained, the disgust which is occasioned in my mind at the treatment accorded me are well worth citing here, so that this Congress may with one voice draw the attention of Government to the fact that the disability in the Chemical Analyser's department should be forthwith removed. This is the proper time for the Congress to take up this question, because it is understood that the Government of India intends to re-constitute this department on a better basis. This re-constitution has come to pass in this wise:—only two years ago after the resignation of my service as Assistant to the Chemical Analyser, the Medical profession of Bombay and Calcutta took up that case. They were impressed with the glaring injustice of that case, so they started an agitation, which continued from month to month, until two years had elapsed, and the attention of Government was directed to the impropriety, and to the most glaring injustice that is done to the Chemical Analyser class; and now in consequence of this agitation, the Government of India has made up its mind to re-constitute this department. It is, therefore, useful for this Congress at this moment to draw the attention of Government to the fact, that the condition and status of the Assistants in this Department and the disability under which they labour should be taken into consideration while these rules are being framed. For, Gentlemen, when I was serving as Chemical Analyser to Government, on one or two occasions it so happened that acting Chemical Analysers were appointed who had no knowledge, no special training in that department, but who nevertheless were placed at the head of that department. I thought that I might as well put in my claim to be acting Chemical Analyser; but, Gentlemen, the Surgeon-General thought fit not to comply with my request, seeing that this was not allowed by the rules. (*Shame*) If such a thing is not allowed by rules, let us now approach Government and say that as they are now re-constituting the department, let them change the rules and let them make better provision for these Assistants. (*Hear, hear*)

THE PRESIDENT :—The eighth resolution has been duly proposed, seconded, and supported. Let all those who are in favour hold up their hands. (*Voices, All, All.*)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now call upon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to move the next resolution.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it has fallen to my lot to move the next Resolution which runs thus :—

(a) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good

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government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N.-W. Provinces, requests that no time should be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab.

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

Now, Gentlemen, this question concerns the Legislative Councils, which are practically the bodies which decide what taxation shall be imposed upon the people and how the revenues raised shall be spent, and in fact all questions which affect the weal and woe of the two hundred and odd millions of this country in the most important respect. You remember, Gentlemen, that for years past the Congress laboured to bring about the reform of the Legislative Councils. We laboured earnestly to bring about a reform of these Councils by having an increase in the number of members who form those Councils, and by having a right of discussing the Budget, &c. Our request was conceded, but in a very partial and limited manner. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, by which the number of our members was partially increased and certain powers were conferred upon us. We might then have hoped that the Councils as now constituted, or rather reformed, would be something better than the Councils which existed before these reformed Councils. But, Gentlemen, I will invite your attention only to some points, to some facts, which have happened within the last 12 months, and ask you to say whether you consider that with all the reform that has been brought to you in these Councils, the Legislative Councils of India, including that of the Governor-General in Council, are anything but shams, so far as the real and true interests of the people of India are concerned. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, you will remember the debate on the Indian Tariff Bill, you will remember the debate on the Indian Councils Bill; you will remember how while there was a strong desire on the part of the members of the Councils, including, so far as one could see, His Excellency the Viceroy himself, to levy, to re-impose, the cotton duties, the Council felt their hands fully restrained by a dictum of the Secretary of State for India; you will remember the piteous wailings of some of the members of the Council, the piteous tones in which some of the official members of the Councils tried to excuse their conduct by saying that they were bound, being official members, to vote in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State for India. (*Shame, Shame*) Gentlemen if there is one characteristic of Englishmen which distinguishes them above all other people, which entitles them to the respect of nations more than anything else, it is their sense of duty. (*Cheers*) We thought we were under the impression that an Englishman taking up any position of responsibility would lay aside all other considerations except those which should govern his conduct in relation to those, for the betterment of whose condition and for the protection of whose interests he was appointed. But, Gentlemen, here we have a sad confession of the weakness—shall I say something worse? No, Gentlemen, I will only say weakness, or let me say the powerlessness—of the official members, as confessed by themselves so far as the protecting of the interests of India is concerned. When the question of re-imposing the cotton duties comes up again, the permission which the Secretary of State has granted is accompanied by the mandate that this duty so urgently needed by the distressed condition of Indian finance cannot be re-imposed unless a countervailing excise duty is imposed upon Indian manufactures. (*Hear, hear*) Gentlemen, what does it show? It fully demonstrates this sad fact, that the Government of India is powerless to protect the interests of Indians. Unfortunately, they are not equally powerless when doing mischief to the people of India. (*Cheers*) You will remember, Gentlemen, how the Exchange Compensation Allowance was granted. At that time the Government of India and the Secretary of State agreed together that Exchange Compensation should be allowed, and it was allowed. Therefore as matters stand now you find that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is powerless for the good of the

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Indians in all matters affecting the finances of India, and is potent for mischief in relation to matters affecting those interests. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I have not referred to this without an object; I only wish to point out to you the extreme necessity of having a further reform of these Councils, by means of which we might have a larger number of non-official members in the Councils, armed with greater and more substantial powers to protect the interests of the people of this country. I was going to refer you to the division on the Indian Tariff Bill, simply to show you that so far as I see, every official member supported that measure which every non-official member of the Viceroy's Council opposed. Here are the proceedings recorded; you have only this satisfaction, to see that the "Ayes" and the "Noes" are recorded, but beyond that they were powerless to protect you against the injustice wrought upon you. Therefore, Gentlemen, it is a matter of extreme necessity, finding that the Official members of the Government of India are bound by the dictum of the Secretary of State, and finding also to our great regret that the Secretary of State, that high State dignitary is not guided by his own reasonings, by his own wishes, by his own convictions, so far as one could judge them, but that he is guided by paltry party considerations, by a desire to please a few persons in Lancashire—it becomes extremely necessary that you should unite in a body to pray to Her Majesty to grant further reform of the Councils (*Cheers*), in order that our interests may be protected. And now, Gentlemen, that is, no doubt, not before the Congress at this moment, but all that I have brought it in for is to show you how very little, how very small, is the measure of reform that we seek of the Government in asking them to give us all that could be given, that can be liberally given, justly given, under the Councils Act of 1892. If with the entire Council standing as it does against us, our interests cannot be fully protected, is there not the greatest reason why that should be conceded in the most liberal spirit, so that we might derive the greatest benefit we can from it? Has it been so conceded and has the Indian Councils Act of 1892 been so worked? You will remember your esteemed Chairman of the Reception Committee inviting your attention to the assertions of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury in that connection. With your permission I should like to read those words again, to shew what hopes we were allowed to entertain, what promises were made to us. Mr. Gladstone speaking as the head of the Liberal party said, "I believe I am justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but "to a real living representation of the people." Lord Salisbury, on his side, speaking on the same subject, said in the House of Lords, "If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, of course "accepting that it must be done, let us do it systematically, taking care that the machinery "provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted "bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength "and vital forces of the whole community of India." (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, if the persons entrusted with the framing of the rules under the Act here had been good enough to carry out the promises given by these responsible statesmen, given by the Under Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for India in that connection, we should have had little reason to complain so far as the rules of the Councils Act are concerned. But, Gentlemen, while there is an extreme solicitude to bring in the latest improvements of western science into India, where the interests of the people of India are not directly concerned, there is an extreme unwillingness on the part of some of our Anglo-Indian Administrators to introduce reforms in the political administration of the country, which centuries ago were pronounced to be beneficent, and which centuries ago were adopted in England. You must have read, Gentlemen, most of you, that before the Reform Bill of 1832, there were what was called "rotten boroughs" in England. What has become of those boroughs? I am sorry I am not able to lay my hands upon the book in which I read of them; and cannot therefore quote it in detail, but, as far as I remember, it was simply this, that there were half-a-dozen seats in Parliament owned sometimes by one rich man, ten seats owned by another rich man, and I believe there was one gentleman, a large landowner so far as I can remember, who had eleven seats in Parliament under his thumb: (*Laughter*) Gentlemen, we thought that those times

had gone by, that the constitutional battles which the English people had fought, that the agitation which they had carried on, had established the principle that "in the multitude of councillors there is wisdom"—that the greater the number of men who are admitted to a voice in the administration of the country, the greater is the chance of the administration being best conducted. Therefore, Gentlemen, what we expected in every way was that the franchise would be conferred under the present Act—the Indian Councils Act of 1892—in as liberal a spirit as it could be. (*Cheers*)

I will refer you to what has happened chiefly in Bombay and in the North-West Provinces. I should not trespass upon the ground which will be taken up by my Bombay friends. I will only briefly refer to it, and then I will say a few words with reference to the North-West Provinces. In Bombay, Gentlemen, eight seats have been thrown open to the non-officials, of these eight seats two have been given to the Bombay Corporation and Senate of the Bombay University, of the remaining six seats two together have been given to the Zemindars of Sind and the Chamber of Commerce at Kurrachee, one has been given to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and two only to the general public. A very important division, the Central division, which includes Poona and Satara, has been excluded. (*Shame, Shame*) Now, Gentlemen, I will only say this, that a system which leaves out a historical and well known place, a place which has been noted for the keenness of the intellect of its Brahmins and its other people, (*Cheers*) a place which is regarded by the people of the Deccan as the seat of learning and piety—a system which leaves out such a place, is a system which stands condemned by itself. (*Hear, hear*) A few words with regard to the North-West Provinces. There it has been our lot to have the greatest share of this illiberal dispensation of the franchise. Gentlemen, there are 103 Municipalities in the North-West Provinces and Oudh; and there are 44 District Boards. While this privilege of electing members has been conferred upon all these 44 District Boards, they being grouped together in two groups and having the right to send one member from each group, only 10 out of the 103 Municipalities in the entire Provinces have been thought fit to be entrusted with this privilege. Now, you will please consider that, in the first place, this system which requires representative delegates to be elected, not by the people directly but by their elected representatives, is in itself a very objectionable system; we want the people themselves to be allowed to elect; (*Hear, hear*) and we do not see any reason why they should not. In England, when the organisation and the system of administration had not attained half that perfection, which I may say for administrative purposes, the administration has attained in India, they extended the franchise to people enjoying a certain property qualification; while persons enjoying in this country a certain income, it may be a hundred rupees a month or two hundred rupees a month, are considered to be fit to be elected Municipal Commissioners or members of the District Board. If the Government do not see their way to conferring this privilege upon all the electors who elect members for the Municipality and District Boards, where on earth is the difficulty, where is the justification for not allowing those persons who are entitled by reason of their property qualification to sit as members of the District Boards and Municipalities to elect members for the Councils directly? (*Hear, hear*) However, if this is not done, Gentlemen, let at least the members composing the Municipalities and District Boards meet at one central place—the railway makes the journey very easy—and vote for the men directly. (*Cheers*) What is at present required is that the various District Boards and Municipalities hold meetings at their respective places and nominate one representative to vote at a central place. Out of a population of 40 millions, you find ten persons meeting together in the province to return two members to the Council. What could be more unsatisfactory than that? Gentlemen, I am very much afraid of the President's gong, and I do not wish to disobey the authority of the chair; so I will not take up any more time. I will only say this: that if the different administrators in this country really and honestly desire to give effect to the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, as explained by the Secretary of State, and the Under Secretary of State, and by Mr. Gladstone

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and Lord Salisbury, they should extend the franchise to all those persons who are entitled to sit as members of the Local and Municipal Boards; or at least if they cannot venture on such a scheme as that so soon, let them confer this power at least on all the members of the District and Local Boards, and, instead of having a distilled representation, let the people elect the members themselves. Gentlemen, I will not take up more of your time, but I hope that the Government may yet see the urgency and the necessity of this reform, and that it may grant it before long. (*Loud Cheers*)

BAKSHI JAISHI
RAM.

BAKSHI JAISHI RAM :—Gentlemen, we meet at Madras again after seven years. It has been said that during this period the people of India have succeeded in securing the right of selection in the constitution of the Legislative Councils. It is also maintained that the right of interpellation has been granted, and that the privilege of discussing the budget has been allowed. Gentlemen, however valuable and enviable these privileges may be, we Panjabis have really shared in none of them. We have no Legislative Council, and we have no right of returning a representative to the Supreme Legislative Council. Gentlemen, I trust you will all agree with me in endorsing a vote of deep regret that during this period of seven years our Province has noticed what we may call a retrograde progress. Gentlemen, at the time when we met last at Madras the proprietors in our villages did exercise certain rights which they do not exercise to-day. The villages in our province formed what we may describe as small republics, the villagers appointed the village officers for themselves, and at the same time they used to decide all questions in the internal administration of the village by themselves. The only concern they used to have was to pay the land revenues. What was going to happen outside the boundaries of their village they did not care about. They did not care even for the bloody wars or political revolutions that used to take place. These small republics, as they have been described by such an eminent jurist as Sir Henry Maine, were not as to-day. Before 1888 nobody could be appointed as village headman who had rendered himself obnoxious to the village community. The village accountant was appointed by the village headman, or the village proprietors, and the village watchman was appointed by the village headman; the Zemindar was a representative on behalf of the Government; still the District officers were bound to consider the opinion of the village headman. Gentlemen, the year 1888 brought a very different epoch into our province. All the powers which the village proprietors used to exercise have been taken away, and at the present day all the village officers, whether they be the village accountant or the village watchman, are all appointed by the will of the District Officer. (*Shame*) The opinion of the village proprietors is no more of concern, and any person may be forced on the village proprietors by the District Officer. But this is not all, Gentlemen. The scheme regarding local self-government was laid down by Sir Charles Aitchison, and was also brought into force by the same officer, but Sir Charles Aitchison had to vacate office, and in his absence the scheme brought into force ceased to have its real character, and now the District Officer is the sole proprietor of the District Boards as of the Municipalities. So, Gentlemen, I submit it is retrograde progress which our Province has been making, and I hope that you will all express deep regret on this subject. (*Hear, hear*) Gentlemen, no reason is known why the privileges that are exercised by the sister provinces are not allowed to the Punjab. What reason exists why the people of the N.-W. Provinces should have a Legislative Council, while the people of the Punjab have not? Is it because the people of the Punjab shed their blood in 1859 against their own people, and secured the glory of the British Crown by fighting in the fields of Abyssinia or other foreign countries? Or is it because for the present the fighting tribes are supplied in a great measure by the Punjab? Or is it because the frontier crisis is some day to be decided by the people of the Punjab? Gentlemen, with these remarks I second the resolution. (*Cheers*)

Mr. W. A.
CHAMBERS.

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS :—Mr. Chairman and Delegates, we in Bombay feel particularly aggrieved upon this matter of the Councils Act. We were led to believe with the rest of the people of India, in reading the discussions in the House of Commons, that the Act which

was to be then presented to the people of India, in answer to their agitation, was something worth having. We have unfortunately discovered in Bombay that, in consequence of having at our head His Excellency Lord Harris, a man who belongs to a reactionary party, the boon is scarcely worth the receiving. Now, as has already been said by the gentleman who moved this resolution, there have been eight seats given to the people of Bombay, but the great grievance we have, and here I speak as a Bombay man on behalf of those people who are called Poona Brahmins, is that the Poona Brahmins have been absolutely forgotten, and left altogether in the cold. (*Shame*) Lord Harris has discovered that the Poona Brahmins, in consequence of being left out of the scheme, are not in the best of tempers; he tells us when they complain that they are a set of fellows who are absolutely without common sense. (*Shame*) It is, as has already been said, "a shame", but unfortunately it is true. Lord Harris has discovered that the Poona Brahmins, in consequence of the fact that they resent this stricture upon them, and are not willing to sit down under it, are men he cannot trust. Lord Harris may be, and possibly is, a very able cricketer. (*Laughter*) Lord Harris may be very skilful in the cricket field; but as an English politician, and I think your President will bear me out, as a statesman Lord Harris's reputation in England is very small indeed. (*Hear, hear*)

Now we are not only aggrieved in consequence of the way we have been treated with reference to our Poona friends, but we are disgusted at the way in which His Excellency has conducted the proceedings of the Council. We have certainly had interpellations put under his Presidentship; I will tell you of one or two of them, and I will then ask you your opinion as to his conduct. The first thing I want to draw your attention to is this. There is a Municipality near Bombay called Bandora; it had as its president a non-official European; this gentleman ceased to be President, and it was suggested that a native gentleman should be appointed in his place. This suggestion was not carried out, and in answer to the question whether this was not so, and why an official was appointed, the member was calmly told that the Government thought it was best. Now, Gentlemen, I say it again seriously, as a responsible politician, this is not the way in which the English House of Commons intended that this Act should be used. The intention of the Act was that you should have some influence given you, and one of the privileges given you was that you should be able to ask questions; and to give such an answer as that is an insult to the Bombay people. (*Hear, hear*) Now, in regard to another matter, another question was put to Lord Harris. The Municipality of Ahmedabad was opposed to some drainage scheme, and the Government was anxious that this drainage scheme should be carried out. They could not carry it out with the Board as then constituted, so a number of Government Commissioners were nominated, and the scheme was then, of course, at the mercy of Government. A question was put by another popular representative as regards this particular method of getting Government sanction, and he was told again that the Government thought it best. Again, a question that has been alluded to by our dear friend was put—and I am glad to see that these questions are put—a question was put in the Council asking if it was true that the senior Chemical Analyser was not doing his work, that his assistant was doing it, and that he was getting all the honour and glory of it—but of course not in those exact terms, they would not be so vulgar nor so truthful as we are on a Congress platform; (*Laughter*) and the answer was given that they thought that was the proper sort of thing to do. Then the gentleman who put the question pressed the matter—I was glad to see that, as pertinacity of this kind shows the country has some vitality in it—the question was put again, and again the answer was given by this reactionary Governor of ours, that the Government did not think it was expedient to present the Report. (*Shame*) Unfortunately the Government do not think it expedient to present many reports, but fortunately for us there are now growing up among the people of India English people who wish to be here as your friends. (*Cheers*) Fortunately there is a spirit growing up which will necessitate that the Government's action, whether they think it expedient or not, shall be shown up to public criticism. Now, another question was put by one of our Councillors—again the popular member. I am simply bringing this question before you to show you how

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we have been absolutely "jockeyed"—you understand that expression—jockeyed out of our rights altogether by the Bombay Government, and out of the privileges which were given to us by the House of Commons. A gentleman on the Bombay Council asked some question about Exchange Compensation. Exchange Compensation is a very delicate matter indeed. The answer given to him was that it was out of order, (*Laughter*) that it could not be discussed, that it was an Imperial matter. (*Shame*) What is the use of such an answer in such a matter? I think it is a shameful answer, indeed. Another question was asked by some gentleman in reference to the land revenue in Bombay and increased assessment, and he wished to discuss the matter on the budget motion. The member—a popularly elected representative—was ruled out of order. (*Shame*) This is what is taking place in Bombay at the present moment, and Lord Harris wonders that the Deccan is in a state of revolt. I say that if it is not in a state of revolt then the Deccan deserves the treatment it has received. It does not deserve a representation by the popular party. I read the debates in the House of Commons on this matter, and am certain that the House of Commons meant you well in it. I am certain that the meaning of that Act was that, so far as practicable, representative institutions should be given to you. I believe other Governments have acted fairly, that is moderately fairly. In Bombay unfortunately we are men who think we have a very great grievance. We come to you here, as citizens of other parts of India, to lay these grievances before you, and to ask your opinion, and if your opinion coincides with ours (Yes, Yes), that Bombay has not been fairly treated, it is your duty—nay it is your privilege—to support us by passing this resolution with acclamation. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR BHAGIRATHA
PRASAD.

MR. BHAGIRATHA PRASAD :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, the proposition before us consists of two parts. In the first part we repeat what we have done so often, that a Legislative Council should be, without any further loss of time, created for the Punjab. I am one of those who hold that no reform is of any use unless we find in it harmonious development of the whole. Such being the case I have great pleasure in supporting this part of the resolution, and I assure my Punjab friends that the people of the Central Provinces would heartily congratulate them, the moment they know that the request has been granted. (*Cheers*)

In the second part we complain that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective, and pray that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be so pleased as to have fresh rules framed, in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province. In this respect the Central Provinces have, Gentlemen, grievances of a graver nature than any other province I believe, has, and this you will presently see. Our Government often accuses us of being merely theoretical people, and of never submitting any practical scheme. This accusation cannot, however, be brought against the Central Provinces people in this instance at least, as they formulated a scheme and submitted it for the favourable consideration of the Government: the Government did not, however, condescend to vouchsafe us any reply. And what did it do? It created four electoral Colleges one for each division. Were the people to return members to these? No; nothing of the sort. Municipal Committees and District Councils elected members for these. Did all the Municipal bodies and District Councils do so? (*A voice, Yes*) No, Gentlemen, nothing of the sort. You are greatly mistaken. Only six Municipalities out of some 56 got this right. Is it not now clear that by leaving out some 50 Municipalities, a large number of well qualified and intelligent citizens was left out (*Voices, Yes, Yes, and cries of Shame*). Let us, however, proceed still further. The members returned by these constituted themselves as stated above into four electoral colleges, one for each division. Each Commissioner is required to send in the name of the only gentleman who should happen to get the highest number of votes—not by ballot—in the electoral college for the division of the Commissioner, and the Chief Commissioner will know officially nothing whatsoever regarding any other candidates. According to this system, a gentleman who really gets the highest number of votes in the whole of the province may be altogether left out. I shall illustrate this by taking a hypo-

thetical case. Let us suppose each of these electoral colleges consist of 11 gentlemen, and that a candidate gets five votes in each of them and hence 20 in the whole; but his name is not officially before the Chief Commissioner, as his defeat in each of the colleges prevents the Commissioners sending up his name. Then of the names before the Government: a gentleman getting only six votes and that only in one division and in no other, is selected. Is now, Gentlemen, this latter gentleman the real representative or the former? (*Voices, Former*). But how can the former be secured, his name being not at all officially before the Government? Is not now this a grievance? (*Voices, Yes, Yes*). But let me go still further on. The rules do not make it obligatory upon the Government to make a selection from out of the candidates returned by the colleges; the Government may reject all these and may recommend one from outside. Such a power, I believe, other Governments have not got; they simply confirm the elections. Is not, Gentlemen, the election in the Central Provinces a greater farce than in any other province? It is not due so much to the rules as to the help given by Sir A. P. MacDonnell and the Hon'ble Mr. J. Woodburn, that we got the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Chitnavis as our representative, and for this help the whole of the Central Provinces has been laid under deep obligation by these two truly liberal officers. (*Cheers*) Now, Gentlemen, when it is clear that the Government may reject the candidates returned by the electoral colleges, is the gentleman appointed to represent us, the Central Provinces people, a representative of the people or of the Government? (*Voices: Government*). Truly so. And is not this awkward? Will he not, under ordinary circumstances, take only such steps in the Council as may not displease the Government? To do otherwise requires a really strong back-bone. Is not, Gentlemen, our grievance of a graver nature than that in any other Province? (*Voices: It is, It is*). Thank you, Gentlemen, it is for these reasons that I commend the whole proposition for your favourable consideration, and hope that the Government will soon see its way to grant the whole of our prayer, and thus give us, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, a really living representation. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR. KALIPRASANNA ACHARYA:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, I come from the district of Rajshahye in Bengal. It is one of the several districts forming the Rajshahye division. Last year some of the Municipalities of this Division, according to their respective incomes, jointly received the privilege of electing or selecting, as you may choose to call it, a member for our local Legislative Council. In connection with this election, I had the misfortune personally to witness some of the evil effects of a defective rule, known technically as the "Residential clause." There were several gentlemen contesting the seat; and a gentleman of education and position got the absolute majority. But the gentleman who got the next largest number of votes, objected to the election, and filed a regular election petition with the Commissioner of the Rajshahye Division. The ground of objection was that the elected gentleman was not a resident of the division—There were affidavits and counter-affidavits filed and eminent counsel brought from Calcutta to Darjeeling, a distance of about 400 miles. After a hard fight on both sides, which entailed heavy expenditure and much trouble to the parties concerned, the whole thing ended in a *fiasco*; the election was set aside and a fresh one ordered. (*Shame*) Now, Gentlemen, the gentleman who obtained the absolute majority had, and has yet, his paternal residence and some landed property in the Rajshahye division; and these facts were not denied by his opponent. His only disqualification was that he finished his education in England, and being a very able man, chose for his profession a wider and better field in Calcutta than in his own division. Gentlemen, the Government is, I think, willing to have the best men in the Council. If so why should the "Residential clause" intervene and debar us from electing a Calcutta gentleman? It may be that a person who habitually lives in the metropolis may not know the ins and outs of the *mofussil*; but I fail to see the harm in electing such a person. I am myself a pleader, and my duty is to plead the cause of others, *mofussil* people, in the Sadar courts. I habitually reside in the Sadar station of my district and seldom go to the interior, to my clients' houses, to look after their cases. My clients, by letters, or by agents, or personally, instruct me. Why could we

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PILLAI.

not do the same thing in the case of our representative in the Council? This "Residential clause," Gentlemen, is a great evil and should no longer remain in force. Although in our subsequent election we had the good fortune to find an educated young nobleman willing to take the responsible duties of a Councillor on his shoulders, yet I am afraid, we may sometimes be put to difficulty to get hold of a really fit and able man. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of our Province perhaps anticipated the difficulty, and meant to give a liberal interpretation to the clause; but in our case the Indian Government willed otherwise. So I ask you, Gentlemen, to pray His Excellency the Viceroy in Council to cancel this rule altogether, and allow us the free discretion of choosing our own man. *(Hear, hear)*

MR. PETER PAUL PILLAI:—Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates, you have heard the grievance of the North-West Provinces and of the Bombay Presidency, but the Madras have reason to envy our friends in the two Provinces in one particular point; that is to say, with regard to the landholders of the North-West Provinces, they have the privilege of sending two elected members, and in the Bombay Presidency also they have some privilege, but in the Madras Presidency we are not given the privilege of an elective seat for the landholders. In this respect we are in a much worse position than before the Act of 1892. Formerly the landowner was one member out of eleven, now he is one out of twenty-one, and so the position is worse. Moreover, we find that out of the eleven seats for non-officials five are assigned to local Boards and Municipalities, and two seats are allowed, one for the University, and one for the Chamber of Commerce, while four seats are not assigned to any constituency at all, so we have one great grievance in this respect. We have been representing our grievance first to the Local Government and then to the Supreme Government but we have had no satisfactory reply to our prayer. The first reply was that it was not in the power of the Local Government to grant our request, while the Supreme Government replied that it was in the power of the Local Government. We had to go to the Secretary of State for India complaining against this. A nominated member is useless, and even worse than useless, as he has not the power of making independent criticism on the Government in regard to a Bill brought before the Council affecting the interests of the landowning community. We have a very strong instance in point. The same member that is nominated by Government, if elected by the landowners, would be a valuable and even-minded representative of the landowners. Instead of being so, we find that he is the supporter of the Government measures at the sacrifice of his own interests and those of his brethren. Thus we bring before the Congress this matter hoping that measures will be adopted to rectify the grievances complained of. The worst difficulty that will befall the landholding community as a consequence of the measure now passed will be the confiscation of property. The landowners form the most influential community in the Presidency, and have landed interests in more than 80 per cent. of the country, but we find that they are not only very inadequately represented but are not represented at all. With these remarks I support the resolution. *(Hear, hear)*

THE PRESIDENT:—Is Mr. Karandikar here? *(Voices No, No.)* The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

RAI BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU:—I have to make certain announcements under the orders of the President. The Subjects Committee will meet in quarter of an hour. The President asks me to announce that the Congress meets at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—There is a most important notice that I regret to be the mouth-piece of announcing to the Congress, a piece of news sadder than almost any that we could have received. It is the death of the Maharajah of Mysore. The newspaper states "His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore died this morning at 7 o'clock, of Diphtheria. His remains will be cremated at Benares." That renders it impossible for us to make any announcements regarding entertainments.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 29th December, 1894.

The Congress assembled at 11 o'clock.

THE PRESIDENT :—Friends and Fellow Delegates, you all feel the heavy cloud, you all feel the dark cloud, under which we meet to-day. The bright sunshine and the blue sky outside ill accord with the feelings of oppression and sadness that dwell in all our hearts. There is no occasion that I should mention the reason. We all know, we have all felt, since last night when we heard the terrible news of the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, that this Congress could not end in the joyful manner in which it had commenced. There is no need that I should say anything regarding the character of the services, the patriotism, and the life of the deceased Maharajah. That, of course, will be properly spoken to upon other occasions by men who have known him all their lives, and who are fully aware of his services to his country and to his race. It just remains for me to move the following Resolution which, of course, will be received by you standing, and which will be passed by you with raised arms in silence:—

That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the Royal Family of Mysore in their recent sad and sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom, ability and beneficence, but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties.

The Resolution was carried in deep silence, the audience standing with right arms raised.

THE PRESIDENT :—Now it is my duty to announce that in consequence of this bereavement and out of respect to the memory of the Maharajah, the entertainment to the Delegates has been abandoned. I have to announce to the Delegates that the entertainment to be given by Mr. Krishnadass to-morrow evening has also been abandoned; and might I express my personal desire that for the rest of the time I shall be here we may have no music or demonstration of any kind. The eleventh Resolution will be moved by the Hon. Mr. Sitalvad, of Bombay.

THE HON. MR. C. H. SITALVAD :—Mr. President and Gentlemen, the Resolution that I have the honour to lay before you runs thus:—

(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

(b) 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.

(c) That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away.

You will see, Gentlemen, that part (a) of the resolution asks that the system of trial by jury may be extended to those parts of the country where it is at present not in force. At the Congress Session of 1892, held at Allahabad, when we entered our most emphatic protest against

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Vote of Sympathy with the Royal Family of Mysore.

THE PRESIDENT.

Resolution XI.
Trial by Jury.

HON. C. H.
SITALVAD.

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 Trial by Jury.

HON. C. H.
 SITALVAD.
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that most arbitrary and reactionary measure of Sir Charles Elliot, known as the "Jury Notification," this matter was so fully discussed that I think it is now idle for me to trouble you again with the facts and figures that were placed before you on that occasion. Suffice it to say that the agitation that followed that Notification, and the Report of the Commission that was appointed by Government to consider that matter, fully established, once for all, that the system of trial by jury, instead of being a failure, as was sought to be made out by the officials, was a complete success; while some of the members of the Commission recommended its further extension. Gentlemen, if trial by jury is a necessity in England, I maintain that it is a greater necessity in India where the majority of the Judges, unacquainted with the manners and customs of the people, are not in a proper position, as a jury selected by the people themselves would be, to deal with questions of fact. (*Cheers*) That being so, Gentlemen, I do not think any further argument is required to induce you to press again your prayer for the further extension of the jury system to other parts of the country.

Paragraph (b) asks that finality be given to the verdicts of juries. As the law stands at present, Gentlemen, after the jury has delivered its verdict, if the Judge does not agree with it, he has power to make a reference to the High Court, who can dispose of the case in such manner as they may deem proper. You will agree with me, Gentlemen, that this proceeding is, on the face of it, very anomalous. Juries are constituted judges of facts, and it is certainly anomalous that where five gentlemen admittedly better qualified than the judge himself, better qualified because of their intimate knowledge of the customs and manners of the people, to deal with questions of fact, that where these five gentlemen are agreed upon a particular view of a case, the Judge should still have the power of over-riding their decision and referring the case to the higher authorities. Gentlemen, I can conceive of no greater condemnation of the present system than the fact that the various High Courts, notably that of Bombay, have practically refused to give full effect to this provision of the law. They have laid down from time to time that, although according to the strict letter of the law the whole case is opened up by a reference, they will not disturb the verdict of the jury simply because they think it wrong, but will only interfere when the conclusion arrived at on the record is so patently and manifestly perverse that no reasonable man could arrive at it. And, Gentlemen, one of the reasons that induced the High Court to lay down these rulings is pregnant with great wisdom and foresight, and it is this, If you once disturb the finality of the verdicts of juries you will be taking away the sense of responsibility of jurymen. You will agree with me that it is desirable that there should be some errors committed by juries rather than that anything should be done to take away from them their sense of responsibility. (*Cheers*)

The last paragraph of the Resolution for which I, in the Subjects Committee, was mainly responsible, deals with the power vested in local Governments to appeal against acquittals. Gentlemen, comprehensive as I think a great many provisions of the present Criminal Procedure Code are, I cannot conceive anything more illiberal in spirit and more mischievous, than the provisions on appeals in acquittals. Consider for a moment, Gentlemen, the wide powers vested in Government. Under this provision of the law, Government have the power of appealing against any order of acquittal, appellate and original; and the Limitation Act allows them the long period of six months within which they can do it. Contrast this with the privilege accorded to an accused appealing against conviction. If an accused is sent to jail for a period of one month, or is sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50, or is committed to the Sessions, he has no power to appeal, while in the case of summary trials he has no power of appeal at all. Even in cases where he has the power to appeal, he must exercise that power within 30 days, in the case of convictions by Magistrates, and within 60 days, in the case of convictions by Sessions Courts. Thus, Gentlemen, while an accused person—I ought to say a native accused person, because the Criminal Procedure Code most shamelessly violates the fundamental principles of law, that the law is no respecter of persons, and exempts European British subjects from these Rules (*Shame*)—must appeal

within 30 or 60 days, as the case may be, when he is sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 3 months, or must make up his mind to sit still and bear it, your august Government with all their resources at their back have the proud privilege of hanging the sword of Damocles over the head of acquitted persons for 6 months. (*Shame*) Then, Gentlemen, we have to consider the actual way in which this provision is worded. Generally, when an acquittal is recorded in a Sessions Court, it may be even with the concurrence of a jury, it is ordinarily the District Magistrate, who is often a junior Collector, who sits in judgment on that order of acquittal, and thus deals with it. If he thinks the Sessions Judge is wrong he moves Government to appeal; and Government, on the recommendation of the District Magistrate, sanctions the appeal. It is a fact well known, Gentlemen, that when these appeals against acquittal come before the High Court, a large majority of them are certainly fruitless; but that only shows the wisdom of the High Court in acquitting, not that of the Government in preferring the appeals. (*Hear, hear*) True, Gentlemen, that a large majority of the appeals are fruitless, but what of the trouble, expense, and mental anxiety to which the poor accused is put? (*Hear, hear*) Then, again, I think, Gentlemen, that this power is very dangerous when left in the hands of the Local Governments, and I would illustrate this to you by recent events in my own Presidency. After the unhappy disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans in Poona, a few months back, thirteen innocent people were hauled up by order of the Government before the Sessions Judge; and after an elaborate trial, the costs of which exceeded Rs. 10,000, the Sessions Judge, agreeing with the jury that all the Police evidence was hopelessly perjured and unreliable, acquitted the accused. Gentlemen, it is most confidently said in my part of that Presidency that Government seriously contemplate appealing against the acquittal. (*Shame*) Knowing the facts, I cannot conceive how any reasonable human being can think of appealing against that acquittal. Gentlemen, bearing in mind as I do the unimpeachable character that the present ruler of the Presidency has established for want of tact, for want of statesmanship, and for illiberal principles, I shall not be surprised if it turns out to be true; (*Shame*) and if it turns out to be true, then the thirteen poor people who have been falsely accused, who have spent Rs. 10,000, who have been put to such mental anxiety for three or four months, and who have been unnecessarily incarcerated for a period of two months, will again have the anxiety and trouble put upon them of appearing before the High Court and defending themselves once more. Gentlemen, I think I have sufficiently shown you that this power is a very dangerous one to be kept in the hands of the Government, and that it should be speedily done away with. With these words I will commend the Resolution for your acceptance. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR. K. N. DESMUKI:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, and Gentlemen, I am from the Central Provinces, the non-regulated provinces; the provinces having no Legislative Council; the provinces having no Chartered High Court; the provinces having no jury system. So you see, Gentlemen, we want many things. But be not afraid, please; we do not want them all at once and at one and the same time. Our Indian people are well known to the civilised world for their patience. Among other things that we want is the jury system. I do not wish to deal with the matters that have already been so ably and so exhaustively treated by my learned and eminent friend, simply because I cannot express them in better words. I cannot, however, Gentlemen, induce myself to be content without saying a very few words regarding my own provinces. The jury system is not extended to our provinces. We have not tasted the sweets of the jury system. Our humble prayer is for the extension of the jury system. Gentlemen, believe me, we Central Provinces persons, we people coming from the Central Provinces are not Khonds, are not Santals, are not men who have no touch of the present civilization. We are educated men; we are indeed highly obliged to the English Government for the clear education and enlightenment we have received. It has opened a new era in the history of the Central Provinces. During the last twenty years, English education has made very rapid progress; the existence of three Colleges in the

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Central Provinces, the enterprising spirit shown by the educated men and trading classes in starting cotton factories, fully bear testimony to what I say before this responsible and august assembly here. It may appear, Gentlemen, surprising to you, nevertheless it is a fact, and an admitted fact, as disclosed by the Report of the Education Commission, that even primary education in the Central Provinces has been far in advance of what it has been in other provinces. Regarding the spread of higher education both the Administration and Educational Reports speak for themselves. The scheme of Local Self-Government which has made the Government of Lord Ripon so very popular, so very dear to the Indian people, has proved a complete success in our provinces. (*Hear, hear*) The interest the people take in the public affairs of the Central Provinces is evident from the fact that the Municipal Committees and the District Councils elect their own Chairmen. And whom do they elect, Gentlemen? Not official men but non-official members for that body. Gentlemen, all these facts will show clearly that we are fit for the boon of the jury system; they will convince you, Gentlemen, here that we have got sufficient material in our provinces from which juries can be selected. Gentlemen, if the natives of the Central Provinces are actually found, after serious trial and sufficiently long experience, to be fit to hold independent charge of the District—in plain words to be in the post of Deputy Commissioners—if they are thought, and wisely thought, to be competent to hold a seat on the Supreme Legislative Council of Calcutta, then, Gentlemen, is it not absurd, is it not unsound, is it not impolitic, to say that we are not yet fit to enjoy the jury system? (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I protest, and protest very strongly, with the greatest possible emphasis and force, that undoubtedly the time has come when the jury system should be extended to the Central Provinces. We do not want anything which is new to us; we do not want anything which is an innovation to us; but we want a thing which was the right and privilege of our forefathers, we want a thing which was enjoyed by our worthy forefathers, and enjoyed without any disturbance, without any interference. And what was that? It was the jury system, but fortunately or unfortunately it had a very different name, a name known to all of you here, and that was the "Panchayet" system. (*Hear, hear*) We ask for it, Gentlemen, with great courage and with great boldness, which certainly we should never have had courage or boldness to do under any other Government either native or foreign, because we know, and know full well, that we are living under the beneficent rule of Her Gracious Majesty, that we have got the most gracious, the most noble, the most worthy Charter, the solemn Proclamation of Her Majesty, that we are supported, and indeed very staunchly and very sincerely, by the British Committee; and not only by that Committee, but by almost all members of Parliament; and not only that, Gentlemen, but by all noble-minded and liberal-hearted gentlemen at home, (*Cheers*) whose motive in life, Gentlemen, is "Righteousness exalteth a nation," whose aim and object in life, Gentlemen, is to uphold the strong, and help the weak in the righteous cause. With these few remarks, and not to trouble the learned President, and not to take up your valuable time, I conclude, and have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution which has been so ably put forward by my learned friend. (*Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—I am going to take a somewhat unusual course, which I do not intend to adopt again. There are a couple of very important speakers who have to be heard on this Resolution but who have not yet arrived. So I shall take the liberty of going on with Resolution XII and then coming back to Resolution XI. Resolution XII will be proposed by Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, of Madras.

Resolution XII.
Separation of
Judicial and Executive
Functions.RAI BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, the proposition I have to place before you runs as follows:—

That this Congress having till now vainly appealed for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the gravest defects in

the system of administration and one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction the admission of the evil by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross), and being of opinion that the reform is thoroughly practicable, as has been shown by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, M. M. Ghose and P. M. Mehta, entreats the Government of India to direct the immediate appointment in each province of a Committee (one-half at least of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the opinions of the several Governments thereon, at an early date.

That, Gentlemen, is a proposition that explains itself. It is a speech in itself; every word that has to be said in favour of that proposition has been said so often that it is needless to say it again. The only thing that remains to be done after having said every thing that one should say, and after having put before the authorities schemes worked out with great elaboration, is, to ask them to appoint a committee and try whether they cannot see their way to carry out by their own men what is admitted on all hands ought to be carried out. That is the proposition, and I recommend it to your consideration. (Cheers)

MR. S. B. BHATE:—Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates, the Resolution which has been placed before you by Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu is, as he has stated to you, one which speaks for itself. The importance of the principles involved in it is so great that it can never be over-estimated. The two functions are so inconsistent with each other that it is impossible that one and the same individual should rise to the satisfactory discharge of both. (Hear, hear) The Executive Officer is an officer who is expected to have his eyes about him, whilst the judicial officer is one who is obliged, by the nature and reason of the functions which he has to perform, to shut his eyes to everything except that which is placed before him by those who are concerned in the cases which come up for solution before him. Now, then, in the one case the officer is required to maintain a system of *espionage* to collect each and every bit of information that he can have access to in or out of office, whilst a judicial officer is, by the necessity of his position as Judge or as Magistrate, required to go straight to the point and see that his ears are not poisoned by anything that might be whispered into them by parties or by advocates of parties interested in those cases. Now how on earth is one and the same man to educate himself up to the level of a satisfactory discharge of these two incompatible functions? It is in the nature and reason of things that such an officer must be a failure—an unmitigated failure. We know that in each and every man each and every organ is fitted to perform one particular function with characteristic efficiency, and although that organ may be turned to a purpose other than that for which it is fitted, such misuse involves a waste of energy which under the circumstances is to be deprecated. I may direct your attention to the organ of locomotion. You find that our legs which are given us to walk with, are the proper organs for locomotion. Cases have been known in which hands have been used for locomotion with some effect; but you find that the waste of energy involved in this application of the instruments of prehension to the purpose of locomotion is simply absurd. Here, then, is an illustration to which I ask your attention in order that you may see how very incompatible is the position which is thrust upon an officer when he is asked to be a Magistrate and a Judge and an Executive officer rolled up into one. Therefore, as Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu has very ably said in putting this Resolution before you, it does not need anything more than the barest mention that it may commend itself to your universal acceptance. With these words I leave it to you to pass it. (Cheers)

THE PRESIDENT:—This Resolution will be supported by Mr. K. Srinivasa Row, of Coimbatore.

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RAI BAHADUR P.
ANANDA CHARLU.

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MR. K. SRINIVASA
Row.

MR. K. SRINIVASA ROW:—Brother Delegates, the mover of this proposition has set an example of brevity, and I would follow him; but it seems to me that, strongly worded as the proposition is, the Government is still not convinced of the necessity for the separation of the executive and judicial functions. While we are saying year after year, that the separation of executive and judicial functions is necessary, Government turns a deaf ear to our cries, and we cannot go on year after year asking for the same thing when Government seems to have faith in combination. I will give you one example in which the combination of the executive and judicial functions has been a failure. In the Bellary district, (my own district) a confidential circular was sent round by the District Magistrate to the effect that the Magistrates who hear and decide cases should remember that they are responsible for the detection and suppression of crime. They were told that the duty which we thought was entirely the duty of the Police was to be undertaken by them. Now what follows from this, Gentlemen? It follows that the District Magistrate thinks not as we are thinking, that the separation of executive and judicial functions is necessary in the interests of justice, but that combination is necessary for the detection and suppression of crime. What is the effect of the circular, Gentlemen? It is this. The Magistrates are asked to support and assist the Police. And I will tell you why this was done. Government found that when the last Administration Report was published the number of convictions was not quite as large as they desired, and our Editors—whom we have either to thank or curse, I do not know which—sat upon the Administration Report and said that poor convictions showed poor detection. Government therefore wanted to show to the Editors a larger number of convictions, as being synonymous with greater efficiency in Criminal Administration. Accordingly this Circular was issued which means in effect that the District Magistrate should ask his subordinates to make friends with the Police, and that if fault is found with the Police, they should excuse them. (*Shame, Shame*) That is what it has come to really. We are advocating year after year the separation of executive and judicial functions, but the Government does not seem to have faith in separation. It wants to show a cleaner Administration Report. Now, a question was put in the Legislative Council asking why this confidential circular was issued, and the answer was given by the Honorable Mr. Bliss, who gives answers to these questions in the Council in the shape of riddles and conundrums. And what did he say? He took shelter, not under any principle of law or under any Act or any Section of the Procedure Code (which now rules, and which is a Code of every day reference in Court), but he went to an Act called the Police Act of 1869, and referred to the preamble of that Act, and said that the preamble of the Police Act justified the issue of the circular. The preamble says that Magistrates are responsible and must be helped by the Police in the detection and suppression of crime. Nothing more, Gentlemen. That preamble says nothing more than this; it refers to the Police as being subordinate to the Magistrates in the detection and suppression of crime. It does not say that the Magistrates should assist the police in the detection of crime. Now, I will tell you that in my own district the state of things has come to be this. I have heard from experienced men that twenty years ago our Magistrates were much more independent of the Police than they are now of the Station House officers. They are bound to work well with the Police, because they are very often under the influence of the Police Superintendent; the promotion of the Magistrates lies entirely in the hands of the District Magistrate, who is also an executive officer and the Collector of the District, who issues confidential circulars and demi-officials, who asks that people may be committed, and asks practically that people may be convicted because he wants them to be convicted. (*Shame*) That is really the state of things, Gentlemen. Now unless the Magistrates are removed from this executive influence, we cannot hope to better the state of things. Unless and until we remove these drawbacks from the Subordinate Magistrates, and have it laid down that District Magistrates must not be Collectors, or that they ought not to be District Magistrates and Collectors together, we cannot better matters. (*Cheers*).

MR. V. S. SAHASEABUDHI:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen. I am called upon to support this proposition which has been ably put by Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu. Well, you know, Gentlemen, this is a proposition the principle of which has already been accepted by the authorities and, as is set forth in the proposition, has been accepted as it were by Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross. You know, Gentlemen, the plea put forward is that there is want of funds. But, Gentlemen, you know the adage that “where there is a will there is a way;” and if this maxim is borne in mind, and if the authorities take that view, and if they really and honestly attempt to find money for it we are sure they will be able to find it. They have been able to find money for Exchange Compensation, and yet they say they have no money to carry out this essential reform of the separation of executive and judicial functions. This separation which is asked for by all people has not been granted to us. They say there is a want of money; but that plea cannot avail them. We have men in the position of Messrs. R. C. Dutt, M. M. Ghose and Pherozeshah Mehta, who have already put forward schemes which ought to commend themselves to Government and which will shew them that the cost will not be extra to a large amount; and even if it involves a cost of extra amount, I am sure the Government of India could find out means to have this essential reform established and carried out. I come from the Satara District, and I will give you one illustration where the combination of executive and judicial functions vested in one officer resulted in failure of justice. I refer to the well known “Wai case” against thirteen gentlemen in that District, which was really a police case. That case was tried by a Magistrate who is in executive charge of that Taluka. I say there was a failure of justice in it. Near the Magistrate’s camp there was the camp of the Police Superintendent, and the latter used to come and sit occasionally in Court while the Police witnesses were being examined. (*Shame*) Thus, Gentlemen, if there had been an independent authority not connected with the executive functions, the result would certainly have been that those thirteen innocent persons would never have been incarcerated and would never have suffered the agonies and miseries which they were put to, since they were sent from Wai to Satara; and the magistrate having given an unappealable sentence all attempts to get them free were of no effect. This was on account of the combination of the functions in the same executive officer. If this Magistrate had had nothing to do with executive functions certainly these men would never have been incarcerated, and if we find failure of justice in such cases it is necessary that Government should take in hand this reform and have a complete separation of executive and judicial functions. Then only shall we have those essential reforms for which for many years we have been crying out. I hope, Gentlemen, you will join with me in asking that this Resolution be passed with acclamation. (*Cheers*)

MR. MOHINI MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI:—This resolution embodies a very simple demand on the part of the people of India. It wants a mixed commission to be appointed for framing the rules and for framing a scheme for the separation of executive and judicial functions which are now bound up in one and the same person, and as such, I say it is a very moderate demand. The desirability of this separation has already been considered not only in this country but also in England, and two ex-Secretaries of State for India have expressed their opinion that this separation should be carried out. (*Hear, hear*) But what their lordships say is tantamount simply to this: ‘We know that this reform is needed for your country, but the difficulty is that we have no funds in hand, and therefore, notwithstanding that this scheme is necessary for the welfare of England and India, still, not having sufficient funds in our hands, we cannot carry out this scheme at present.’ We think the plea on the part of the Government is—I will not say unjust, but an unrighteous one. You know, Gentlemen, that crores of Rupees have been spent on what is called the scientific frontier. In the face of all this squandering of public money I do not know how it can lie with the Government to say that this reform which is needed for us cannot be granted because

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there are not sufficient funds in their hands. Well, Gentlemen, I say that this plea on the part of the Government is quite unjust; for what justification have the Government to turn insolvent at the moment when a much needed reform is to be carried out. That insolvency, if any, is entirely due to their squandering propensity in other directions which are not at all necessary, is due to their indulging in luxury at the cost of our poor mother-land. Well, Gentlemen, this being the state of things you can take this matter into consideration. Schemes have been propounded from time to time, of which mention has been made in this resolution, as for instance the scheme by my countrymen, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. Ghose and, that well-known citizen of Bombay Mr. Mehta. All these schemes say that these reforms can be carried out by Government with the least possible cost to the State. Even if the matter is costly, and if the Government is not in a position to find funds for carrying it out, an attempt should be made in order to meet this desire on our part for reforming this particular state of things which casts a slur as it were on the civilised Government under whose surveillance we live. (*Hear, hear*)

Gentlemen, I do not quote to you other examples of the oppression wrought by the system which is at present in vogue, because instances are rife on all hands, and every one of you I think is acquainted with one or two. The thing is this, there is no question that the present system is calculated to do mischief. But there is one necessary preliminary for carrying out this reform, and that necessity is to collect instances in which the present state of things is calculated to work mischief. Well, so far as the collection of statistics, is concerned, I should say that the work is already over. What is now wanting, is the inauguration of the reform, and for the purpose of the inauguration, our demand is very moderate—the appointment of a commission to enquire into the possibility of introducing this reform with the least possible cost to the State, because the Government say they have no funds, and because it is absolutely necessary for the good of the country. With these remarks, Gentlemen, I would commend this resolution to your acceptance. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—We now go back to resolution XI. I now call upon Mr. Mozumdar, of Faridpur, to support that resolution.

Resolution XI.
Trial by Jury.MR. AMBICA C.
MOZUMDAR.

MR. AMBICA C. MOZUMDAR:—Sir, the almost proverbial immobility of Indian reform is probably nowhere so conspicuous as in the slow and imperceptible development of the system of trial by Jury. Here it seems to have moved in cycles even larger than those of the great orb which is the centre of the mighty planetary system under which we live. Decades passed away after the British conquest before the system of trial by jury was properly secured to Her Majesty's Indian subjects living within the Presidency towns. It then took three decades more to reach a few favoured spots in the regions of the Western and the Eastern Ghats and the Assam Valleys; and then another cycle of full thirty years rolled away before seven districts in the Gangetic Provinces came to receive its blessings. There it has ever since stood as if fossilized beyond all possibility of further growth. But now that the country has completed another revolution of thirty years more, has not the usual period of probation passed and the time fully arrived for doling out another measure of this reform to the suffering millions of this vast empire? If the privilege is still to be withheld Anglo-Indian bureaucracy must be false to its own established tradition. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, you may remember, that in 1867 Sir Cecil Beadon, as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was for extending the system to other districts of the Lower Provinces, and you must be aware how a chorus of opposition from the district officers thwarted his noble purpose. Again, in 1884, the Government of Lord Ripon launched the question, and again the tide of opposition flowed from the lower depths of the service, and the question was thrown back. It is a strange arrangement, peculiar to Anglo-Indian administration, that no reform can be effected without the consent and concurrence of those whose colliding interest it always is to

oppose such improvements. Gentlemen, it is the Services, and not the Government, that have throughout mainly blocked our way. (*Cheers*) And what, after all, is the justification for this stolid immobility of the Government? The plea of impecuniosity does not arise here, as it does in the case of the separation of judicial from executive functions; nor is there here the shadow of any political bugbear such as is said to haunt the question of Simultaneous Examinations. This is not one of those problems upon which India can be either lost or ruined. This is a question of pure administrative justice between India and Indians. Justice in this country is sold and not administered, and should not the purchaser, even when he pays a fancy price for it, have some choice in the selection of his article of purchase? (*Cheers*) Then where is the difficulty? It is generally urged that the difficulty lies in the ingrained perversity of Indian jurors in returning wrong verdicts, or, in other words, verdicts which fail to commend themselves to the infallible opinions of English Judges. Instead of indulging in dogmatism let us tread upon solid ground of facts and figures. Thanks to Sir Charles Elliot and his hobby, the Jury Notification has opened men's eyes to the insecurity in which they live, and has also unearthed a mass of valuable information which reveals the true state of things. (*Cheers*)

I shall begin with a statement of figures supplied by the Bengal Administration Reports showing how the matter stands. I shall begin with the Magistrates.

Year.	Number of Convictions appealed against.	Number set aside by Sessions Court.	Percentage of Reversals.
1884-85	8,296	2,416	29.25
1885-86	9,067	2,556	28.35
1886-87	9,279	2,680	29.35
1887-88	9,459	2,972	31.41
1888-89	10,415	3,137	30.15

Now Sessions Judges are not Indian jurors, and yet whence arose this perversity in them to set aside such a large percentage of convictions? Were the Magistrates wrong or the Judges in error? We, the people, should be perfectly willing to accept either of the alternatives. Let us then ascend a step higher, and consider the state of things in the Courts of those Sessions Judges whose work is not hampered by irresponsible jury men.

Year.	Number of Convictions appealed against.	Number set aside by High Court.	Percentage of Reversals.
1884-85	—	—	29
1885-86	—	—	28
1886-87	2,879	842	28
1887-88	3,246	975	30
1888-89	3,322	837	27

If the sentences of death passed by these Judges were alone taken into account it would appear that on an average fully 38 per cent. of the sentences appealed against were reversed by the High Court. So much for the infallibility of Judges trying cases with the aid of assessors! So much for the infallibility of a system which prevails in $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the largest province of the Empire! (*Cheers*)

Against this, compare the following statement showing the results of trial by jury. I take the figures from Babu Guru Pershad Sen's valuable statement to be found at page 26 of the Appendix to the Congress Report for 1892.

Year.	Percentage of Verdicts not agreed to by Sessions Judges.	Percentage of Verdicts set aside by High Court.	Percentage of Verdicts which would have been set aside if all the verdicts dissented from had been referred to High Court.
1884-85	19.9	4.3	11
1885-86	18.9	6	15.9
1886-87	15.8	5.2	9.9
1887-88	22.4	2.6	10.6
1888-89	21.3	4.7	11.9

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From these it would appear that while the Magistrates were found wrong in 30 per cent. of cases in which there was an appeal from their decisions, Sessions Judges sitting with assessors were found wrong in about 28 per cent., while juries were found wrong only in 4½ per cent. with the barest possibility of 11 per cent. (*Cheers*) It follows, therefore, that as regards perversity of judgment, Judges left to themselves are at least 2½ times as perverse as Judges kept straight by jurors, while the Magistrate's perversity is 2 degrees in excess of that of the Sessions Judges. (*Loud Cheers*)

The other objection specially urged against the proposed extension is the alleged incompetency of the present non-jury districts to meet the requirements of the privilege. Gentlemen, I should have attached some importance to the converse proposition that there are not many competent and trained Judges in the service fit to deal with jurors in this country. (*Laughter*) To begin with, I should like to know if all the shires and counties in England and Scotland were equally advanced at any time, and if the difference in their qualifications was ever made the ground for a difference of administrative rights and privileges among them? Then, are we to understand that ever since 1861 the people have made no progress in education, in independence of judgment and decision of character? And will any one affirm that there are not now some at least among the non-jury districts whose position at the present day might compare favourably with those of the few favoured districts thirty to sixty years back? It cannot be; it is impossible. (*Hear, hear*) To assert the contrary would be a gross libel on British rule in India. There have sprung up in most of these districts Colleges and High Schools, self-governing Municipal and Local Boards, which the people are managing with commendable success. There are independent Benches of Honorary Magistrates in almost every thannah and, above all, there is established in all these places a strong public opinion the force of which is not infrequently felt even by Government. And if further evidence is needed I would refer to the admissions of the opposite side. (*Hear, hear*)

In the abortive discussion of 1884 to which I have already referred, we find that the unbiassed opinion of no less than seven of the veteran officers of Government who were consulted on the subject, namely, Mr. Campbell of Rajshahye, Judge Worgan of Cuttack, Mr. Cornish of Midnapore, Mr. Bignold of Chittagong, Commissioners Wilson of Burdwan and Lewis of Chittagong, were all in favour of the proposed extension. Mr. Campbell remarked—"The limited experience which I have had of the jury system in the 24 Pergunnahs and Nuddeah has strongly impressed me in favour of its extension throughout the Regulation Districts. I cannot say that I attach much importance to the argument from prejudice and class feeling in exceptional cases." Judge Worgan said—"If men can be found to this number (*i.e.*, 225) of the same amount of fitness that is possessed by the present assessors, I think that satisfactory juries could always be formed. I have found the assessors as a rule take an intelligent interest in the proceedings, in which I have always endeavoured to make them feel that they occupy an important and practical position; and though I think them in some cases prone to acquit, I have frequently found where I have over-ruled that their doubts were endorsed by the High Court on Appeal." Gentlemen, the Census Report for Bengal in 1891 shews there is hardly a district in Bengal where two to three thousand educated men could not be found to form a jury list. (*Hear, hear*) Then Mr. Cornish of Midnapore frankly observed—"I am quite convinced that the decisions of our criminal Courts will never command the confidence of the people till some system of trial by jury is established. As a Magistrate, either trying a case, or committing it for trial, I have often felt that no judgment that I could give would satisfy myself. How then could I expect it to satisfy others?" (*Hear, hear*)

Commissioner Larminie, though opposing the introduction on principle, yet candidly observed—"As far as my experience goes—and I have had a good many opportunities of judging of the character of the men who would probably have to serve on a jury—it would be

“nearly as easy to obtain an intelligent jury here (i.e., the backward district of Cuttack) as in Burdwan, and I am not at all sure that the Cuttack verdict would not generally be a more honest one.” If, as was actually contended by Commissioner Larminie, “the existence of the institution is due more to political reasons than to its intrinsic merits from a judicial point of view,” and if its object be “to secure the liberty of the subject from the risk of being unjustly interfered with by Judges who are removable at the pleasure of the paramount power,” Gentlemen, all I can say is, that, having regard to foreign domination, to diversities of race, and to the diversities of customs, manners, and feelings, under which the people live and die, and, above all, to the difficulties that exist in estimating Indian evidence, the universal adoption of trial by jury is nowhere so urgently needed as in India. (*Loud Cheers*)

Gentlemen, if I should ever be asked to point out the chief defect of British rule in India, I would thrice repeat—it is its administrative anomalies, and then unhesitatingly add that of all such anomalies there are none so anomalous as the anomalies of its administration of criminal justice. Apart from the irrational union of the judicial and the executive functions, it has to be observed that though all the people are living in the same country and under the same sovereign, and are apparently protected by the same punitive laws, the criminal procedure of the country is one huge, cumbrous and complex machine comprising about half-a-dozen different modes of trial, varying from the most primitive to the most highly civilized method of administration. By a strange fatality it has broken up the entire population into divisions of political castes at the head of which the European Brahmins have one kind of criminal Shastras, while the Indian Sudras have quite another. (*Hear, hear*) Then among these latter there are, like oases in a desert, a patch here and a patch there where the people enjoy greater security of life, liberty, and property than the multitudinous population who inhabit the vast arid expanse all round. Gentlemen, a murder is a murder, with the gallows for its destined goal, whether it is committed in Dacca or in Faridpur, and yet the merest accident of its being committed on this or that side of an almost imaginary line, sometimes drawn through restless waters, may determine whether the same man shall be dealt with as a true citizen or as a bondsman. Sir, where is the clause in the great testament of the Queen-Mother that, while imposing upon my head the liabilities of her Government deprives me of an equal share in the privileges of her rule? (*Cheers*) Why should I day by day and year after year, standing on one bank of a river, gaze mournfully on the other bank, and have to say to myself that it is over there that the shackles fall off and true citizenship begins? (*Loud Cheers*)

Sir, we are judged without evidence, and condemned without trial! Alas, we seem to be nobody's care. Even the Viceroy, whom we loyally welcome as an hereditary ruler, in his anxiety to accentuate the invidious distinction of colour, has lost no time in issuing on his own motion confidential circulars to protect the rights of those who virtually need no protection. But though the people have been long crying for help in this and other connections, the gods are asleep, and there is no response to their call. Is the race of British philanthropists extinct? And have the mighty builders of this vast empire left no heritage of broad and noble ideals of justice for their successors? We are not appealing to Jews or Cossacks; but to those for whom they proudly say Milton wrote and Sydney died, and for whom the Magna Charta was obtained; and, in making our present appeal, we are asking not only for the protection of our life, liberty, and property, but also for the vindication of the honour and dignity of the great British Constitution. (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

MR. K. SRINIVASA ROW:—I would ask your attention to clauses B and C of the Resolution. I am not in favour of clauses B and C. Now as regards clause B, it seems to me that the present state of the law in respect of B and C, at least in the district from which I come, is satisfactory. I do not see my way therefore to accepting B and C; because at present the verdict of a jury is held to be sufficiently reasonable, and, if it is sufficiently reasonable

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Resolution XI.
Trial by Jury.

MR. AMBICA C.
MOZUMDAR.

MR. K. SRINIVASA
ROW.

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Resolution XI
Trial by Jury.MR. K. SRINIVASA
Row.

to secure justice to the people, it is accepted by the Judge. If it is not, what does the Judge do after the verdict is given? It is only in exceptional cases that he takes care to differ from them. The law lays down that he has simply to report his views to the High Court. Thus, the cases in which he differs are few, and he takes good care to show good grounds when he differs. Then the case is referred to the High Court, and if the High Court do not agree with the Judge's views they call for the records and go into the case. I do not think there is anything unjust in it. Then I come to clause C. I do not see anything unjust in that either, because a reference is made by the District Magistrate and the Government take it up. The District Magistrate does not make a reference in each and every case, he does so only in exceptional cases. I do not of course wish you, Gentlemen, to think I am supporting the officials; and, if my views do not meet with your approval, do not support them. Well then, the reference is made by the District Magistrate to Government; Government refers it to the High Court, and the High Court has got the final decision in its hands. This is in a case in which a man has been unjustly acquitted. Unless the High Court says there is reason to interfere with the verdict, the verdict is final. It seems to me, therefore, that in the working of the clause, there is no difficulty, and there is nothing unreasonable about it. We have always got the High Court, the highest authority and the palladium of our rights and liberties, to see that justice is done and to decide matters as the final authority.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—The thirteenth Resolution will be moved by Lala Murlidhar, of Umballa.

Resolution XIII.
The Punjab Chief
Court.

LALA MURLIDHAR.

LALA MURLIDHAR:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, this is neither the time nor the occasion for exchanging mutual greetings. This is a day not of rejoicing, but of national mourning. I am grieved to hear of the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, and so every Indian feels the shaft in his heart, every eye is moistened and the loss will be felt greater by Mother India, who has become old in her old age, because she is not likely to get her son again. But I tell you that the thing is not true, it is false, because a righteous and great prince never dies but always lives in the memory of a grateful nation. (*Cheers*) I tell you he is happy in his eternal home, from which there is no return to the terrestrial globe.

Now, Gentlemen, I come to the resolution. It is as follows:—

That this Congress re-affirms the opinion of the preceding Congress that the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interests of the administration of justice in this Province.

We want a High Court in the Punjab. We want a High Court not so high as the tower of Babel, (*Laughter*) so as to be beyond the reach of ordinary suitors, nor so low as to be within the reach of the impious hands of calumny. We want a High Court just as high as this lighthouse of yours, to be a torchlight to the erring officials, and a beacon of light to suffering humanity. Gentlemen, we have got a Chief Court in the Punjab, but as we have not got a sea-shore there, we are without a light-house, and, therefore, we want our Chief Court to be converted into a real light-house to shed light and lustre over the Province and to soothe sorrowing hearts. We want Judges to be impartial, just and honest. We, Gentlemen, do not want unadulterated justice; we want justice tempered with mercy, we do not want justice alone to be administered to Indians and all the mercy to Anglo-Indians. (*Laughter*) You know, perhaps, the case of Pandit Gopinath. I will give only one instance. He filed an action for defamation in the Court of the Magistrate of Lahore against a very influential member of the Supreme Council. What was the fate of this case? As soon as he filed the action, he was examined on oath, but was not believed, and he was required to produce evidence of good behaviour before issuing process on the defendant, and at last he was compelled to seek for justice in the High Court of Calcutta, where the case was compromised, and judgment given for the plaintiff, on the

confession of the defendant. Who but the High Court of Madras could have passed a decree for damages of Rs. 100 against its own Governor Sir M. Grant Duff? It was only the High Court that could do it—the bulwark of the liberty of the people. This palladium of justice we want; we want men of the calibre of Sir Barnes Peacock, Mr. Justice Ranade, Pandit Shumbhu Nath, Babu Dwarkanath Mitter, Sir Richard Garth; we want men like Mr. Justice Straight, to be “straight” and honest, and to be independent of the opinion of friends or foes, we want them to be appointed directly by the Crown, and not to be subordinate to Indian authority, so as to be free from any chance of bias or prejudice. With these few words I beg leave to move the resolution. *(Cheers)*

BAKSHI JAISHI RAM :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen, we Punjabis are expected to live on air. When the Government has to hold a Durbar or any other big state function, the choice falls on the Punjab, but when a demand is made on behalf of the people, which tends to result in material good for the people, deaf ears are turned by Government towards the people of the Punjab. It is not necessary for me to say anything of the Resolution regarding the establishment of the High Court in the Punjab which is passed in the Congress year after year, but suffice it to point out that last year, on behalf of an Association in the Punjab, a representation was sent to Government. You will be surprised to learn that up to the present time no answer has been received. Though it is more than one year that the Memorial has been sent to Government, yet that Memorial remains quite unanswered. Gentlemen, I will place certain statistics before you to show that we are not in any way behind the people of the North-West Provinces, and as the North-West Provinces have a High Court there is no reason why we should not have one. If the question is to be determined on the area of the Provinces, the area of the North-West Provinces is 107,503 square miles while the area of the Punjab is 110,660 square miles. The area under cultivation in the North-West Provinces is 57,026,042 acres, while in the Punjab the area is 96,103,936 acres. The area assessed and surveyed in the North-West Provinces amounts to 12,856,608 acres while, in the Punjab it is 17,168,021 acres. In order to determine whether there is a necessity for this demand, we may take the number of suits instituted. In the year 1891 the number of suits instituted in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, including the three taluqs, was 307,282, while in the Punjab alone it was 301,662. The value of the Civil Suits that were instituted in the North-West Provinces and Oudh was Rs. 2,44,08,016, while in the Punjab it was Rs. 2,32,24,141. The number of Criminal Appeals and Revisions in 1892 in the North-West Provinces and Oudh was 28,339, while in the Punjab it was 27,472. If, Gentlemen, the spread of education is to be considered with a view to the establishment of a High Court, even then I tell you we are not inferior to the people of the North-West Provinces. The number of candidates who passed the entrance examination in 1892 and 1893 in the Allahabad University was 749, and in the Punjab 789. The expenditure which is incurred by the Government on education in the North-West Provinces amounts to Rs. 5,58,802, while in the Punjab it amounts to Rs. 9,39,256. Then, Gentlemen, the income which the Government make under the head of Law and Justice in this Province leaves a great surplus after defraying all expenses under the same head. In the year 1891-92 the income to Government by the sale of Court-fee and other stamps was Rs. 40,69,000, while the expenditure under the head of Law and Justice in the same year was Rs. 29,66,000. Gentlemen, after deducting the sale of stamps, &c., there is a surplus of ten lakhs every year. So, Gentlemen, with the figures which are laid before you, I submit I have made a sufficiently strong case for the establishment of a High Court in the Province of the Punjab. *(Cheers)*

We want equal treatment with other subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. As there is such a large surplus under the head of Law and Justice, I do not see why the people of the Punjab should not have a High Court when the people of the North-West Provinces and Oudh have one. The law which is in force in the Punjab is the same as that which is in force in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces. The highest tribunal is the High

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Court, and it is only that Court that can give final decisions in important matters connected with the welfare of the people. Another ground for the establishment of a High Court is that there is an anomaly in reference to Appeal cases in our Province. There is no right of Appeal in the case of suits the value of which is within Rs. 1,000, when the judgment of the Appellate Court agrees with the judgment of the Original Court. The establishment of a High Court will result in the removal of this anomaly. Then, Gentlemen, the Chief Court has also to exercise certain *quasi* legislative powers in regard to a good many questions relating to alienation and inheritance, and many other points that ought all to be determined by custom. But these things, as well as custom, can only properly be decided by a High Court; and I would therefore ask you to consider, Gentlemen, would it not be better for us to have a High Court for the purpose of expounding Custom and deciding intricate questions of Law. With these remarks I second the Resolution which has been proposed by my friend, Mr. Murlidhar. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

Resolution XIV.
Military and
Civil Expendi-
ture.

HON. MR. C.
SANKARAN NAIR.

THE PRESIDENT:—The fourteenth Resolution will be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. C. Sankaran Nair.

THE HON. MR. C. SANKARAN NAIR:—Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition that I have to move is this:—

That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm conviction that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military Expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject, this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee.

Gentlemen, the first part of this proposition is really the same as Resolution V which we passed yesterday. That resolution demands a full enquiry by the Parliamentary Committee which has been promised to us. Now, I would ask you for a moment to consider the gravity of the situation. We have brought forward charges, heavy charges, against the Government of India; we have complained, that the Civil Service of India refuses to remedy our grievances on account of selfish motives. We have complained also that the military expenditure has become so heavy that we would rather live comfortably now and suffer in a remote future all the horrors of a Russian invasion, than be slowly starved to death before that time comes, if it ever does. (*Laughter*) These are heavy charges, and there is not the slightest doubt that the Government of India will bring forward skilled witnesses and experts before the Parliamentary Committee to show that no reduction of expenditure is possible, to show that we are a set of discontented men, and to show that the reforms for which we pray are impracticable. Now, in order to meet that body of evidence, any written statement is useless. It is impossible to anticipate all the doubts and difficulties which may arise, and which will arise in the minds of the members of the Parliamentary Committee when they hear the statements that will be made before them by skilled witnesses sent up for examination by the Government of India. Now, the only way of meeting that evidence is by sending our own delegates, men who will represent our views, men who will explain the facts apparently adverse to us which may be placed before the Committee by the Government of India, men who will carry conviction into the minds of the members of the Parliamentary Committee by the information which they will be able to place before them. Unless we do that, it is suicidal to ask for a Parliamentary Committee. The same feelings of justice and fair-play to which we all appeal, will be invoked by the Government of India in their favour, and if we do not place the Parliamentary Committee in a favourable situation to pronounce a decision on all the questions that will be presented to

them for solution, the result will be that that Parliamentary Committee will have to hold, and the British House of Commons and the British public will have to accept, that our allegations are unfounded, and that the serious charges which we bring against the Government of India are not worth any attention. That will be the result. In order to avoid that, as I stated, the only course that we can adopt is to send our own delegates who will be able to convince them. If we succeed in satisfying the Parliamentary Committee of the justice of our claims, then you may depend upon it that British justice will not be appealed to in vain. (*Loud and continued Applause*) It has not been appealed to in vain in the past, (*Applause*) and history shows, in India, in England, and in the Colonies, that the sense of British justice will not be appealed to in vain if we urge our demands properly and persistently. Therefore I would say that we are bound to strain every nerve, to spare no pains, to make every effort to supply this condition of success—that is, to depute a competent body of representative Indians to place before the Committee such information as will persuade them to grant us those rights and privileges for the attainment of which we must be prepared to sacrifice our time, our money and our unremitting labour. With these remarks I place the proposition before you. (*Cheers*)

MR. D. E. WACHA:—The Honorable Mr. Sankaran Nair, the mover of the Resolution, has stated the reason why it is incumbent on us to submit evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry which is about to be granted to us next session. No doubt it is necessary for us to verify the allegations we have been bringing against Government for some years past, and I have no hesitation in saying that if half-a-dozen Indians of knowledge and experience could be found to proceed to England and give evidence in support of those allegations before the Committee, we should be fully able to establish our case. For the facts to which we endeavour to draw the attention of the authorities from time to time are there. They cannot be gain-said. They are on record in the many official publications of the various provincial administrations and of the Government of India. What those facts are I will endeavour to bring before you as briefly as possible within the extremely limited time at my command. They all have reference to finance. Now, Gentlemen, you know the well-known saying that a good Government cannot exist with bad finances and that a bad Government can exist with good finances. (*Hear, hear*) It is bad finance, then, which is at the root of our complaint. You have often heard it said that if India is ever lost, it will be lost on the floor of the House of Commons. Gentlemen, for my part, I say I do not believe it. (*Hear, hear*) It is simply cant to say so. It is the cant of the official classes, and the cry is taken up parrot-like. No, I am firmly of belief that so long as the House of Commons is alive to its serious responsibilities India can never be lost. On the contrary, India will gain by the interference of the House of Commons in Indian matters. (*Cheers*). But I have great fears that if India is lost to the British, it will be on account of its miserable finances. (*Hear, hear*) It is the mismanagement of our finances which is at the root of the chronic embarrassment of the Indian Treasury. Now, Gentlemen, let me tell you that it is a maxim of state-craft that expenditure is regulated by policy. It is the policy of the Government of India which is the greatest disturbing element of its finances. For the last ten years it is the military policy of the empire which has dominated the whole domain of Indian finance. It is that hollow plea of "preparedness," preparedness to meet England's enemies on the frontiers east and west of India, which has entailed enormous expenditure on the army services in all its branches. Its oppressive effects have been evident in the difficulty which the Government has found during the last few years in balancing the annual income and expenditure. This transcends all other causes put together. But for this fatal policy, which has such powerful advocates in the Viceregal Council, India would not be to-day in the financial strait it is—a strait which finds Government at its wits' ends to meet the many deficits. For the permanent interests of India it is imperative that we should demand a material departure from, if not a complete reversal of, that mischievous policy. The Secretary of State is in the first instance the responsible authority who should be appealed

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HON. MR. C.
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to; but in the second instance the High Court of Parliament. (*Cheers*) I assert, Gentlemen that in order to produce a healthy condition in our finances, so essential for the cause of good Government, the Military policy of the Government must be vigorously attacked. (*Hear, hear*)

As to the facts in reference to the military expenditure, it would be superfluous for us to refer to them here at any length. I may say, speaking for myself, that I have been a sort of wandering minstrel on more than one platform. (*Laughter*) On this subject I have raised a wail, and a "prolonged wail" chanting to one tune in divers tones. (*More Laughter*) From the day of the very first Congress, held at Bombay, I have descanted on the many facts and figures in connection with the ever growing military expenditure—facts and figures which are now acknowledged to be correct. (*Cheers*) In March last, in my capacity of Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association, I prepared a memorial embodying facts and figures which our Association submitted to the Viceroy in Council. The Hon'ble Mr. Westland steered clear of them, but took the opportunity to fling gibes and jeers at the Congress. On the lines chalked out in that memorial, the British Committee of the Congress launched a Memorandum, which was circulated among Members of Parliament at or about the time of the debate on the Indian budget. Mr. Fowler had absolutely nothing to say to the figures embodied there. He took shelter for his failure to challenge them under the plea that he had no time to go into them. Gentlemen, do you believe that had those figures been inaccurate; Mr. Fowler, well-coached by the permanent officials of the India Office, would have been slow to prove their fallacy? (*Hear, hear*) Well, then, I say that I have no inclination to go into all the details of military expenditure which since 1885 has mounted up from 16 to 23 crores. I shall only submit to you the broad features of that growth, dealing also with civil expenditure; in addition I will put before you a table of the growth of revenue during the same period, and ask you to judge for yourselves. For further enlightenment, I can only refer you to the more elaborate and comprehensive Memorandum of Sir William Wedderburn's Committee to which I have just referred—a Memorandum, which as you know, even an ex-Finance Minister, no other than the redoubtable Sir Auckland Colvin—is constrained to confess is quite conclusive. (*Hear, hear*) Here then, Gentlemen, I submit to you the following three tables: first, **A**, which shows the total growth of net military expenditure, civil salaries and establishments, and miscellaneous charges during the decade; secondly, **B**, which shows the total increase during the same period of the Home Charges, as discharged by what are called "sterling remittances," and, lastly, **C**, which exhibits the growth of the principal heads of revenue.

A.

Statement showing Total Growth of net Military Expenditure, Civil Salaries and Establishments and Miscellaneous Charges from 1884-85 to 1892-93.*

PARTICULARS.	IN CRORES OF RUPEES.		
	1884-85.	Annual Average, 1885-86 to 1892-93.	Total growth in 8 years.
Net Army Services (exclusive of Exchange)	15.20	18.28	3.08
„ Military Roads	0.95	1.14	0.19
„ Special Defences	—	0.51	0.51
Total Military Expenditure	16.15	19.99	3.78
Civil Salaries and Establishment	10.37	11.65	1.28
Miscellaneous Civil charges	3.59	3.73	0.14
Total Civil Expenditure	13.96	15.38	1.42
Total Military and Civil	30.11	35.27	5.20

*Revised Estimates.

B.

Statement showing the Total Growth of Sterling Remittances and Loss by Exchange from 1884-85 to 1892-93.*

PARTICULARS.	IN MILLIONS.		
	1884-85.	Average Annual growth, 1885-86 to 1892-93.	Total growth in 8 years.
Sterling Remittances	13 75	14 59	0 84
Total Loss, by Exchange	3 35	6 30	2 95
Loss by Exchange on Army Services only	0 94	1 74	0 80

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C.

Statement showing Total Growth of net Revenue from 1884-85 to 1892-93.*

HEADS OF REVENUE.	IN CRORES OF RUPEES.		
	1884-85.	Average annual growth, 1885-86 to 1892-93.	Total growth in 8 years.
Land	18 42	19 90	1 48
Opium	5 84	6 16	0 32
Salt	6 02	7 19	1 17
Stamps	3 42	3 82	0 40
Excise	3 88	4 55	0 67
Provincial Rates	2 73	3 19	0 46
Customs	0 86	1 28	0 42
Assessed Taxes	0 48	1 36	0 89
Forests	0 80	0 55	0 25
Registration	0 10	0 15	0 25
Tributes	0 70	0 74	0 04
Total...	42 75	48 89	6 14
Net Total, less Assignments, &c. ...	41 52	47 49	5 97

Now, Gentlemen, you will have noticed from the figures just read out to you, how much more oppressive is the burden of Military and Civil expenditure than the whole burden of Exchange, which was hitherto fallaciously considered to be the sole factor of the embarrassment of our finances. (*Cheers*) The fallacy has been exploded, and it is to be hoped that the Finance Department will not again use it to throw dust in the public eye. (*Cheers*) I repeat, then, that as far as this expenditure and the expenditure in connection with a part of what are called Home Charges, is concerned, our representatives, if they only go about it in the right way, will be able to make out an extremely good case, not from their own facts and figures, but from facts and figures contained in numberless official publications, especially those ponderous blue and yellow books called the "Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India." Similarly, other subjects, such as those of land revenue enhancements, could be properly represented to the Parliamentary Committee to prove the correctness of our grievance in that matter. But I will not detain you further. Before, however, I resume my seat, I beg to refer to three important recommendations which we should bring to the notice of the Committee. Firstly, revision of the unequal and one-sided apportionment of the charges in connection

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with the army services which is insisted upon by the British Treasury. As you are aware, India is a joint sharer in the cost of all changes which from time to time are made in the British army under that fatal scheme known as the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, on which I descanted sufficiently at the first Congress. Professor Fawcett called it a joint partnership in which the wealthy and strong partner (England) unjustly demanded more than her fair share from the weaker, and the poorer one (India). As usual the weaker vessel has gone to the wall. (*Shame*) This unequal and one-sided way of sharing the cost requires to be modified. There is ample evidence to prove our case and enforce the suggestion I have just referred to. Secondly, there should be some statutory declaration for a fixed contribution by England to India towards the increased military expenditure, which is solely brought about by England's continental policy, of checkmating Russia on the Bosphoros. I said enough on this subject at the Congress at Nagpore and must desist from reiterating my views here. Thirdly, it is time that we agitated for the guarantee of India's debt by the Imperial Government. The first Congress at Bombay laid great stress on this, but since then the subject has been put aside. For, Gentlemen, remember, John Bull is thoroughly alive when he feels that he is being mulcted in his pocket. (*Laughter*) It is only when the shoe pinches him that he is awake, and endeavours to find out in what part of the shoe it is that he feels the pinch. When he finds that in his own budget he has to pay annually to India a certain sum as his imperial contribution, he would soon begin to take a keen interest in the budget. Our Indian budget, in that contingency you may rely upon it, would be well attended and well debated. (*Hear, hear*) It will not be such a solemn mockery, snare, and delusion, as it is now. (*Hear, hear*) This is a consummation devoutly to be wished in our own permanent interest. Political justice demands it, and I need not dwell upon the many political advantages attending on such a condition of our financial affairs. In short, India's interests, instead of being neglected as they are now, would be most watchfully and carefully attended to. Let us therefore all work together and make one united effort to achieve that result. And one way of achieving it is to put it before the proposed Parliamentary Committee. Our case, I repeat, is an unimpeachable case, and we are bound to succeed in the end if it is properly represented by those whom we may depute to represent it. (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

MR. A. B. NAKHRE.

MR. A. B. NAKHRE :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Fellow-Delegates ; I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which is now before the house. Indeed, I have not much to say after what has been said by the last speaker. I have come from a small district called Sangar in the Central Provinces. It was lately affected by a great famine. In our district wheat is the staple food, and that crop completely failed this year. The failure was to such an extent that we did not reap even a one-anna crop and our condition was reduced to such an extent that every *Malguzar* in the district was utterly ruined. Every one of them became a debtor. When we represented the matter to Government, the Government first of all refused to admit that there was anything like a famine, but when we showed them by facts and figures that there was a famine they said, "see for yourselves what you can do, we cannot help you." When we said to the Government, "We shall not be able to give you any money this time," and when the Government saw that that was really the case, then they came forward with a small sum of three lakhs as a loan to the people for seed grain. You know it is a district with a large area, where more than eighty per cent. of the population is agricultural. Three lakhs of rupees were nothing ; but when we showed this to Government, and asked for more, they would not give it ; then our poor people were driven to starvation. (*Shame*) We asked Government to open relief works. They did open relief works, but to a small extent ; the poor people were given only the now famous ration of one-anna per man as fixed by Sir Richard Temple ; and that was given to men required to work from early morning till evening. It was only given for work done, and not to those who could not work. Subscriptions had to be raised and a private relief fund was formed for those who could not work.

In 1878, after the great famine of Madras, the Government, in order to insure us against famine, levied a tax called an additional tax for famine insurance, and promised to save us from these famines in future; but when the famine came they said, "We never promised any such thing as that," and the whole money was appropriated. The Central Provinces have paid more than twenty-two lakhs of rupees into the treasury on account of this famine insurance fund, and had the Government come forward with only a small amount, the two districts would have been saved; but the Government said "we have no money, we have not promised to insure you against famine." I do not know why the additional tax was taken. There is a great deal of extravagance on the part of the Government, and it is necessary that steps should be taken to check such extravagance, and it is, therefore, necessary to substantiate our case before the British nation, so that it may exercise a check over this extravagance on the part of the Government and save our peasantry from being ruined. If the peasantry are ruined, it will be difficult to replace it. Our Government must not break its promises and act so dishonestly every time. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. Master will move the next resolution.

MR. MASTER:—Mr. President and Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me immense pleasure to move the following Resolution:—

That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical schools and Colleges.

Leaving the other part of the Resolution to the gentleman who is to follow, I shall say a few words on that portion which relates to technical education, in the sense of industrial education. The subject of technical education is the subject in which I am specially interested. Simply with a view to show you that I am not a theorist, I, with your permission, will say a word or two with respect to myself. Leaving Government service and going to England, I studied in a Technical College for a number of years, and it is as a result of that education that I started an Industry which I have been carrying on for the last eight years. (*Applause*) I have written papers and pamphlets on the subject, and am more or less familiar with the question of technical education. Gentlemen, the age we are living in is the age of Science; Science is the factor of a revolution in the industrial world. India was once known for her arts and industries. She taught the whole world the art of weaving, but, in consequence of her failure to keep pace with the advancement of science, she has suffered and suffered very cruelly from industrial paralysis. We look with immense satisfaction to the growth of the export trade of this country, but the true salvation of this country is in the development of arts and industries. An eminent man has said that for development we must expect envelopment, and in the shape of envelopment I ask where are the technical schools and colleges? In Calcutta we have none. I say, in the sense of Industrial Colleges, and not in the sense of Engineering Colleges, in Calcutta we have none. In Madras we have none. In Bombay we have one; but I am sorry to say that for want of funds it has been starving. There is no chair of Chemistry, no chair of Physics. Poverty of means brings poverty of results. (*Hear, hear*)

The British Commissioners in their Report on Technical Education say: "Technical High Schools now exist in nearly every continental State. Our Commissioners believe that the success which has attended the foundation of extensive manufacturing establishments, engineering shops, and other works on the continent could not have been achieved to its full extent, in the face of many retarding influences, had it not been for the system of high technical instruction in these schools. * * * * With the exception of one school in Paris, all these schools have been created, and are maintained, almost at the expense of several

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“States.” What more can I say, Gentlemen. All these schools on the continent, according to the information supplied by the gentlemen or by the jury appointed by the English Government, are maintained, at the expense of the State. “The buildings are palatial, the laboratories and Museums are costly and extensive, and the staff of Professors, who are well paid according to the continental standard, is so numerous as to admit of the utmost sub-division of the subjects taught.” An eminent authority, while dealing with the subject in respect of Great Britain, said: “We may be justified in hoping * * * * that the Legislature and the State will more and more recognise the claims of Science to their attention, so that it may no longer require the begging box,” but may “speak to the State like a favoured child to its parent, sure of parental solicitude for its welfare; that the State will recognise in Science its elements of strength and prosperity, to foster which the clearest dictates of self interest demand.” Both on account of prosperity, and strength, according to this authority, I hope the Government will come forward to give a liberal support to the cause of Science.
(Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, technical education does not at all mean simply familiarity with the tools or implements of handicraft; the solution of the problem is not to be found in teaching carpentry, fitting, or the like, as understood by some, for we have no difficulty whatever in finding workmen here who could do their work to our entire satisfaction. What we really want is Captains of industry who by their superior and advanced scientific knowledge can carry on research work in departments of Chemistry and Physics, and understand the *rationale* which means the “reason why” of a process adopted in manufacture. It is absolutely necessary for us to follow the same lines which other countries have followed for the purposes of improving the industrial position. With all the raw material at our very door, with all the evidence of skill the Indians have shown in arts and manufacture, the sight of the country depending upon other countries for almost all manufactured articles is to me, I say, somewhat dreadful. Technical education is a part and parcel of higher education, and should lead Industry to carry on a successful war in the market where mere elementary knowledge will not suffice.
(Cheers)

MR. TULSI RAM.
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MR. TULSI RAM:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Fellow Delegates, coming as a Delegate for the Weavers of Southern India, I beg to lay before you the present unhappy condition of the weavers. Weaving is declining rapidly and threatening to disappear very soon if remedial measures are not at once adopted. Most of the weavers have become agriculturalists: some are employed in keeping carts and bulls, in collecting sand from rivers for building purposes. Is that the condition of a weaver? Benares and Madura are the only two great centres of the weaving industry, and if Government do not foster technical education, it will be a great death-blow to the cause of industry in this part of India.

I feel proud to tell you that we have at this time in our midst that most distinguished educationalist, the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. Miller; (Cheers) for this is a proposition which concerns the education of the masses, the education of the people of India. Brethren, the weavers as a class do not know how to read and write. If they appear before a Registrar, without enquiring of them whether they know how to read and write, he asks them to touch the pen. He anticipates thoroughly that they are ignorant, and that the Government are not caring for the education of the masses. At present the people are devoting their attention to primary education only. While Europe and America, not satisfied with the power of steam, are trying to introduce electricity as a prime factor in the automatic operations of cotton printing and other things, we are doing our work in the most primitive fashion with the shuttle and the loom. Government should encourage in every way, and give help to, labourers and artisans. They will soon disappear if no help is given, for the prosperity of a nation only depends on the skilfulness and dexterity and the economical habits of the industrial portion of the community. (Cheers)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT :—The next resolution will be moved by Pandit Bishan Narain Dar.

PANDIT BISHAN NARAIN DAR :—Mr. President and Gentlemen ; the Resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus :—

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

- (a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement ;
- (b) The raising of the Income-Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand Rupees ;
- (c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages ;
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment ; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police, are at present ;
- (f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste, or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops ; and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;
- (g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army ;
- (h) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of militia service ;
- (i) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India ;
- (j) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic embarrassment ;
- (k) The giving effect to the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonnments, with regard to Prostitution and contagious disease, and the endorsing of their conclusions :—
 - (i) That the system and incidental practices, described in that Report, and the statutory rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888 ; and
 - (ii) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

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Gentlemen, it is not necessary for me to speak much in support of a Resolution which contains demands, multifarious no doubt, but of the most vital importance to the various sections of the Indian community, with regard to which there exists no difference of opinion whatever. The demands that are included in this Resolution have been urged from the very beginning of the Congress, upon the attention of the Government of this country and the Government of England. Their importance is the same as it was ten years ago; their urgency is the same, and be it remembered that the obstinacy of our Government in refusing to grant them is also the same. Gentlemen, it is impossible for me within the time at my disposal to give you even a brief review of the various demands that are included in this Resolution, but in touching upon a few of the most important ones I take up first of all the very first thing which is put in the Resolution with regard to the reduction of Salt Duty. If there is any demand which is made by the Congress in the name of the poorer masses of this country, it is the demand which is included in the first portion of this Resolution. It touches not the richer class, nor those who are called the higher class, but it touches the vast masses of the country. (*Cheers*) When you consider how heavy is the Salt Duty which the Indian masses have to pay, as compared with what is paid by other countries, you will have some idea as to what effect the present system must have upon the fortunes of this country. The average income per head in Europe is £15 4s., and the salt duty per head 1s. 11d. The average income per head in India is calculated at £2, and the salt duty 6d. In Europe the salt duty is two-thirds per cent. on the income and in India it is about one and a quarter per cent. (*Hear, hear*)

Now, Gentlemen, coming to the Police Reform, which you urge, if there is anything which has a most important bearing with regard to the question of the popularity or unpopularity of the Government of India, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, it is their relations with the Police of this country. If they know the Government, they know it through the Police or the Collector; and if the Police system is vicious and oppressive, as at present it is undoubtedly, then whatever may be the virtue in the Government, whatever their intentions, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, the Government will and must remain unpopular. The two principal things which we urge with regard to this Police reform are, that there should be sufficient inducement in the Police Department for men of the higher class, for men of higher social standing, to seek service in this Department, and also that the higher posts should be thrown open to the natives of this country. The practice that at present obtains under that system is that the posts of District Superintendent of Police and other higher posts are almost invariably filled by Europeans, or, in fact, by such Europeans as are not thought to be fit for anything else. They are given those posts. I submit that this is a reform most urgently needed, not in the interests of that class which this Congress is particularly supposed to represent by our critics, but in the interests of the masses at large. (*Cheers*)

Now I come to the Rules under the Arms Act. If I support this part of the Resolution, it is because I look upon the present rules, the present system, under which the Arms Act exists as a brand of racial disqualification, a badge of servitude which we have never borne under the worst despot. Even in Mahomedan times, whatever may be the merits or demerits of their régime, the distinction which is stereotyped by such laws as the Arms Act did not exist, and I am sure it does not speak to the credit of the English Government in this country that after 150 years of British rule a badge of racial distinction should be allowed in this country. (*Cheers*) Another very important demand which is included in this Resolution is as regards the Military career of the people of this country. I should have thought that those people who have of late evinced such keen interest in the welfare of the martial races of this country, when the question of Simultaneous Examinations was before them, would have done something for the career of these martial races. I think that this is a demand which the martial races are perfectly justified in making, not only upon the ground

of their own personal interest, but upon the very high ground of patriotism and loyalty—patriotism to their own country and loyalty to their sovereign. (*Cheers*) They make this demand because they think that the time has come when on financial considerations there should be more natives of this country following the military career, in order to cut down the foreign agency which at present eats up our money, because they think that it is loyal to their Sovereign to be prepared, should any critical occasion arise, to defend the honour of their Sovereign, and also because they think it patriotic, should any emergency arise, to fight for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods. It is upon these high principles that these demands are urged upon the attention of the Governments of India and of England. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, another most important subject which is included in this list with which I have to deal is that dealing with the Exchange Compensation Allowance. Gentlemen, if I were asked to point out any action or any measures of the Government of India to show that the policy of the Government in this country has of late been that India is not for Indians or for Englishmen but solely and wholly for Anglo-Indians, I should point to two measures; I should point to the rejection of our demands for Simultaneous Examinations, and I should point to the granting of Exchange Compensation Allowance. (*Loud Cheers*) India is at present governed in the interests of a particular class. Now, Gentlemen, I look upon these two actions of Government as two crimes—grave crimes committed against the just aspirations of the people of this country, against the honour of England and against the noblest instincts of humanity. About the poverty of India you have heard a good deal. Mr. Seymour Keay spoke with great authority upon this point, and we all listened to him with the deepest earnestness when he went into the miserable and impoverished condition of the people of this country. We have also heard the figures and facts cited, in support of the charge we bring against Government, by Mr. Wacha, who has lately spoken. Mr. Seymour Keay is, after all, an Englishman, and is a member of the Radical party. He is one of those Lord Salisbury called the one-legged rulers of the House of Commons; Mr. Wacha is a Parsee, and, therefore, in the ethnology of Anglo-Indians, he is not a native of India; but let us hear what one of their trusted officials has to say on this point. (*Hear, hear*)

A very remarkable article appeared some months ago in an English Magazine, by the late Lieutenant-Governor of our Provinces, Sir Auckland Colvin. He writes on the perilous growth of military expenditure in this country. He says that if the expenditure of the Indian Government goes on increasing, then Russia need not move troops, she has only to bide her time, discontent will do its work, and the retribution will come. Now, Gentlemen, when such is the impoverished condition of this country, Exchange Compensation has been granted to Anglo-Indians, in spite of the critical condition of Indian finances. (*Shame*) The poor taxpayer is burdened with an additional tax. The man who cannot properly afford to pay for salt, has that commodity taxed. The poor man is taxed so that the rich man may be pampered. It is a very sad reflection that under God's providence, under British rule in this 19th century, and in the time of one of the noblest sovereigns that has ever ruled the children of men, under such conditions of Indian finances, it should come to pass that to those "who have much, more should be given, and from those who have little even that little should be taken away." (*Cheers*) Now, Gentlemen, for this measure it is not only the Government of India, but I must say it is also the Home Government, that is responsible. We can never expect the Anglo-Indians to support us in a measure like that; it was to their interest to urge their claims and to get as much as they possibly could. Upon all such occasions the House of Commons, the British Parliament, has been the main pillar of Hope. From the Anglo-Indians we can never expect much, and we do not expect much; but we have always thought, and do still think, although I am afraid with great misgivings, that the moment (whatever the Anglo-Indian may do here) we appeal to the House of Commons and bring the injustice and the anomaly of the arrangement to their notice, that anomaly and that injustice is sure to be removed and

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redressed. (*Hear, hear*) But upon this measure, and upon other measures lately, the conduct of the Liberal Government in the House of Commons (I heard it with sorrow and I utter it with reluctance) has been anything but worthy of their past traditions. I am sorry that Parliament has made itself so conspicuous in this manner. I am sorry that on the question of Exchange Compensation it has thought it right to reject the just demands of a weak race in order to maintain the unjust demands of a strong race. Gentlemen, it is a very sad thing that the fair fame of England and of her Parliament for justice and integrity—a fame which rests upon the solid foundation of History; a fame which has been our Pole star, and has guided our course over the troubled sea of Anglo-Indian oppression—that that fame at present seems surrounded by mists and fogs of low party consideration and class interests, and is obscured and dimmed, and that round us and about us there is nothing but the blackness and darkness of despair. (*Cheers*)

Our great friend and leader, Mr. Hume (*Cheers*) has sent us through the pages of *India* a message of hope. He is ever hopeful, and is never daunted by difficulties and troubles. We have seen in critical times and on many occasions that Hope shone in his breast like a sacred pillar of fire, whence it went out into the breasts of others. I shall be very happy indeed if my countrymen will draw as much consolation as possible from that message of hope, because something is needed to console the people of India in their hour of trouble and grief. Things are going from bad to worse; discontent is spreading; it is coming over the Indian mind like the shadow of some great eclipse; but in the midst of darkness and despair there is only one ray of hope in this political agitation, and that is the presence of two individuals who are India's best friends in the House of Commons. (*Hear, hear*) There are few spectacles more noble under the sun and more liked by the gods than that of a good man fighting hard against adversity for the interests of the people. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, I trust that through the exertions of these gentlemen, the English Parliament may come to realise the justice and expediency and the necessity of our demands, as well as the discontent which their rejection is sure to create in the people's mind, and the serious consequences which always follow in the train of popular discontent. I am sure that, if they once realise this, it will not be long before they turn their steps towards the direction wherein lies the peace and permanence and prosperity of the Empire. (*Loud and long continued Cheers*)

MR. RANGA CHARL

MR. RANGA CHARL:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition I have the honour to second contains the budget of our standing grievances. Unfortunately for us, this has formed no small part of the deliberations of this august body, year after year. I justify my selection for seconding this resolution, not on the ground that I have the necessary ability and experience to deal with all the multifarious questions of importance therein contained, but that I have the honour to be the Captain of the Volunteer Corps of the Tenth National Congress. I will, therefore, confine my remarks only to clauses (g), (h) and (i) of the resolution. Before proceeding in detail with the clauses themselves, I take it for granted, and you will all concur with me in so doing, that whatever national traits we are beginning to lose, we still retain in us the martial spirit that adorned our ancestors of old. For the proof of this I do not wish to take you back and call your attention to the many deeds of valour and victory recorded in the pages of your history. Gentlemen, the very simple fact that the Government of this country has been throwing every kind of obstacle in the way of the admission of the natives of this country to offices in the military department is a patent, nay irrefutable proof, of the existence of a latent martial capacity in the nation. (*Hear, hear*)

The short-sighted policy pursued by Government in respect of recruitment for military service is objectionable on two broad and important grounds;—on the ground of expenditure, and on the ground of justice and expediency. Looking at the statistics of 1880 as to the comparative cost per head of a soldier in different countries, we find that in France with an army of 900,000 it is Rs. 185; in Germany with an army of 1,200,000, Rs. 145; in

England, Rs. 277; and in India, Rs. 775. By the establishment of military colleges the cost per head will be diminished, and the number of imported soldiers might also be reduced. (*Hear, hear*)—Looking again at the prospects of native officers in the British army we find a native of India cannot even after 30 years' service rise beyond a Subadar Major, on the paltry sum of Rs. 200 per month, but a young Sub-Lieutenant, on his arrival here, gets Rs. 300 per mensem on the ground of justice and expediency. (*Shame*)

Let me refer you to the pledges given by the British Government with reference to this matter:—The Act of 1833 enacts that "No native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of Her Majesty, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government." The Secretary of State in a despatch, dated the 26th January 1886, in referring to the incidence of new taxation in India, refers to the causes of danger resulting from the character of the Government which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army." This he says would "constitute a political danger."

The expedient of admitting a few noblemen and feudatory chiefs as honorary officers of the Indian Army, such as the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Kashmir, Mysore, Kooch-Bihar, and others, is not alone sufficient to cure the evil. The loyalty, devotion, the bravery and heroism of native soldiers are well known, and have been often recognised by Government. The native soldiery is the ultimate bulwark and the main support of the Empire. Sir G. Greaves, late Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, speaking on the military policy of India said, "We rely upon you, and you depend upon us." (*Cheers*) About volunteering, let me call your attention to the fact that H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught attested the expediency of establishing Military Colleges. Mr. Justice Bailey, who was Commandant of the Bombay Volunteer Corps, said that natives might be admitted as Volunteers. Gentlemen, let me not be misunderstood in asking for these concessions; we do not thereby mean that every office in the army should be thrown open to us, that every one of us should have free licence to use arms and ammunition, that admission to military colleges should be free and unrestricted; but what we want, Gentlemen, is to ask Government to instruct us in all that is noble, to teach us how to defend the Government and ourselves against foreign aggression, to protect us from the raids of wild animals, in short, practically to teach us the inestimable boon of self-help, bearing in mind that "God helps those that help themselves." (*Loud Cheers*)

PANDIT KALIPRASANA KABYA BISHARAD:—Gentlemen, the "Omnibus" is before you, and a man has to drag it on once again. A kind printer or some kind friend was disposed to give him some rest, but the President goads him to drag it on, and so he drags it on without inflicting a speech upon you, and he retires after supporting the Resolution. (*Laughter*)

MUNSHI SHAIK HUSEIN supported the Resolution in Hindustani amid frequent bursts of applause.

MR. BISSANATH CHANDIK:—As an humble representative of the Marwari community, amongst whom, as you are aware, education has not spread to the extent that it has in other communities, I rise to support the resolution that has just been proposed and seconded. You will concede that there is a fitness of things in a professional banker, who is ever busy with his calculation of rupees, annas and pies, coming forward to speak on that part of the "Omnibus" Resolution, regarding the raising of the taxable minimum of income-tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. The speakers that preceded me have, however, urged such convincing reasons, and so ably too, that very little remains to be done on my part. Gentlemen, it might be said by our opponents that, like little children, we do not know what we clamour for. They might say that a benign Government has by devotion to the people's interests,

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involved itself in almost hopeless bankruptcy, and that it ill becomes us "saucy children" to add to the troubles of such a loving parent. (*Laughter and Cheers*) To ensure our safety, our Indian rulers have increased the British force and swelled our military expenditure to keep us from war; they have generously given an allowance to a neighbour to add to our glory; they have been conquering and annexing to strengthen our administration; they have been manning all ranks of the Services with British talent at a much greater expense, excluding, utterly excluding the children of the soil; to help our progress, they have been passing liberal measures to break our industries and cripple our commerce. (*Laughter and Cheers*)

And what is the result, Gentlemen, of this humane and self-sacrificing policy of Anglo-Indian rule? The administration is growing more and more expensive, and the tax-payer poorer and poorer. We are now so tax-ridden that the next straw will crush our backs; and yet the Government of India presents an annual deficit of three crores and a half. Shall we not be grateful for its good intention and its beneficent rule? To pray at this moment for any even slight lightening of any public burden would be cruel to such a paternal Government. Still, ungrateful Indians that we are, our earnest appeal to Britain and to British justice shall only be "Save us from our friends, our Anglo-Indian friends!" (*Laughter and Cheers*) In days when war was feared and it was felt that our military force was not sufficient to meet the contingency of the war the income-tax was introduced. The income-tax, Gentlemen, strictly speaking, is not a duty levied on commerce or manufacture, not a tax on land or agriculture, it is an impost that is levied on money every time that it changes hands. It is, we admit, not so heavy as our land tax, nor quite so iniquitous as our salt tax. (*Laughter*) We are alive to the financial embarrassments of the Government; but the Government must cut its coat according to its cloth. We call for retrenchment; we want a cheaper administration, and along with it we ask for a proportionate lightening of our burdens. (*Cheers*) We have been saddled with an income tax. Every man who succeeds in barely keeping body and soul together is required to pay the Government a benevolence of 2 per cent. on his little earnings. A family with an annual income of Rs. 500 cannot command more than the barest necessities of life. How long will an uneconomical Government continue to extort, from a class of people on the brink of starvation, such a heavy duty, and that too on no properly taxable commodity? We demand that at least the minimum of taxable income be raised, so that the burden may fall only on such shoulders as can be expected to bear it. Gentlemen, I therefore beg to support the proposition that the minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000 per annum. (*Loud Cheers*)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT.

THE PRESIDENT:—In connection with this "Omnibus" Resolution I should like to say that Mr. Bannerji has handed over a petition to the Congress, signed by 26 missionaries, relating to clause (k) of this Resolution, and urging upon us the question of temperance and social purity.

I should like to say that this day, the 29th of December, eighty-five years ago, the "Grand Old Man" of England was born. Let me call for three cheers to him. (*Three hearty Cheers were given for Mr. Gladstone*). As we have done hitherto, Gentlemen, I suppose with your permission, I may send a telegram to Mr. Gladstone, congratulating him on the eighty-fifth anniversary of his birthday, I am particularly glad that I, an Irishman, should have the opportunity of appending my name to it. (*Hear, hear and Cheers*) I suppose we may also send a telegram to India's Grand Old Man, Mr. A. O. Hume, expressing our thanks in behalf of the cause with which he had so much to do in starting. (*Loud Cheers*)

Three enthusiastic cheers were then given for Mr. A. O. Hume.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next Resolution will be moved by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, of the Berars.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR :—Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Resolution which I move is as follows :—

That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character.

This may appear to some rather as a lawyer's resolution, as a matter with which the general public have nothing to do, but which concerns only the lawyers. Allow me, my friends, to tell you that it is a matter which concerns not the lawyer so much as the public and the country. There is a very great danger looming in the distance, not a very great distance, but a distance which is quite measurable. In October last there was a Bill introduced, nominally for the purpose of introducing some slight amendments in the Police Act. In the shape and under the guise of this amendment, a revolution is sought to be effected in the administration of this country, a revolution which will place, not your liberties certainly, but your property in every sense of the term, entirely at the mercy of one man in the district. (*Cheers*) There is a section in the Police Act by which, if it is found that any part of the country is in a disturbed condition, Government have the power of imposing what is called a punitive police there, that is, a police specially so employed, and the cost of that police is defrayed not from the general revenue of the country but from a tax specially raised for that purpose. The tax is levied in the locality where the police have to be quartered. It was suggested to Government that this measure—which has been in existence from 1861—is not a just one; that it is desirable to make some changes, and that it is only persons who have really committed any disturbance who should defray those expenses. At first sight this looks very just and proper, but look at the insidious manner in which this principle is sought to be worked out. One would think that there should be an enquiry to find out who are the men who have committed the offence, and that it should be only those who would be called upon to pay. (*Hear, hear*) But no, that is not the way in which the Government proposes to work. The way in which the Government proposes to proceed is this; whenever such a Police has to be employed the cost of such additional police force shall be borne as the Magistrate of the District may direct. In the words of the proposed law—

- (a) By the inhabitants of, or persons having interests in land, in the local area described in the notification; or by both.
- (b) By any such inhabitants or persons or class or classes of such inhabitants or persons, or both, as aforesaid, as in the opinion of the Magistrate have caused or contributed to the disturbance or other cause which led to the quartering of the additional police force, and no portion of such cost shall be payable by any person or class of persons who, in the opinion of the Magistrate, have been free from blame;
- (c) And such Magistrate, after enquiry, if necessary, shall apportion such cost according to his judgment of their respective means among the inhabitants and other persons who are, as aforesaid, liable to bear the same.

Now let us understand what this means. It means that such community or classes as the Magistrate thinks has committed the offence is to be taxed with the whole thing; but not only that, his power of differentiation extends to that community as a whole. He may say that only five or six men who are responsible shall be called on to pay; such persons in such manner and to such extent as he thinks fit. (*Loud cries of Shame*) If there is a man against whom he has a grudge, that man may be singled out, and from that man the whole cost can be claimed. Then there is also a further thing. The evil does not rest there. You may ask, why? Because there will be an enquiry. It is to be remembered that in doing these things,

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the Magistrate will be acting, not in a judicial capacity, but in an executive capacity. There is the District Magistrate, it is true, but the District Magistrate and the Police act in all criminal matters as two different persons. He is defined to be the Chief Executive Officer of the District, and as such he is not at all amenable to the High Court proceedings; and, as the law does not give any right of appeal, you cannot go to the Sessions Court, nor can a High Court send for the case under its powers of Extraordinary Jurisdiction. So in that way the door of the High Court, which is often resorted to when there is an injustice, is closed to you. (*Hear, hear*)

Then there is this dangerous procedure existing, not only with regard to the imposition of the tax, but also with regard to another thing in which the same powers are given. If any damage to property is caused, if any person has received grievous hurt, or any person is killed, power is given to the District Magistrate to give compensation for the loss or for the destruction of property, or for the injury caused to the person. That compensation he has got the power of levying from such classes of the community as he thinks proper, or from such individuals, in such manner, and to such extent, as he thinks proper. (*Shame*) I should certainly say there is at present in India not one officer who possesses powers like these. In the British Isles there is no body of persons, much less an individual person, who possesses powers like these, and it is these powers which are sought to be conferred upon persons who live, as you know, far away from public opinion, in what are called distant Mofussil districts. (*Hear, hear*) Gentlemen, it is not necessary to suppose that these gentlemen would be in any way actuated by malice in what they do. We shall assume the most charitable case, the case of a man who, with the best of motives, always tries to do the thing which he considers just. How many cases are there in which even with the best of motives there have been failures of justice? Have there not been cases in which even honest judges have passed convictions, and those convictions have been upset on appeal? Do we not know of cases where persons, with the best of motives, have been biased by interested persons to take a particular view of things. Now, under these circumstances, at a time when public excitement must be very strong on account of the disturbances, is it too much to suppose that one party or the other may gain his ear, and that the District Magistrate may be induced to take that party's view of things? (*Cheers*) As I say, we shall give him credit for the best of motives. We need not say that he is actuated by any ill-feeling or ill-will; but any Magistrate, even the District Magistrate, is only a human being, and he has got all the frailties and all the weaknesses of a human being. Looking to the fact as I have already pointed out, that this law would be put into force in times of great excitement, it is more than likely that the District Magistrate may take sides; and, taking sides, as he would do, would there be any justice at all? Therefore, as this proposal is entirely subversive of all our ideas of justice, of fair play, it behoves us to protest against it, as a violation of the very first principles of fair play and justice. (*Cheers*) Such powers are utterly unprecedented, such powers are most arbitrary, and such powers are most dangerous; and we, who are sitting in Congress, ought to protest against it. One word more it is necessary to say, Gentlemen, and it is this. We have confined our attention to one section only, for this reason, not that we consider that the other amendments are faultless, but because this amendment violates the very first principles of fair play and justice, and violates all principles of constitutional administration. It is necessary that we should enter our emphatic protest against it, and I believe if we here in Congress do our duty, and if we go out each to our district, and send our protestations, they will be listened to. (*Loud Cheers*)

MR. M. B. NAM-
JOSHI.

MR. M. B. NAMJOSHI:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, Mr. Mudholkar has referred to section XV, and particularly to two features of it. I shall refer to a third feature, and then I will give you an idea of those additions and alterations and dangerous features which they have introduced into every place. The section that Mr. Mudholkar refers to, not only makes people within the Police District liable to the taxes, but it also makes non-

residents, the absentee landlords, liable to pay the taxes; and this power also is left to the District Magistrate. (*Shame*) Those of you who have been reading the newspaper accounts of the recent riots between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in the different parts of the country will, perhaps, remember one of the speeches of the satrap of the North-West Provinces, in which he, in a large public durbar, referred to the conduct of the large landlords in his province, and tried to implicate them, and to connect them both directly and indirectly with the *Gaurakshani* riots which had taken place in the different provinces. I believe, Sir, that is the spirit, that is the inspiring deity of this Bill; and I say it advisedly, because I find that the Government of India, is framing this act on the advice of the North-West Provinces Government alone. (*Shame*) The other provinces have not been consulted, their opinions have not been obtained, and it is on the recommendation of the satrap of that province that this Bill is being undertaken now.

With reference to the other two sections, beyond the other additions or alterations that are being made, I think this Bill suffers, not only from the fault of omission, but also from the fault of commission. Faults of omission during the limited time that I have before me I will not go on to illustrate, but I will simply give the points to which I object. It suffers from the fault of omission, because it has not taken note of the circumstances that are developed in different provinces and that require special treatment. (*Hear, hear*) All of you friends from Madras and other provinces know what happened at Masulipatam. You know the circumstances under which the powers of declaring or enlisting what are called honorary constables were used; you also know how the conduct of the District Magistrates was arbitrary. No notice has been taken of that. You also know what has happened in other provinces with reference to rules about music and the granting of a licence. It suffers from the fault of commission; because in section 30 or 31 it proposes to entrust to the Police, to the Inspector, or the officers of the Police, the novel power of stopping, controlling and regulating processions or assemblies not only in public places, but also in private places. (*Shame*) That is, as the resolution says, dangerous. (*Shame*)

The fourth point is that the Bill is rather unprecedented in some features; its unprecedented nature lies, you will see, in the fact that while it gives very large powers to the District Magistrates, it makes no provision in the Bill to see that these powers are properly exercised. In the Bombay Police Act the same principle prevails, and though there is a laxity in the supervision to be exercised, the Act at least provides that the large powers which the Police and the Magistrates will enjoy under that Act shall be properly supervised, not only by the heads of Government, but by Courts also; but this feature is wanting in this Bill. It is unprecedented in another respect, in that it un-makes the blessings, that it un-makes the good that written law guarantees to the subjects of foreign rule, inasmuch as it leaves not only large powers but large powers of discretion, not only to District Magistrates but to Superintendents of Police, and not only to Superintendents of Police, but, as this Bill seems to indicate, to the Assistant Superintendents of Police, and some lower grades of Police Officers also; this is quite unprecedented. On all these points I have instances to give, but during the short time at my disposal I cannot do it. (*Cheers*)

The resolution was put to the vote and carried.

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR:—MR. President and Brother Delegates, the resolution that I have the honour to propose runs as follows:—

That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No. 22/F, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, dated 20th October 1894, and its high-appreciation of the generous principle, which it enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interests to the needs and agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of forests.

And would further represent that in forests falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, grazing concessions, fodder, small timber for building houses and making agricultural

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implements, edible forest products, &c., may be granted free of charge in all cases, under such restrictions as to quantity, &c., as the Government may deem proper; and that wherever hardship may be felt, under present conditions, the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas, and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the Department.

This is the Resolution that we have now before us, and I am glad that I am enabled at this stage to put it before you. I am glad, because we have been for three successive years pressing this matter on the attention of the Government of India. You remember, Gentlemen, those of you that were present at Nagpore, the Resolution that was placed before the Congress there was number 11, of 1891, which said that it was necessary that Government should investigate this matter more carefully and do all in its power to mitigate its hardship. The next Resolution on this subject was number 10, of 1892. Those were the Resolutions which were passed by the Congress unanimously, on the first two occasions by the delegates in the one case from Bombay, and in the other from Madras, and on the third occasion by delegates from the Punjab. You will thus perceive the intensity of the feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent that is likely to accrue from a foolish administration of the law. It seems to me, therefore, that we are perfectly justified in thanking the Government of India for the circular which it has been pleased to issue in this matter. (*Cheers*) It may be said that the very object of the Forest Law was to conserve such forests as were over and above the wants of the people. You remember these were the words of the honorable gentleman that was in charge of this Bill before it was passed. But you see, things have come to such a pass that Government is powerless against its own officers, that Government is now come to be complimented for having issued the circular which is objected to in the same breath.

Now, I think, Gentlemen, there is reason to thank this Government, not because it has enunciated the same principle that was the object of the law, but because it is very difficult in these days even for Government officers to acknowledge a good and sound principle against the conduct and action of their own subordinates. It is on this ground that I claim your attention to this proposition and claim that the Government of India is entitled to our heart-felt gratitude for the circular issued by it. Following the vote of grateful thanks we offer, we have something to add to it; we cannot stop here, for what is pointed out in the circular needs amendment, and what is that? It consists of six elements, which those that have followed the Resolutions will be able to observe consist of these things:—First, things which concern food, then cattle, then housing, then the general agricultural prosperity of the country, then the communal rights of the agriculturists and their boundaries, and lastly come the minor subordinates of the Forest Department. We called upon Government to pay particular attention to these six heads, and called also upon Government to point out to their subordinates that they were responsible for the hardships created by the Forest administration. In this particular, I might well say that we might ask the Government to say take care of the shillings, the pounds will take care of themselves. It is these subordinate officers that run the risk of entailing upon the head of Government censure which in some measure they do not merit. It is these officers that have to be warned, and we ask the Government to warn these officers. With these words I beg to commend this resolution to your acceptance. (*Cheers*)

MR. C. NARASIMHULU NAIDU, of Madras, seconded the Resolution in Tamil.

REV. W. W.
STEPHENSON.

REV. W. W. STEPHENSON:—Mr. President and Fellow Members, I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution, and I say this on the ground that I sympathise very thoroughly in the main with this Congress. (*Hear, hear*) I think that this resolution has been very well drawn. It contains pretty well all that is required at the present

time, and it expresses it clearly, and there are several sentences of which, if time allowed, one could point out the wisdom. I should like to say that the two important points are the hardships which the people suffer under the present rules, and the still greater hardships which the people suffer by reason of the way in which they are carried out. Now, with regard to the hardships of the present rules, the Government has said that fiscal interests are not of the first importance. Then why on every stone taken away from the field, on every particle of salt-earth taken by the washerman, on every possible thing that can be gathered up in that way should a tax be payable? A few weeks ago in my district I came across an old man with a few sheep and goats on his right hand and a very bad pasture to the left. But a few yards away there was magnificent green grass in a reserve, yet the poor animals were not allowed to nibble a single blade, and the poor man cried out, "Why has God made all these creatures, while the Forest Department will not allow the cattle to graze?" What is the other question? Even supposing we can get no relaxation of rules, there is the carrying out of the present rules which I believe is almost entirely left in the hands of subordinates of the Forest Department. I maintain that there ought not to be the almost constant friction between the villagers and the subordinates of the Forest Department that there exists to-day; I maintain that, and that there is no department of Government that comes so closely in touch with the people, that pinches them more keenly than these two departments, viz., the Salt and the Forest, which I have sometimes called the Irritation Departments. (*Laughter*) Now I maintain that Government ought to watch their subordinates exceedingly keenly, and that every District Forest Officer, or rather every District Magistrate (who is really the forest officer, because the forest officer is his subordinate), ought to be instructed most carefully that every source of irritation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the department ought to be abolished for ever. (*Cheers*)

MR. NIZAMUDDIN KUMRUDDIN, of Satara, supported the proposition in Hindustani.

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next Resolution will be moved by Mr. P. Ramachandra Pillai of Secunderabad.

MR. P. RAMACHANDRA PILLAI:—Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Resolution that I have been entrusted with runs thus:—

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

Gentlemen, before I say a few words upon this Resolution I must express my thanks to the gentlemen of the Subjects Committee for taking up this subject upon the programme of this Congress, because this is a new subject which the people of Secunderabad and people similarly situated in the territory of Hyderabad were very anxious that this Congress should take up as being an important subject, so that there be no more gagging of the press in a territory subject to the Government of India, but unfortunately situated out of British India. (*Hear, hear*) I therefore express my deep gratitude to the gentlemen of the Subjects Committee, and, in doing so, I not only express my own thanks but also those of my constituents. Gentlemen, the Notification referred to in this Resolution appears in the Government of India Notification under date 25th June, of 1891, which I shall read for your information:—

"Whereas some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to the regulations in force in territory under the administration of the Governor-General in Council, but beyond the limits of British India, with reference to newspapers published within such

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territory, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following order:—

1. No newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments on public news shall, without the written permission for the time being in force of the Political Agent, be edited, printed, or published, after the 1st day of August 1891, in any local area administered by the Governor-General in Council but not forming part of British India.
2. If after the day aforesaid any person shall without such permission as aforesaid edit, print, or publish any such newspaper or other work as aforesaid in any such local area as aforesaid the Political Agent may by order in writing;
 - (a) require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such order
 - (b) and prohibit him from re-entering such local area without the written permission of the Political Agent.
3. If any such order as is mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph be disobeyed, the offender shall be liable to forcible expulsion from such local area in pursuance of an order to be made in writing by the Political Agent.

Now, Gentlemen, from the language of this Notification it is clear that the Political Agent of the Court of the Native State is clothed with the authority of granting permission as he may choose; and he can refuse permission without any grounds, and he can also revoke the permission once granted without grounds; and any offender can be deported after a week's notice, and if he disobeys he can be expelled by physical force. (*Shame*) Yes, Gentlemen, it is a downright shame. Now the worst part of it is this, that the Editor of a newspaper, publishing it in the territories not subject to the Native State but in the territory subject to the British laws, can be condemned unheard. He has no chance of being heard. No accusation need be made. It is left to the whim and caprice of the Political Agent for the time being. Gentlemen, those who are acquainted with Native States are aware that they are full of intrigues and corruption and what-not, notwithstanding the best intentions of the rulers themselves. The Political Agent, notwithstanding his ability, his shrewdness and his sense of justice, must, as an Englishman, see things as they take place in Native States through blue spectacles. He is the last man to know the real state of things in Native States, for the simple reason that the Political Agent, who is called the "Bara Sahib" or the "great Sahib" cannot see small things, while the few people that are privileged to approach misrepresent things for their own ends. It is impossible for him to see the real state of affairs, and it is therefore all the more necessary that there should be a free press to ventilate the grievances of the people and to bring to the prompt attention of the public and the Government the short-comings prevailing in those Native States. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I think that the policy by which the Government of India was actuated in issuing this notification was a most suicidal one, because the Government of India, as the paramount power, naturally expects the Native State to be administered properly. To be administered properly it is necessary that the Government of India and the local Government should be accurately informed of the real state of affairs in those States. The only means of obtaining reliable information is by means of a free press, and, if that is gagged, the outlet for the available information is shut out. Now, if there is any thing rotten in the Native States it must affect the paramount power of the Government of India, and I will, therefore, ask you to enter your emphatic protest against this, and to pass this Resolution. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, by way of illustration, take up the case of Hyderabad, the first Native State in India. It has a population of 10 millions (*Hear, hear*) of whom $\frac{1}{10}$ th are Hindus and $\frac{1}{10}$ th Mahomedans and other nationalities. It has a ruler who is very just, and there is a Prime Minister who is a very amicable man; and there are some Secretaries able and honest, but unfortunately the general administration of Hyderabad is anything but satisfactory. The Police Administration is something disgraceful; you must have read in the

papers only recently that there have been two instances of high-handedness by the Kotwal, Akbar Jung. (*Hear, hear*)

One was the case of a Marwadi who was forcibly turned out of the house with his wife at the instance of his landlord, without an order of a Court of justice, and his property, which was worth Rs. 50,000, taken and sold. For the last six or eight months the man has been petitioning the various Secretaries and the Minister, but nothing has been done. That is one instance. There is another, which is a more disgraceful one. Two learned Sanyasis belonging to the Arya Samaj, who are now seated on the dais, were lecturing in Hyderabad. This man Akbar Jung had the audacity to send for these gentlemen and tell them that they were preaching against the Moslem religion and that they must leave Hyderabad. (*Shame*) Their lectures were listened to with attention by all people, Mahomedans, Parsees, and Christians, and not a man said that there was any thing in their lectures which was objectionable; and what was the result? These Sanyasis had to leave Hyderabad and come to Secunderabad where they delivered their lectures, and immediately after, their paid preacher and Pandit was kept in confinement and eventually deported from Hyderabad without any inquiry. (*Shame*) Petitions poured into the Government, but no redress has yet been granted. I quote these two instances by way of illustration to show with what arbitrary power the Police is exercising its functions in Hyderabad, and thus it is, therefore, all the more necessary that there should be a press to ventilate these grievances. Gentlemen, you know the reason why I asked some of my friends to take up this subject,—in order that, perhaps, the matter might be more forcibly placed before you by persons like Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea or some other person of commanding eloquence; but I was confident that this august body, consisting, as it does of gentlemen of culture and experience, did not require eloquence or particular social position to commend the arguments to their judgment. I therefore feel confident, Gentlemen, that you will pass the Resolution with acclamation. (*Cheers*)

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA AIYER:—Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates, I have great pleasure in seconding this proposition. Mr. Ramachandra Pillai seems to regret that he was not able to secure an eloquent speaker to commend this proposition to you. But I do not think any very great eloquence is wanted to secure your approbation on behalf of this proposition. Well, Gentlemen, it is rather late in the day to plead for the liberty of the Press. I do not believe the British Indian Government is prepared to contend that under any circumstances a free press can be anything but a blessing to the people, and it seems to me to be a peculiar inconsistency on the part of the British Government in India, that while it tolerates a free press in its own dominions it should place it under any restraint in those parts of the land which are under its direct administration in the Native States. Gentlemen, oftentimes these small spots of land are the places of refuge to those who are victims of misgovernment in Native States, and glad and thankful as I am to acknowledge that in many Native States great improvement has taken place on all lines of administration, yet there are still a few important, though small, Native States which are scandalous for misgovernment and maladministration. (*Hear, hear*) Nowhere is the light of criticism more needed than in some of these Native States; and we of the Congress and the educated community generally of India have often been found fault with for not taking up and criticising matters relating to the Native States. But, Gentlemen, how is it possible under the policy which is pursued in regard to native states by the British Government? And, even supposing that all these Native States become paragons of good government, even supposing that no maladministration prevails, does it follow that a free Press will be anything but an advantage? It may be said that this retrograde and absurd policy has been adopted at the suggestion and request of the rulers of these Native States. But we have always been under the impression that it was the duty of the paramount Government to discourage all these senseless and foolish eccentricities on the part of those rulers, because if a native ruler

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makes an absurd request it does not follow that the British Government should grant it, especially when the granting of that request tends to perpetuate maladministration. Therefore, Sir, I think that a long speech to commend this proposition to you is not wanted. It is inconsistent with the principle of the British Government and with their traditions; and I think it only requires the matter to be brought to the notice of the Government for its being annulled immediately. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

Resolution XX.
Water-cess.MR. G. VENKATA-
RATNAM.

MR. G. VENKATARATNAM:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, the Resolution that I have the honour to submit for your acceptance runs as follows:—

“That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money in land”.

This subject of Water-cess comes for the first time before the Congress. It is one of very great importance, as it affects not only the Madras Presidency, but also the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, wherever State irrigation works exist. Any measure aiming at fixity of tenure and permanence of land assessment would be practically useless in the case of irrigated lands, unless there be also fixity of water-cess demand. The charge for water forms in such cases the larger portion of the payment made to Government. The landowner gains therefore little or nothing by a permanent settlement of merely land assessment, so long as the water-cess is liable to fluctuations at the pleasure of Government. Whether the lands are ryotwari lands subject to periodical revisions of settlement, or enfranchised Inams, or permanently settled estates, they are alike subject to the payment of water-cess, if they take water for irrigation purposes from Government Works. The policy of the Government of India in regard to water-cess is, to quote its own words “that a fair commercial value should be put upon all water supplied, provided that the price charged is not so great as to bar its use on lands which really derive benefit from canal irrigation.” This policy is applicable to the whole of India. In this Presidency this policy is embodied in the provisions of Act VII, of 1865, known as the Madras Water Cess Act. The so-called principle underlying the Act is that the Government should derive “a fit return” on the outlay incurred on irrigation works by the imposition of water-cess on lands irrigated thereby. The Government has power to levy the cess at such rates as it thinks fit, to enhance them at pleasure, to frame such rules as it thinks fit, and to alter or amend the same at pleasure.

This policy, the commercial policy, has in its practical application failed in giving security to rights of property in land and in causing any very material alteration for the better in the general condition of the agricultural population, for whose benefit these irrigation works were primarily intended. This element of uncertainty is fully illustrated by the recent action of the Government of Madras in the Districts of Tanjore, Godavery, and Kistna. What in fact the Government gives the cultivator with one hand, it apparently takes away from him with the other. In Tanjore, the Government raised the water rates by about 50 per cent. In the Godavery and Kistna Deltas, the rates were suddenly raised by a stroke of the pen by 25 per cent. in the case of all lands irrigated for five years consecutively. This was done in the midst of the current agricultural year, without any inquiry, without any notice to the parties concerned, and without even consulting the local officers of the District. (*Shame*) And what is worse, the notification enhancing the cess was issued after the time prescribed for filing applications for discontinuance of water had expired, after the sowing and transplanting season had advanced, and after the ryots had taken water in the full confidence that they would have to pay for it only at such rates as had been prevailing at the commencement of the Fasli. To crown all this, the Government tried to give a colour of legality to this procedure by issuing another notification, nearly a month afterwards, that is,

on the 13th September, extending the time for relinquishment of water till the 15th September. The Government probably overlooked the fact that it was a physical impossibility for the Gazette containing this notification to reach the hundreds of villages in the Districts within 24 hours. From the very nature of things the extension granted was only an extension in name, as none of the cultivators could avail themselves of it, inasmuch as the cultivation season had advanced too far. When the Government was interpellated on this subject at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, the Government found itself unable to justify its action in enhancing the cess during the course of the year, and had to invoke the aid of rules, superseded more than twelve years ago, denying to the ryots the option, the full option, allowed under the rules in force at the commencement of the Fasli. (*Cheers*)

Another significant circumstance is that the capital outlay on the irrigation works in question has long since been amply repaid. The Government has been making a clear profit on the transaction. The Godavery Delta, according to the latest Administration Report available, after paying an interest of 4 lakhs and odd, gave, in 1892-93, a surplus revenue of 13 lakhs and odd and a total surplus revenue of 271 lakhs and odd up to 1892-93, after paying interest on the capital amount. The Kistna Delta is similarly a paying concern, the surplus revenue therefrom being 134 lakhs and odd, and the net return being 8.87 per cent. The value of irrigation works cannot be measured merely by the amount of revenue realised by Government on account of water-cess. The large increase in land revenue, customs, income-tax and other taxes in the said Districts is in a great measure due to the construction of these irrigation works. (*Hear, hear*)

While, therefore, the Government has been making such large direct profit and participating also in the indirect benefits of these irrigation works, it is preposterous to say that it has not been receiving "a fit return" for its outlay, even assuming the soundness of the principle of treating works of this kind as an independent source of revenue. The arbitrary enhancement of the cess under such circumstances, and that too with retrospective effect, as the Government has practically done in the present instance, cannot be defended either on any known commercial principles or on considerations of fiscal justice. This, coupled with the extraordinary position taken by the Government in upholding its action even after its attention was called to the illegality thereof by means of memorials and interpellations, has created a sense of insecurity, and the Government has to thank itself if the public have come to think that its water-cess policy is above all regulations and rules. (*Cheers*)

While revisions of settlement are presumed to proceed upon some defined principles, the water-cess seems to recognise no such principle; "fair commercial value" and "fit return" are very vague expressions. What is the limitation to the so-called "fit return"? The Government does not care whether the cess-payer receives a fair return for the cess he pays, nor does it trouble itself as to whether its demand is not actually trenching upon the cess-payer's share of the produce. Irrigated lands suffer from over-assessment of both land tax and water-cess. If it was the policy of the old District officers, so to regulate their assessment as to make the people regard their individual holdings as their own, and to stimulate their industry, and if, in fact, they attached greater importance to remote rather than to proximate consequences, and acted on the principle that Government revenue would increase as the people advanced in prosperity, their successors have been unfortunately pursuing quite a different policy, in which the commercial principle seems to be in the ascendant. (*Cheers*) This policy is fully explained by Sir Charles Aitchison in the following words:—

"In these days when money is sorely needed to meet on every hand the growing demand for improvements, not to speak of the Military Sink into which so much of it is poured, there is a strong temptation to force up the assessment. It is a dangerous policy. The mischief of over-assessment is insidious. The millions of India are as yet voiceless. It

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is not the cry of the tillers of the soil that is borne on the Press. They suffer in silence, and their sorrows reach the ear of authority only when the mischief is done, when the wells get out of gear, when the cultivation grows slowly, when the transfers of land to the moneyed classes are so frequent as to attract official notice, when men begin to leave their ancestral homes, when perhaps the seeds of revolution have been sown. Great as the development of India has been it is much retarded by the want of agricultural capital. In spite of all her material improvements, and new industries, unexampled growth of trade, and great addition to the general wealth, India is almost a purely agricultural country. But she is no longer the sole consumer of her own produce. She is coming every day into wider competition with other agricultural countries in the markets of the world. If she is to succeed, old methods must give way to better, and capital must be accumulated to provide the improvements. For this a margin of profit must always be left to the landowner. A system of assessment which periodically dips into every increase requires to be carefully supervised at all times. One injudicious turn of the screw may do mischief to a district which cannot be repaired in one or two generations." (*Cheers*)

These are weighty words, coming as they do from one of the ablest Lieutenant-Governors that ever ruled in this country. It is high time that we should enter our emphatic protest against the present retrograde policy—a policy not only highly detrimental to the best interests of the people, but also opposed to the traditions of good Government. This Government is not a commercial speculator, but a Government to whose care is committed the well-being of a numerous population. Its policy in respect of land assessment or water cess should stand on a higher footing, and, while not retarding the progress of agriculture and industry, should be so shaped as to afford security to the rights of landowners and persons investing money in land. (*Cheers*)

Mr. V. V. AVADANI.

MR. V. V. AVADANI:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, I rise to second the proposition so ably and exhaustively moved by my predecessor. He has placed before you the arbitrary policy of the Government, and has shown you how it is arbitrary in its character, and how it is proving injurious in its practical working. He has also told you the circumstances under which the enhancement of water-cess by 25 per cent., on the existing amount of water-cess, was raised in the deltas of the Kistna and the Godavery Rivers by the local Government, under the direction of the Government of India. The class of subjects that are directly interested in the matter of the payment of the water-cess have not even been so much as consulted. There are several thousands of landholders, ryots, mirasidars and agra-haramdars in the Districts who are affected by the imposition of this new burden. There are several public bodies like the Kistna District Association in several centres of these two Districts, whose opinion has not been asked for on this vital question. Not one of the thousands of persons directly affected by the Government Notification ever knew anything of the imposition before the publication of the unwelcome news in the official *Gazette*. It came upon them, Gentlemen, like a thunderbolt. Sir, is this state of things possible in any other dependency of the British Empire than dumb India? Is there any other country where taxation is resorted to without consulting the wishes of the tax-payer? Is this state of things possible in Ireland, Canada, or Australia? Is this not proof positive that the Government is arbitrary, and means to be arbitrary? The case of the Kistna and Godavery Districts is much worse than that of Tanjore, to which reference has been made. Before the re-settlement operations commenced in that District, its people had been heard. His Excellency, Lord Wenlock heard them and tried, though inadequately, to redress their grievances. But in the case of the Kistna and Godavery deltas, in the matter of the enhancement of water-cess, the Government has not thought well to hear the people or their accredited agents. (*Shame*)

Although the Government of Madras is said to have written to the Imperial Government not to raise the water-cess before the re-settlement of the land revenue, which will be

made in the near future, its word has not been heeded. A peremptory mandate has been issued. Why, it may be asked, why this precipitate urgency? The answer is simple. The Imperial Exchequer must find new sources of income to meet the deficit caused by the growing demands of the compensation allowance, home charges, and military expenditure. In reply to the question put by the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao, to the local Government on the subject, it was stated that the rise in the price of grain was the main reason for enhancing the water-cess. The argument seems plausible on the face of it. But examine it with a little scrutiny and you will see its speciousness. In the Kistna District an acre of land yields a putti, or candy, of paddy a year on an average. The price of a putti to the ryot at the time of the harvest is but Rs. 20 on an average. But you will have to deduct from this the necessary expenses incident to wet cultivation, viz., cost of manuring the field, the cost of transplanting, the cost of cultivation, the cost of reaping the crop, the land revenue, the water-cess, the road-fund, the local and other cesses; and these will hardly leave Rs. 2 per acre as a margin to the over-worked ryot. But the Government of Madras in its reply has taken into account not what the paddy fetches to the ryot at the time of the harvest, when he usually sells it to meet the payment of Government dues, but the average of the price of paddy throughout the year in the general market. This then is the error which brings about those imaginary higher prices which have led the Government to believe that the ryot is growing richer than ever. The Government of Madras further thinks that the ryots will not relinquish their holdings by reason of this enhancement, and therefore feels itself safe in raising the tax. Is this the policy that a Government should adopt? (*Cries of No, No*) The Government ought to bear in mind that within the deltas in question the staple produce is paddy, and the bulk of the people are engaged from morning till evening in its cultivation, and are unfit for any other walk of life by force of habit. Hence is the dire necessity for them to fight against odds, to contract debt after debt, and drag on a famished existence. In conclusion, Gentlemen, if it is not desirable to give cause for discontent and disaffection to a large section of British subjects, who are agriculturists by profession, as well as that still larger portion of subjects, the consumers of rice; if it is not desirable to follow the purely mercantile policy of screwing out every pie from the hard pressed and hard-pushed, long enduring ryot; if it is desirable to lend the hand of timely succour to the agriculturists of the benighted parts of this Presidency in their unavailing efforts to relieve themselves of the weighty burden of over 14 lakhs of rupees, I call upon you—I beseech you—and others—delegates of this noble Congress, to sympathise with the distressing situation of your brethren in the delta tracts by passing this resolution. (*Cheers*)

MR. S. B. SANKARAM :—I have only three minutes before me, Gentlemen, and my voice is hoarse, so you must excuse me if I do not do justice to the subject in hand. Five years ago, about this time, I appeared in the Bombay Congress, adorned with the presence of the late lamented Charles Bradlaugh, (*Cheers*) to bring my humble self, then a member of the Vizagapatam Volunteer Rifles forward, as a proof in flesh and blood that we Indians are fit for Volunteer service. To-day I stand before you to show that we are not the representatives of ourselves but the representatives of a people, for I am here before you to-day elected by 23 villages of the Ellore Taluq in the Godavery District. (*Hear, hear*) The interest that is evinced by those ryots is shown when I tell you that some of those very ryots are to-day in this pandal as delegates. Gentlemen, although I am not chosen by any scientific mode of election, to quote Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, I am a representative of those 23 villages. Now, it is not right for me to tell you a long tale of the sufferings of the ryots, after you have already heard the two speakers who have gone before me. Well, I briefly tell you that our ryots are endowed with brains, and they put these sorts of questions to those that are in authority :—When you say that the revenues of one department are to be utilised for that department alone, and there is such a surplus of the water revenue, why impose this tax unexpectedly? You tell us that the Water Cess Act contains words that

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show that it can be increased at pleasure; but never had we believed before the date of imposition of this cess that the pleasure mentioned in the Act would be the pleasure of anybody but a Russian autocrat; we always believed that it would not be the pleasure of a constitutional Government. Now, Gentlemen, they ask the Government if it is not for such a purpose, as the improvement of water works, but for an imperial purpose, how is it that all the burden is thrown upon the shoulders of the ryot, and especially upon the ryots of the Godavery and Kistna Districts, the ryots cultivating wet land for the past five years? Then as to the procedure adopted in raising this tax, I tell you that no time was allowed them. It came at a time when it would be impossible for the ryot to reject the water tax, levied on the 15th September, for water that had been taken in the months of June and July. Now, Gentlemen, with these supplications they approach those who are responsible for the imposition of these additional and unjust taxes. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

Resolution XXI.
Indian Colonists
in South Africa.

THE PRESIDENT:—I have received an important letter from the Gooty Association through Mr. Kesava Pillai, drawing our attention to a subject which in the pressure of business has been lost sight of by us, *viz.*, the position of our fellow countrymen in the African Colonies. I now move.

That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them.

This Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—I would now ask Mr. Ghosal to read the Twenty-second Resolution, which will also be moved from the Chair.

Resolution XXII.

Deputations to
Lord Elgin and
Mr. Fowler.

MR. GHOSAL:—The twenty-first resolution on the agenda now becomes the twenty-second resolution which runs as follows:—

That a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed for the purpose of presenting Resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 to His Excellency Lord Elgin; and that the British Committee of the National Congress be requested to arrange a similar deputation to wait upon the Secretary of State for India in London.

From Bengal and Behar:—His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhanga, Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, *Kt.*, The Honorable Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, The Honorable Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. J. Ghosal, Babu Saligram Sing, Mr. Shurefuddin, Rai Jotendranath Chaudhuri and Babu Boikunt Nath Sen.

From the North-West Provinces:—The Honorable Rajah Rampal Singh and The Honorable Baboo Charoo Chandra Mittra.

From Oudh:—Sheikh Rajah Hussein Khan, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo Gokal Chand,

From the Punjab:—Sirdar Dayal Singh Majithia, Baboo Kali Prosonno Roy, Mr. Jnasawala Shaik Umar Buksh, Lala Murlidhar and Bakshi Jaishi Ram.

From Bombay:—The Honorable Mr. P. M. Mehta, C.I.E.

From the Central Provinces:—The Honorable Mr. G. M. Chitnavis and Rai Bahadur C. Narainswami Naidu.

From Poona:—Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide, Mr. S. B. Bbate, Mr. N. B. Mule and Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar.

From Berar:—Rao Saheb Deorao Vinayek.

From Madras:—Manivikram Rajah of Calicut, The Honorable Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar, Rao Bahadur P. Auanda Charlu and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer."

The President will, of course, head the deputation.

THE PRESIDENT:—I beg to move this Resolution. Let those who are in favour of it hold up their hands (*Voices, All, All*)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The Twenty-third Resolution will be moved by the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea.

THE HON. MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, the Resolution, which is intrusted to me, runs as follows:—

That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "*India*," and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1895.

Gentlemen, this is a business resolution, and it will not require many words from me to recommend it to your earnest and enthusiastic acceptance. This resolution was substantially the resolution which you accepted last year. This was the resolution which you substantially accepted the year before. In 1892 you provided a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the British Committee and of our organ, *India*. Last year you also provided a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the same purpose. I hope, therefore, no difficulty will be raised in the way of the unanimous acceptance of this resolution. Gentlemen, you will remember that, in the beginning of this year, we initiated a departure—I was going to observe a memorable departure—in our financial programme. Hitherto we had relied solely and exclusively, at any rate very largely, upon subscriptions and donations. Subscriptions and donations come in fitfully and capriciously. They are a weak reed to rely upon. You cannot rest upon so slender a foundation, and it was therefore thought necessary that we should make a departure. Human nature demands a *quid pro quo*, and we were resolved to satisfy this immutable law of nature. The *quid pro quo* that we wanted to give was our organ, *India*. We resolved last year to raise the circulation of *India*, to 10,000 copies. Ten thousand copies would mean Rs. 60,000. Rs. 60,000 would cover the expenses of the British Committee and of *India*. I may perhaps, with your permission, enter somewhat into the details of the calculations. You spend about £2,000 a year for the maintenance of *India* £1,000 for the support of the British Committee. Your expenses, therefore, really come up to about £3,000. But in these days of the depreciated rupee and with no one to grant us exchange compensation allowance, (*Cheers*) we are compelled to provide a sum of Rs. 60,000. Well, Gentlemen, it must not, for one moment, be imagined that we discard subscriptions and donations. I am a Brahmin, and I may claim for myself that I am a Brahmin of Brahmins. My hereditary profession is to beg, not to borrow or steal. (*Laughter*) I am prepared to stretch out the right hand of a Brahmin to receive any subscription or donation that any gentleman may be prepared to give me at the present moment. We do not therefore discard subscriptions or donations. We thankfully receive them whenever they are offered. We thankfully received Rs. 10,000 from my noble friend, the Rajah of Ramnad, who, I am glad to say, was present on the platform the other day. But, at the same time, as I have already remarked, we cannot always be expecting these subscriptions and donations. An institution which depends wholly and solely upon them depends upon very weak foundations indeed. Gentlemen, we initiated this departure, and what was the amount that you budgeted last year? You budgeted a sum of Rs. 60,000. (At this stage a cheque for Rs. 600 was handed in to the speaker) I have just received from the Hon'ble Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar Rs. 600 on account of subscription for a hundred copies of *India* for 1894 for the Bellary public. Are there not gentlemen assembled in this Congress ready and valiant enough to follow the noble example (*Cheers*) of this distinguished countryman of ours? Well, Gentlemen, we provided a sum of Rs. 60,000, and how much did we realise? I am told, by my friend, Mr. Morgan-Browne, that we have realised only two-thirds of the amount subscribed, and, when Madras pays in the arrears (I am quite confident that Madras will pay up the arrears before we separate), then the amount will possibly be raised to three-fourths of the sum that was subscribed. The charge that we bring in season and out of season against the Government of this country

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XXIII.
British Com-
mittee Grant.

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is that it makes solemn promises and sacred pledges, and that these promises and pledges are broken. Let not the same charge be brought against the delegates of the National Congress. Let it not be said that we make public and ostentatious professions of self-sacrifice, but that, when the hour of performance comes, we are not equal to the occasion. I am anxious for your honour. If you have a particle of self-respect, if you care aught for your chartered rights, if you feel the smallest concern for the political advancement of your children and your children's children, then I ask you to subscribe whatever is possible for you to pay down for the promotion of those interests, which are identified with the Congress movement. (*Cheers*) I think we are about 3,000 of us here assembled, including the spectators—I say sympathetic spectators—and I take it that Englishmen must sympathise with us in our struggles for political liberty. (*Cheers*) We are about 3,000 of us assembled here. Well, if the 1,500 delegates were each to undertake to procure subscribers for at least 10 copies of *India*, the number would amount to 15,000 copies. We should be in a position to raise Rs. 90,000, i.e., Rs. 30,000 in excess of the demands of the British Committee. This is not a difficult task, this is not an impossible task. What is Rs. 60,000 when rateably divided amongst a population of 200 millions of human beings?—What is Rs. 60,000 when we take into consideration the vast sums of money that our Rajahs and our Princes and our great men expend for the entertainment of big officials. (*Cheers*) Well, Gentlemen, the other day they had no difficulty in raising I think it was Rs. 75,000 for a statue for Lord Lansdowne. You gentlemen of Bombay are deploring the fact that there are people in that Presidency so lost to all considerations of patriotism that they have interested themselves in the movement for the purpose of erecting what purports to be a national memorial in honour of Lord Harris. (*Shame*) A shameful procedure it is, and, I think, as a protest against these dishonourable demonstrations, we, the men of the Congress, ought to be able to show that we are prepared to pay at least as much for the sake of the Congress as these men are prepared to pay for the gods of their worship. Gentlemen, I think, the outlook is very hopeful. We have got in England our own organisation in the British Committee. We have our own organ, *India*. We have a Parliamentary Committee ready to supplement the efforts of the British Committee, and we have this vast gathering of this National Congress which serves to communicate the impetus to the movement along the entire line. It seems to me that the outlook is an exceedingly hopeful one. The prospect before us is bright and it is becoming brighter and brighter day by day. I ask you, brother delegates, standing here facing those distant generations who are to come after us, is it not our duty, the highest that we owe to ourselves, the highest that we owe to our families, the highest that we owe to our Maker, to improve this golden opportunity, to plant those seeds which, when they fructify, will be fraught with unspeakable blessings to the people of this country? (*Cheers*) I feel that at this critical time in the history of India anybody who fails to do his duty to the National Congress stands condemned before the eyes of God and man. I can conceive of no holier duty, no more sanctified trust, than that we should improve the golden opportunity before us. Make it the occasion of a splendid future for generations yet unborn. (*Cheers*) I ask you, brother delegates, to rise to the height of the occasion, to the solemnity of our mission. Do your duty to the National Congress by unloosing your purse strings. Do the duty that is yours; pay what you have to give; it will be fruitful to the giver, it will be helpful to after-generations. (*Cheers*) I desire that this motion may be carried with acclamation. (*Cheers*)

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution
XXIV.Vote of Thanks
to British
Committee.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now put the next resolution to the vote which is as follows:—

That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now put the next resolution to the meeting, viz:—

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

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

MR. V. M. BHIDE, then moved the following resolution:—

That the Eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day, 1895, as may be later determined upon, at Poona.

It is proposed to hold this Congress next year at Poona. My duty on this occasion is very simple. I am an inhabitant of Poona, and I come to invite all my brother delegates to the Congress to be held at Poona in the next Christmas holidays, and I hope that you will all come. We shall be very happy to receive you, and do all we can to suit your convenience and pleasure. (Hear, hear)

MR. JUGMOHANDAS VANDRAVANDAS:—On behalf of Bombay, I most cordially welcome you to the city of Poona next year.

The Resolution was carried with acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT:—We shall now go to the Twenty-seventh Resolution, which runs as follows:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled, and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of Delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and in this view the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of Poona to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their reports; these reports together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration.

Let as many of you as are of opinion it should be passed hold up their hands (Voices, All, All) That closes the business of the Congress. But there are one or two formal matters. There is a notification which states that if the meeting closes before sunset, the photographer wants to take a group consisting of the President, members of the Subjects Committee, and as many delegates as may wish to attend.

MR. P. SOMASUNDRAM CHETTIAR:—Mr. President and Gentlemen, I rise with the greatest happiness and pleasure to express, on behalf of the Delegates of the National Congress now here assembled, as well as on behalf of the inhabitants of this Presidency, of which I am an old inhabitant, our warm and grateful thanks to you from the bottom of our hearts for having kindly presided as President of this Assembly, and for your leaving your country for this laudable purpose, and we hope that you and Mr. Seymour Keay as members of the House of Commons, will endeavour as far as you can to alleviate all the grievances which we have now laid before you.

RAJ BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHAVLU:—The proposition placed before you is one concerning the President. Therefore as he cannot put it to the vote, it devolves upon me to do so.

The proposition was carried with Cheers.

THE PRESIDENT:—Friends and fellow subjects,—I address you in the same terms with which I commenced my opening address a few days ago, but I would add now dear friends and dear fellow subjects, I have felt quite overpowered by your kindness and consideration since I came to this country, and I feel additionally overpowered by this renewed mark of your kind feelings towards me. At this late hour of the evening it is quite impossible for me to do justice to such a Resolution as that which has now been passed. In so far as my

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Appointment of
General
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Resolution
XXVI.
Meeting Place
of XIth Congress.

Resolution
XXVII.

Constitution
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THE PRESIDENT.

Vote of Thanks
to the Chair.

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President's
Reply.

efforts to conduct this Congress in a proper and dignified manner have been successful, in so far it has been owing to your good feeling and to the help and consideration that I have received from you. It has been particularly due to the kind friends that have sat round this table and to whom I have been constantly able to appeal for advice and assistance. In returning thanks I may surely, on behalf of the delegates, return thanks to the Madras Reception Committee, the chairman and the members—for their reception and entertainment of us all. Whilst it would be impossible to name all those to whom we are under obligations, I cannot, on my own account, refrain from referring to a few. I should like to name Messrs. P. Rungiah Naidu, Ananda Charlu, Sankara Nair, G. Parameswaram Pillai, Viraraghava Chariar, and J. Goshal; and, in addition to these gentlemen, I desire to thank the Volunteers for the help that they have given. (*Hear, hear*) In remarking upon the splendid arrangements made here, I am sure they are largely due to the Volunteers, and on my own account—an old man who has come amongst you—I feel as if they had treated me with almost filial attention and kindness. I feel it very deeply, and I shall never forget their kindness to me here. In so far, Gentlemen, as there has been any friction here, in so far as any one may feel hurt by my hastiness in the chair, or cutting them short, (*No, no!*)—anything of that kind is entirely due to myself; I alone am responsible for it, and I am sure you will make every allowance. What I have particularly admired in this assemblage has been the manly spirit—the manly spirit of your delegates—the spirit in which you have spoken out for your country, the manly and loyal spirit which cannot but in the end prevail. I should like to urge this upon you—the keeping down of all class or local differences. These have not indeed been apparent in my private conversations with members of every class and from all districts. In the house, as well as here, I have never found an inkling of that, and I would beg of you, if ever a shade or a shadow of such suspicions enter your hearts, put them from you. Everyone here has been actuated by a sincere desire to serve not party, or caste, or district, but your common and beloved country. (*Loud Cheers*)

There is one other request—prayer I might almost say—that I would desire to urge upon you, that you should put from you the demon of personality. Never in your sittings let the question of personality enter into your proceedings. Everyone here has common rights, and is entitled to take part in the proceedings of the Congress. No one has a higher idea than myself of the necessity that there is of entering upon political objects in a high and pure spirit—that great objects are best obtained by good men. I cannot refrain from repeating the lines of an Irish poet, referring to the spirit of nationality. He says:—

It whisper'd too, that Freedom's ark,
A service high and holy,
Should not be marr'd by passions dark,
And feelings vain and lowly.

For Freedom comes from God's right hand,
And needs a goodly train;
And righteous men must make our land
A nation once again.

True, Gentlemen, but we cannot judge anyone here. It is for districts and for the constituencies to judge as to the proper men to send up, but once here they must be received on a footing of equality. (*Cheers*) Gentlemen, I do entreat that you should press forward. Do not so much consider how soon you are going to obtain your objects. You have already obtained an absolute good in holding these Congresses. Were the whole of this Congress movement to be swept away, it would leave memories that would never die. You have already attained a great good; this movement can never die. You yourselves are scarcely aware how much you have gained in advancing the spirit of unity and love. Press forward! Keep up your movement! (*Loud Cheers*)

Gentlemen, perhaps now I might say a few words in reference to myself. Might I make a confession, I never felt so lonely the last thirty or forty years of my life as I did on

the steamer coming here. But the moment I touched the shore at Bombay those feelings vanished, and the moment I reached the station here, all misgivings faded away, and I felt renewed with a strong spirit. I felt no misgivings as to my ability to take this chair. (*Cheers*)

Now, Gentlemen, it is with a feeling of intense sadness that I here bid you good bye. You are all young and hearty, and you will meet again and again in these Congresses; but I am an old man (*No, no*), and in a very few days the heavy curtain of 6,000 miles will pass down between us. My earnest hope is that I shall see you again, and again take part in your proceedings. (*Hear, hear*) But, however this may be, Gentlemen, I shall always regard this as one of the greatest—I may say one of the happiest—experiences of my life. It has doubled my responsibilities, and with feelings that I cannot properly give expression to, I beg to thank you most heartily for the kind resolution you have passed to-day. (*Loud and enthusiastic Cheers*)

Three cheers were then given for Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, for Mr. A. O. Hume, for the British Committee, and for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P. and the Tenth Indian National Congress dissolved.

Fourth Day.
—
President's
Reply.
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APPENDIX

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

Tenth Indian National Congress,

HELD AT MADRAS, DECEMBER, 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Madras	Madras	IV, V, VI. Municipal Divisions.	Hon. Mr. P. Rungaya Naidu Garu.	Vysya.	Zemindar, - Vakil, High Court; President, Mahajana Sabha; Member, Madras Legislative Council.	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
2	"	"	"	Rajah Sir Savalai Ramasawmy Mudaliar, K.C.I.E.	Hindu.	Dubash, Ashburnham and Co.	do
3	"	"	"	Dr. S. Palney Andy,...	Christian.	Medical Practitioner.	do
4	"	"	"	Mr. M. Doraisamy Pattar.	Hindu Sudra.	Partner in Messrs Arulanadam & Sons.	do
5	"	"	"	" N. Krishnaswami Naidu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vysya.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
6	"	"	"	" C. Krishnan ...	Hindu Malayali.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do
7	"	"	"	" K. Rajagopaula Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
8	"	"	"	" C S. Theagaraja Mudliar	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do
9	"	"	"	" V. Arunagiri Naidu	do	do ...	do
10	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur A. Danakoti Mudliar	do	Landed Proprietor ...	do
11	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ranganadam Naidu	do	do	do
12	"	"	"	" G. Paramaswaram Pillai, B.A.	do	Editor, Madras Standard.	Do. also by Students Meeting, Triplicane, the Kerala Mahajana Sabha, by the I and II Municipal Divisions and at Calicut and Palghat, Malabar.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
13	Madras	Madras	IV, V, VI. Municipal Divisions.	Mr. K. Ramanuja Charriar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
14	"	"	"	" Iyaswamy Pillai...	Hindu.	Banker	do
15	"	"	"	" K. Narayana Rao, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
16	"	"	"	" S. K. Nayar ...	Hindu Nayar.	Staff of the <i>Madras Standard</i> .	do
17	"	"	"	Rev. T. B. Pandian...	Indian Christian.	Minister	do
18	"	"	"	Mr. S. Subraya Charriar, B.C.E.	Brahmin.	Retired Executive Engineer.	do
19	"	"	"	" V. Thirumalai Pillai	Hindu Sudra.	Attorney-at-Law ...	do
20	"	"	"	" T. S. Muthusawamy Sastriar	Hindu Brahmin.	Tutor, Madras Christian College.	do
21	"	"	"	" T. Runga Charriar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin Vishnavite.	High Court Vakil, Ananda Bagh, Egmore.	do
22	"	"	"	" T. Streenivas ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Egmore.	do
23	"	"	"	" M. Thirumala Charriar.	Brahmin.	Banker and Money Lender.	do
24	"	"	"	" T. V. Arogiasawmy Pillai, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	Assistant Professor, Pachhiappa College.	do
25	"	"	"	" W. Raju Naidu ...	do	Editor, <i>Eastern Star</i> .	do
26	"	"	"	" D. J. Melchizedek.	do	Apothecary	do
27	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
28	"	"	"	Mr. J.C. Ganesh Sivaraja Jogi	"	335 Thambu Chetty Street.	do
29	"	"	"	" V. Ethirajulu Naidu	Hindu Sudra.	Secretary, Vannekula Sangham; Merchant, Pudupet.	do
30	"	"	"	Moulvie Hajee Ziyud-deen Mahamad	Masakman	Skin Merchant	do
31	"	"	"	Haji Sheikh Fursat Sahib	do	Skin Merchant and Mirasidar	do
32	"	"	"	Mr. V. Byru Nambiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nayar	Vakil, High Court ...	do
33	"	"	"	" P. Aiyasawmy Mudliar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra	do	do
34	"	"	"	" V. Masilamoney Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Pursewaukum	do

Number.	Presidency of Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegate with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
35	Madras	Madras	I, III, Municipal Divisions.	Mr. P. Subrahmania Chetty	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894.
36	"	"	"	" C. B. Samuja Chetty	Vysya Syvite.	do	do
37	"	"	"	" P. N. Muthusawmy Naidu	Hindu.	do	do
38	"	"	"	" P. Murugesu Chetty	do	Landholder	do
39	"	"	"	" Sreeramulier Naidu	do	Merchant	do
40	"	"	"	" C. Subbau Rao Saheb	do	Jaghirdar	do
41	"	"	"	" C. G. Mursalim Rowthar	Masalman.	Merchant	do
42	"	"	"	" P. M. Mahamad Makdum Rowthar.	do	do	do
43	"	"	"	" V. Jagannadhan Naidu	Hindu Sudra.	Manager, City P. and P. Co., Seven Wells Street	do
44	"	"	"	" T. S. Theagaraja Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Black Town	do
45	"	"	"	" A. Subramania Iyer	do	Teacher, Christian College, Madras	do
46	"	"	"	" N. Lakshmanasawmy Mudliar, B.A.	Hindu Sudra.	Tutor, Christian College	do
47	"	"	"	" B. Parthasarathy Naidu	do	Merchant, 34 Subraya Mndali Street, Black Town	do
48	"	"	"	" B. Ramasawmy Naidu	do	do	do
49	"	"	"	" P. Doraisawmy Mudliar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court; Secretary, People's Club	do
50	"	"	"	" N. R. Adipuram Pillai	do	Dubash, Binny & Co., Madras	do
51	"	"	"	" K. M. M. S. T. Somasundaram Chetty	do	Merchant, Coral Merchant Street	do
52	"	"	"	" M. Varada Chetty	Hindu Vysya.	Vakil, High Court	do
53	"	"	"	" P. V. Krishnaswami Chetty, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
54	"	"	"	" C. Ramanuja Chetty	do	Government Pensioner, Trivettur High Road	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
55	Madras	Madras	I, III Municipal Divisions.	Mr. C. V. Sundram Sastriyar	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894.
56	"	"	"	" C. V. Kumaraswamy Sastriar	do	do ...	do
57	"	"	"	" C. V. Visvanada Sastriar	do	Apprentice-at-Law...	do
58	"	"	"	" B. Panchapa Kesa Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
59	"	"	"	" P. B. Krishnasawmy Naidu	Sudra	Dubash, Agents, Spencer & Co.	do
60	"	"	"	" P. B. Moonasawmy Chetty	Hindu	Merchant ...	do
61	"	"	"	" G. Subrayulu Chettiyar	Vysya	Merchant, Coral Merchant Street	do
62	"	"	"	" A. Balajee Sing...	Mahratta	Contractor ...	do
63	"	"	"	" M. M. Rajagopala Chariar	Brahmin	do ...	do
64	"	"	"	" C. S. Rajaratnam Mudliar	Sudra	Merchant ...	do
65	"	"	"	" P. Krishnasawmy Mudliar	do	Broker, Eales & Co...	do
66	"	"	"	" Sankara Narayana Shastriar	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	do
67	"	"	"	Miss Müller, B.A., Cam.	European	House Proprietor, London and Member, London School Board	do
68	"	"	"	Mr. T. Venkata Subbiar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	do
69	"	"	"	" T. S. Narayana Shastriar, B.A.	do	Law Student ...	do
70	"	"	"	" S. Subbiah Chettiar	Vysya	Attorney-at-Law ...	do
71	"	"	"	" A. V. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
72	"	"	"	" T. V. Apparao Naidu	Hindu. Andi. Vellama.	Merchant and Special Magistrate, Sembiam	do
73	"	"	"	" T. Krishnasawmy Chetty	Hindu.	Merchant, 8 Guruwappen Street	do
74	"	"	"	" S. Annu Chetty....	do	do ...	do
75	"	"	II Municipal Division.	" P. Somasundram Chettiar	Hindu Sudra	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
76	"	"	"	" K. Ramanuja Chariar, B.A.	Brahmin	Tutor, Pachhiappa's College	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
77	Madras	Madras	II. Municipal Division.	Mr. Bisesarnath Chandik	Kshattrya	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
78	"	"	"	" P. Desikachari, B.A.	Brahmin	Teacher, Pachhiappa's College.	do
79	"	"	"	" N. Balasubramania Mudliar, M.A.	Hindu Sudra	Pachhiappa's College.	do
80	"	"	"	" T. Sitarama Chetti.	Vysya	Merchant, Moses & Co., Mount Road	do
81	"	"	"	" P. M. Sivagnana Mudliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	Vakil, High Court ...	do
82	"	"	"	" T. Ethiraju Mudliar	do	do ...	do
83	"	"	"	" C. Venkata Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	do ...	do
84	"	"	"	" V. Chengalva Vardappa	do	do ...	do
85	"	"	"	" K. Venkata Lingam Chetti	Hindu.	do ...	do
86	"	"	"	" M. Venkata Rao...	Brahmin.	Merchant ...	do
87	"	"	"	" S. Gurusawmy Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	Vysya.	Vakil, High Court, Black Town	do
88	"	"	"	" S. Thirumalaisawmy Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	do	do ...	do
89	"	"	"	" Bysani Rungiah Chetty	do	Merchant ...	do
90	"	"	"	" S. Nathusawmy Chetty	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
91	"	"	"	" S. Varadarajulu Chetty, B.A., B.L.	do	do ...	do
92	"	"	"	" N. S. Rajaram Iyer	Brahmin.	Landholder and Merchant	do
93	"	"	"	" S. P. Ramakrishna Naidu	Hindu.	Landholder, 24, Krishna Street, Muthialpett	do
94	"	"	"	" C. Ethirajulu Chettiar	Vysya.	Merchant ...	do
95	"	"	"	" T. Doraisawmy Iyer	Brahmin.	Cashkeeper, Messrs. Parry & Co.	do
96	"	"	"	" A. Kondiah Chettiar	Vysya.	Merchant, Armenian Street	do
97	"	"	"	" Venkata Krishna ma Chetty	do	Merchant ...	do
98	"	"	"	" G. T. Alwar Chettiar	do	Merchant and Landholder	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
99	Madras	Madras	VII. Municipal Division.	Mr. P. S. Raghava Charriar, B.A.	Brahmin.	Teacher, Pachhiappa's College	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
100	"	"	"	" R. Sriramulu Shastriar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Adiapa Naicker Street, Black Town	do
101	"	"	"	" Krishnama Charriar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Mint Street	do
102	"	"	"	" S. P. Venkata Ramanaajulu Naidu	Hindu.	Ship Dubash ...	do
103	"	"	"	" P. Venkatachella Mndliar, B.A.	do	Teacher, Christian College	do
104	"	"	"	" W. A. Krishna-sawmy Iyer	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Triplicane	do
105	"	"	"	" C. Gopala Row ...	do	Teacher, Pachhiappa's College.	do
106	"	"	"	" Trikutam Subba Row	do	Landholder (Gooty), now at Summer House, Triplicane.	Do. & by a Special Meeting of the Hindu Progressive Union, Triplicane, held on the 18th November 1894.
107	"	"	"	" M. K. Lakshmana Charriar	do	Agent, Life Insurance Company, Bombay.	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
108	"	"	"	" T. Ruplal ...	Hindu Gujerati.	Landlord & Merchant.	do
109	"	"	"	" T. Balakrishna Doss	do	do ...	do
110	"	"	"	" W. Uttam Chand.	do	do ...	do
111	"	"	"	" C. Thirumalai Naidu	Hindu.	Landlord ...	do
112	"	"	"	" B. V. Krishna Rao	Brahmin.	Superintendent, Bel-lary Bank	do
113	"	"	"	" A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu	Hindu.	Editor, <i>Andra Pyakashika</i>	do
114	"	"	"	" P. K. Kothandurama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
115	"	"	"	" M. A. Singra Chariar	do	Cashier, Madras Bank	do
116	"	"	"	" M. A. Gopala Chari, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
117	"	"	"	" M. A. Parthasarathy Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	do	do ...	do
118	"	"	"	" A. Bhimasena Rao.	do	Manager, <i>Janopakarani</i> Office	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
119	Madras	Madras	VII Municipal Division.	Mr. C. Kamalanatham Naidu	Hindu.	Coach Builder, Mount Road	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
120	"	"	"	" G. Sivarama Brahmagnyanam	Brahmin.	Joint Editor, <i>Andra Prakashika</i>	do
121	"	"	"	" Peter Paul Pillai...	Christian Velala.	Agent, Landholders' Association	do
122	"	"	"	" V. Krishnasawmy Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Merchant, 8 Guruwappa Street	do
123	"	"	"	" C. N. Kalyanasundara Mudliar	Sndra.	Clerk, Madras Bank...	do
124	"	"	"	" G. Varada Naidu...	do	Shrotrianddar, Chintadripet	do
125	"	"	"	" T. Ganshyam Singh	Rajput.	Proprietor, City Stables	do
126	"	"	"	" K. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
127	"	"	"	" S. Samana, B.A. ...	do	Landlord, Mill Owner	Do., also by a Public Meeting of the Students of Madras on the 21st December 1894.
128	"	"	"	" Bashyam Iyengar, B.A.	do	Chemists and Druggists, Triplicane	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
129	"	"	"	" A. Viraraghava Chariar	do	Clerk, Madras Bank	do
130	"	"	"	" S. Raghava Chariar	do	Contractor ...	do
131	"	"	"	" M. Viraraghava Chariar	do	Manager, <i>The Hindu</i> .	do
132	"	"	"	" A. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	Yogi ...	do
133	"	"	"	" P. Krishna Rao, L.M.S.	do	Surgeon, 117 Viraraghava Mudali Street.	do
134	"	"	"	" D. R. Balaji Rao, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
135	"	"	"	" A. Sankaran Iyer, B.A., F.M.U.	do	Retired Dewan Peshkar, Cochin, 21 Nalalambi Street, Triplicane.	do
136	"	"	"	" G. Subramania Aiyar, B.A.	do	Editor, <i>The Hindu</i> ...	do
137	"	"	"	" S. Varada Chari ...	do	Partner, Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co.	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Name in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
138	Madras	Madras	VII Municipal Division.	Mr. S. Srinivasa Chari.	Brahmin	Partner, Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co.	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
139	"	"	"	" Parathasarathy Iyengar	do	Yogi.	do
140	"	"	VIII Municipal Division.	" P. R. Sundram Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
141	"	"	"	" S. Gopaldaswamy Aiyengar	do	do ...	do
142	"	"	"	" T. Raja Gopalachari, M.A., B.L.	do	Head Master, Wesleyan Mission College, Royapettah	do
143	"	"	"	" T. R. Ramanathayyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vernacular Superintendent, Pachhappa's College	do
144	"	"	"	" K. P. Sankara Menon, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Malayali Sudra	Vakil, High Court, Mylapore	do
145	"	"	"	" K. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	do ...	do
146	"	"	"	" R. Kuppusawmy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	do ...	do
147	"	"	"	" M. Punithavelu Mudliar, B.A.	Hindu Sudra	Land Owner, Mylapore	do
148	"	"	"	" M. Manikam Mudliar.	do	Contractor ...	do
149	"	"	"	" P. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Attorney-at-Law, Mylapore	do
150	"	"	"	" R. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Mylapore	do
151	"	"	"	" A. Ramamurthi Mudliar.	Hindu Sudra	Vakil's Clerk, Mylapore	do
152	"	"	"	" M. Venugopal Pillai.	do	Banker and Government Pensioner	do
153	"	"	"	" M. Swaminada Mudliar.	do	Landholder, Mylapore	do
154	"	"	"	" V. R. Kuppusamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	do
155	"	"	"	" Eardley Norton.	European	Barrister-at-Law, Dunmore House, Mylapore	Do., also by Mylapore and Triplicane Municipal Divisions, the Students of Madras, the Triplicane Literary Union, and the Hindu Progressive Union.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
156	Madras	Madras	VIII. Municipal Division.	Mr. R. Runga Row, B.A., B.L.	Mahratta Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Mylapore	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
157	"	"	"	" V. C. Sesha Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	do	do
158	"	"	"	" T. V. Vaidyanada Iyer, M.A.	do	Professor, San Thome College	do
159	"	"	"	" T. Jivaji Row, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
160	"	"	"	" C. S. Raja Gopala Chariar	do	Landlord, Mylapore	do
161	"	"	"	" Venkata Mahapathi Naidu	Sudra	Landlord	do
162	"	"	"	" M. R. Ramakrishna Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	do
163	"	"	"	" T. Rangaramanuja Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
164	"	"	"	" E. Venkatarama Sarma, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
165	"	"	"	" C. R. Tiruvenkata Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
166	"	"	"	" V. Suryanarayana Rao, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
167	"	"	"	" R. Venkata Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
168	"	"	"	" V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
169	"	"	"	Syed Mahamad Sahib Bahadur	Musalman	Landlord, Adyar ...	do
170	"	"	"	Mr. V. Runga Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	do
171	"	"	"	" V. C. Desika Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
172	"	"	"	" Kasthuriranga Iyengar B.A., B.L.,	do	do	do
173	"	"	"	Dewan Bahadur S. Soobramanya Iyer, C.I.E., B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, The Luz, Mylapore	do
174	"	"	"	Mr. R. Balajie Row, B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Mylapore	do
175	"	Tanjore.	Mayavaram	" M. S. Natesa Aiyar	do	Mirasidar, Mayavaram	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1894.
176	"	"	"	" N. P. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	Schoolmaster, Municipal High School.	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
177	Madras.	Tanjore	Mayavaram	Mr. N. P. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A., L.T.	Brahmin	Asst. Master, Municipal High School.	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1894.
178	"	"	"	" S. Narayanaswamy Iyer, B.A.	do	Head Master, Municipal High School.	do
179	"	"	"	" S. Vaidyanathier.	do	Pleader	do
180	"	"	"	" A. V. Subramania Iyer	do	Mirasidar and Municipal Councillor.	do
181	"	"	"	" I. Kodandaramier.	do	Mirasidar	do
182	"	"	"	" Swamiada Pillai	Hindu Velala	do	do
183	"	"	"	" M. Sivaswamy Shastriar	Brahmin	1st Grade Pleader	do
184	"	"	"	" K. Latchmans Iyer	do	Municipal Councillor and Honorary Magistrate	do
185	"	"	Negapatam.	" S. Kuppaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Negapatam.	By Public Meetings held on the 27th November and 5th September 1894.
186	"	"	"	" T. B. Panchapakesa Chettiar	Hindu Sudra	Landholder	do
187	"	"	"	" R. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A.	Brahmin	Landholder, Pleader, Member District and Taluq Boards, Tanjore and Negapatam	do
188	"	"	"	" P. Rathnasabhapathi Pillai, B.A.	Hindu Velala	Vakil, District Court	do
189	"	"	"	" G. S. Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Professor, Wesleyan Mission College	do
190	"	"	"	" R. Vahideva Naidu	Hindu Sudra	Schoolmaster	do
191	"	"	"	" Kunjithapatham Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
192	"	"	"	" T. S. Sivavadinahi Udayar	Hindu	Landlord	do
193	"	"	"	" K. Krishna Row.	Brahmin	Pleader	do
194	"	"	"	" C. A. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	do	do	do
195	"	"	"	" P. T. Tincaninatha Shastri.	do	do	do
196	"	"	"	" B. S. Nataraja Shastri, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
197	"	"	"	" S. A. Balakrishna, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
198	Madras	Tanjore	Patnkota.	Mr. Vijaya Raghunatha Thirumalai Singupuliar	Hindu Sudra	Zemindar, Kollarkota.	By a Public Meeting held on the 15th December 1894.
199	"	"	"	" P. V. Ramasandra Iyer	Brahmin	Journalist, Tanjore ...	do
200	"	"	"	" T. S. Govindaswamy Pillai	Hindu	Mirasidar ...	do
201	"	"	"	" K. F. N. Naina Mahamad Lavvai Marakayar Avergal.	Musalman.	Merchant ...	do
202	"	"	"	" S. Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do
203	"	"	Mannargudi.	" Gopalasawmy Iyengar	do	School Manager, Mannargudi	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894.
204	"	"	"	" Sadagopa Mudliar.	Hindu Velala	Mirasidar, Kottur ...	do
205	"	"	"	" K. G. Srinivasa Mudliar	do	Mirasidar, Municipal Councillor, Mannargudi	do
206	"	"	"	" D. Kuppasawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Mirasidar ...	do
207	"	"	"	" V. Anantharaman Iyer	do	Merchant ...	do
208	"	"	"	" R. Rajappier ...	do	Municipal Councillor and Member, Taluq Board	do
209	"	"	"	" S. Venkataramier.	do	Mirasidar ...	do
210	"	"	"	" Dasaratha Rama Iyer	do	do ...	do
211	"	"	"	" A. J. Doraiswamy Mudliar	Hindu Sudra	Landholder ...	do
212	"	"	"	" S. Ramadurai Iyer	Brahmin	Mirasidar ...	do
213	"	"	Nannilam.	" G. S. Subramania Iyer	do	Pleader, Negapatam.	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894
214	"	"	"	" S. Srinivasa Raghava Chariar	do	Vakil, District Court.	do
215	"	"	"	" M. Chidambaram Pillai	Hindu Velala	Vakil, High Court ...	do
216	"	"	"	" P. Sabhapathi Iyer	Brahmin	Mirasidar ...	do
217	"	"	"	" G. Sambasiva Aiyar Avergal.	do	Mirasidar and Pleader	do

Number	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
218	Madras	Tanjore	Mannargudi.	Mr. A. Thiagaraja Iyer	Brahmin	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894
219	"	"	"	" S. Krishnasawmy Iyengar	do	Mirasidar	do
220	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Naidu	Hindu	Landholder, Member, District and Taluq Boards	do
221	"	"	"	" Govindaswamy Iyer	do	Landholder and Member, District Board	do
222	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur S. A. Swaminada Iyer	Brahmin	Government Pleader, Tanjore; Landholder and Member, District Board and Devasathanam Committee	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
223	"	"	"	Mr. S. A. Ananthanarayana Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
224	"	"	"	" S. Ramachandra Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	do ...	do
225	"	"	"	" C. Gopal Row, B.A., B.L.	do	Mirasidar	do
226	"	"	"	" C. Rajagopal Pillai	Hindu Velala	do ...	do
227	"	"	"	" T. V. Kuppusawmy Shastriar, B.A.	Brahmin	Pleader and Landholder	do
228	"	"	Tanjore.	" T. N. Ramier, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader ...	do
229	"	"	"	" T. Sadasiva Row, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Mirasidar	do
230	"	"	"	" S. Venkatasubier.	do	Pleader ...	do
231	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. K. Kalayanasundaram Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Landholder, Member, Madras Legislative Council	do
232	"	"	"	" K. S. Srinivasa Pillai.	Hindu Velala.	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
233	"	"	"	" G. P. Subramania Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
234	"	"	"	" Bucharam Sahib Sirdar	Kshattriya.	Tanjore Royal Family.	do
235	"	"	"	" Raghunatha Jadava Rao Sahib	do	do ...	do
236	"	"	Tiruvalur.	" M. Ramanada Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
237	Madras	Tanjore	Tiravalur	Mr. K. Virasawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Second Grade Pleader and Union Chairman.	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1894.
238	"	"	"	" T. K. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	Pleader	do
239	"	"	"	" N. Vaithinada Aiyar	do	do	do
240	"	"	"	" T. R. Vaithinada Aiyar	do	do	do
241	"	"	"	" K. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar	do	Vakil, District Court.	do
242	"	"	"	" K. Ramaswami Shastrial	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
243	"	"	"	" T. Somasundaram Mudliar	Sudra.	Mirasidar	do
244	"	"	"	" K. Sesa Iyer	Brahmin.	Landholder and Retired Magistrate	do
245	"	"	"	" A. Varadaraja Iyengar	do	Landlord	do
246	"	"	Combacorum.	" S. Krishnasamy Iyer, B.A.	do	Head Master, Town High School	do
247	"	"	"	" N. Krishnasawmy Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Mirasidar	do
248	"	"	"	" T. S. Sivaswamy Iyengar	do	Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Councillor	do
249	"	"	"	" A. L. Thiruvengadam Pillai	Hindu Velala.	Mirasidar and Municipal Councillor	do
250	"	"	"	" P. Thambisawmy Mudliar	Indian Christian.	Mirasidar and Municipal Councillor	do
251	"	"	Kuttalam.	" M. R. Ramanadier, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th November 1894.
252	"	"	Shiyali.	" N. Natesa Iyer	do	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1894
253	"	"	"	" C. Sabanayaga Mudliar	Hindu Velala.	do	do
254	"	"	Tiruvadi.	" N. C. Srinivasa Chari	Brahmin	Mirasidar and Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
255	"	"	"	" K. K. Ramier, B.A.	do	Head Master, High School	do
256	"	"	Tiraturai-pundi.	" G. Venkatarenga Chariar	do	Pleader and Member Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
257	Madras	Tanjore	Tirnturai-pundi	Mr. Ramalinga Mudaliar	Hindu Velala.	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.
258	"	Trichinopoly.	Srirangam.	" K. S. Kuppasawmy Aiyengar	Brahmin.	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
259	"	"	"	" Sadarasanam Chakram Aiyengar	do	Jewel Merchant	do
260	"	"	"	" Kovalagudi Rengaswamy Iyengar	do	Mirasidar and Municipal Councillor	do
261	"	"	"	" S. Ramanujam Iyengar	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
262	"	"	Lalgudi.	" T. Kanagasabasa Pillai	Hindu	Mirasidar, Kuhur	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
263	"	"	"	" A. Chidambara Iyer.	Brahmin.	Mirasidar	do
264	"	"	"	" A. K. Narayanaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Valuer and Contractor.	do
265	"	"	"	" Annaswamy Iyer.	do	Mirasdar, Lalgudi	do
266	"	"	Trichinopoly	" Vyasa Row, B.A.	do	Assistant Professor of Science, S. P. G. College	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
267	"	"	"	" T. Sadasiva Tawker	do	Merchant	do
268	"	"	"	" Umamabeswara Iyer	do	Mirasidar, and Municipal Councillor	do
269	"	"	"	" T. S. Palaniswamy Pillay, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Velala	Vakil, High Court	do
270	"	"	"	" S. R. Rengaswamy Aiyengar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Landholder and Vakil	do
271	"	"	"	" S. Kuppasawmy Sarma, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, District Board	do
272	"	"	"	" S. B. Krishnaswamy Iyengar	do	Mirasidar, Srirangam	do
273	"	"	"	" K. Vasudeva Iyengar	do	Mirasidar and Municipal Commissioner, Srirangam	do
274	"	"	"	" T. B. Kuppaswamy Iyengar	do	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board	do
275	"	"	"	" R. Kuppaswamy Iyengar	do	Pleader	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
276	Madras	Trichinopoly	Trichinopoly	Mr. K. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar	Brahmin	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
277	"	"	"	Mr. S. Ramachandra Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, District Board	do
278	"	"	"	Mr. P. G. Sundaresa Shastriar, B.A.	do	Manager, National High School	do
279	"	"	"	Mr. M. A. Tirunarayana Achari, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
280	"	"	"	Mr. R. M. P. Venkatesa Row	do	Mirasidar, Peranur...	do
281	"	"	"	Mr. M. S. Anantharatnam Iyer	do	Mirasidar and Honorable Magistrate	do
282	"	"	"	Mr. C. Chellappa Chettiar	Hindu	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	do
283	"	"	"	Mr. Tulagaram Tawker	Brahmin	Merchant	do
284	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Sanjeeva Rao	do	Pleader	do
285	"	"	"	Mr. P. Olagappa Pillai	Hindu Sudra	Proprietor of the <i>Southern Star Press</i>	do
286	"	"	Kulitalai	Mr. B. V. Renga Row...	do	Mirasidar, Vice-President, Taluq Board and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
287	"	"	"	Mr. M. S. Narayanaswamy Iyer	Brahmin.	Pleader, Chairman, Union; Member, Taluq and District Boards, and Devasthan Committee	do
288	"	"	"	Mr. P. T. Rengaswamy Iyengar	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
289	"	"	"	Mr. V. V. Narayanaswamy Iyer	do	Pleader	do
290	"	"	"	Mr. M. K. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
291	"	"	"	Mr. N. Swamy Iyer, B.A.	do	Pleader	do
292	"	"	"	Mr. K. T. Chandrasekara Row	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
293	"	"	"	Mr. P. T. Varada Iyengar	do	do	do
294	"	"	"	Mr. M. M. Venkatramier	do	Pleader, Mirasidar and Member, Panchayet	do
295	"	"	"	Mr. V. K. Seshatayee Iyer.	do	Mirasidar	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
296	Madras	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore.	Mr. V. Kuppasawmy Iyer	Brahmin.	Pleader, Coimbatore...	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
297	"	"	"	" R. Venga Iyer ...	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
298	"	"	"	" J. Krishna Iyengar	do	Pleader ...	do
299	"	"	"	" C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar, B.A.	do	Land Owner, Coimbatore	Do., also by the Hindu Progressive Union.
300	"	"	"	" K. V. Srinivasa Shastri	do	Mirasidar and Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
301	"	"	"	" P. M. Chakrapani Chetty, B.A.	Vysya.	1st Grade Pleader ...	do
302	"	"	"	" C. C. Venkataramana Iyer	Brahmin.	do ...	do
303	"	"	"	" T. S. Balakrishnier, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, Local Board	do
304	"	"	"	" K. Narayana Sastri.	do	do ...	do
305	"	"	"	" N. V. Varadachari.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
306	"	"	"	" K. Sessa Iyer ...	do	Landholder and Member, District Board	do
307	"	"	"	" B. Vencatachala Mudliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	1st Grade Pleader ...	do
308	"	"	"	" C. A. Vencatakrishna Iyer	Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
309	"	"	"	" S. P. Narasimhalu Naidu	Hindu Velala.	Editor, <i>The Crescent</i> ; Honorary Magistrate, Member, District and Taluq Boards	do
310	"	"	"	" N. K o l a n d a v e l u Pillai	do	Merchant, Proprietor, Joseph and Co.; Municipal Councillor, Joint Secretary, Brahmo Samaj, Coimbatore	do
311	"	"	"	" V. A. Kulasekara Mudliar	do	Banker, Mettupalayam.	do
312	"	"	"	" Girija Chettiar ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Director, Janopakaranidhi Sugar Manufactory	do
313	"	"	"	" V. T. Seshachalam Mudliar	Velala.	Secretary, Sugar Manufactory, Director, Cotton Mill	do
314	"	"	"	" C. Sadasiva Mudliar	do	Banker, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
315	Madras.	Coimbatore.	Coimbatore	Mr. C. M. Padmanabha Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
316	"	"	"	" M. Sambandha Mudliar, B.A.	Hindu.	Landholder and Merchant	do
317	"	"	"	" Vittaldas Sait	do	Merchant, Tiruppur	do
318	"	"	"	" A. T. Thiruvencataswamy Mudliar	Sudra.	Abkari Contractor ...	do
319	"	"	"	" V. E. Krishna Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...	do
320	"	"	"	" G. Kasturi Iyengar.	do	Assistant Master, College	do
321	"	"	"	" K. Chavadappier, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
322	"	"	"	" S. Kadar Khan ...	Masalman.	Merchant and Landholder, Udampett	do
323	"	"	Erode.	" M. Govinda Row...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Erode ...	do
324	"	"	"	" G. Kasthuri Aiyengar.	do	Assistant Master ...	do
325	"	"	Karathur.	" V. Krishnier ...	do	Landholder ...	do
326	"	"	"	" Eswara Iyer ...	do	Editor, <i>Haladam Am.</i>	do
327	"	"	Dharpuram.	" D. Alagirisawmy Naidu	Hindu Sudra	Sowkar and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
328	"	"	"	" R. Ramachandra Naidu	do	Landholder ...	do
329	"	"	Kanyur.	" N. V. Desikachariar, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Coimbatore	By the Amravathi Mahajana Sabha on the 28th October 1894
330	"	"	"	" V. S. Ramaswamy Shastriar	do	Pleader ...	do
331	"	"	"	" N. C. Narasimha Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, District Court	do
332	"	"	"	" C. Nageswarier ...	do	Pleader ...	do
333	"	"	"	" K. N. Venkataraman Iyer	do	Secretary, Mahajana Sabha	do
334	"	"	"	" C. K. Vencatagiri Shastri	do	Landlord ...	do
335	"	"	"	" C. Krishnier ...	do	do	do
336	"	"	"	" C. N. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	do	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
337	Madras.	Coimbatore	Kanyur	Mr. C. S. Anantha Krishnier	Brahmin	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894
338	"	"	"	" S. Visvanathier	do	do	do
339	"	"	"	" S. Balakrishna Shastri	do	Banker	do
340	"	"	"	" S. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	Landlord	do
341	"	"	Satyamangalam,	" P. S. Srinivasa Iyer	do	Vakil	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
342	"	"	"	" Ramakrishna Shastri	do	Mirasidar	do
343	"	"	"	" S. S. Sivaswamy Shastriar	do	do	do
344	"	"	Udamalpet.	" A. Srinavasa Iyer	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894
345	"	"	"	" T. S. Ramaswamy Shastri	do	do	do
346	"	"	Karur.	" T. R. Ramachandra Iyer	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
347	"	"	Kollegal.	" A. S. Narayana Row	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1894
348	"	"	Bhavani.	" Venkatarenga Chetty	Vysya	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894
349	"	South Arcot.	Tindivanam.	" P. S. Venkataramier	Brahmin	Pleader, Tindivanam.	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894
350	"	"	"	" V. Muthusawmy Aiyar	do	do	do
351	"	"	"	" H. Baghavendra Rao	do	do	do
352	"	"	"	" C. Ramanujachari	do	do	do
353	"	"	"	" T. A. Subiaswamy Chetty	Hindu Sudra	do	do
354	"	"	"	" T. Sundararama Iyer	Brahmin	do	do
355	"	"	"	" T. K. Venkatarama Iyer	do	2nd Grade Pleader...	do
356	"	"	"	" Agaram Sundara Iyer	do	1st Grade Pleader and Assistant Public Prosecutor	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
357	Madras	South Arcot	Tindivanam	Mr. P. Narasimha Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
358	"	"	Cuddalore	" Thiruvankata Chariar	do	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
359	"	"	"	" Lakshminarayana Reddiar	Hindu Sudra	Landholder, Kullapattam	do
360	"	"	"	" P. Sama Ran Gari	Brahmin	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Thirupapuliyur.	do
361	"	"	"	" S. Rajagopala Chari, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader	do
362	"	"	"	" R. Srinivasa Iyengar	do	do	do
363	"	"	"	" A. Raghava Chariar	do	Landholder	do
364	"	"	"	" V. Krishnamurthy Row	do	Pleader	do
365	"	"	"	" M. Appaji Reddiar	Hindu	Landholder	do
366	"	"	"	" P. S. Arumugha Pillai	do	Assistant, Messrs. Joseph & Sons.	do
367	"	"	"	" S. Subramanya Reddiar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court...	do
368	"	"	"	" T. Subbraya Chettiar	do	Merchant	do
369	"	"	"	" A. Rama Row	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
370	"	"	"	" N. S. Natesa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	1st Grade Pleader	do
371	"	"	"	" C. Subramaniah.	do	Mirasidar	do
372	"	"	"	" S. Lakshminarasimha Iyer	do	Landholder	do
373	"	"	"	" S. Angappa Chetty	Vysya	Merchant	do
374	"	"	Villupuram.	" K. N. Ramanuja Chari	Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
375	"	"	"	" T. Sankara Aiyar	do	do	do
376	"	"	"	" Arunachella Mudliar	Hindu Velala	Headmaster, Hindu Primary School	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894.
377	"	"	Chidambaram.	" M. C. Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmin.	Mirasidar, Pleader, and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894.
378	"	"	"	" T. N. Desika Chariar	do	Pleader and Landholder.	do

Number.	Principality or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
379	Madras	South Arcot.	Chidambaram.	Mr. A. Rengaswamy Pillai	Hindu Velala.	Mirasidar and Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894
380	"	"	"	" Tillai Nayagam Pillai	do	Mirasidar	do
381	"	"	"	" Nagabhushanam Pillai	do	do	do
382	"	"	"	" Kuppu Pillai	do	do	do
383	"	"	"	" H. Muthusawmy Mudliar	do	Merchant	do
384	"	"	"	" K. Varada Chariar.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
385	"	"	"	" T. H. Jaganatha Iyer	do	Landholder & Schoolmaster	do
386	"	"	"	" V. Swaminatha Jetavalabha, B.A.	do	Mirasidar and Head Master Pachhiappa's High School and Municipal Councillor	do
387	"	"	"	" V. Desika Chariar.	do	Pleader	do
388	"	"	"	" C. Rengasawmy Iyengar	do	Pleader and Mirasidar	do
389	"	"	"	" B. Appa Rao	do	Landlord	do
390	"	"	Nellikuppam.	Moy-ud-deen Ibrahim-Sahib.	Masalman.	Merchant	do
391	"	"	Porto Novo.	Mr. T. A. Thetha Mudliar	Hindu Sudra.	do	do
392	"	"	Tirukoilur.	" C. V. Narayanasawmy Iyer	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
393	"	"	Thiruvendipuram.	" T. Sankara Iyer	do	do	do
394	"	Malabar	Palghat	" P. S. Sesa. Iyer	do	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
395	"	"	"	" K. P. Achyutha Menon.	Hindu Nair	1st Grade Pleader, and Honorary Magistrate Municipal Councillor, Palghat	do
396	"	"	"	" S. Viraraghava Iyer.	Brahmin	Landed Proprietor	do
397	"	"	"	" K. Govinda Menon.	Hindu Nair	2nd Grade Pleader, Ottapatam.	do
398	"	"	"	" T. L. Viraraghava Pathar.	Brahmin	Banker and Landed Proprietor and Municipal Councillor	do
399	"	"	"	Hon. C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nair	Vakil, High Court and Member, Madras Legislative Council	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
400	Madras	Malabar	Palghant	Mr. P. S. Chinna-swamy Pillai	Velala	Landholder, Member, District Board and Chairman, Municipal Council	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
401	"	"	"	" P. A. Ramaswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Landholder and Pleader	do
402	"	"	"	" Kunnathal Madampil Raman Unni Muppil Nair of Manargul	Hindu Nair	Landlord	do
403	"	"	"	Dr. A. Theyzumu Menon	do	Medical Practitioner	do
404	"	"	"	Mr. V. P. Venkata Chariar	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
405	"	"	"	" T. R. Viraraghavam Pattar.	do	Landlord and Merchant	do
406	"	"	"	" V. Raman Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nair	Vakil, High Court	do
407	"	"	"	" V. Venga Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	do
408	"	"	Calicut	" K. U. Narayana Menon.	Hindu Nair	Editor, <i>Malabar and Travancore Spectator</i>	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
409	"	"	"	" P. C. Amman Raja	do	Landlord and Member of the Zamorin's Family at Calicut	do
410	"	"	"	" C. Sankurri Menon	do	Assistant Secretary, Kerala Mahajana Sabha	do
411	"	"	"	" K. Ramanurri Nair	do	Landlord	do
412	"	"	"	" K. C. Manavikraman Raja	Hindu Samantha	Landlord and Member, Zamorin's Family; Secretary, Karala Mahajana Sabha	do
413	"	"	"	" Chanthroth Valia C. Nambiar	Hindu Nair	Landlord and Member, District Board	do
414	"	"	"	" P. A. Krishna Menon	do	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
415	"	"	"	" K. R. Subramania Shastri	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court	do
416	"	"	"	" R. Devaraja Iyer	do	Assistant Master, High School	do
417	"	"	"	" L. R. Subramania Iyer	do	Merchant	do
418	"	"	"	" M. Krishna Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nair	Vakil, High Court	do
419	"	"	"	" N. Subramania Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
420	Madras	Malabar	Calicut	Mr. S. Kadri Kutty Keyi	Masalman	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
421	"	"	"	" M. Gopala Menon.	Hindu Nair	Vakil, High Court	do
422	"	"	"	" C. M. Rarichan	Hindu Tier	Landholder	do
423	"	"	"	" C. Karunakara Menon	Hindu Nair	Assistant Manager, <i>The Hindu</i>	do
424	"	"	"	" C. Adinarayana Nair	do	Pleader	do
425	"	"	"	" K. R. Ramaswami Iyer	Brahmin	do	By a Public Meeting of the Kerala Mahajan Sabha on the 3rd December 1894
426	"	"	Cannanore	" C. Kuntri Kannan Vaidhya	Hindu.	Dewan to H. H. Sultan Ali, Rajah of Cannanore	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th November 1894.
427	"	"	"	" V. Kuntri Raman Nair	do	Landlord and Member, District Board	do
428	"	"	Tellicherry	" T. S. Narayana Kurup, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Nair	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894.
429	"	"	"	" M. Gopala Menon	do	Pleader	do
430	"	"	"	" P. K. Kelappa Kurup, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court	do
431	"	"	Mangalore	" C. Krishna Batta	Brahmin	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
432	"	Tinnevely.	Ambasamudram.	" Sadhu Ramasubbier	do	General Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Ambasamudram	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th November 1894.
433	"	"	"	" T. V. Lakshmana Iyengar	do	Pleader and Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Ambasamudram	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
434	"	"	"	" R. Subbier	do	do	do
435	"	"	"	" H. T. Subbasami Iyer	do	do	do
436	"	"	"	" A. S. Rama Subbier	do	Landholder	do
437	"	"	"	" Thenatha Paly Nalla Kutti Siva Subramania Thever	Hindu Sudra.	Zemindar, Singapatti	do
438	"	"	"	" Sankarasubbiah Iyer	Brahmin.	Landlord & Merchant.	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
439	Madras	Tinnevely	Ambasamudram	Mr. Sundara Karayalam Pillai	Sudra.	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.
440	"	"	"	" Devanayagam Pillai	Velala.	Contractor	do
441	"	"	Tinnevely	" S. Kalyanarama Iyer.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court and Landholder	do
442	"	"	"	" K. R. Guruswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Landholder & Pleader	do
443	"	"	"	" T. B. Sulochanam Mudliar	Hindu.	Landlord, Vennarpet	do
444	"	"	"	" P. N. Venkatachala Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Member, Taluq Board.	do
445	"	"	"	" S. Palaniandi Mudliar	Velala.	Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	do
446	"	"	"	" V. M. Syed Rowther	Masalman.	Merchant and Director, Cotton Factory	do
447	"	"	"	" V. Chinnasawmy Iyer	Brahmin.	Vakil	do
448	"	"	"	" V. Subbasawmy Iyer	do	do	do
449	"	"	"	" K. G. Krishnasawmy Iyer	do	Pleader	do
450	"	"	"	" T. K. Thirumalayappa Pillai	Hindu.	Landholder, Merchant and Temple Trustee	do
451	"	"	"	" T. S. Subramania Pillai	Velala.	Landholder & Pleader	do
452	"	"	"	" P. M. Kailasam Pillai	do	Landholder, Pleader, and Secretary, Hindu College Committee	do
453	"	"	"	" S. Varadarajier	Brahmin.	Vakil	do
454	"	"	"	" A. R. Krishnier	do	Vakil and Landholder	do
455	"	"	"	" P. Muthukumarasawmy Pillai	Velala.	Mittadar	do
456	"	"	"	" G. Ramabadrer	Brahmin.	Vakil and Landlord...	do
457	"	"	"	" Kanthimathinatha Pillai	Velala.	Mittadar and Devasthanam Trustee	do
458	"	"	"	" A. V. Thirumalayappa Pillai	Hindu Sudra.	Member, Devasthanam Committee	do
459	"	"	"	" K. Baghunatha Iyer	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Puthur	do
460	"	"	"	" C. R. Kanthimathinatha Pillai	Hindu Velala.	Mittadar and 1st Grade Pleader	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and address.	How and when elected.
461	Madras	Tinnevely	Tinnevely	Mr. J. T. Srinivasagam Pillai	Hindu Velala	Vakil, High Court, Palamcottah	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.
462	"	"	Gopalamudrum.	" G. R. Sankarier ...	Brahmin.	Head Master, H. L. S. School, Gopalamudrum	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894.
463	"	"	Srivaikuntham.	" K. V. Srinivasa Iyer Avergal	do	Landholder & Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.
464	"	"	"	" P. Joseph Nadar Avergal	Sudra.	Pleader & Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
465	"	"	"	" S. Ponnaiah Nadar Avergal	Hindu.	President, Kayalp Salt Company	do
466	"	"	Virudapati.	" G. P. S. Shanmuga Nadar	Hindu Sudra	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894.
467	"	"	"	" S. P. Poomappu Nadar	do	do ...	do
468	"	"	"	" K. S. Manikkavasabha Nadar	do	Head Master, Hindu Middle School	do
469	"	"	Srivilliputtur.	" S. Ramiengar ...	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
470	"	"	"	" S. Raghaviengar...	do	do ...	do
471	"	"	"	" K. A. Gopalsawmy Shastriar	do	Inamdar of Chettikolam	do
472	"	"	Satur.	" C. Annamalai Mudliar	Hindu.	Agent, Sabhapathi Mudliar & Co.	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894.
473	"	Madura.	Sivagunga.	" S. R. S. Chidambaram Chetty	Hindu Sudra.	Merchant, Sivagunga	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
474	"	"	"	" M. G. Govinda Varada Iyengar	Brahmin.	Pleader & Landholder	do
475	"	"	"	" Mahamu Sundara Pandya Theva	Hindu.	Sub-division Zemindar, Sivagunga, Member, Union and Landlord—Royal Family	do
476	"	"	"	" S. M. Narayanaswamy Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Head Master, Rajra High School, Sivagunga	do
477	"	"	"	" K. V. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Sivagunga...	do
478	"	"	"	" P. S. Anantha Narayana Shastriar	do	do ...	do
479	"	"	"	" P. N. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	Merchant ...	do

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480	Madras.	Madura	Sivagunga.	Mr. P. Anantha Narayana Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
481	"	"	"	" P. S. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	do ...	do
482	"	"	"	" P. S. Hari Hari Iyer	do	do ...	do
483	"	"	"	" V. Vasvanathier...	do	do ...	do
484	"	"	"	" B. Narayana-swamy Iyer	do	Teacher ...	do
485	"	"	"	" A. K. Subbaramier	do	School Master ...	do
486	"	"	Mana Madura.	" U. G. Sankara Narayana Aiyar	do	2nd Grade Pleader, Mana Madura	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
487	"	"	Madura.	" P. N. Muthuswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894.
488	"	"	"	" P. Narayana Iyer	do	Vakil, High Court; Member, District and Taluq Boards	do
489	"	"	"	" M. Vencataramier, B.A., B.L.	do	Member, Taluq Board; Editor, <i>Madura Mail</i>	do
490	"	"	"	" V. Bhashyachariar	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
491	"	"	"	" G. Srinivasa Row	do	1st Grade Pleader and Landholder	do
492	"	"	"	" P. S. Subramania	do	Pleader ...	do
493	"	"	"	" T. R. Seshier ...	do	do ...	do
494	"	"	"	" M. Madhu Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
495	"	"	"	" G. Subbarajulu Naidu	Hindu Sudra	Landholder, Sowcar, and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894.
496	"	"	"	" V. C. Sriraman Chettyar	Vysya	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	do
497	"	"	"	" C. K. Veeraswamy Naidu	Velala	Proprietor, Soap Manufactory	do
498	"	"	"	" Allu Seetharamier	Brahmin	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	do
499	"	"	"	" K. Ramiah Bhaga Nathar	do	Merchant ...	do
500	"	"	"	" V. S. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	do ...	do
501	"	"	"	" R. Muthuswamy Pillai	Sudra	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do

Number.	Presidency of Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
502	Madras	Madura	Madura.	Mr. E. S. Subramania Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894.
503	"	"	"	" P. Sankarasubbiar	do	do	do
504	"	"	"	" D. Saundra Rajiengar	do	do	do
505	"	"	"	" Perianna Nadar...	Sudra	Merchant & Member, Taluq Board	do
506	"	"	"	" M. Nagalingam Pillai	Velala	Pleader	do
507	"	"	"	" Seshadri Aiyengar	Brahmin	Sub-divisional Zemindar, Thiruthervalai	do
508	"	"	"	" C. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court	do
509	"	"	"	" V. Narayanaswamy Iyer	do	Mirasidar	do
510	"	"	"	" K. M. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	Pleader	do
511	"	"	"	" N. M. Sundaramier	do	Merchant	do
512	"	"	"	" M. K. Sankaranarayana Iyer	do	do	do
513	"	"	"	" L. K. Tholasi Row, B.A.	do	Editor, <i>Janamanoranjan</i>	do
514	"	"	"	" S. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	Merchant	do
515	"	"	"	" M. V. Subramanier	do	Manager, <i>Madura Mail</i>	do
516	"	"	"	" K. Krishnaswamy Naidu	Hindu	Editor, <i>Indian Chronicle</i>	do
517	"	"	Uttamapalayam	" M. T. Thirumalai Mudliar	Hindu Velala	Mirasidar, Uttamapalayam and Member, Taluq Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894
518	"	"	"	" P. Naraniyer	Brahmin	Mirasidar	do
519	"	"	Solavandam	" Gopala Iyengar...	do	1st Grade Pleader	do
520	"	"	"	" V. Komatchiappa Mudliar	Velala	Landholder	do
521	"	"	Periyakulam	" V. P. Rajanaier...	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894.
522	"	"	"	" S. Muthuswamy Iyer	do	Landholder, Member, District and Taluq Boards	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
523	Madras.	Madura.	Periyakulam	Mr. J. R. Muthusawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Schoolmaster, Municipal Councillor and Member, District and Taluq Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894.
524	"	"	Paramakudi	" T. V. Kotbanda Rama Iyengar	do	Pleader, Landlord, and Member, Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
525	"	"	"	" S. Vendantham Iyengar	do	Pleader and Landlord	do
526	"	"	"	" S. Venkatarama Iyengar	do	do ...	do
527	"	"	"	" P. S. Santhakrishnam Pillai	Velala	Pleader ...	do
528	"	"	Dindigul.	" T. Rajagopala Naidu	Hindu Vishnavite	Pleader, Dindigul Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
529	"	"	"	" Sneharajanulu Naidu	do	Sowcar and Landholder.	do
530	"	"	"	" N. A. Subbia Chettyar	Hindu Vysya	Sowcar and Merchant	do
531	"	"	"	" N. Ramaswamy Chettyar	do	Sowcar and Money Lender	do
532	"	"	"	" R. Venkatesa Naidu	Hindu Sudra,	Landholder and Municipal Councillor	do
533	"	"	"	" L. A. Vengasawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do
534	"	"	"	" A. R. Seetharamier	do	do ...	do
535	"	"	"	" P. R. Narayana Shastriar	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
536	"	"	"	" S. Srinivasa Iyer	do	Pleader ...	do
537	"	"	"	" A. S. Parasuramier	do	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate	do
538	"	"	Sholavandam	" Ponnambha Mudliar	Hindu Velala	Landholder ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1894.
539	"	Salem.	Salem.	" W. Virasawmy Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader, Salem ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
540	"	"	"	" E. S. Ramasamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court...	do
541	"	"	"	" S. Ramasawmy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader ...	do
542	"	"	"	" S. Krishna Row	do	do ...	do
543	"	"	"	" D. A. Balakrishnier	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
544	Madras	Salem	Salom	Mr. C. Venkataramier	Brahmin	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
545	"	"	"	" T. Ramaswamy Iyengar	do	Pleader and Landholder, Namakal	do
546	"	"	"	" S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A.	do	Pleader, Salem	do
547	"	"	"	" A. L. Arunachalam Chettiar	Hindu Sudra	Banker	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1894.
548	"	"	"	" U. Vencata Row, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader	do
549	"	"	"	" C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, B.A.	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
550	"	"	"	" V. S. Srinivasa Shastri, B.A., L.T.	do	Schoolmaster	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
551	"	"	"	" M. Rathamanabha Chetty	Hindu Vysya	Mittadar	do
552	"	"	"	" S. M. Mahamad Sahib	Masalman	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	do
553	"	"	"	" Chanda Mea Sahib	do	Merchant	do
554	"	"	"	" D. Seshagiri Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader and Member, District Board	do
555	"	"	"	" P. Raja Row	do	Pleader	do
556	"	"	"	" R. Shanmuga Mudliar	Velala	Landlord and Merchant	do
557	"	"	"	" T. Narasinga Row	Brahmin	Municipal Councillor, Shotriam Pensioner	do
558	"	"	"	" S. Kanaka Sabhai Mudliar, B.A.	Velala	Mittadar	do
559	"	"	"	" C. Varada Chariar	Brahmin	Landholder	do
560	"	"	"	" N. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	Pleader	do
561	"	"	"	" D. B. Narasier	do	do	do
562	"	"	"	" T. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court; Member. District Board	do
563	"	"	"	" C. Vencatachari	do	Landlord and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1894
564	"	"	"	" Abdul Karim Sahib	Masalman	Priest	do
565	"	"	"	" Hassan Mian Gulam Sahib	do	do	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
566	Madras	Salem	Salpm	Mr. Venkatachallappa- thi Iyer	Brahmin	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1894.
567	"	"	"	" C. Venotaramanier B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
568	"	"	"	" T. N. Subrama Shastriar	do	2nd Grade Pleader and Landholder	do
569	"	"	"	" V. R. Venkatara- mana Iyer	do	Landholder ...	do
570	"	"	"	" N. Narasinga Row	do	do ...	do
571	"	"	"	" V. Kasturi Chetty	Hindu Sudra	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate	do
572	"	"	"	" Paramasiva Kanu- dar	do	Zemindar ...	do
573	"	"	"	" Rangaya Kanudar	do	do	do
574	"	"	"	" T. Venkata Row	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do
575	"	"	"	" Venkatarama Red- diar	Hindu Sudra	Zemindar ...	do
576	"	"	Namakal	" Doraiswamy Red- diar	do	do ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
577	"	"	Thirupa- thur.	" D. Venkatarama- nier	Brahmin	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
578	"	"	"	" B. Venkatarama- nier	do	1st Grade Pleader ...	do
579	"	"	"	" S. A Venkatara- manier	do	Pleader ...	do
580	"	"	"	" C. Kalayanasundar Nadar	Hindu	Mittadar and Member, Talug Board	do
581	"	"	"	" T. Gangadharam Pillai	Hindu Sudra	Pleader ...	do
582	"	"	"	" C. Ranganadar Mudliar	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Vice-Pre- sident, Talug Board, Member, District Board	do
583	"	"	"	" T. M. Lakshmana Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do
584	"	"	"	" R. T. Ramaswamy Iyer	do	do ...	do
585	"	"	Trichen- gudi.	" S. Manika Mudliar	Hindu Sudra	2nd Grade Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
586	"	"	Royacotah.	" T. Muthukrishna Mudliar	Velala	Mitta Zemindar, Sani- tary President, Mem- ber, Talug Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
587	Madras.	Salem	Dharmapuri.	Mr. M. Ramaswamy Naidu	Hindu Sudra	Mittadar and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894.
588	"	Chingleput.	Chingleput	" M. N. Vencatachari	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1894.
589	"	"	"	" Y. M. Ramanuja Chari	do	do	do
590	"	"	"	" Samarapuri Pandaram	Sudra	Merchant	do
591	"	"	"	" Doraiswamy Mudliar	Velala	Trader and Hindu Preacher	do
592	"	"	"	" Vedagiri Chetty	Sudra	Merchant	do
593	"	"	"	" I. Alasingara Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	do
594	"	"	"	" C. Kesava Raghava Mudliar	Velala	Zemindar of Manali...	do
595	"	"	"	" C. Rajagopala Chari	Brahmin	1st Grade Pleader	do
596	"	"	"	" Ramanuja Chari ...	do	Vakil, High Court ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894.
597	"	"	"	" Vedachalla Mudliar	Hindu Vellala	Pleader & Landholder	do
598	"	"	"	" Shunngaroya Mudliar	do	Zemindar of Nalathur	do
599	"	"	"	" T. M. Srinivasa Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	do
600	"	"	Conjeeveram.	" V. Perumal Mudliar	Hindu Velala	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
601	"	"	"	" T. K. S. Ramakrishna Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader & Landholder.	do
602	"	"	"	" V. Vencata Chari	do	do	do
603	"	"	"	" C. P. Vencatachari	do	Landholder	do
604	"	"	"	" E. K. N. Appaiyengar	do	Shrothriamdar and Commission Agent	do
605	"	"	"	" D. A. Ramanuja Chari	do	Landholder and Member, District Board	do
606	"	"	"	" N. S. Bhashyam Iyer	do	Merchant and School Master	do
607	"	"	"	" A. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	Merchant	do
608	"	"	"	" C. S. Vencataramier	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected
609	Madras	Chingleput	Conjeeveram	Mr. T. K. N. Srinivasa Chari	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894.
610	"	"	"	" C. Raghava Chari.	do	do	do
611	"	"	"	" C. A. Krishnama Chari	do	do	do
612	"	"	"	" T. E. Kumaravenkata Chari	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
613	"	"	"	" P. Ramachandra Shastri	do	Pleader	do
614	"	"	"	" M. K. Ramanathasarma	do	Merchant	do
615	"	"	"	" V. S. Varadaraja Mudliar	Velala	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	do
616	"	"	"	" A. Nagamia Chettiar	Hindu	Sowcar	do
617	"	"	"	" N. Vencataraghavier	Brahmin	2nd Grade Pleader and Landlord	do
618	"	"	"	" W. Sivachidambara Mudliar	Velala	Merchant	do
619	"	"	"	" A. Valayudu Chetty	Vysya	Sowcar	do
620	"	"	Siruvallur	" P. Sanjeeviah Garoo	Brahmin	Mirasidar and Member, Sembiam Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
621	"	"	"	" V. P. Thiruvencata Chari	do	Pleader and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
622	"	"	"	" S. Ramiah Chetty.	Vysya	Merchant	do
623	"	"	Peralur	" P. Parthasarathy Naidu	Velala	Mirasidar and Member, Taluq and District Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1894.
624	"	"	Sriperam	" Vencataraghava Reddiar	Hindu Sudra	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894.
625	"	"	Chetramnur	" O. Vedachalla Mudliar	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1894.
626	"	"	Kalattur	" C. Ramabhagra Naidu	do	do	do
627	"	"	Trivallore	" A. Krishnama Charis	Brahmin	Pleader and Shrotri-yamdar	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
628	"	"	Maduranta-kam	" A. Krishnamachary	do	2nd Grade Pleader ...	do

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629	Madras	Chingleput	Madurantakam	Mr. A. Seshadri Iyengar	Brahmin	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1894.
630	"	"	"	" M. P. Rangachari.	do	do	do
631	"	"	"	" M. Vijiaraghava Chari	do	do	do
632	"	Cuddapah	Cuddapah.	" C. Chellaiya Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Indian Christian	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th October 1894.
633	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur C. Jambulingam Mudliar, B.A., M.L.	Hindu Velala	do	do
634	"	"	"	Mr. Venkadari Rangaya Chetty Garu	Hindu Vysya	Commission Agent and Landholder	do
635	"	"	"	" V. Ramaswamy Reddy	Sudra.	Landholder.	do
636	"	"	"	" Y. Pappayya Chetty	Vysya.	Merchant	do
637	"	"	"	" Krishnam Venkata Subbayya Chetty	Hindu Vysya	Pleader	do
638	"	"	"	" Murti Venkata Subbia	Baija.	Cloth Merchant	do
639	"	"	Madanapalle	" T. Narayana Shastri	Brahmin.	Headmaster, High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 7th October 1894.
640	"	"	"	" R. Giri Row, B.A....	do	First Grade Pleader and Member, Panchayat-Union	do
641	"	"	"	" M. K. Subba Row.	do	Pleader and Manager, High School, Madanapalle	do
642	"	"	"	" O. Lakshmana Sarma	do	Pleader	do
643	"	"	"	" Gunti Sriramanuja Chetty	Hindu Vysya	Trader	do
644	"	"	"	" G. Gopalakrishnaiyar	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
645	"	"	"	" B. Seshagiri Row	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
646	"	"	"	" N. Venkataramana Row, B.A.	do	do	do
647	"	"	"	" Y. Sabapathi Iyer	do	Pleader	do
648	"	"	"	" R. Madhava Row	do	do	do
649	"	"	"	" P. Andhinarayana Iyer	do	do	do

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650	Madras.	Cuddapah.	Madanapalle.	Mr. M. K. Srinavasa Iyer	Brahmin	First Assistant, High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
651	"	"	Proddutur.	" Paramahansa Bala Subramania Ramasawmy	do	Hindu Priest ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th October 1894.
652	"	"	"	" H. Ranga Row Garu	do	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
653	"	"	"	" C. S. Srinivasa Iyer Garu	do	do ...	do
654	"	"	"	" H. Kuppu Row ...	do	do ...	do
655	"	"	"	" Y. Venkatanarayana Reddy	Sudra	Landholder ...	do
656	"	"	"	" D. Narasiah Chetty Garu	Vysya	Merchant and Sowcar	do
657	"	"	"	" A. Ramacharu ...	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do
658	"	"	"	" C. Sundaracharu	do	do ...	do
659	"	"	"	" K. Chinnakondiah Chetty	Vysya	Merchant ...	do
660	"	"	"	" K. Seshiah Chetty	do	do ...	do
661	"	"	"	" Parigi Barasah Garu	Masalman.	Merchant and Agent, Bellary Cotton Press	do
662	"	"	"	" Gajjala Vencata Ramayyer	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do
663	"	"	"	" J. B. H. Venkoba Iyengar	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
664	"	"	"	" V. Narasinga Row, B.A.	do	Pleader ...	do
665	"	"	"	" Y. Nagayya Garu..	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
666	"	"	"	" K. Balasubbiah Chetty	Vysya	Merchant and Sowcar	do
667	"	"	Piler.	" B. Rangayya Row..	Brahmin.	Mirasidar, Landlord, Chairman, Union	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894.
668	"	"	Voyalpad.	" Volipalli Venkata Ramiah Chetty	Hindu Vysya.	Landlord and Sowcar	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th November 1894.
669	"	"	"	" G. Sambu Row Garu	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landholder ...	do
670	"	"	"	" S. V. Narasimha Chari	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do

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671	Madras	Cuddapah	Nandalur.	Mr. C. V. Seshagiri Row	Brahmin	Pleader and Shotri- amdar	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
672	"	"	"	" V. Srinivasa Chari	do	Pleader	do
673	"	"	"	" C. Seshiah Shastri	do	do	do
674	"	"	"	" C. P. Guru Murty Shastri	do	do	do
675	"	"	"	" C. P. Guru Murty Shastri	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
676	"	"	"	" C. Sesha Challi Iyer	do	Pleader	do
677	"	Godavery	Cocanada	" B. Venkata Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st November 1894.
678	"	"	"	" Ganjam Venkataratnam Pantulu Garu	do	Pleader and Member, District Board	do
679	"	"	"	" D. Seshagiri Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Member, District Board; Secretary, Rajah's College	do
680	"	"	"	" P. Pamrikal Row, B.A.	do	Assistant Professor, Rajah's College	do
681	"	"	"	" K. Pera Razu	do	Pleader	do
682	"	"	"	" D. Subramanyam Garu	do	do	do
683	"	"	"	" A. Rama Murti Garu	do	Merchant	do
684	"	"	"	" D. V. Hanumantha Row Garu	do	Inamdar	do
685	"	"	"	" B. Venkataratnam Garu	Vysya.	Merchant, Municipal Councillor, Member, District and Taluq Boards; Chairman, Native Chamber of Commerce	do
686	"	"	"	" P. C. Venkataratnam Garu	do	Merchant	do
687	"	"	"	" V. Padmanabham.	do	Merchant and Member, District Board	do
688	"	"	"	" P. Ramalingesa Sarma	Brahmin	Pleader	do
689	"	"	"	" C. Sivayanarayana Murti Naidu Garu	Telegu Hindu	Merchant	do
690	"	"	"	" T. Krishnaswamy Naidu Garu	Sudra.	do	do

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691	Madras.	Godavari	Ellore.	Mr. T. V. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin	Schoolmaster, C.M.S. High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
692	"	"	"	" V. Rama Row ...	do	Pleader ...	do
693	"	"	"	" K. R a g h u n a t h a Chary	do	Inamdar ...	do
694	"	"	"	" S. Sundararama Shastri	do	Pleader ...	do
695	"	"	"	" S. B. Sankaram ...	do	do ...	do
696	"	"	"	" Sitaramayar ...	do	Editor, <i>Desopakari</i> ...	do
697	"	"	"	" A. Kanaka Raju, B.A.	do	Pleader ...	do
698	"	"	"	" G. V. Siva Row ...	do	do ...	do
699	"	"	"	" Venkata Krishna Iyer	do	do ...	do
700	"	"	"	" M. Lakshmana Das	Hindu	Landholder ...	do
701	"	"	"	" M. Seetayar Garu	do	do ...	do
702	"	"	"	" W. Gopalratnam	Vysya	Pleader ...	do
703	"	"	"	" P. Gopalam, B.A. ...	Hindu	do ...	do
704	"	"	Rajahmundry.	" N. Krishna Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	do ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
705	"	"	"	" S. Bhimasankar Row	do	do ...	do
706	"	"	"	" R. Krishna Row ...	do	do ...	do
707	"	"	"	" K. Venkataratnam Garu	do	Head Master, A. E. L. M. School	do
708	"	"	"	" Shree Raja K. R. V. Krishna Row	do	Zemindar of Polavaram	do
709	"	"	"	" Ramachandra Row Pantulu Garu B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
710	"	"	"	" C. H. Venkataramayar Garu	do	Pleader ...	do
711	"	"	"	" C. Venkatachellum Garu, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court ...	do
712	"	"	"	" A. Sundraramiah Garu	do	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate	do
713	"	"	"	" S. Sambasiva Row Garu	do	Pleader ...	do
714	"	"	"	" K. Streeramulu Garu	do	do ...	do

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715	Madras	Godavery	Peddapuram.	Mr. M. C. Venkataraghava Iyengar.	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
716	"	"	"	" C. H. Seshiah Garu	do	do	do
717	"	"	"	" A. Venkataramiah Garu	do	do	do
718	"	"	"	" V. Virayya Garu...	do	Inamdar, Agent to Jagampet Zemindary	do
719	"	"	"	" Lakshmanapathi Shastri Garu	do	Schoolmaster	do
720	"	"	"	" Namali Subba Row Garu.	do	do	...
721	"	"	Narsapur.	" A. Subba Row Pantulu Garu	do	Inamdar	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894.
722	"	"	"	" M. Venkatalutchi Narasimha Charlu Garu	do	Pleader	do
723	"	"	"	" Orugunty Kantayya Garu, B.A.	do	do	do
724	"	"	Bhimavaram.	" T. Sambasiva Row, B.A.	do	Inamdar	By a Public Meeting held on the 14th October 1894.
725	"	"	Tanuku.	" K. Bhima Raza Garu	Kshattriya.	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd November 1894.
726	"	"	"	" Y. Venkatachellam Garu	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
727	"	"	"	" P. Subba Row Garu	do	Inamdar, Chairman, Landholders' Association, Alampur	do
728	"	"	"	" Y. Venkatachellam Garu	do	Pleader and Assistant Secretary, People's Association	do
729	"	Vizagapatam.	Vizianagaram.	" J. Syamasundara Row Pantulu Garu, B.A.	do	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1894.
730	"	"	"	" N. V. Chellapathi Shastri Garu	do	Asst. Master, Maharajah's College and Secretary, Merchants Association	do
731	"	"	"	" P. Suryanarayana Shastri, B.A.	do	Schoolmaster	do
732	"	"	"	" P. Krishna Murti Pantulu Garu	do	Pleader	do
733	"	"	"	" K. L. Narasimha Pantulu Garu	do	do	do

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734	Madras	Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam	Mr. M. Surya Narayana	Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
735	"	"	"	" H. Ramadas Naidu	Telugu.	Landlord	do
736	"	"	"	" D. V. Narasinga Row, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
737	"	"	Parvatipur	" T. Venkata Row Pantulu	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1894.
738	"	"	"	" Ati Appadu	do	Pleader, Member District and Taluq Boards	do
739	"	"	"	" Ati Krishnaiah ... Pantulu	do	Pleader	do
740	"	"	"	" O. V. Jagannadha Shastri	do	Pleader and Member, Taluq and District Boards	do
741	"	"	Marangi.	" Bandaru Surya Narayanaswami Pantulu	do	Pleader and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894.
742	"	"	Masulipatam.	" V. Abhirama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	First Grade Pleader...	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
743	"	"	"	" R. Venkataratnam Naidu, M.A.	Hindu.. Sudra..	Assistant Professor, Noble College	do
744	"	"	"	" V. Venkataramah Pantulu	Brahmin.	Landed Proprietor	do
745	"	"	"	" Vemiru Subba Row Pantulu, B.A.	do	Landholder, Godugupet	do
746	"	"	"	" K. Seethapathi Row, B.A.	do	do	do
747	"	"	"	" V. V. S. Avadhani Garu	do	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
748	"	"	"	" V. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Lecturer, Noble College	do
749	"	"	"	" T. Venkatapayya Garu	do	Pleader	do
750	"	"	"	" T. Nagabhusanam, M.A.	do	Landholder	do
751	"	"	"	" P. T. Narasimha Chari, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court	do
752	"	Kistna.	Bezvada.	Rao Bahadur M. Etharajulu Pillai Garu	Sudra Vaishnava.	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894.
753	"	"	"	Mr. K. Gangarazu Garu	Brahmin.	Landholder	do

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754	Madras.	Kistna	Bezvada	Rao Bahadur S. Lingayya Pantulu Garu	Brahmin	Pleader, Landholder, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Chairman	By a Public Meeting held on the 27th October 1894.
755	"	"	"	Mr V. Ramidas Pantulu	do	Landholder	do
756	"	"	"	" Vinakota Kodanda Ramayya	do	Pleader	do
757	"	"	"	" Vinnakota Lakshmi Narasimham	do	Secretary, Vijiamandla Sabha	do
758	"	"	"	" M. Arunachellaiyar.	do	Landholder	do
759	"	"	"	" T. Venkataramaniah Pantulu Garu	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
760	"	"	"	" M. Venkateswara Row	do	Dewan, Senwarapet Estate	do
761	"	"	"	" M. Subbiah	do	Pleader	do
762	"	"	"	" M. Pranakusa Pillai	Vysya.	Landholder	do
763	"	"	"	" M. Gajapathi Row Pillai Garu	do	do	do
764	"	"	"	" D. Seshachellapathi Row	Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Kistna News</i> ; Municipal Councillor, Manager, Tiruvier Zemindari; Assistant Secretary, Vijavada Sabha	do
765	"	"	"	" Kosairaju Subbiah Garu	do	Landholder	do
766	"	"	Guntur.	" Purushotam	Vysya.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894
767	"	"	"	" P. Venkata Reddy.	do	Teacher, A. E. M. College	do
768	"	"	"	" C. V. Subramanya Shastri	Brahmin.	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate	do
769	"	"	"	" S. Ramasawmy Gupta	Vysya.	Merchant	do
770	"	"	"	" K. Appiah Dikshathulu, B.A.	Brahmin.	Landholder	do
771	"	"	Guntur	Hon. Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, Madras Legislative Council	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
772	"	"	"	Mr. V. Bhavana Charlu,	do	Landholder, Chairman, Municipality; President, Pleaders' Association	do
773	"	"	"	" A. M. Sundara Siva	do	Principal, Sanscrit Teachers' Association; Chairman, Taxpayer's Association	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
774	Madras	Kistna	Guntur	Mr. K. Lakshmininarasimha, B.A.	Brahmin	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th November 1894.
775	"	"	"	" V. Jayaramaiyar.	do	1st Assistant, Sanscrit High School	do
776	"	"	Cherala	" Jagarlu Mudi Naidu	Hindu Vysya	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894.
777	"	"	"	" J. Pundareekashadu Naidu Garu	do	do	do
778	"	"	Gudivada	" T. Gopalakrishna Murty	Brahmin	Pleader and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894.
779	"	"	"	" P. Ananda Row ...	do	do	do
780	"	"	"	" M. Bhapi Razu ...	do	do	do
781	"	"	"	" G. Venkatarayudu	do	Pleader	do
782	"	"	"	" V. Krishna Row...	do	Landholder and School Master	do
783	"	"	"	" T. Purushotam Pantulu	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
784	"	"	"	" C. Anvaduriah ...	do	Landholder	do
785	"	"	"	" R. Parthasarathi Iyer	do	do	do
786	"	"	"	" P. Venkatachellum Garu	do	do	do
787	"	"	"	" Patri Vencata Subba Row.	do	Landholder, Secretary, Brahma Samaj, Bezvada	do
788	"	"	"	" N. Pullayya Garu...	Sudra	Ryot	do
789	"	"	Narsaravupet	" V. Seshavataaram Garu	Vysya	Pleader and Secretary, People's Association	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
790	"	"	"	" U. Anjanayalu Garu	do	Pleader and Joint Secretary, Taluq Association	do
791	"	"	"	" M. Sriramlu Garu	do	Merchant, Contractor, Member, Union Panchayet and Medical Board	do
792	"	"	Bapatla	" C. Venkatadri, B.A.	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th November 1894.
793	"	Nellore	Venkatagiri	" Kuruwada Raghaviah Garu	do	Landholder, Secretary, H. L. S. School	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
794	Madras	Nellore	Kanigiri	Mr. A. V. Ramaniya Charlu	Brahmin	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
795	"	"	"	" M. Vencata Subba Row	do	do	do
796	"	"	"	" M. Vencatachella Mayya Garu	do	do	do
797	"	"	Nellore.	" M. Venkatasubba Chetty	Hindu Vysya	Merchant and Contractor	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
798	"	"	"	" D. N. Venkataramaier, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
799	"	"	"	" P. Subbiah Chetty.	Vysya	Merchant	do
800	"	"	"	" T. V. Venkataramaier, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court; Government Pleader and Member, District Boards	do
801	"	"	"	" V. Venkatachallam Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader	do
802	"	"	"	" Sugaram Subba Row Pantulu	do	Landowner	do
803	"	"	"	" B. Balakristna Reddy	Hindu	Landholder	do
804	"	"	"	" D. Venkatarama Reddy	do	Zemindar	do
805	"	"	"	" A. Venkayya Pantulu	Brahmin	Vakil, District Court and Municipal Councillor	do
806	"	"	"	" N. Suryanarayana Row	do	do	do
807	"	"	"	" A. R. Arunachella Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader	do
808	"	"	"	" N. Seshadri Iyengar, B.A.	do	do	do
809	"	"	"	" Sultan Mohideen Sahib	Musalman	Landlord	do
810	"	"	"	" P. Balakrishna Pillai	Hindu Vysya	Contractor and Landed Proprietor	do
811	"	"	Ongole.	" C. Lakshminarasimha Row Garu.	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November 1894.
812	"	"	"	" K. Manbara Krishna Row, B.A.	do	Pleader	do
813	"	"	"	" G Ramanadhaiya Garu	do	do	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Divisional	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
814	Madras	Nellore	Ongole	Mr. D. Markandiah Sastri Garu	Brahmin	Municipal Councillor and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November 1894.
815	"	"	"	" P. Venkatarangiah Garu	do	Landholder & Banker	do
816	"	Ganjam.	Chicacole.	" B. Viyanna Pantulu Garu, B.A.	do	Landholder, Pleader and Member, Taluq Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1894.
817	"	"	"	" J. Ramaseshayyah Shastri	do	Inamdar	do
818	"	"	"	" K. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A.	do	Assistant Master, M. H. School	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894.
819	"	"	"	" Ippili Venkama Chetty	Hindu Vysya	Pleader	do
820	"	"	"	" V. Guraviah Sastri	Brahmin	Pleader, Municipal Councillor and Member, Taluq and District Boards	do
821	"	"	"	" S. Baupi Razu Pantulu	do	Pleader, Secretary, Town Hall Committee	do
822	"	"	"	" T. Venkatasiya Row	do	Proprietor, Sowdam Estate, Municipal Councillor, Member, District and Taluq Boards	do
823	"	"	"	" K. Venkatanarasiah Naidu	Hindu Vaishnava	Inamdar	do
824	"	"	Sompot.	" N. Venkata Ranganadam Pantulu	do	Proprietor of Talasamudram Estate	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1894.
825	"	"	"	" N. Ramannjasawmy Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader	do
826	"	"	"	" Gajana Kodanda Ramayya Garu	do	do	do
827	"	"	Berhampur	" P. Venkanna Pantulu	do	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894.
828	"	"	"	" K. S. Kodandaramaiyer, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader and Chairman, Municipal Council	do
829	"	"	"	" Maralla Venkatchellapattu Row Panthulu	do	Pleader, Landed Proprietor and Municipal Councillor	do
830	"	"	"	" V. Venkatajogayya Pantulu	do	Pleader	do
831	"	"	"	" P. Venkateswarier Pantulu	do	do	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
832	Madras	Ganjam	Berhampur	Mr. Byculli Raja Garu	Brahmin	Dewan to the Rajah of Kallicota	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th November 1894.
833	"	"	"	" Sadasiva Misri ...	do	Landholder ...	do
834	"	"	"	" G. Raghava Row Panthulu Garu, B.A., B.L	do	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Councillor	do
835	"	"	Ganjam	" K. S. Rama Murti Panthulu Garu	do	Assistant Teacher, Kallicota College	do
836	"	"	Parla Kimedi	" Appanna Ponda ...	Urya Brahmin	Assistant Master, Maharajah's High School	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
837	"	"	"	" S. S. Raja Guru, B.A.	do	Tutor to the 2nd Prince of Parla Kimedi	do
838	"	"	"	" B. K. Dwipayana Row	Madwa Brahmin	Municipal Chairman	do
839	"	"	"	" G. Khadanga ...	Urya Brahmin	Landholder ...	do
840	"	Anantapur	Gooty	The Rev. William Wilson Stephenson	European Christian	Missionary ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 5th December 1894.
841	"	"	"	Mr. P. Kassava Pillai	Hindu Vysya	Pleader and Member, District Board	do
842	"	"	"	Syed Shah Ishmael Pir Husain Sharvardiy 'ul Kadri	Masalman Syed	Priest, Landholder and Member, Taluq Board	do
843	"	"	"	Mr. Junginucota Sesahagiri Row	Brahmin	Landholder ...	do
844	"	"	"	" M. Nagesa Row ...	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
845	"	"	"	" O. Madha Row ...	do	Pleader ...	do
846	"	"	"	" M. Sabba Row ...	do	2nd Grade Pleader ...	do
847	"	"	"	" Chenna Busavanna Garu	Lingayet	Landholder and Ryot	do
848	"	"	Anantapur	" C. N. Muthuswamy Iyer	Brahmin	Contractor and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1894.
849	"	"	"	" P. Anathmurti Row	do	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Councillor	do
850	"	"	"	" K. Timma Reddy	Sudra	Pleader and Landholder	do
851	"	"	"	" S. Vedajee Row ...	Brahmin	Pleader, Municipal Councillor and Member, District Board	do

Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
852	Madras.	Anantapur	Penukonda	Mr S. Sesa Shastri, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Pleader and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 19th October 1894.
853	"	"	"	" V. R. Chakravarti Iyengar	do	Pleader, Jaghirdar, Chairman, Temple Committee	do
854	"	"	Tadpatri	" M. Lakshmina Narasimha Shastri Garu	do	Pleader and Shotri- amdar	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st October 1894.
855	"	Kurnool	Kurnool	" T. Chidambara Row, B.A.	do	Pleader, Landholder, Chairman, Municipality and Member, District and Taluq Boards and Temple Committee	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd September 1894.
856	"	"	"	" A. Subba Row	do	Pleader	do
857	"	"	"	" Allur Tirumal Row Garu	do	Pleader and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd September 1894.
858	"	"	"	" P. Seshiah Chetty	Vysya.	Sowcar	do
859	"	"	"	" C. Subramanja Iyer	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder	do
860	"	"	"	" C. Kristappa	Vysya.	Merchant	do
861	"	Bellary	Bellary.	" C. S. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894.
862	"	"	"	" Vitta Seshappa Chetty	Vysya.	Secretary, Stock and Loan Transacting Company	do
863	"	"	"	" M. Ramanajulu Naidu	do	Contractor	do
864	"	"	"	" Yadavendram Pillai	do	do	do
865	"	"	"	" F. Seshachella Row B.A.	Brahmin	Pleader	do
866	"	"	"	" C. Krishtappa	Hindu.	Merchant	do
867	"	"	"	" M. Nagesa Row	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder	do
868	"	"	"	" G. Vabhadrapa Naidu	Lingite.	Merchant and Proprietor, Liquor Distillery	do
869	"	"	"	" K. Srinivasa Row, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
870	"	"	"	" D. Gopala Charlu	do	do	do
871	"	"	"	" W. H. Banga Row	do	do	do
872	"	"	"	" D. Venkatakrishtama Charlu	do	Inamdar	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How and when elected.
873	Madras	Bellary	Bellary	Mr. W. Krishnama Charlu	Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894.
874	"	"	"	" T. Purushotama Row	do	do	do
875	"	"	"	" G. Seetharam Chetty	Vysya.	Abkari Contractor	do
876	"	"	"	" B. Streenivasa Row	Brahmin.	Merchant	do
877	"	"	"	" P. Krishnamurti Achari	do	Pleader	do
878	"	"	"	" V. Krishna Row	do	Sowcar	do
879	"	"	"	" Madani Seshama Chetty	Vysya.	Merchant and Proprietor, Weaving and Cotton Mill	do
880	"	"	"	" S. G. Venkataraman Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
881	"	"	"	" G. Latchman Row	do	Pleader, Landholder, and Municipal Councillor	do
882	"	"	"	" T. V. Chellaperumal Pillai	Velala.	Merchant	do
883	"	"	"	" V. Rungasawmy Naidu	do	Secretary, Bellary Civil Society	do
884	"	"	"	" T. M. Arunagan Pillai	do	Merchant	do
885	"	"	"	Hon. Mr. Sabhapathi Mudliar	do	Merchant and Member, Madras Legislative Council	do
886	"	"	"	Mr. S. Marisidappah	Lingayite.	Merchant	do
887	"	"	"	" Olabanda Kistappah	Vysya.	Merchant, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Councillor	do
888	"	"	"	" K. Venkata Row	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
889	"	"	Narain Devaikare.	" A. Bhima Row	do	do	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
890	"	"	"	" S. Krishtacharu	do	do	do
891	"	"	"	" W. Sitarama Row.	do	do	do
892	"	"	"	" K. Viswanadha Row	do	do	do
893	"	"	Hospet.	" B. Sitarama Row	do	Inamdar	do
894	"	"	"	" B. Subbha Shastri	do	Manager, Humpty Temple	do
895	"	"	Adoni.	" C. Hanumantha Gond	do	Merchant and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
896	Madras	Bellary	Adoni	Mr. T. Ranga Row...	Brahmin	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	By a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1894.
897	"	"	"	" P. Sabhapathi Mudliar	Velala.	Agent, Messrs. Sabhapathi Mudliar & Co.	do
898	"	"	"	" Gindanoor Bhima Row	Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Councillor	do
899	"	"	"	" Nakathy Venkoba Row	do	Merchant and Municipal Councillor	do
900	"	North Arcot.	Vellore.	" V. C. Seshachariar	do	Pleader and Secretary, Vellore Rate Payers' Association.	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1895.
901	"	"	"	" N. Krishnama Charlu	do	Landholder	do
902	"	"	"	" P. Thangavelu Mudliar	Vysya.	Proprietor, V.N. Press and Vice-President, R. P. Association.	do
903	"	"	"	" M. Govindasawmy Naidu	Baliya.	Merchant	do
904	"	"	Palmaner.	" R. Swaminadha Row	Brahmin.	Mirasidar	By a Public Meeting held on the 10th December 1894.
905	"	"	"	" T. K. Swaminadha-ayer	do	Pleader	do
906	"	"	"	" A. Swami Iyer	do	Pleader and President, Ratepayers' Association	do
907	"	"	"	" V. Umamabeswara Iyer	do	Pleader	do
908	"	"	"	" C. Varadacharlu...	do	do	do
909	"	"	"	" B. Rangayya Chetty	Vysya.	Merchant	do
910	"	"	"	" M. Krishnaswamy Iyer	Brahmin.	Pleader	do
911	"	"	"	" A. Venkayya Sarma F. T. S.	do	Landholder	do
912	"	"	"	" N. Srinivasa Varada Chariar	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
913	"	"	"	" V. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	do	do
914	"	"	Chittoor.	" B. C. Raghaviah, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
915	"	"	"	" L. A. Govinda Raghaviah, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do
916	"	"	"	" Narasimhaiyar	do	Member, District and Taluq Boards	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
917	Madras.	North Arcot	Chittoor	Mr. V. D. Arunachella Mudliar, B.A.	Velala.	Honorary Magistrate and Member, District and Taluq Boards	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
918	"	"	"	" G. Srinivasa Chariar, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do
919	"	"	"	" D. V. Rajagopala Chariar	do	Pleader and Landholder	do
920	"	"	"	" Seshama Nayana Varu	Hindu.	Zemindar of Burgam.	do
921	"	"	"	" T. T. Viraraghava Chariar	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do
922	"	"	"	" V. V. Gopala Chariar, B.A.	do	do ...	do
923	"	"	"	" C. V. Srinivasa Chariar	do	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate	do
924	"	"	"	" C. Subramania Reddy	Hindu Kammavar	Pleader and Landholder	do
925	"	"	Kaveripak	" C. Sadasiva Mudliar	Velala	Contractor ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1894.
926	"	"	"	" Bapathy Jagannatha Raja	Vysya	Merchant and Landed Proprietor.	do
927	"	"	"	" K. Amin Chettiar.	do	Merchant and Mirasidar	do
928	"	"	"	" K. Veerasawmy Mudliar	Velala	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do
929	"	"	"	" K. Thendavareya Pillai	Hindu Karivan	Mirasidar and Landed Proprietor	do
930	"	"	"	" K. Devu Mudliar.	Velala	Merchant and Landed Proprietor	do
931	"	"	"	" V. Latchmana Mudliar	do	do ...	do
932	"	"	Ranipettai	" V. S. Sadasiva Mudliar	do	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
933	"	"	"	" W. Vijiaraghava Mudliar	do	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Councillor	do
934	"	"	"	" A. Subramania Iyer	Brahmin	Pleader and Member, District Board	do
935	"	"	Sholinghur	" Vencatarama Iyer	do	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894.
936	"	"	"	" S. A. Shadagopa Charry	do	do ...	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Divison.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religions denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
937	Madras	North Arcot	Sholinghur	Mr. T. Varadjah Garu.	Brahmin	Pleader and Secretary, Pleaders' Association	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th November 1894.
938	"	"	"	" L. Srinivasa Raghavayah	do	Secretary, Branch Theosophical Society	do
939	"	"	"	" T. Swaminadhaiyer	do	Pleader	do
940	"	"	Tirupati	" Sheikh Hussain Sahibgin	Musalman	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
941	"	"	"	" V. Anantachariar...	Brahmin	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	do
942	"	"	"	" M. Sundarachariar	do	Vakil	do
943	"	"	"	" V. Sundramier ...	do	Schoolmaster	do
944	"	"	"	" C. Krishnamachariar	do	Vakil and Municipal Councillor	do
945	"	"	"	" C. Krishnaswamy Iyer	do	do	do
946	"	"	"	" T. Krishnayya ...	do	do	do
947	"	Travancore	Kadayalvedu	" K. Narayana Nambiar	do	Editor, <i>Iana Paayim</i>	By a Public Meeting held on the 29th November 1894.
948	Govt. of India	Hyderabad	Secundrabad	" G. Krishnama Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
949	"	"	"	" G. Sriramulu Naidu	Hindu	Contractor and Landholder	do
950	"	"	"	" B. Krishnaiyengar	Brahmin	Solicitor	do
951	"	"	"	" P. Ramachandra Pillai	Vysya	Pleader, High Court.	do
952	"	"	"	" J. Seymour Keay, M. P.	European	House of Commons...	do
953	"	"	"	" Dindigul Kissanna	Vysya	Sowcar	do
954	"	"	"	" Mir Ali ...	Musalman	Solicitor, Madras High Court	do
955	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	" Atmaram N. Phausalkar	Hindu.	Teacher, Tardeo	By a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 10th December 1894.
956	"	"	"	" Jagmohandass Vandravandass	do	Justice of the Peace and Member, Municipal Corporation	do
957	"	"	"	" Pestonji Dorabji Pauday	Parsi.	...	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
958	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	Mr. Janordhan Sakaram Gadgal, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	...	By a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 10th December 1895.
959	"	"	"	" Dharamsey Sunderdas	do	Mill owner and Justice of the Peace	do
960	"	"	"	" P. J. Swami ...	do	Medical Practitioner, Bazaar Road, Kamatipura, Byculla	do
961	"	"	"	" Ardesbir Burjorji.	Parsi.	Tutor to H. H. the Prince of Jalwar	do
962	"	"	"	" M. V. Bhat ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court.	do
963	"	"	"	" Prabhakar Luxmon Nagpurkar	Hindu.	Pleader, Sholapur ...	do
964	"	"	"	" G. S. Mukhadam.	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do
965	"	"	"	" Lalji Ramji ...	Hindu Lohana.	Tobacco Merchant ...	do
966	"	"	"	" Hari Bhickoo ...	do	do ...	do
967	"	"	"	" Govind Dasarath...	do	do ...	do
968	"	"	"	" Gokaldas Gordhandas	do	do ...	do
969	"	"	"	" D. E. Wacha ...	Parsi.	Mill Agent and Joint Secretary, Presidency Association	do
970	"	"	"	" Vandravandas Purushottamdas	Hindu. Bhansali.	Merchant, Justice of the Peace and Member, Municipal Corporation, Wardour Road, Breach Candy.	do
971	"	"	"	" Pranlal Kaptandas Soshipara, L.C.E., M.S.A.	Hindu.	Architect and Consulting Surveyor	do
972	"	"	"	" Mulraj Khatan ...	do	Merchant ...	do
973	"	"	"	" Damodar Lakshmidas	do	Mill owner ...	do
974	"	"	"	" Vardraj Govind Naidu	Hindu Telugu.	Merchant ...	do
975	"	"	"	" Wanagir Rajogir.	Hindu Mahratta.	Landlord ...	do
976	"	"	"	" Ranchordas Tribhuvandas	Hindu.	Merchant, Gowala Tank Road	do
977	"	"	"	" John daCunha ...	Portuguese Christian.	Medical Practitioner.	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
978	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	The Hon. V. R. Natu, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court and Member, Bombay Legislative Council	By a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 10th December 1894.
979	"	"	"	Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.D., B.Sc., B.A.	do	Private Practitioner, Member, Municipal Corporation and Fellow of the University, Girgaum	do
980	"	"	"	The Hon. C. H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B.	do	Vakil, High Court and Member, Legislative Council, Bombay; Girgaum	do
981	"	"	"	Mr. A.M. Dinbandhu...	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do
982	"	"	"	" Jiwandas Dayaldas.	do	Broker ...	do
983	"	"	"	" Meghji Vallabhadas	do	Merchant ...	do
984	"	"	"	" Abaji Viswanath Kolutkar	do	do ...	do
985	"	"	"	" W. A. Chambers...	European.	Engineer ...	do
986	"	"	"	" Shripata A. Chattri	Brahmin	Pleader, District Court, Belgaum	do
987	"	"	"	" Jivanrao H. Betigiri, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Dharwar ...	do
988	"	"	"	" K. G. Agrekar, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Belgaum ...	do
989	"	"	"	" V. K. Marathi ...	do	do ...	do
990	"	"	"	" K. R. Jahbal, B.A., B.L.	do	do ...	do
991	"	"	"	" B. V. Harolekar...	do	do ...	do
992	"	"	"	" T. V. Athnikar ...	do	General Agent, Belgaum	do
993	"	"	"	" Gangadhar T. Gokhale	do	Civil Engineer, ...	do
994	"	"	"	" N. B. Moolay ...	do	Pensioned Deputy Collector, Honorary Magistrate and Member, District and Local Boards	do
995	"	"	"	" S. W. Kane ...	do	Medical Practitioner.	do
996	"	"	"	" Haji Moulvi Shekh Hussain Shekh-Chand	Musalman	Preacher Islam ...	do
997	"	"	"	Dr. K. H. Bahadurji	Parsi.	Physician, Malabar Hill	do

Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
998	Bombay	Bombay	Colaba.	Mr. Vaman Bapuji Dev.	Parsi	Landed Proprietor and Salt Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1894.
999	"	Deccan.	Nasik.	" V. B. Ranade ...	Brahmin	Editor, <i>Dnyanchakshus</i>	By a Meeting of the Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha on the 2nd December 1894.
1000	"	"	"	" R. B. Tholte ...	do	District Pleader, Yeola	do
1001	"	"	"	" V. B. Akut ...	do	District Pleader, Nasik	do
1002	"	"	"	" R. Y. Raje ...	Hindu Prabhu	do ...	do
1003	"	"	"	" A. R. Kawle ...	Brahmin	Vakil, Member, Siunar Local and District Boards	do
1004	"	"	"	" G. R. Kshirsagar.	do	Pleader and Member, District and Local Boards	do
1005	"	"	"	" H. K. Ketkar ...	do	do ...	do
1006	"	"	"	" G. Narasimha Ketkar	do	District Pleader, Member, District Board and Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha	do
1007	"	"	"	" K. S. Deshpande.	do	Member, Municipality, Taluq and Local Boards	do
1008	"	"	"	" Krishnarao Jayaram Gupti.	do	District Pleader ...	do
1009	"	"	"	" Ramachandra Mahadeva Paranjape	do	do ...	do
1010	"	Deccan.	"	" Krishnajee Dhondo Pange	do	Inami Jagbirdar, Konay	do
1011	"	"	Wai.	" Sadashiv Ramachandra Khale, B.A., LL.B.	do	Pleader, High Court	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
1012	"	"	Poona.	" G. D. Patwardhan	do	Merchant ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
1013	"	"	"	" Hari Naraen Apte	do	Manager, Anandaram Budhwarpet, Editor, <i>Konook</i>	do
1014	"	"	"	" S. B. Joglekar ...	do	Pleader, Thana ...	do
1015	"	"	"	" S. K. Bhagavat B.A., LL.B.	do	do ...	do
1016	"	"	"	" V. K. Satvakar ...	do	Manager, Annapurnagraha Merchant, Budhwarpet	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1017	Bombay	Deccan	Poona	Mr. R. R. Agasthi ...	Brahmin	Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
1018	"	"	"	" Shreemant Shankarao Narayan Satya Sahib Wadu	do	Ardarand Jaghirdar, Municipal Commissioner	do
1019	"	"	"	" R. S. Mahadev Ballal Namjoshi	do	Journalist, Secretary, Industrial Association and Municipal Commissioner	do
1020	"	"	"	" Vinayek Narayan Apte	do	Secretary, Merchants' Bank	do
1021	"	"	"	" Balwant Babaji Godbole	do	Medical Practitioner.	do
1022	"	"	"	" R. S. Kashinath Purusham Gadgil	do	Barrister-at-Law ...	do
1023	"	"	"	" Govind Ballal Deval	do	Author, Dramatic Works, Haripur	do
1024	"	"	"	" Kashinath G. Nathu	do	Pleader, Sadashivapet	do
1025	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Keshav Gokhale	do	Pleader ...	do
1026	"	"	"	" Vishvanath Gangadhar Shapkar	do	Proprietor, <i>Dnyanachakshus</i>	do
1027	"	"	"	" Raghunath Daji Nagarkar	do	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner	do
1028	"	"	"	" Vishnu Hari Karandikar	do	Assistant Secretary, Sarvajanic Sabha	do
1029	"	"	"	" Shivram Hari Sathe	do	Editor, <i>Nyayashraya</i> .	do
1030	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vishnu Moresh Bhide	do	Pensioner, 1st Class Sub-Judge	do
1031	"	"	"	Mr. Gopalakrishna Gokhale, B.A.	do	Professor, Fergusson College	do
1032	"	"	"	" Sitaram Ganesh Devdhar	do	Teacher, New English School; Editor, <i>Sudhakar</i>	do
1033	"	"	"	" Narharao Viuayek.	do	Merchant ...	do
1034	"	"	Satara.	Rao Saheb B. S. Sahasrabudhi	do	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
1035	"	"	"	Mr. Shreemant L. M. Kanabare	do	Landholder ...	do
1036	"	"	"	" G. B. Phansalkar.	do	Pleader, High Court.	do
1037	"	"	"	" D. B. Parasnis ...	do	Editor, <i>Maharashtra Kokil</i>	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degree, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1038	Bombay	Deccan	Satara	Mr. R. P. Karandikar	Brahmin	Pleader, High Court.	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
1039	"	"	"	" Nagabudhi Boharu.	Musalman.	Trader	do
1040	"	"	Ahmed-nagar.	" Waman Visvanath Malhajan	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner.	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
1041	"	"	Bhimthadi.	Rao Sahib B. A. Deshpande	do	Pleader, District Court, Inamdar, Chairman, Municipality, Member, Local Board	do
1042	"	"	Bagalkot Bijapur.	Mr. Siddo Timaji Badami	do	Pleader and Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
1043	"	Bhusa-wal.	Jalgaon Khandesh.	" Abaji Ragho Mhalas	do	Subordinate Government Pleader and Municipal Chairman, Jalgaon	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
1044	"	"	Dhulia.	" Balakrishna Ramachandra Kotwal	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
1045	"	"	Bhusaval.	Rao Sahib Chintaman Bapuji Morgankar	do	Pleader and Vice-President, Municipality	do
1046	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharam Ganesh Patankar	do	Pleader	do
1047	"	"	"	" Bapooji Gopal Tapasvi	do	Pleader, Bhadgaon	...
1048	"	Sholapur	Sholapur.	" P. L. Nagpurkar...	do.	Pleader	...
1049	"	"	"	" Dinkar Balal Chakradev	do	Pleader and Landlord	...
1050	"	"	"	" Dhondo Keshav Kane, B.A.	do	Professor, Mathematics, Fergusson College	...
1051	"	"	"	" Shridhar Narayan Sathaye, B.A., LL.B.	do	Pleader	...
1052	"	"	"	" Narayan Sakharam Punche, B.A.	do	Professor, Sanscrit, Fergusson College	...
1053	"	"	"	" Vithal Luxmon	do	Pleader, Gulburga	...
1054	"	"	"	" Gopal Vithal	do	do	...
1055	"	"	"	" S. R. Kirloskar	do	Pleader, High Court.	...
1056	"	"	"	" Govind Tatyaji	do	Merchant and Landholder	...
1057	"	Dharwar	Dharwar	" D. Y. Athawale	do	Landlord	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1058	Bombay	Sholapur	Sholapur.	Mr. D. H. Palande ...	Brahmin	Landlord ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
1059	"	"	"	" G. H. Vibhuti ...	Lingayat	Pleader, District Court	do
1060	"	"	"	" B. S. Joshi ...	Brahmin	Artisan ...	do
1061	"	"	"	" Datta Ramachandra Patwankar	do	Pleader, Haveri District	do
1062	"	"	"	" Ramachandra Mahadev	do	Pleader and Zemindar, Vice-President, Haveri Municipality	do
1063	"	"	Hubli.	" R. A. Sule ...	do	Zamindar ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
1064	"	"	"	" V. B. Godbole ...	do	do ...	do
1065	"	Belgaum	Kagnoli.	" Ganesh Daji Shaha	do	Pleader, Sub-Court, Chikodi	By a Public Meeting held on the 1st November 1894.
1066	"	"	"	" Vinayekrao D. Bhila Wadikar	do	Editor, <i>Shikshak</i> , Chikodi	do
1067	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Khando Kulkarni	do	Merchant, Chikodi ...	do
1068	"	"	"	" B. A. Mahajan ...	do	Pleader, Sub-Judge Court	do
1069	"	"	Belgaum	" S. B. Bhate ...	do	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1894.
1070	"	"	"	" D. V. Belvi, B.A., LL.B.	do	do ...	do
1071	"	"	"	" Govind Sreenivas Velati	do	Photographer ...	do
1072	"	Gujerat.	Kaira Panch Mahals	" Manilal Pranlal Setalvad	do	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1894.
1073	"	"	"	" Gokuldas Dwar-kadas Talati, B.A., LL.B.	do	do ...	do
1074	"	"	Ahmedabad.	" Dabhyabai Izatram	do	Pleader, District Court	do
1075	"	"	"	" Govinda Apaji Patel, B.A., LL.B.	do	do ...	do
1076	"	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri.	" Madhusudana Walsudev Athalye, B.A.	do	Landlord and Merchant	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
1077	"	"	Dapoli.	" A. H. Modak ...	do	Deshmukh Dapoli ..	do

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1078	Bombay	Surat.	Surat.	Mr. Bezonji Maneckji, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi	Legal Profession, Rustrampura, Surat	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th October 1894.
1079	"	"	"	" Nanalal Kherlal ...	Hindu	Insurance Agent ...	do
1080	"	Ichalkaranji	Ichalkaranji.	" R. B. Apte ...	Brahmin	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1894.
1081	"	"	Kolhapur.	" L. S. Diga Vedekar.	do	Pleader, Kolhapur ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December 1894.
1082	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur B. S. Kirtane	do	Pensioner ...	do
1083	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Rao Saheb Kashinath Rao Vaidhya	do	Pensioned Superintendent, Controller's Office	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th November 1894.
1084	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagirathi Prasad	Hindu Kalar	Professor, Hyslop College; Municipal Commissioner, Landlord, Damoh	do
1085	"	"	"	" Ambodasa Krishna Deshpande	Brahmin	Private Secretary to H. H. Kakur Sahib, Piploda, Malguzar	do
1086	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Keshavrao Bhowalkar	do	Pensioned Extra Assistant Commissioner	do
1087	"	"	"	Mr. Balwantrao Govindrao Mahajan	do	Malguzar and Advocate, Judicial Commissioner's Court	do
1088	"	"	"	" Cotari Venkata Ramana Nayudu	Hindu Khetri.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do
1089	"	"	"	" Ramjiwan Jogi Nayudu	do	Headmaster, Andhra Sabha School	do
1090	"	"	"	" Keshav Vinayak Joshi, B.A.	Brahmin.	Headmaster, Neill City High School	do
1091	"	"	"	" G. W. Sane ...	do	Contractor, G. I. P. Railway and Cloth Merchant	do
1092	"	"	"	" M. Luxmon Shridhar Jog	do	Teacher, Niell City High School	do
1093	"	"	"	" V. D. Wadhonkar.	do	Malguzar and Banker.	do
1094	"	"	"	" K. N. Deshmukh...	do	Pleader, Warda ...	do
1095	"	"	"	Dr. Adhar Sing Gou, M.A., LL.M., S.C., (Cam.)	Khattraya	Barrister-at-Law, Hoshungabad	do
1096	"	"	Balaghat.	Mr. Narayana Kelakar	Brahmin.	Pleader, Balaghat ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 15th November 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1097	Central Provinces.	Nagpur	Rajanandgaon.	Mr. V. Sarangapani Mudliar	Hindu Sudra.	General Contractor and Landlord, Manager, Bulram Press and Municipal Commissioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November 1894.
1098	"	"	Saugor.	" Narayana Balakrishna Nakhre	Brahmin.	Proprietor, Olcott Press, Saugor	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894.
1099	"	"	Wardha.	" Keshavarao Mahadeo Kavale	do	Pleader and Banker, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1894.
1100	Government of India.	Berars.	Akola.	" V. R. Mudholkar...	do	Editor, "Vaidharabha"	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894.
1101	"	"	Ellichpur.	" Ganesh Mahesh Sahasrabudhe	do	Pleader, District Court; Secretary, Municipality, Ellichpur	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
1102	"	"	Amraoti.	" G. N. Kane	do	Pleader	By a Meeting of the Berars Sarvajanik Sabha held on the 2d December 1894.
1103	"	"	"	" Ghulam Ahmed Khan	Musalman.	Zemindar and Member, District Board	do
1104	"	"	"	" Rangnath Narsingh Madholkar, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court; Landholder, Vice-Chairman, Municipality.	do
1105	"	"	"	" Moro Vishvanath Joshi, B.A., LL.B.	do	Pleader, High Court.	do
1106	"	"	"	" Babaji Mahadev Dikshit	Hindu Prabhu.	Pleader	do
1107	"	"	"	" Keshav Bulwant Deshpande	Brahmin.	Banker	do
1108	"	"	"	" Vinayak Sarvadharam Oke	do	Pleader	do
1109	"	"	Wun.	" L. C. Bapat	do	Pleader, Yeotmal	By a Public Meeting held on the 31st October 1894.
1110	"	"	"	" S. M. Deva	do	do	do
1111	"	"	"	" R. R. Bapat	do	do	do
1112	"	"	Bassim.	" L. A. Mahajan	do	Merchant, Mongrul Pir	do
1113	Bombay.	Scinde.	Karachi.	" Daulatram Jethmal	Hindu.	Pleader	By a Meeting of the Scinde Sabha held on the 19th December 1894.
1114	"	"	Sukkur.	Rao Bahadur Peshmal	do	do	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1115	Bombay	Scinde	Shikarpur.	Seth Gohindram Khatan Mal	Hindu	Merchant, Shikarpur.	By a Meeting of the Scinde Sabha held on the 10th December 1894.
1116	"	"	"	Seth Balchand Sitaram	do	do	do
1117	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Hon. Raja Rampal Singh	Kshattrya	Talukdar and Member, N. W. P. Legislative Council	By a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1894.
1118	"	"	"	Hon. Babu Charoo Chander Mitter	Kayesth.	Merchant, Pleader and Member, N. W. P. Legislative Council.	do
1119	"	"	"	Pandit, Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court...	do
1120	"	"	Aligarh.	Hafiz Mahamad Abdur Rahim	Musalman.	Pleader, Aligarh ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894.
1121	"	"	Agra.	Pandit Tulsi Ram Misr, M.A., F.T.S.	Brahmin.	Professor, St. John's College, Agra	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December 1894.
1122	"	Benares.	Benares.	Mr. Raghunath Dass...	do	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December 1894.
1123	"	"	Gorakhpur.	„ Alfred Nundy.	Bengali Christian.	Barrister-at-Law	do
1124	"	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Munshi Gunga Pershad Varma	Hindu.	Editor, Advocate ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894.
1125	"	"	"	Pandit Bisben Narayan Dar	Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law	do
1126	"	"	"	„ Narayan Masladhar	do	Pleader	do
1127	"	"	"	„ Ratannath	do	do	do
1128	"	"	"	Dr. C. C. Ghose	do	...	do
1129	"	"	Kalakan- kar.	Thakur Ramprasad Singh	Kshattraya	Sub-Editor, Hindustan	do
1130	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Captain A. T. Banon	European.	Zemindar, Kulu (late) Bengal Staff Corps	By a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 9th December 1894.
1131	"	"	"	Mr. H. Morgan-Browne	do	Barrister-at-Law, London	Do. also at Calcutta, Gaya, Madras and other places.
1132	"	"	"	Lala Murlidhar	Katri..	Pleader, Chief Court, Amballa	By a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 9th December 1894.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1133	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Mr. Jaishiram	Katri	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	By a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 9th December 1894.
1134	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Calcutta.	„ J. Ghosal	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Merchant, Honorary Presidency Magistrate & Municipal Commissioner	By a Meeting of the British Indian Association on the 21st December 1894.
1135	„	„	„	Babu Bipin Bihari Mitra	Kayastha.	Landlord, Upper Circular Road, Sham Bazar	By the Northern Metropolitan Division on the 14th December 1894. By the Noakhali Bar Association on the 27th December 1894. By the Northern Metropolitan Division.
1136	„	„	„	„ Nibaran Chandra Dutt	do	Merchant	do
1137	„	„	„	„ Pashupati Nath Basu	do	Landlord, 65, Bagh Bazaar Street	By the Northern Metropolitan Division on the 14th December 1894.
1138	„	„	„	„ Bomoko Nath Mitter	do	Zamindar	do
1139	„	„	„	Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjee	Brahmin.	Member, Legislative Council Bengal, and Calcutta Municipality	By the Indian Association on the 7th December 1894.
1140	„	„	„	Babu Kalicharn Banerjee, M.A.	Bengali Christian	Pleader	do
1141	„	„	„	Mr. P. N. Mitter	Hindu.	Merchant, and Landlord	do
1142	„	„	„	Babu Kedarnath Banerjee	Brahmin.	do	do
1143	„	„	„	„ Krishna Kumar Mitter	Kayesth.	Editor, Sanjibani	do
1144	„	„	„	„ Herambo Chander Maitro, M.A.	do	Professor, City College	do
1145	„	„	„	Pandit Kaliprosunno Bisharad	Bengali Atheist	Editor, Hita bindhi...	By the Southern Metropolitan Division on the 19th December 1894.
1146	„	„	Baranagore	„ Yalinder Nath Chondry, M.A., B.L.	do	Zamindar	By the Indian Association on the 7th December 1894.
1147	„	„	Mymensing	Babu Amarchand Dutt	Kayesth.	Teacher and Editor, Charu Mihir	do

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1148	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Mymensing.	Babu Sasankar Kumar Ghosh, B.A., B.L.	Kayesth.	Head Master, Muktagacha School	By a Public Meeting held on the 7th December 1894.
1149	"	"	Pabna.	" Kunjlal Shaha ...	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1894.
1150	"	"	"	" Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner	do
1151	"	"	Hooghly.	" Vishnu Pada Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	do	Pleader	do
1152	"	"	Backerganj	" Harakanta Sen ...	Vaidhya.	Secretary. Bengal Loan Office	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December 1894.
1153	"	"	Murshidabad.	" Boykuntha Nath Sen, B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court and Honorary Magistrate	do
1154	"	"	"	" Hemendra Nath Sen, B.L.	do	Zemindar and Pleader	do
1155	"	Faridpur.	Faridpur.	" Ambica Charan Mozumdar	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Pleader, and Chairman, Municipality	do
1156	"	"	"	" Prithvi Chandra Roy	Hindu.	Zemindar Chutnapur	do
1157	"	Dacca.	Dacca.	" Sarat Chandra Chakravarti, B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December 1894.
1158	"	Chittagong.	Chittagong.	" Basanta Mohan Sen, B.A.	Vaidhya.	Landholder	By a Public Meeting held on the 19th December 1894.
1159	"	Rajshahye.	Bogra.	" Jadublal Roy ...	Kayastha.	Agent to K.R. Estate, Honorary Magistrate	By a Public Meeting held on the 29th December 1894.
1160	"	"	Rajshahye	" Kali Erosunno Acharya, B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December 1894.
1161	"	Chota Nagpur	Purulia.	" Samat Chandra Sen	Vaidhya.	Vakil, Manbhum	do
1162	"	Behar.	Dinapore.	" Madhob Chunder Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1894.
1163	"	"	"	" Rakhaldas Sen ...	Vaidhya.	do	do