

In Loving Remembrance

OF

PANDIT AJUDHIA NATH,

VAKIL OF THE HIGH COURT, ALLAHABAD,
MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES DURING THE
YEARS 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890,
FELLOW OF BOTH THE CALCUTTA AND ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITIES,
AND
JOINT GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Appeared, 8th April, 1840. Passed away, 11th January, 1892.

Death has no power th' immortal soul to slay,
That, when its present body turns to clay,
Seeks a fresh home, and with unlesened might
Inspires another frame with life and light.
—Dryden.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY.

SIR JOHN EDGE, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, said :—

"We feel that we ought not to allow this opportunity of our being assembled in Full Bench to pass without expressing our sorrow for the death, and paying our tribute of respect to the memory, of one who, for many years, has held a high position in this Court and in these Provinces as an advocate, and who was possessed of the highest legal and forensic attainments. On Monday last we received the sad news that Pandit Ajudhia Nath had been removed by death from amongst us, and we of the Bench felt that we had lost in him not only a personal friend, but one of the best lawyers and ablest advocates of the Court. We felt that the members of the Bar and the vakils practising in this Court had lost in him also a friend, and that the profession at large of these Provinces had suffered a still greater loss in losing in him a bright and living example of what an honourable advocate should be. Pandit Ajudhia Nath . . . had that sound and rare judgment which enables a great advocate, as we think he was, to discriminate between the important and the unimportant facts and incidents in a case. . . . In his arguments before us he was most scrupulous in avoiding even the semblance of a misstatement of facts, and thereby secured in our Judges a thorough reliance upon his honour as an advocate. I need scarcely say that he was thoroughly independent. . . ."

"This Court will be closed for the day, and also the office, on account of the death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath."

At one of the largest public meetings ever held in ALLAHABAD it was Resolved that :—

"This meeting hereby puts on record its emphatic expression of deep sorrow everywhere felt at the recent untimely death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath, who by his courageous, patriotic, and indefatigable labours in the cause of India's people had won the regard, esteem, and respect, of all good men throughout the country."

At a great public meeting at MADRAS it was Resolved—

"That this meeting desires to place upon record its high sense and appreciation of the splendid and disinterested services rendered by the late Hon. Pandit Ajudhia Nath, Pleader of the High Court of Allahabad, to the cause of the Indian National Congress, and to record its deep and lasting regret for the loss of a leader who, in his own person, combined so many and brilliant qualifications for command."

Again, at NAGPUR, it was—

"Resolved—That this General Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Nagpur does hereby put on record an expression of the universal sorrow with which all persons in these Central Provinces have received the sad intelligence of the untimely and deplorable death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath, late Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. In Pandit Ajudhia Nath all felt that they had amongst them a most earnest, able, and thoroughly upright, champion of the people's cause, and one who commanded the unqualified respect of all classes of the community; and they now feel that in losing him that cause has sustained a grievous and almost irreparable loss."

At a public meeting held in the Town Hall, CALCUTTA, it was Resolved—

"That this Meeting desires to place on record its sense of the great and irreparable loss which the country has sustained by the death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath. His courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice in the discharge of his public duties entitle his memory to the respectful gratitude of his countrymen."

At a public meeting at LAHORE it was Resolved—

"That this meeting expresses its sense of deep and sincere sorrow at the untimely death of the Honourable Pandit Ajudhia Nath, Joint General Secretary, Indian National Congress, and of the great loss which the country has thereby sustained."

In a speech by the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, that functionary remarked—

"In Pandit Ajudhia Nath we have lost another distinguished colleague, a man 'of whom,' as the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University has justly remarked, 'any country and race might be proud.' His earnest exertions and immense self-sacrifice to promote the good of his country made him loved and respected by the educated classes all over India, and Bengal mourns his loss as deeply as his native province."

Resolutions, similar in purport to those above quoted, were passed at public meetings held at—

Aligarh.	Belaspur.	Durbhangah.	Lucknow.	Nasik.	Trichengode.
Ahmednager	Mellary.	Elichpur.	Meerut.	Ongole.	Triplicane.
Amraoti.	Berhampur.	Fureedpore.	Multan.	Palghat.	Udumalpet.
Benares.	Bhandara.	Furukhabad.	Muzzuferpore.	Poona.	Vizagapatam.
Bombay.	Cawnpur.	Guntur.	Bangral Pir.	Rajnandgaon.	Wardha.
Bankipore.	Chingleput.	Gooly.	Mayavaram.	Sholsapur.	
Bhusawal.	Coconada.	Gauhati.	Manickdaho.	Saharumpur.	And many other
Bezwada.	Coimbatore.	Howrah.	Madura.	Srivilliputur.	places.
Barisal.	Delhi.	Inchikaranji.	Masulipatam.	Secundarabad.	
Bogra.	Dhulea.	Jalpaiguri.	Moradabad.	Tanjore.	

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
The Sixth Indian National Congress. An Introductory Article	i	THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.	
Summary of Resolutions passed by the Seventh Congress'	xv	Telegrams of Sympathy	53
FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.		General Booth's Telegram and Reply thereto ..	53
Address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee	1	Annual Indian Sessions of the Congress ..	54
President, Election of	3	Forest Laws	54
President's Inaugural Address, The	3	British Committee	62
Subjects Committee, Election of a	9	Late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh	63
The Expediency of Temporarily Discontinuing the Annual Meetings of the Congress in India	11	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	66
Adjournment of the Assembly	12	Postponement of the English Session ..	66
SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.		Assignment of Funds for Organisation ..	70
Mr. Gladstone's 83rd Year	13	Re-election of General and Joint General Secretaries	71
Legislative Councils, Reform of	13	Eighth Congress to be held at Allahabad ..	71
Grievous Distress amongst the People of India	17	Thanks to the President	72
Rules under the Arms Acts	38	President's Concluding Remarks	72
Simultaneous Examinations in India and England	42	APPENDIX I.	
Salt Tax, Reduction in the, and other Taxes	44	The List of Delegates who attended the Seventh Indian National Congress, held at Nagpur, December, 1891, printed, with all details, in the Indian Edition, is not reprinted in the English Edition.	
Reforms in the Judicial and Police Administration	46	APPENDIX II.	
Diminution of Educational Grants; the Industrial Condition of the Country	49	RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH CONGRESSES	
			77

DETAILED CONTENTS.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
THE SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, an introductory article	i	Speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ..	29
SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS passed at the Seventh Congress	xv	„ Mr. K. G. Deshpande	31
DETAILED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS of the Congress	1	„ President	34
		„ Mr. Gopal Hari Bhide	34
FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.		„ Mr. Sadashiva Row	35
Speech of Mr. C. Narain Swami Nayadu (Chairman of the Reception Committee)		„ Mr. Sabapathi Mudliar	36
Election of President	1	„ Mr. Kali Charan Banerji	37
Speech of Pandit Ajudhia Nath (pro- posing Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu as president)	3	„ President	37
„ Mr. Pherozshah Mehta	3	THIRD RESOLUTION, in regard to the grievous distress among the people of India, and the reforms needed for its removal—carried unanimously	38
„ Mr. C. Narayan Swami Nayadu (declaring Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu duly elected)..	3	Speech of Mr. B. G. Tilak (proposing Fourth Resolution, as to the modification of the rules under the Arms Act, and measures needful to qualify the people to defend their homes and Government)	38
Inaugural Address of the President, Rai Saheb P. Ananda Charlu	3	„ Mr. Ali Mohammed Bhimji	40
Appointment of a Subjects Committee ..	9	„ Mr. Rama Chandra Pillai	40
Speech of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (proposing First Resolution in regard to the appointment of a Sub-Com- mittee to consider the advis- ability of the discontinuance or otherwise of the Annual Session of the Congress till after the British Session)	11	„ Mr. C. S. Nayadu	41
„ Pundit Prannath Saraswati	12	„ Mr. Nala Swami Pillai	42
FIRST RESOLUTION, appointing Sub-Com- mittee—carried unanimously	12	FOURTH RESOLUTION, praying for the modi- fication of the rules under the Arms Act and measures needful to qualify the people to defend their homes and govern- ment—carried unanimously	42
Assembly adjourned	12	Speech of Pandit Pran Nath Saraswati (proposing simultaneous ex- aminations in India and Eng- land for all civil branches of the Indian public service)	42
SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.		„ Mr. N. Subba Rao	43
Speech of President (proposing birthday cheers for Mr. Gladstone)	13	FIFTH RESOLUTION, advocating simulta- neous examinations in India and Eng- land for all civil branches of the Indian public service—carried by acclamation	44
„ Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (pro- posing Second Resolution, in regard to Legislative Councils)	13	Speech of Pandit Ajudhia Nath (propos- ing Sixth Resolution advoca- ting the reduction of the Salt Duty, raising the Income-tax taxable minimum and honest adherence to Government's own declared excise policy)	44
„ Rev. R. C. Bose	16	„ Mr. M. V. Joshi	45
„ President	16	„ Munshi Sheikh Husein, <i>vld.</i> Sheik Chand	46
SECOND RESOLUTION, in regard to the Re- form of the Legislative Councils—carried by acclamation	16	SIXTH RESOLUTION, praying for a reduction of the Salt Duty, raising of the Income- tax taxable minimum, and honest ad- herence to Government's own declared excise policy—carried unanimously	46
Speech of Mr. Pringle Kennedy (proposing Third Resolution, regarding the grievous distress among the people of India, and the reforms needed for its removal)	17		
„ Mr. Mudholkar	19		
„ Mr. Murlidhur	20		
„ Mr. D. E. Wacha	22		

DETAILED CONTENTS.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Speech of Mr. Poornendu Narayan Singh (advocating certain reforms in the Judicial and Police Administrations)	46	Speech of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta (proposing Thirteenth Resolution, expressing universal gratitude for the services rendered by the late Mr. C. Bradlaugh to India and grief at his untimely death)	63
„ Mr. Okhoy Chunder Dass	48	„ Mr. K. P. Kaviabisharad	64
„ The President	48	„ Munshi Sadruddin Ahmed	65
SEVENTH RESOLUTION, advocating certain reforms in the Judicial and Police Administrations—carried unanimsly	49	„ Moulvi Abdula Aziz Saheb	65
Speech of Mr. Herambo Chandra Moitra (deprecating diminution of educational grants and advocating enquiry into the industrial condition of the country)	49	THIRTEENTH RESOLUTION—carried unanimously in solemn silence	66
„ Mr. G. K. Gokhale	51	Speech of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (proposing Fourteenth Resolution, in re services rendered by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji)	66
EIGHTH RESOLUTION, protesting against the diminution of educational grants and advocating enquiry into the industrial condition of the country—carried by acclamation	51	„ Honourable Mr. Sankara Nair	66
THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.		FOURTEENTH RESOLUTION—carried by acclamation	66
Speech of the President	53	Speech of Mr. C. N. Nayadu (proposing Fifteenth Resolution, regarding the postponement of the English Session till after the British General Election)	66
„ Mr. A. O. Hume (proposing Ninth Resolution regarding General Booth's telegram and reply thereto	53	„ Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu	67
„ The President	53	„ Mr. A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu	68
NINTH RESOLUTION—carried by acclamation	53	„ Swami Ala Ram	68
Speech of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (proposing Tenth Resolution to continue the Annual Sessions of the Congress until all necessary reforms are conceded)	54	„ Pandit Shyam Narayan Masaldan	69
„ Pandit Ajudhia Nath	54	FIFTEENTH RESOLUTION—carried <i>nomine dissentiente</i>	70
„ The President	54	Speech of Mr. J. Ghosal (proposing Sixteenth Resolution in regard to assignment of funds for British Committee and General Secretary's Office)	70
TENTH RESOLUTION—carried by acclamation	54	„ Mr. Vira Raghava Chariar	70
Speech of Mr. Paul Peter Pillai (proposing Eleventh Resolution, respecting the necessity for mitigating the harshness of the practical administration of the Forest Laws)	54	SIXTEENTH RESOLUTION—carried unanimously	70
„ Mr. R. P. Korandikar	57	Speech of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (proposing the re-election of General and Joint General Secretaries)	71
„ Mr. S. B. Bhate	58	SEVENTEENTH RESOLUTION—carried by acclamation	71
„ Mr. J. R. Nimbkar	58	Speech of Mr. A. O. Hume (proposing Eighteenth Resolution in regard to holding the next or Eighth Congress at Allahabad)	71
„ Mr. V. N. Apte	60	„ Honourable Pandit Ajudhia Nath	72
„ Mr. K. B. Mullick	61	EIGHTEENTH RESOLUTION—carried by acclamation	72
„ Mr. Vira Raghava Chariar	61	Speech of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (proposing vote of thanks to President President's concluding Address	72
ELEVENTH RESOLUTION—carried unanimously	62	APPENDIX I.—LIST OF DELEGATES WHO ATTENDED THE SEVENTH CONGRESS	75
Speech of Mr. K. G. Natu (proposing Twelfth Resolution, thanking British Committee and urging them to extend the scope of their labours)	62	APPENDIX II.—SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE 1ST, 2ND, 3RD, 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH CONGRESSES	77
„ Mr. Girisha Chandra Sett	63		
TWELFTH RESOLUTION—carried by acclamation	63		

THE SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

“RESOLVED—That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms—

“THAT FULLY FIFTY MILLIONS OF THE POPULATION, A NUMBER YEARLY INCREASING, ARE DRAGGING OUT A MISERABLE EXISTENCE ON THE VERGE OF STARVATION, AND THAT IN EVERY DECADE SEVERAL MILLIONS ACTUALLY PERISH BY STARVATION ;

“That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to

- (a) the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances, of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II—to
- (b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former ; and to
- (c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured—

“That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

that the cost of the administration be greatly reduced, in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops like those of the Honourable East India Company, for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport, and of excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatised youths ; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Store Departments ; and in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly, imported staff ; and,

that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years, is found to be impossible ; and to establish Agricultural Banks.

“THAT THIS CONGRESS DOES MOST EARNESTLY ENTREAT THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND NOT TO PERMIT ANY FURTHER SACRIFICE OF LIFE BY THE SHORT-COMINGS OF THE EXISTING, DOUBTLESS WELL-INTENTIONED, BUT NONE THE LESS UNSATISFACTORY, ADMINISTRATION, BUT TO INSIST, AND SPEEDILY, ON THESE REFORMS.”

THE dominant note in the seventh session of the Congress, which was held at Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, during the last week of December, 1891, was one of solicitude for the masses of the population. The condition of things described in the Resolution quoted above was present in every mind, and caused grave concern to every Delegate. Speech after speech, not only in the discussion on what may be termed THE POVERTY RESOLUTION, but also in the debates on other topics, bore testimony to the fact that a sense of the hideous and ever-growing poverty of their country has taken a firm hold on the heart and conscience of educated Indians. So much was this the case, and so overpoweringly strong was

the sense of the assembly in this regard felt and expressed, that, in introducing the proceedings of the Nagpur session to the general reader, the chronological order of business may not be followed. The increasing sufferings of the people, remediable as they largely are, claim precedence. Every other subject must needs take a lower place.

A summary of this debate ought not to fail in so stimulating interest in this most important matter as to ensure the attentive perusal of all that was put forward by the respective speakers.

Mr. Pringle Kennedy, who lives in the Bengal mofussil, son of a late devoted missionary of the London Missionary Society, proposed the Resolution in a speech in which, among other things, he made allusion to excessive military expenditure and a forward policy. Upon the Poverty of the People, he remarked:—"Let me ask your attention to the statement which I believe is nowhere doubted, that a great part of the people are in the deepest poverty. Millions, as we have been told, have not, from year's end to year's end, a sufficiency of food. From one day to another they do not know, what every one of us knows every day of his life, what it is to have their stomachs full. Actual starvation carries off a part; but who can tell the millions carried off by diseases which are engendered and fostered by insufficient nourishment? This mournful fact is acknowledged by all. Many responsible statesmen, in admitting it, argue that it is a law of Nature—a huge population and an insufficient supply of food, and they come to the conclusion that nothing can be done. For my part I will never accept what I may call the philosophy of despair."

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, of Amraoti, Berar, who was a delegate to England in 1890, declared that, in spite of the noble and generous intentions of the British people and the British Government, the India of to-day presents a most mournful and abnormal spectacle.

"Here," he said, "is a country which poets have called the land of gold and pearls. The wealth of India is a simile familiar to all readers of literature. The mineral resources of the country are second to none in this world. And what do you find, and that under (so far as intentions go) one of the best governments established by human agency? There is peace (at any rate internally; on the ever-expanding frontiers, of course, Government has always some war on hand), there is order, there are courts of justice, there is security of property; and in a country with all these natural advantages what do we find? We find that there is

"acute, widespread, growing poverty; that

"the masses are every day sinking lower and lower; that

"there is an utter absence of any economic staying power in them.

"It is natural that in the face of results like these, the minds of the people should be occupied with this unhappy state of affairs, and that they should ask the reasons for this phenomenon.

"It may perhaps be said that our statement as to the people growing poorer is but the vapourings of the press or random assertions. What I say is not based on my knowledge, though I, of course, know it well; I do not advance it on my own authority, but on the authority of the responsible officials of the Government. Here we have had Sir William Hunter, Director-General of Statistics for the Government of India, saying emphatically, years ago, that fully forty millions in India went through life with insufficient food. Then there is Sir Charles Elliott, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writing as Chief Commissioner of Assam, who says: 'I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal.' Then there is another authority, Mr. Harrington, Commissioner of Lucknow, who says that he has not the slightest hesitation in stating that the greater part of the population of India suffers from a daily insufficiency of food. Endless testimony to the same effect could be cited. That is the spectacle which is afforded you under this most beneficent of rule."

Mr. Mudholkar continued by referring to the dismal record of the famines of the past fifty years, and cited from the report of the Famine Commissioners incontestable evidence of a state of things which exists nowhere in the world save in British India.

Mr. Lalla Murlidhar, speaking for the Panjab, after remonstrating with his

countrymen for not patronising indigenous productions, declared that life was being made increasingly hard for the people generally. "Not thirty years ago," he said, "wheat sold for one and a-half maunds and grain for two maunds the rupee, for our grain was not exported to foreign lands. Now it is

SIX TIMES AS DEAR, AND SIX TIMES AS HARD FOR THE POOR TO FILL THEIR BELLIES."

The speaker found the reason for what he described in "the phantasm of free trade," which, he went on to say, "drains our granaries". He added:—"Free trade, fair play between nations, how I hate the sham. What fair play in trade can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist, England? As well talk of a fair fight between an infant and a strong man—a rabbit and a boa-constrictor. No doubt it is all in accordance with high economic science, but, my friends, remember this—this, too, is starving your brethren. And our good Government are so grieved at the decay of all native industries, so anxious that we should once more be in a position to supply ourselves, and find work here for our people, that they have established, I believe, nearly one dozen technical schools amongst three hundred millions of people." At this there were cries of "Shame".

In passing, note must be taken of this speaker's thrust at the too-paternal character of the administration. The scornfulness of the following remarks should not be lost sight of:

"And then, again," said Mr. Murlidhar, "of course, all a part of their philanthropy—for naturally they know so much more about our concerns and our interests than we do ourselves, and can so much better feel where the yoke galls us than we foolish people can—they keep the whole management of our affairs in their own hands, and spend our money in their own ways, just as they know to be right. How should we know anything about it? It is true that the greatest of the emperors always entrusted the management of the finances of the Empire to Hindu financiers, and that these managed passably well, and had always large surpluses and money to spare for wars and famines when these did, though the latter very rarely did, occur. But what was Akbar when compared with Lords Lytton and Dufferin, and the splendid deficits they immortalized themselves by?"

Mr. D. E. Wacha, of Bombay, spoke next. So weighty was his speech that, contrary to anything that had before occurred in the Congress, he was permitted to speak at great length. His indictment of the military policy of the Government was of a masterly character. Dealing with the condition-of-the-people section of the Resolution he said:—

"The speakers who preceded me have made you fairly acquainted, more or less, with the question of the prevailing poverty in India; and none, I think, has brought more vividly home to us the miserable condition of the masses, mostly the agricultural population, than our old friend, Mr. Murlidhar, who has just left the tribune. The lifelike picture which he drew, and the object lesson he tried to convey to you thereby, were indeed most heartrending. They were such as might have moved even heavenly hearts to pain. This, gentlemen, is the condition of the country to be witnessed from year to year. . . . If I may be briefly allowed to touch on the most salient causes of it, I would observe that two circumstances, above all others, have greatly contributed towards it. They are the system of land revenue assessments, and land legislation. These have been mostly instrumental in bringing unnumbered woes on the peasantry. . . . That the system of land revenue in vogue in all parts, save Bengal, has led the peasantry from bad to worse, is not denied. It has been officially admitted. Our rulers departed from the old system in vogue in the times prior to British occupation, which was really the sheet anchor of the agriculturists. It had the great merit of elasticity—elasticity in this sense, that in years of prosperity and abundance the ryot was able not only to pay his assessment to the State and maintain himself and his family, but lay by something against a rainy day or the inclemency of a bad season. The revenue, in fact, was paid in kind. But our rulers have changed all that, and introduced in its place the cast iron system of payment in hard cash at one invariable rate. It is unfortunately, so rigid that there is no escape out of it for the ryot; while, to add to his misfortune, it has more or less to be paid, in many provinces, on two fixed dates during the year, when he is least able to pay it. In this aspect of the revenue system of British India there always lurks, I fear, great danger. The peasantry is the backbone of the country, and the land revenue derived by the State is the backbone of Indian

finance. You have only to conceive, and it is a possibility which is not remote, if things go on from bad to worse, as they do now, what may be the condition of the country, politically and financially, if, out of sheer poverty and starvation, the ryots refuse *en masse* to pay the State dues. The great internal danger, infinitely more to be guarded and watched against than any external aggression, is, gentlemen,

THE POSSIBILITY OF A UNIVERSAL AGRARIAN RISING.

(Hear, hear.) Surely, I need no further urge how grave and portentous is this condition of affairs, this growing poverty of the masses."

These passages will, perhaps, suffice. But it may not be overlooked that so persistently pressing has become this question that, more than anything else, it occupied the mind of the leader of the Salvation Army during his visit to India, and constituted the burden of his telegraphic message to the Congress. "May I," General Booth asked, "be allowed to commend to the attention of the Congress the claims of the millions of India's starving poor, and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country in such an organised and befriended manner as will enable them to gain for themselves those necessaries of a healthy existence which in their present circumstances are denied? Praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, I am yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind."

The following telegram was despatched in reply to General Booth :

"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message, thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this wide-spread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms, as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations public or private are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in the same field, and we have to thank you that your army, too, is now engaged in the good work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours in both directions be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren."

An adequate conception of the state of affairs cannot, however, be judged by extracts from a particular debate. Nearly every subject touched upon during the three days' debate bore more or less upon the continual suffering of vastly more millions than are contained not only in the United Kingdom but also in all the English-speaking, self-ruled, Colonies. Fifty millions of the Queen's subjects are declared, in the Congress Resolution, to be in a state of chronic starvation. In the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the Australasian Colonies, and in the Crown Colonies and Dependencies, East and West, there are less than fifty millions of people of British descent. Thus stated, the appalling nature of Indian suffering may, perhaps, be more readily grasped.

The main topic of the Congress having been considered, a glance at the proceedings as a whole may be taken. Mr. Hume describes the composition of the Congress and the principles on which the business of the organisation is arranged. There are political institutions in this country which might well learn a valuable lesson from the procedure described in the latter portion of the following extracts :

"The number of delegates, which was only 812, was not great, though larger than at Calcutta in 1890, but the elections had been more carefully and systematically carried out than on any previous occasion, and the men elected were, as a whole, more thoroughly representative, if possible, of all classes of the community, than at

any former Congress. Registration was refused to a few whose credentials were informal and that, in some cases, were wholly wanting. At past gatherings, many delegates came at the expense of their constituents or the circle committees, and many had to be excused delegate fees, and all were treated as guests; at Nagpur, however, almost all came at their own expense and paid not only their full delegate fees of Rs. 10 each, but also for all food consumed by them.

“The composition of the Congress was most varied. There were Europeans, Eurasians, and Indians. There were Hindus of many castes and belonging to several sects. Mussulmans, both Sheah and Sooni; Jains, Jews, Parsis, Sikhs; Christians, both Protestant and Roman Catholic; Brahmos, and members of the Ariya Somaj, and not a few Theosophists. It is needless perhaps to go into further detail, but it was remarked at the time that, although absolutely no thought had been bestowed on the matter, every form of religious belief which has any considerable body of professors in India was represented in the Congress. The agricultural community was very strongly represented. There were Talukdars, Zemindars, Malguzars, Jagirdars, Muafeedars, Mamdars, and a variety of landholders of one kind and another, and a small body (thirty-eight) of cultivators. As usual, the legal profession was in great force, and some two hundred and fifty entered themselves as barristers, advocates, solicitors, pleaders, vakils, and mukhtears, though, of course, many of these were also entered as landholders, contractors, bankers and money-lenders, merchants, mill-owners, mill-managers, shopkeepers, indigo-planters, schoolmasters and educationalists, newspaper proprietors and editors, literary men, doctors of medicine, engineers, artizans, men in private service, and missionaries and preachers. Christian, Hindu, and Muhammadan, and belonging to the Brahmo and Ariya Somajes, completed the assemblage, which, truly, included all sorts and conditions of men. For there were Rajahs and Sirdars, and a veritable religious mendicant like Swami Alaram (who has never touched a coin, or owned anything beyond his clothes, a gourd, a staff and a blanket, since he took his vows); Members of Council, Fellows of Universities, a great many graduates, Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and members of Local and District Boards, and of Municipalities (nearly two hundred of these), honorary magistrates and day-labourers in the fields. Rich and poor, old and young, talking some eighteen different languages and distinct dialects, and all wearing their local or national costumes (except some few Indians, who having passed some time in England have adopted European clothes), they constituted an almost ideally perfect body of representatives of India's people—and all this, strange to say, without any one having in any way arranged for it. In the early days of the Congress great efforts used to be made, which were only partly successful, to bring about such a complete representation. Now the matter is entirely ignored and the desired result comes about of itself—a conclusive proof of the generally effective manner in which our rough and ready electoral system works.

“Again, remote as Nagpur is, and devoid of all the attractions that the capitals, at which former Congresses have been held, unquestionably possessed, fully four thousand visitors (many from distant parts of the Empire) attended and paid between six and seven thousand rupees for tickets of admission to the hall. The result of all which was that the Congress cost the Reception Committee not more than half what previous ones had done—a very important step in the right direction, the very heavy cost of the Congresses to the localities in which they are held having, hitherto, been one of their gravest drawbacks.

“Then the hall, though far smaller than the gigantic Calcutta pavilion (it was only 180 feet by 120 feet, and only contained some four thousand chairs, though many more than four thousand people managed on the second day to find standing

room there) was the best proportioned, the most perfect in acoustic properties, and the most elegantly finished and decorated, of any yet provided for the Congress.

“Further, reverting to the excellent practice adopted at the third and fourth Congresses, long lines of barracks had been built in the same enclosure as the Congress hall, affording accommodation thus at one centre to all the delegates, and thereby permitting the constant daily and hourly interchange of thought and opinion between the members of all provinces, not merely during the all-too-brief actual sittings of the assembly, but practically, from dawn to midnight of the entire period of their visit to Nagpur. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this close intimate personal social intercourse. It has been often said that these Congresses have made a nation of India’s multitudinous peoples; and that they have done so has been, in a great measure, due to this intimate personal association of all the delegates during the Congress weeks.

“Shortly after the sixth Congress, as soon as it had been settled that the seventh Congress should be held at Nagpur, conjointly by the Central Provinces and by Berar, public meetings were held, at which all the leading citizens of both provinces were elected into a Reception Committee. The committee estimated the cost and allotted five-eighths of this to the Central Provinces, three-eighths to Berar. Committees in each then distributed these amounts amongst the several districts and towns included in each province, and though of course each of these districts and towns was represented on the committee by one or more of its most prominent inhabitants or townsmen, it is yet noteworthy that, with two exceptions, every place paid its quota cheerfully, and that, from first to last, there never was the smallest difficulty about funds.

“Then the Reception Committee proceeded to elect its chairman and create, out of itself, a small executive committee of its most active members for general supervision, and a series of sub-committees, to look especially after the building, food, lighting and fire prevention, furniture, sanitation and medical arrangements. And the result of this systematic procedure and of the earnestness of all concerned, was the completion of all work at a moderate cost, without a single hitch or imperfection.*

“Rather more than three months before the Congress was to meet, the Reception Committee addressed the several Standing Congress Committees presiding over the twenty-nine, now thirty-three, circles, into which the country is divided for Congress purposes, requesting them to ascertain from those inhabitants of their several circles who were interested in such matters, the questions that they desired to be taken up at the coming Congress. Having fully considered the replies, and having set aside those subjects in which only a few, apparently, of the circles were interested, the Reception Committee proceeded to frame a series of resolutions based on the local suggestions, and to circulate a large number of copies of these to the several Standing Committees for distribution throughout their circles. So, one month before the Congress met, every Standing Committee, every divisional and sub-divisional committee, nay every delegate or person likely to be elected a delegate had, or was in a position to obtain, a complete copy of the resolutions which the executive proposed to submit to the Congress for its consideration. The consequence was that every man, when he reached Nagpur, knew exactly—having discussed the subject with the people he represented—what alterations, verbal or otherwise, he and his

* The work was so admirably done that it seems only just to record that, while many others contributed to this, the great success achieved was primarily largely due to Messrs. C. Narayan Swami Nayadu (Chairman of the Reception Committee), Gopal Hari Bhude, Bepin Prishna Bose, Bhagernat Pershad (Secretary), Kesho Vinyak Joshi (Asst. Secretary), and Dr. Robertson (Chairman of the Sanitation and Medical Committees, a Presbyterian Medical Missionary) in the Central Provinces, and to Messrs. Dorao Vinayak, R. N. Mudholkar, R. V. Joshi, and H. S. Khaparde, in Berar.

colleagues had to propose, and what resolutions he or they would have to move, to add or omit.

“On arrival at Nagpur, the delegates from each circle at once proceeded (this being done every year) to elect from amongst themselves one, two or more delegates, according to the population and importance of the circle, to represent this latter on the Subjects Committee. As soon as the President's inaugural address was completed, the lists of men thus elected were handed in, were read to the whole assembly, and the election of the Subjects Committee thus composed, was formally ratified and approved by the entire gathering.

“Directly the Congress adjourned on the first day, the Subjects Committee met and took up the draft Resolutions prepared and circulated by the Reception Committee. Alterations, amendments, additions were rapidly proposed, discussed and disposed of; and it was the Resolutions as finally settled by the Subjects Committee (in one Resolution nearly twenty changes had been made) that were submitted next day to the Congress. Next day the Subjects Committee again met and settled the Resolutions to be taken up the third day, besides settling a number of financial and other, as we may perhaps call them, departmental questions.

“But it must not be supposed that these Resolutions, even thus carefully settled, became a law to the assembly. Far from it: every circle, nay every individual Congress-man, has a right to move any amendment, and, if he can get any one to second him, to have a vote thereon taken. At this Congress, one delegate rose and questioned the Bengal list of members of the Subjects Committee; one man actually moved an amendment on the Forest Resolution, and several more intended to do so, but withdrew their notices in consequence of the President's explanation showing that the Resolution did not involve what they fancied, from the wording, it might be held to involve. At previous Congresses, Resolutions settled by a majority of the Subjects Committee, have been repeatedly rejected or wholly changed, by the assembly, on the motion, either of some of the leaders of the minority, or some outside member. Absolute freedom of opinion and discussion is conceded to every individual delegate, but no doubt, at this last Congress, there was very little interpellation; and as a matter of fact not one single Resolution, as finally settled by the Subjects Committee, was, this time, in any way modified by the assembly.

“The reasons for this are several. In the first place, where questions have been so thoroughly thought out beforehand, opinion becomes settled, and every man knows to what his fellows have made up their minds. ‘The common sense of many keeps the fretful few in awe,’ and no man, as a rule, cares to press forward an objection that he knows has been already exhaustively considered and negatived by his colleagues. In the second place, as we have often remarked, there is a sweet reasonableness about the Indian people which fits them pre-eminently to take part in popular assemblies. Try to gag them, try to suppress their views and prevent these obtaining a fair hearing, and they are even more incensed, perhaps, than Englishmen would be; but let them once know that the points they desire to press have been fully examined and discussed by those to whom they look up as the ablest and most upright amongst themselves, and they receive the decision of these, however adverse to their individual opinions, with the utmost cheerfulness and good temper. In the third place, except as regards forests, the Resolutions, this year, contained nothing new; they merely summarized the conclusions upon which the thinking portion of the community—partly on the basis of the Congress discussions, but mainly on the basis of those that (consequent on these latter) have been carried on at thousands of public meetings and in tens of thousands of newspaper articles, and a huge volume of correspondence—has definitely, finally, and unanimously agreed.

“We have dwelt, we fear, at almost too great length upon our *modus operandi*, but we are anxious that our readers should realize how completely we succeed in combining the utmost promptitude in the despatch of business with the most perfect freedom of speech and action in the case of every individual delegate, because we think that India has every reason to be proud of her Congress, as, also, that we may fairly ask all impartial Britons to consider whether in this matter, as well as in others, this Congress does not afford weighty evidence of the fitness of our people for that modest, moderate modicum of representative institutions which is all that India’s most advanced sons have, at present, made up their minds to insist upon.

“As we write we have before us a bundle of some seventy notices of the seventh Congress by the leading Metropolitan and provincial newspapers in Great Britain—notice professedly based on Reuter’s telegraphic reports of the assembly’s proceedings. Of these notices many are friendly, several the reverse of this—some are intelligent, a good many stupid—most of them honest enough according to the writers’ lights, a few (Tory and Liberal Unionist) distinctly mendacious.*

The first meeting of the Nagpur Congress took place in the pavilion already alluded to, early in the afternoon of Monday, the 28th December, 1891. Mr. C. Narayan Swami Nayadu, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings in a brief but vigorous speech, welcoming the delegates and calling on them to elect a President. In the course of his speech Mr. Nayadu said:—

“We remember with gratitude and satisfaction our present Viceroy’s declaration last January that the Congress was a perfectly legitimate movement; that every one, not a Government servant, was perfectly free to join it, and that all Government officials were prohibited from impeding it in any way or putting pressure on any one to induce them to abstain from aiding or joining it. Thus encouraged, and true to our first principles, true to England, true to our beloved country and our countrymen, let us persevere in the good work. One obstacle—the cruel misconception, and, must I say it, the still more cruel misrepresentation of our aims and objects, to which we were subjected—has been practically overcome, but many others still remain. We have to get the rank and file of the European official community, as well as those of the higher ranks, not merely to tolerate us as harmless, well-intentioned enthusiasts, but to realize that we are earnest, practical men, who do really know our country and our countrymen, their wants and their aspirations, in many respects better than even the ablest amongst themselves. We have got to get them in a word to work along with us, realising our capacities and usefulness, while we on our part cordially acknowledge their superiority in many points. We have got to bring home our exact position, the inequitable disabilities we labour

* “Take, for instance, the *St. James’s Gazette* of the 31st December, which says that the speeches at this Congress were as ‘usual strongly tinged with sedition.’ It would puzzle the much-to-be-pitied individual who penned this veracious averment to discover one line in any single speech, delivered at this or any previous Congress, that any body of average Englishmen, would condemn, as in the most distant degree, seditious. Of course if, when you see the tail of a lady’s train alight, it be treason to point this out to her and endeavour to assist her in extinguishing the flame; if it be treason for a body of men who have just examined a bridge over which a train has to pass and found it unsafe, to warn the driver of what they know, then we who warn the British Government that if they continue to ignore the miserable condition of the people, and refuse to strengthen the administration of those alone capable of effectively grappling with the difficulty, that people’s own representatives, they will be risking the dismemberment of the Empire, then, we say, we no doubt are seditious. But this is not the sense in which the word is used by free-born Englishmen of the present day, and the writer ought to have prefixed to his utterances the warning: ‘N. B.—The following is written from a Russian Autocrat’s standpoint.’

“Then, take the *Manchester Examiner’s* statement that the Congress is a self-elected body. Now when the delegates were elected (at one stage or another of the selective process) by the co-operation of over five millions of voters, when no single delegate was registered until he produced the formal certificate of election signed by the chairman of the meeting of association whereat he was elected, and giving date, numbers present and all particulars, it is really a serious venture in the department of fiction to designate such a body of delegates ‘self-elected.’ Had the writer said that in a very small percentage of cases, the elections were a mere farce we should have agreed. We will give him a case in point. There is a famous association consisting of many many hundreds of members, whereof a public meeting was summoned to elect delegates. Sixteen members only attended (of course there was a mistake) and elected twenty-three delegates. We do not mean to say that all these attended the Congress, but this shows how rotten in exceptional cases the election may be. But per contra 8,000 adult males, themselves the delegates of more than ten times that number, met in one place and elected two delegates. Our elections are at any rate infinitely better and more truly representative of the sentiments of the 5,000,000 adult males who take part in them than were the British pre-Reform Bill elections, and our electors, though they directly represent a population of only twenty-five millions, include at least nine-tenths of all the thinking men in the country, and thus represent our whole population of 240 millions as well as or better than the British electors of the present day represent the population of Great Britain.”

under, our many grievances, the miserable condition of fully one-sixth of our poor population to the British electorate, and through them bring such pressure to bear on the overworked British House of Commons as will lead it to take up the legislation needful to permit the authorities here to effect the reforms we pray for. We have got to educate, each in our own province, district, and town, those of our fellows who as yet have failed to realize the purpose and true significance of our movement. We have to get the whole country solid behind us, and this we can do, and, with God's help will do."

Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, a distinguished advocate of the Madras High Court, was unanimously elected President. His address is an example of sound sense and statesmanlike ability. It may be judged by one passage which is specially selected for quotation as in it is combatted the statement so frequently made in this country that India may not be regarded as in any sense a nation, but, rather, as a heterogeneous and unfusable collection of incongruous communities. Reviewing the growth and consolidation of the Congress, the President said :—

"Then came our session in Madras, and there we succeeded in blotting out the stigma that one part of our country was benighted; and we exhibited the spectacle of a gathering, more considerable in numbers, more representative in composition, more adequate in the proportion of the Muhammadan contingent, more cordial in feeling, more in unison with the name of this institution, wider in basis and altogether a nearer approximation than had till then been attained to the conception of a nationality in the sense in which alone that word has a meaning in political parlance. On the impregnable basis which that gathering illustrated, the subsequent sessions of the Congress were constituted, and our success has been great and signal. To detract from the worth and significance of the well-knit, ever-expanding phalanx known as the Indian National Congress, a desultory controversy was raised round the word "nationality"—a controversy at once learned and unlearned, ingenious and stupid, etymological and ethnological. Now a common religion was put forward as the differentia; now a common language; now a proved or provable common extraction; and now the presence of the privileges of commensality and inter-conjugal kinship. These ill-considered and ill-intentioned hypotheses have, one and all, fallen to the ground, and no wonder: for the evident circumstance was lost sight of that words might have divers acceptations—each most appropriate for one purpose, and in a like degree, inappropriate for other purposes. In my view the word "nationality" should be taken to have the same meaning as the Sanskrit *Prajah*, which is the correlative of the term *Rajah*—the ruling power. Though, like the *Prajah*, it may have various significations, it has but one obvious, unmistakable, meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are (to adapt and adopt the words of a writer in the *National Review*) citizens of one country, 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 is in reality a potential class. In the first place 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 bottom, and more or less unified by being continually subjected to identical environments and to the inevitable process of assimilation. In the next place it gets added to from time to time, by the accession of other peoples—like scions engrafted on the central stem or like creepers attaching thereto—who settle in the country in a like manner, and come under the many unifying influences already referred to, though still exhibiting marks of separateness and distinctness. Affirm this standard, and you have an Indian nation. Deny it, and you have a nation nowhere on the face of the earth. A common language, a common religion; inter-dining, and inter-marriage are, without doubt, potent auxiliaries. These help, no doubt, by affording facilities for co-operation and by rendering easy the attainment of common objects. But, for all that, they are, at best, inseparable accidents, and it betrays a grievous obliquity of judgment to esteem them as constituting the very essence of what is understood by the term "nation." We began, proceeded, and have persevered up to this day, on the tacit assumption that such is the correct doctrine, and let us continue to exert ourselves on that principle at least as a working definition; because by pursuing such a course, and within the short period of seven years, we have accomplished the great and palpable fact that the Hindu populations of this country—long dispersed from one another, long divided by parochial differences, long kept apart and estranged from one another by sectional and sectarian jealousies, have at last recognised one another as members of a single brotherhood, despite the few differences that still linger. This is a magnificent product of the Congress, as a mighty nationaliser. The part it has already played in this direction is, indeed, glorious, and I am sure you will not charge me with holding Utopian views if, on the basis of what has been achieved, and in view of the vital interests involved, I venture to predict that, through the agency of the Congress far more intimate relations and far closer forms of kinship are in store for us in the not remote future.

The Councils' Reform Resolution was dealt with in a brief, but not less enthu-

siastic, manner than had marked its discussion in any previous session. "It is a Resolution," said the President in putting it, "in regard to which no two opinions exist, or can exist, amongst us Indians." The terms of the motion were: "That this Congress reaffirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, *viz.*, that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose good-will towards India it gratefully recognises, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform." Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and the Rev. R. C. Bose were the two speakers who placed the motion before the Congress; their speeches, on a subject respecting which there was absolute unanimity, were comparatively brief and wholly to the point.

In order of time the Congress then considered the subject with which the first portion of this Introduction is concerned—the sad condition of the Indian people.

Once, again, the authorities were—in the succeeding Resolution—implored (*a*) to modify the rules under the Arms Act, so "as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, and visitors to, India," and to render the obtaining of licenses for arms to be used only as a defence against wild beasts an easy operation; (*b*) to establish Military Colleges in India, a scheme approved by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and other high military persons but blocked by the Government of India; (*c*) to organise a system of militia service among the more warlike races; and (*d*) to authorise and stimulate widespread volunteering after the English practice. The mover of this Resolution (Mr. B. G. Tilak, of Poona) properly remarked: "The whole nation is being demartialised and enervated, and deprived of men who could or would stand by the Government in times of difficulty. Already the Government is complaining of a difficulty in recruiting for the native army, and I fear that, unless they modify their present policy, that difficulty will increase—partly because they are, by their existing system, emasculating the more warlike tribes, and partly because a doubt is growing up as to serving as soldiers under a Government which treats its subjects with the distrust with which, judging from their policy in all these matters, they appear to regard us all. It will be a bad thing for India and a bad thing for Government if these obstacles to recruiting are allowed to develop further. It would lead to a state of things that I do not think we can permit to evolve without a protest such as this Resolution embodies."

Simultaneous examinations in England and in India "for any and all of the civil branches of the Public Service in India," were strongly urged in a Resolution moved by Pandit Pran Nath Saraswati, amid the evident sympathy and cordial appreciation of the delegates. The injustice involved in the maintenance of the present system is so great that the change of procedure desired is certain, sooner or later, to be adopted. When it has been adopted the marvel will be widespread that a course so manifestly unfair should have been tolerated, by a generally justice-loving people like the British people, so long.

The Seventh Session of the Congress, on the motion of the Joint General Secretary, Pandit Ajudhia Nath, of Allahabad, concurred with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

"(*a*) The reduction of the Salt Tax by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;

"(*b*) The rising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000;

"(*c*) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations, to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in Paras. 103, 104, and 105, of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India*, of March 1st, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages."

The practicability of instituting Local Option in connection with the Drink Traffic was strikingly put by the Pandit, who said :—

“ One word, by the way, about local option. Whatever may be the difficulties in towns—and to me they do not seem serious, since each separate mohulla or ward can be treated as a separate hamlet—but I say whatever the difficulties, real or imaginary, in towns, no one can pretend that there would be the smallest difficulty in introducing the system of local option into all villages and hamlets, including populations not exceeding, say, 1,500 or 2,000 souls. The only thing necessary would be, on a day fixed and locally notified beforehand, to poll all the adult males in each, as to whether they would, or would not, have a liquor-shop within the limits of their mouza, or township, or parish, or whatever in English best describes the land area pertaining to each village. This done, we maintain that wherever two-thirds of such adult males opposed the existence of a liquor-shop within their limits, none should there be allowed. As Government is itself the proprietor of all these liquor-shops (or public houses), and only lets them on competitive leases year by year to the highest bidders, no question of compensation can here complicate the question. Such a system would save annually millions and millions from drink, degradation and crime. (Cheers.) Such a system can be introduced throughout the country in six months without the smallest difficulty, and the Government know this. (Cheers.) Such a system would close nine-tenths of the rural liquor-shops, and the Government know this well also—(cheers)—and this, it seems, is why they will have nothing to say to it. No, they will cling to their money, to the fruits of sin and misery, rather than act righteously and do justice. (Loud cheers.) Individually our rulers are, I think, good men, many of them really religious men, but collectively they have neither conscience nor religion; their financial codes are their Shastras—(cheers)—and money, no matter how obtained, to spend on frontier dacoities—(cheers)—on a grand scale, their *summum bonum*. None the less will we press this Resolution, until stung by shame they realise that it is doing right, which constitutes the chief strength and glory of a Government. (Loud cheers.) ”

Police Reform and Extension of Trial by Jury were urged in a comprehensive resolution, the speeches in support of which fully sustained the positions taken up in the resolution. Emphasis was given to what had been urged in previous sessions on these themes. The Resolution itself was in these terms :—

“ That having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects, of the Judicial and Police Administration, this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- “ (a) The complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- “ (b) The extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury;
- “ (c) The withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries;
- “ (d) The introduction, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- “ (e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents of Police.

Educational extension and stimulation were the subject of the next resolution. The importance of increasing, instead of diminishing (as appears to be the present policy of the authorities), public expenditure on all branches of education, but especially on technical education, was next insisted upon. In the course of the discussion it was proved that the Government was retrograding on this question. Mr. G. K. Gokhale made some remarks which are deserving of special attention. He said :

“ My first point is that the Government has pledged itself in the most solemn and unreserved manner to regard the education of the people as its most sacred duty. In the despatch of 1854, which is believed to have emanated from Mr. John Stuart Mill, the Directors say that the education of the people is the most sacred and solemn duty of the Indian Government. After the transference of

the Government of this country from the Company to the Crown in 1859, the Secretary of State for India, in a despatch to the Indian Government, reiterated the same thing. So far, therefore, as the promises of the Government are concerned there can be no doubt. My next point is, that taking all civilised countries into consideration, India is the least advanced in the matter of education. I have the statistics with me, but will not quote them. You will find that in the countries of Europe 60 per cent. of the school-going population attend school: but in our own country the proportion is only 11 per cent. I have also statistics with regard to expenditure, but I will mention only a few. In Europe, in the most backward country, as far as education is concerned, no less than 6·5 per cent. of the public revenues goes toward the expenses of education, whereas in India the proportion is about 1 per cent. The expenditure on education has not kept pace with the increase in the ordinary revenues of this country. About twenty years ago it was 1·4 per cent., and now it is only 1 per cent. The Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon has exhaustively dealt with the question and recognised the necessity of increasing the educational expenditure. The most sympathetic of Governors-General in 1884, directed the Local Governments to increase the outlay upon education as much as possible. Then came a change in the Government of the country, and in the policy of the Government. Lord Dufferin's Government issued a resolution in June, 1888, distinctly stating that thereafter the expenditure on education should be reduced rather than increased. The policy of reducing the expenditure on education is only recent, coming into existence with the Government of Lord Dufferin. I was going to say something with regard to the picture presented by Lord Ripon's Government and Lord Dufferin's; but there is no time. The second part of the resolution asks the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry which is to report upon the industrial problems of the country. I am no great believer in these commissions. Their reports are submitted to Government, but nothing comes of them. There is however, one distinct advantage about them, that they supply most exhaustive material for those who like to study the question. It is only in this light that I support the recommendation on this subject. The Government cannot now hesitate. The time for hesitation has gone. In 1833, as my predecessor so eloquently explained, Government was at the parting of the ways, and if they wanted to hesitate should have hesitated then. But they, or rather the British nation, chose the policy that alone was consistent with best traditions and the glory of England. Having entered upon that path, they cannot now go back, they cannot even halt; they must go on—(cheers)—and why in God's name should they halt? The spread of education in India means the glory of England, and an ever-growing guarantee for the peaceful continuance of her rule."

Forest Administration was a new subject in the Congress, and was most animatedly discussed. The laws which have been enacted for the conservation and improvement of forests work most cruelly among the agriculturists. How this has come about may be inferred from a passage quoted from the speech of the mover of the resolution, Mr. Peter Paul Pillai, an Indian Christian, a very earnest man, who has made a life-long study of agricultural questions in Southern India. Mr. Pillai said:—

"With a single stroke of the legislators' pen the Forest Laws have extinguished the communal rights of the ryot; rights which have been enjoyed from time immemorial, rights recognised and respected by former Governments and even by the British Government in former times, which went so far as to issue *pottahs* to ryots for the enjoyment of such rights; and several ryots showed me such *pottahs*. While the Government as a general rule reserved valuable timber forest, the ryots were allowed the enjoyment of minor forest produce, and of inferior wood necessary for every-day domestic use, free pasture, and the right of procuring vegetable manure, fuel, stone and gravel. Now all these rights and privileges have been taken away summarily by a single stroke of the legislators' pen. It is some thirty years since the Madras Government thought of developing and enlarging the Forest Administration. Since the passing of the Forest Act of 1882, the laws have been enforced rigorously with unhappy consequences to the ryot classes. By the extinction of these communal rights our peasant proprietors have ceased to possess that status and moral influence, as compared with non land-owning classes, which so materially aided to reconcile them to their position. Any one acquainted with the village system of rural India, at any rate in the south, will agree with me in saying that the ryots have ever possessed, unquestioned, the gratuitous enjoyment of all waste lands, cultivable or uncultivable; the pottah lands under cultivation being answerable for the Government revenue, and the waste lands under valuable timber forest being in the enjoyment of the State."

Yet, again, Mr. Pillai remarked: "When it was proposed to introduce forest legislation, it was done on the plea of making provision for posterity and following the scientific principle of procuring more rain by increasing the foliage area. From philanthropic and scientific grounds it has in practice degenerated into a mere money-

making and other-people's-property-grabbing arrangement. Everything within the forest limits has been taxed, except the atmosphere, without any rhyme or reason. Difficulties and ruinously prohibitory restrictions are raised with regard to the right of way for cattle and men even for drinking purposes."

Other speakers, intimately acquainted with the subject, followed, and the result was a debate only less interesting and important than that which avowedly concerned the welfare of the people. A careful perusal of the text of the speeches would go far towards educating a friendly Englishman, in regard to one of the most severe grievances under which Indian cultivators suffer, into agreement and earnest co-operation with Indian reformers.

The remaining Resolutions embraced the following matters:—

(1) A strong expression of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session of the Congress until after the British Session has been held, and a determination that future sessions should continue under the same conditions as heretofore;

(2) Thanks were accorded to the British Committee, and its members were respectfully urged "to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness by interesting themselves not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them and properly vouched for in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved;"

(3) The Congress put on record an expression of the gratitude felt throughout India for "the signal services rendered by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh" to that country's cause, "and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engendered;"

(4) Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was heartily commended to the electors of Central Finsbury;

(5) The contemplated session of the Congress in London was postponed until after the impending General Election in the United Kingdom; and

Funds were assigned for Congress purposes; officers for the coming year were elected; and Allahabad was fixed upon as the locality for the eighth session of the Congress.

The usual vote of thanks to the President and cheers for the Queen-Empress brought the proceedings of the seventh session of the Indian National Congress to a close.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

Held at Nagpur on the 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1891.

RESOLUTION I.

RESOLVED — That a Committee be appointed to consider and report, on or before the morning of the 30th instant, whether, or not, it is advisable to discontinue the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and, if not, under what regulations, as to numbers of delegates, localities for assemblage, and the like, future Congresses shall be held. The Committee to be composed as follows:—

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS:

The President.
The Chairman of the Reception Committee.
The General Secretary.
The Joint General Secretary.
The Standing Counsel to the Congress.

ORDINARY MEMBERS:

Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee,
Viraraghava Chariar,
Hafiz Abdul Raheem,
Ganga Persad Varma,
Pringle Kennedy,
Guru Prasad Sen,
Dinshaw E. Wacha,
M. B. Namjoshi,
Hamid Ali Khan,
Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide,
Lalla Murlidhar,
R. N. Mudholkar,
Deo Rao Vinayak,
Gopal Rao Bhide,
Bipin Krishna Bose,
Dajee Abajee Khare,
Madan Mohan Malaviya,
Salig Ram Singh, and
Sankara Nair.

RESOLUTION II.

RESOLVED—That this Congress reaffirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose goodwill towards India it gratefully recognizes, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform.

RESOLUTION III.

RESOLVED—That this Congress, concurring in the view 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 of starvation.

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

- (a) The exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances, of their own country; the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II.; to
- (b) The extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former; and to
- (c) A short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the

agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

That the cost of the administration be greatly reduced; in the military branch by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long-term local European troops, like those of the Hon. East India Company, for the present short-term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on, now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Store Departments; and, in the Civil Branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and

That measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years, is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks.

That this Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life from the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, Administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms.

RESOLUTION IV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that, to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian public opinion and encourage and qualify Indians to defend their homes and their Government—

- (a) By so modifying the rules under the Arms Act, as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class, or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revokable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial Jurisdiction in which they are issued;
- (b) By establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as commissioned or non-commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;
- (c) By organising, throughout the more warlike races of the Empire, a system of militia service; and
- (d) By authorizing and stimulating a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

RESOLUTION V.

RESOLVED—That as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, declares it to be essential, that all examinations for any and all of the Civil Branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be held simultaneously in India.

RESOLUTION VI.

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

- (a) The reduction of the salt tax, by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;
- (b) The raising of the income tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000;
- (c) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise Policy enunciated in paras. 103, 104, and 105 of the despatch, published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of Local Option in the case of all villages.

RESOLUTION VII.

RESOLVED—That having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects, of the Judicial and Police Administration, this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- (a) The complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- (b) The extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury;
- (c) The withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries;
- (d) The introduction, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by

the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents, of Police.

RESOLUTION VIII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the Technical, of appointing a Mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

RESOLUTION IX.

Read the following telegram from General Booth:—

“May I be allowed to commend, to the attention of the Congress, the claims of the millions of India's starving poor and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country in such an organised and befriended manner as will enable them to gain, for themselves, those necessaries of a healthy existence which, in their present circumstances, are denied; praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind.”

RESOLVED—That the following telegram be despatched in reply to General Booth:—

“The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition consti-

agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

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tutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, Associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in same field, and we have to thank you that your army too is now engaged in the good work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions, be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren."

RESOLUTION X.

Read the Report of the Committee, appointed under Resolution I., which runs as follows:—

"Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them and have also consulted, informally, various members of the Subjects Committee and other delegates. They are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and that future Congresses should be held under the same regulations as heretofore."

RESOLVED—That the Annual Sessions of the Congress in India continue to be held until all necessary reforms have been secured.

RESOLUTION XI.

RESOLVED—That, having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Law, the Government of India be most respectfully, but earnestly, entreated to investigate this

carefully, and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

RESOLUTION XII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved.

RESOLUTION XIII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress puts on record an expression of the gratitude felt throughout India for the signal services rendered by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh to that country's cause, and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engendered; and that a copy of this Resolution, signed by the President, be transmitted through the British Committee for presentation to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner.

RESOLUTION XIV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress hereby puts formally on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the great services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has rendered, during more than a quarter of a century, to the cause of India; that it expresses its unshaken confidence in him and its earnest hope that he may prove successful, at the coming elections, in his candidature for Central Finsbury, and at the same time tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most cordial acknowledgments to all in England, whether in Central Finsbury or elsewhere, who have aided, or may aid him, to win a seat in the House of Commons.

RESOLUTION XV.

RESOLVED—That, in view of the General Election now impending in England, and in

accordance with the recommendation of our British Committee, the provisional arrangements, set on foot in pursuance of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890, for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than 100 Delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election.

RESOLUTION XVI.

RESOLVED—That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's office and establishment,

and that the several circles do contribute as arranged in Committee for the year 1892.

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTION XVIII.

RESOLVED — That the Eighth Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1892, at Allahabad.

P. ANANDA CHARLU,

President of the Seventh Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT
NAGPUR,
On the 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1891.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

For the sittings of the Seventh Indian National Congress, a most beautiful pavilion had been erected in the Lall Bagh, close to the Nagpur railway station. The pavilion was small, only 180 by 120 feet, and since many passages and a central open space had to be left, it only afforded room for just four thousand chairs, but it was certainly the best proportioned and most elegantly finished and decorated that the Congress has thus far enjoyed.

When the Congress assembled early in the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of December, 1891, this pavilion was filled to overflowing, and despite the remoteness of Nagpur, itself only a second rate city, the number of visitors fell little short of that recorded when the Congress met at Calcutta and Bombay.

At 2 p.m. precisely, Mr. C. Narain Swami Nayadu, the Chairman of the Nagpur Municipality (the Mayor, in fact, of that city), who was also Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, and whose duty, *ex-officio*, it was to welcome the delegates and invite them to elect a President, ascended the platform and took his seat.

CHAIRMAN OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE'S ADDRESS.

Mr. C. NARAIN SWAMI NAYADU (Nagpur) rose, and said: Sister and Brother Delegates,—As Chairman of the Nagpur Reception Committee, an honour which I fear I have but ill-deserved, the most pleasant duty of welcoming you all to our Seventh Indian National Congress devolves upon me. The word “seven” awakens in me a strange sensation. It has a mysterious meaning. It has ever been considered by the best and wisest men of all ages as an auspicious number, carrying with it virtues of a peculiar character. It is a most auspicious sign, indeed, that the Congress, after its hard-fought battles on India's coasts, at Bombay,

Madras, and Calcutta, has at last been attracted by our *Arya Varta*, our mother country, to the very centre of the Empire, from whence I fully trust it will, by the grace of Providence, so develop and spread its vivifying life-giving influence, as to leave no corner of this great Empire uncheered by the gospel of good hope that it bears to all India's children. (Cheers.) May it be from Nagpur as a centre that our proposed mission issues to England, to impress upon

OUR ENLIGHTENED AND EVER WELL-WISHING
ARYAN BROTHERS

there, the necessity of enfranchising us, redressing our just grievances, and bringing us to the same level as themselves, as they have nobly pledged themselves before God and man to do. May it be from Nagpur, I say, as a centre, that this grand mission may start. (Cheers.) Ours is a humble province, a small city; our resources are very limited, and education here has, as yet, made no such great progress as in those parts of the country which for far longer periods have enjoyed the privilege of British rule. But though we cannot for a moment pretend to vie with the splendid receptions accorded to you in the grander capitals of this great Empire, we can at least honestly assure you—and I do so from the bottom of my heart—that in no other place have the people been more truly rejoiced at your presence, or more earnestly anxious to do all their little possible to make you welcome, happy, and comfortable. (Cheers.) Welcome, dear friends,

WELCOME, WELCOME, A THOUSAND TIMES!

Forgive any shortcomings in our arrangements, and believe us that never were prouder or happier hosts, never guests that their hosts desired more to honour; that, poor and humble as we are, our whole hearts are with you, our fellow-countrymen, and with the great cause which unites this day all India in one close brotherhood, seeking by all honourable and

open means the good of our dear mother country and all her countless millions of children. (Loud cheers.) At the very outset I desire, with your permission, to strike what I conceive to be the keynote of this great, and, as many now feel, sacred movement.

LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH CROWN, LOVE OF THE
BRITISH PEOPLE,

to whose advent here, India owes its rebirth, a thorough and ungrudging appreciation of the excellence of the intentions of our government in India, and a fixed desire and firm resolve to bring about, by loyal and constitutional means, such administrative reforms as shall permit of those good intentions, bearing still better fruit for India's people, than they have hitherto yielded. (Cheers.) Despite what some few people still seem to fancy, we are neither so inconsiderate nor so ungrateful as not to recognise fully and be deeply grateful for those good things that, under God's dispensing providence, have accrued to us through, and by means of,

BRITISH RULE.

But we clearly see that this rule

IS STILL IN MANY RESPECTS CAPABLE OF
IMPROVEMENT,

and that year by year, as time rolls on and the population increases, and the natural and necessary consequences of widespread education evolve on a larger and even larger scale, the necessity for that improvement becomes more and more urgent. Loyal and loving subjects of Great Britain as we are, desirous of the everlasting union of England and India, we know—let outsiders misjudge us as they may—that we can render no greater service to either country than by openly protesting against what we consider unsuitable and defective in the existing administration, and by insisting, by all proper and legitimate means, on those changes in this administration, which we, as children of the soil, and as knowing our own country and our countrymen in many respects better than our rulers, see and feel to be a necessity of the times. It is a great help and encouragement to us, after the unmerited abuse to which we were subjected in earlier years, to find that many of the ablest and the greatest men, both in England and in India, now commence to realise

THE GREAT SERVICE THAT THE CONGRESS IS
PERFORMING,

and to lend an ear to its counsels. We remember with gratitude and satisfaction our present Viceroy's declaration last January, that the Congress was a perfectly legitimate movement, that every one not a Government servant was perfectly free to join it, and that all Government officials were prohibited from impeding it in any way or putting pressure on any one to induce them to abstain from aiding or joining it. (Cheers.) Thus encouraged, and true to our first principles, true to England, true to our

beloved country and our countrymen, let us persevere in the good work. One obstacle,—the cruel misconception, and, must I say it, the still more

CRUEL MISREPRESENTATION OF OUR AIMS
AND OBJECTS

to which we were subjected,—has been practically overcome, but many others still remain. We have to get the rank and file of the European official community, as well as those of the higher ranks, not merely to tolerate us as harmless, well-intentioned, enthusiasts, but to realize that we are earnest, practical men, who do really know our country and our countrymen, their wants and their aspirations, in many respects better than even the ablest amongst themselves. We have got to get them, in a word, to work along with us, realizing our capacities and usefulness, while we, on our part, cordially acknowledge their superiority in many points. We have got to bring home our exact position, the inequitable disabilities we labour under, our many grievances, the miserable condition of fully one-sixth of our poor population, to the British electorate, and, through them, bring such pressure to bear on the over-worked British House of Commons as will lead it to take up the legislation needful to permit the authorities here to effect the reforms we pray for. We have got to educate, each in our own province, district, and town, those of our fellows, who as yet have failed to realise the purpose and true significance of our movement. We have to get the whole country solid behind us, and this we can do, and, with God's help, will do. (Loud cheers.) Lastly, remembering what our friend and General Secretary, India's "Grand old man," is never weary of telling us, *viz.*, that in the long run every nation ever gets exactly as good a government as it deserves, let us set our own house in order, and make sure that we do really and truly deserve a better government, in many respects, than is now ours; let us aim at higher and nobler things than those which at present too absorbingly occupy most of us; let us prove ourselves worthy, not only of a better Government, but of the great land that has borne us, and the illustrious ancestors from whom we have descended. (Loud cheers.) But I occupy too much of your time—"No, no; Go on, Go on"—and I must, without further preface, now call upon you to elect your President. (Cheers.) Before you proceed to discharge this duty, however, there is one point which has escaped me, and to which I am bound to give every prominence, and that is

THE FRIENDLY AND SYMPATHETIC ATTITUDE OF OUR
OFFICIAL CHIEFS HERE

and in Berar. As to Berar I dare say my friend Rai Sahab Deo Rao Vinayek will have some mention to make of the kindly sympathy which Colonel Kenneth Mackenzie, the Commissioner of those Provinces, has ever displayed towards the Indian community and their aspirations. Here, I, as a Central Provinces man, am chiefly concerned in acknowledg-

ing, publicly and gratefully, the liberal manner in which our respected Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. P. Macdonell, has dealt with the Congress question. Here in the Central Provinces we have no official opposition to encounter. Our officials, as a body, are, it seems to me, certainly more in sympathy and touch with us Indians here than, if we are to believe half we hear, the officials in many other parts of the country seem to be. As regards the Congress, Mr. Macdonell has most unreservedly declared, both in words and in writing, that, so far as he was concerned, every official who wished it was at full liberty to attend the Congress as a visitor, and that all might rest assured that he should think no worse and no better of any officer because he did or did not attend the Congress; it was a matter to be left entirely to their own discretion and in which they might just please themselves. To me in conversation he fully endorsed

LORD LANSDOWNE'S FAMOUS LETTER,

which set forth that the Congress was a perfectly legitimate movement, and that the Congress party are analogous to the Liberal party in England, and he added: "Of course you Indian gentlemen, who think as you do, have

A PERFECT RIGHT TO AGITATE IN A CONSTITUTIONAL MANNER

for those concessions to which you consider yourselves entitled." (Cheers.) Gentlemen, if all the rulers and officials in India resembled the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and his officers, India would not now need, and would never have needed, a National Congress. But, alas! they constitute exceptions and not the rule, and we are bound all of us to acknowledge in the most public manner such liberality and manly freedom from bureaucratic prejudice, and therefore before I go further I will ask you to give three cheers for Mr. A. P. Macdonell and the officers of the Central Provinces Commission. (Loud and continued cheers.) And now this duty discharged, let me once more ask you to proceed to elect your president.

ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT.

Mr. PUNDIT AJUDHIA NATH (Allahabad): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates,—It is my privilege to ask you to elect Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu as your President. (Cheers.) He is a leading Pleader in the Madras High Court and a leading citizen of Madras. He is a member of that small but illustrious band which originally founded the Congress at Bombay, and ever since then he has firmly stood by it. Whether Government officers declared themselves in favour of or against the movement, he has always openly proclaimed his adherence to the noble cause. He has not missed a single

session of the Congress, and he has always taken a very deep interest in the movement. (Cheers.)

Mr. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA (Bombay) Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has just been placed before you by the Honourable Pundit Ajudhia Nath. I have no doubt that the delegates present would have rejoiced if the Honourable Pundit himself had been voted to the chair this year. (Cheers.) But we know that he is as modest and unselfish as he is public-spirited, patriotic, and energetic. But while we should have been glad to see the Pundit in the chair, we are equally glad to hail, as President this year, a representative from that presidency which has done so much for the Congress. I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you confirm the appointment of Mr. Ananda Charlu as President of the Congress with the most perfect unanimity. (Cheers.) //

The motion was then put to the assembly by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Mr. C. NARAIN SWAMI NAYADU (Nagpur): I now declare our friend Rai Saheb P. Ananda Charlu, Bahadur, to have been duly elected President of this Seventh Indian National Congress, and on your behalf I invite him to take the Presidential Chair.

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Mr. RAI SAHEB P. ANANDA CHARLU (Madras) then took his seat, and, again rising, said:—Friends and Fellow Citizens,—I thank you most warmly for making me take the Presidential Chair on this occasion. That chair has narrowly missed a far higher honour than I can do to it, owing to two unforeseen occurrences. One of these occurrences is that the

HONOURABLE PUNDIT AJUDHIA NATH

is, unfortunately, for both you and me, not a Madrassee. Were it not that he generously abdicated the dignity in favour of Madras, I should gladly have avoided the danger of accepting a situation that would draw me into comparison with that unselfish, whole-hearted, intrepid, and outspoken, apostle of this great national movement. (Cheers.) But in this world of imperfections and of complex considerations, duty does not always fall on the fittest shoulders, and there is the additional reason that the unanimous mandate of the country compels my obedience.) The second occurrence I allude to, as the cause of my standing here to-day, is that my friend

DEWAN BAHADUR SUBRAMANIYA IYER*

has been raised to a seat on the High Court Bench

* This gentleman had been originally proposed by several committees for the Presidentship. His elevation to the Bench of the High Court rendered it impossible for him to take part in any political movement.

of Madras. At the first blush, this may seem a matter for regret; but, from the point of view from which I regard it, it affords reason for congratulation, rather than for regret, and that, even so far as the Congress is concerned; for does it not give us another and eloquent proof that, where other merits exist, active service in the cause of the public does, by no means, clash with the equally honourable ambition of obtaining high office as a public servant? Mr. Subramaniya Iyer's is the rare case of one who had not deliberately stood aloof from all public movements, with the possible prospect of entering Government service, and who, not lured away from the call of public duty by the first instalment of Government patronage, returned to that duty as cheerfully and as actively as before, and who has been nevertheless again selected to fill a high place in the official hierarchy of this country. With a scrupulous regard for the demands of both vocations, he took particular care that neither suffered by reason of the other, or on account of the other. Therefore, I assure you that, without meaning that I hope adequately to fill his place as the President of this great National Assembly, it should be a matter of rejoicing to the Congress that another of its prominent workers should have been elevated to the most dignified office, as yet open to indigenous talent, under the British administration of this country. These personal considerations remind me of the loss—the irreparable loss—which the Congress has sustained since its last sitting by

THE LAMENTED DEATH OF MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

He was the redoubtable champion who brought, within the domain of practical politics, one of the foremost subjects in the Congress programme. Till Mr. Bradlaugh—who may, without exaggeration, be described as an embodiment of universal benevolence—befriended our cause with his characteristic unselfishness, all our pathetic appeals for a forward step, in the direction of reforming our Legislative Councils, remained a veritable cry in the wilderness; and the fact that, upon his death, even Lord Cross's halting measure was dropped, puts this beyond all doubt. It is a matter for deep sorrow that Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's useful career was cut short before he could redeem even his guarded promise to us, that he hoped to carve and shape a step or two in the uphill work that lay in front of us—a work of such magnitude and importance as to make him weigh most scrupulously the words he used. There is little prospect of any one man proving to us

THE TOWER OF STRENGTH THAT HE UNQUESTIONABLY WAS

during the short time that we had the benefit of his lively sympathy and unremitting effort. We have indeed been slow to erect a memorial suited to his great merits and his unpurchased services in our cause; and our unfriendly critics have not been slow to make capital out of this seeming apathy. In the Presidency from which I come, famine and its

attendant evils are, within my personal knowledge, chiefly answerable for this seeming remissness in the fulfilment of our duty—a duty which, as we view it, consists in a recognition of the work of that unflinching advocate of the people's rights, not merely by the monied few, but also by that far larger class to which he belonged, and of which he was proud to declare that he reckoned himself as one. Our monsoons, gentlemen, have begun to give signs of improvement, though after a very long delay. May this improved state of things bring in thousands of small contributions which, tiny like the raindrops individually, may in the aggregate fill to overflowing the coffers of

THE MANY BRADLAUGH COMMITTEES

in the land. I have little doubt that this earnest appeal will meet with a ready, wide, and adequate, response before many months are over. I shall next invite you, brethren, to join me in paying a similar loving, though mournful, tribute to the memories of two distinguished men who had figured as the Chairmen of Congress Reception Committees, and of whom death has robbed us since our last session—Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I., and Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, the latter of whom is, I think, better described and wider known under that title, which is a tribute to his profound scholarship and varied learning, than by the distinctions of Rai Bahadur and of Rajah—distinctions which came to him too late to add any lustre to his already brilliant fame. Our sincere gratitude is due to them for the eloquent exposition of the views of the Congress Party which their speeches as Chairmen embodied, and for the prominent part they took in the sittings of the Congress which they so heartily ushered in. One more sincere friend of India, happily living and breathing in our midst and meriting our warmest acknowledgment, remains yet to be named—

OUR GENERAL SECRETARY, MR. A. O. HUME.

(Cheers.) Through good report and through evil report, and at the sacrifice of health, money, well-earned ease, and peace of mind, he has steadily and earnestly adhered to his labour of love in the progressive interests of the people of this country, and he has thus earned, not only our love and gratitude, but I hope also the love and gratitude of our children and children's children. (Loud cheers.) He has recently given us warning that he contemplates an early retirement from his Indian field of labour, a retirement which involves the resignation of his office as the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. This, we must confess, has come upon us as a surprise, though we had no business to be unprepared for it. This unpreparedness is, in the main, traceable to the habits generated in us by the monopolising character of British Indian rule which, taking upon itself all the solitudes and almost all the responsibilities of the administration of the country, has given but

LITTLE OCCASION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT IN US OF
THE CAPACITIES AND APTITUDES

necessary for facing with confidence a sudden emergency. If this were the second or third session of the Congress, I should despond and shudder at the inevitable consequences. But thanks to his indefatigable exertions and his prophetic sagacity, he has coupled his warning with the inspiring assurance that one great work of the Congress has been accomplished; that its programme has been built up and promulgated; that the present seventh session is needed, not so much to discuss new subjects, as to put the seal on all that its predecessors had done; and that it completes one distinct stage of our progress. These are, without doubt, noble and encouraging words, and every syllable of them deserves our earnest attention. Let us look back on our career. What was our task at starting? In the words of our General Secretary, "a great work had to be done—we had to clear our own ideas and then make them clear to our opponents;—to thresh out by persistent discussion the wheat of our aspirations from the great body of chaff that must, in the very nature of things, have accompanied it. We had to find out exactly what those reforms were, which the country, as a whole, most desired; we had to evolve and formulate a clear and succinct programme—to erect a standard around which, now and for all time, until that programme is realised, all reformers and well-wishers of India could gather; and we had to place that programme on record in such a form that

NEITHER FOREIGN AUTOCRATS NOR DOMESTIC TRAITORS

could efface its pregnant lines," or read into those lines a meaning that they were not intended to convey. Now, let us note how we were a mere handful, numbering less than four score, when we started on our national mission; how at that moment it was little more than an untried, though cherished idea that we should strive to mitigate, if not to eradicate, race prejudices, to disarm creed-antipathies, and to remove provincial jealousies; and how, by that achievement, as a means towards an end, we wished to

DEVELOP AND CONSOLIDATE SENTIMENTS OF
NATIONAL UNITY.

Let us next note that, when under the impulse then given to our renovated national instincts, we met next year in Calcutta, that ripe scholar and sober antiquarian, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, declared that he saw in the assembly before him the commencement of the realisation of the dream of his life, viz., to witness the scattered units of his race come together, coalesce, and stand welded into one nation. Then came our session in Madras, and there we succeeded in blotting out the stigma that one part of our country was "benighted," and we exhibited the spectacle of a gathering, more considerable in numbers, more representative in composition, more adequate in the proportion of the Muhammadan con-

tingent, more cordial in feeling, more in unison with the name of this institution, wider in basis and altogether a nearer approximation, than had till then been attained, to the conception of a nationality in that sense in which alone that word has a meaning in political parlance. On the impregnable basis which that gathering illustrated, the subsequent sessions of the Congress were constituted, and our success has been great and signal. To detract from the worth and significance of the

WELL-KNIT, EVER-EXPANDING, PHALANX KNOWN AS
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

a desultory controversy was raised round the word nationality,—a controversy at once learned and unlearned, ingenious and stupid, etymological and ethnological. Now a common religion was put forward as the differentia; now a common language; now a proved or provable common extraction: and now the presence of the privileges of commensality and inter-conjugal kinship. These ill-considered and ill-intentioned hypotheses have, one and all, fallen to the ground, and no wonder: for the evident circumstance was lost sight of, that words might have divers acceptations—each most appropriate for one purpose, and, in a like degree, inappropriate for other purposes. In my view the word "nationality" should be taken to have the same meaning as the Sanscrit *Prajah*, which is the correlative of the term *Rajah*—the ruling power. Though, like the term *Prajah*, it may have various significations, it has but one obvious, unmistakable meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are (to adapt and adopt the words of a writer in the *National Review*)—"citizens of one country, 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 is in reality a potential class. In the first place 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 bottom and more or less unified by being continually subjected to identical environments and to the inevitable process of assimilation. In the next place it gets added to, from time to time, by the accession of other peoples—like scions engrafted on the central stem, or like creepers attaching thereto—who settle in the country in a like manner, and come under the many unifying influences already referred to, though still exhibiting marks of separateness and distinctness. Affirm this standard, and

YOU HAVE AN INDIAN NATION.

Deny it, and you have a nation nowhere on the face of the earth. (Cheers.) A common language, a common religion, inter-dining, and inter-marriage are, without doubt, potent auxiliaries. These help, no doubt, by affording facilities for co-operation and by rendering easy the attainment of common objects.

But, for all that, they are (at best) inseparable accidents, and it betrays a grievous obliquity of judgment to esteem them as constituting the very essence of what is understood by the term "nation." We began, proceeded, and have persevered up to this day on the tacit assumption that such is the correct doctrine, and let us continue to exert ourselves on that principle at least as a working definition; because, by pursuing such a course, and within the short period of seven years, we have accomplished the great and palpable fact that the Hindu and Muhammadan populations of this country long separated from one another—long divided by parochial differences—long kept apart and estranged from one another by sectional and sectarian jealousies—have at last

RECOGNISED ONE ANOTHER AS MEMBERS OF A SINGLE BROTHERHOOD,

despite the many differences that still linger. This is a magnificent product of the Congress as a mighty nationaliser. The part it has already played in this direction is, indeed, glorious, and I am sure you will not charge me with holding Utopian views if, on the basis of what has been achieved and in view to the vital interests involved, I venture to predict that, through the agency of the Congress, far more intimate relations and far closer forms of kinship are in store for us in the not remote future. If this, brethren, is the subjective benefit we, as members of the Congress, have secured, what have we to show as its objective results? I need not accumulate facts to make this clear. Let us first recall to our minds that, when we met at Bombay in the first year of our existence, we were referred to by the then head of the Indian Government only as an influential and intelligent body. Let us next remember that, when last year we assembled in the capital of this Empire,

THE PRESENT HEAD OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT STAMPED AND LABELLED US AS AN ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY,

carrying on a legitimate work with legitimate instruments and according to acknowledged methods. This is much for an Indian Viceroy to accept, though it is open to doubt whether we have received all our due, and whether we do not, correctly speaking, correspond to a more numerous, more influential, and more favoured party in England. Not only was there this change of opinion about ourselves, but there has been a distinct step taken by the authorities on the lines we had chalked out for reform. What was Lord Cross's India Bill but a confirmation of our views and a response—though a faltering response—to our chorus-voice? May we not also justly take credit for the labours (such as they were) of the Public Service Commission and the consequent raising of age for candidates to the Indian Covenanted Service, the inauguration of the policy of a larger recruitment of the Uncovenanted Service from the people of this country, the creation of a Legislative

Council for the N.-W. Provinces, and a marked improvement in the class or quality of members selected for all the Legislative Councils in the country ever since? These are unmistakable evidences of our objective achievements, and I think, gentlemen, they are such as we may well be proud of. But, notwithstanding all these grounds for congratulating ourselves, the lamentable fact remains that, in regard to our higher claims,

LITTLE BEYOND LIP-CONCESSION IN THIS COUNTRY AND A HALF-HEARTED AND HALTING MEASURE (NOW SHELVED) IN THE IMPERIAL METROPOLIS,

has as yet fallen to our lot. We may work ever so long in this country, the prospect does not seem to brighten; and the real cause may chiefly be that "the Government in India has no power; the Council in London has no power; the House of Commons has the power, but it refuses or neglects to exercise it," as Mr. Yule asserted from his place as the President of our session at Allahabad. There is no doubt that Mr. Yule's last disjunctive sentence means more than he wished to convey. Nor did he intend all that is signified by his statement that six hundred and fifty odd members, who are bound to be the guardians and protectors of India's rights and liberties, "have thrown the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence back upon the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thought best." Mr. Yule himself made this clear when he virtually told us, almost immediately after, that the members of the House of Commons had not time enough and information enough on the questions that came up before them, to be able to judge rightly. What, then, is the remedy? On whom is it incumbent to seek and secure the remedy? The answer has been given, that the remedy lies in

INSTRUCTING THE BRITISH PUBLIC,

and in raising their level of information

REGARDING INDIAN AFFAIRS

to the standard of usefulness. The further answer has been given, that the duty of seeking and securing that remedy lies primarily on ourselves, secondarily on the British voting and thought-leading public, and finally on their accredited representatives who constitute the House of Commons. In partial discharge of these duties, we have maintained

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE, COMPOSED OF EARNEST AND GENEROUS SOULS,

working gratuitously for us, with a talented Secretary in Mr. Digby, whose well-informed, timely, and earnest efforts in our behalf, are the admiration of our friends and a thorn in the ribs of those of our foes who endeavour to gain a point by deluding an uninstructed public with false and ill-founded representations. No words of mine are necessary to bring home to you the fact that a more capable, self-denying, and benevolent, body of men never put their shoulders to a philanthropic work in our

interests, and that a larger measure of success was never achieved than was accomplished by them, with their circumscribed opportunities, and with many other demands on their time and attention. There are abundant signs that their numbers will increase and that the sphere of their influence and usefulness will widen, provided we do, as I shall presently show, what is expected of us. A second agency which has come into being, and which is entirely due to British generosity, is the

INDIAN PARTY FORMED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

itself. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was its brilliant centre-piece, and since death filched that priceless jewel from us, the setting has remained with the socket still to be filled in. Here, again, it depends on ourselves whether that gap is to be adequately filled, and that body is to receive, in the requisite measure, accession of strength in numbers and influence; or whether we are to be thrown back a quarter of a century, and find ourselves in

THE PRE-BRADLAUGH, PRE-CONGRESS, AND PRE-RIFON, DAYS

of apathy, obscurity and inert resignation. ("No, No.") The anxious and well-considered advice of the British Congress Committee, and the mature opinion of the members of the Parliamentary Indian party, concur in urging us to change the venue—to transfer our operations to London itself. Members of our body, who have already rendered yeoman's service in England as our delegates before the British public, are of the same mind. Any doubt that may still linger must be dispelled by the fact that, although Lord Dufferin, as the head of the Indian Government, urged the wisdom and desirability of adopting some form of the elective principle in the constitution of our Legislative Councils, his recommendation, based—be it noted—on his personal grasp of local conditions, has been burked; and that even the make-shift of a limping substitute for it, in the shape of Lord Cross's India Bill, has been shelved and pigeon-holed no one knows for how long, no one can tell with what motives. In the face of such a fate having overtaken the suggestions of the most cautious, diplomatic, and wary Viceroy we have had, can we expect that either the present Viceroy, albeit he has put his seal of approval on us as a constitutional party, or any of his successors, will so far discount their self-respect as to court a similar summary and unceremonious treatment of their proposals? It seems to me that the cumulative force of all these considerations points unmistakably to

THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF TRANSLATING OURSELVES TO LONDON

with the Congress banner over our heads, emblazoned with the figure of the Union Jack, as much for indicating our aims and objects as for fanning away from the delegates assembled under its shade all the noxious exhalations from those foul mouths which impute to us seditious intentions and anti-English

proclivities,—as if, forsooth! the leaders of the Congress, who are the outcome of the British rule, and whose very existence depends on the maintenance of the British power in India, could be so irrational as to adopt the suicidal policy of lopping off the very branch on which they stand. This momentous step of holding a meeting in London we can neither avoid nor postpone; and I entreat you to resolve it earnestly in your minds, and to resolve right manfully to do what you finally find to be your plain duty. In regard to this step, I do not say that there are not serious difficulties to overcome. One great barrier—the dread of social ostracism—is not to be got rid of by mere rhetorical outbursts. The question deserves our most serious consideration. It has to be soberly and dispassionately noted whether the restrictions as to the countries we could visit were not more stringent by far in the earliest times than ever after; whether many regions, originally tabooed in express terms in the Smrithis, were not in later days tacitly taken out of the category of forbidden land for an Aryan to enter; whether, in so far as a sea voyage is concerned, a distinction has not been drawn between the north and the south of India on the ground of custom; and whether, where the custom had existed, it was not allowed to be unobjectionable and perfectly compatible with being within the pale of Hinduism; and whether, lastly, and above all, there is not ground for the conclusion that the stringency of the rules in the Smrithis has been authoritatively declared to admit of relaxation in so far as the Grihasta is concerned, though not in the case of those who, vowing to consecrate themselves to a life of piety, practically release themselves from social and political duties and obligations, and are therefore denied the immunities held out to those who labour for and in such society. If we decide in the affirmative, infinite will be our credit. If, in so deciding it, we are forsaken by our kith and kin, it will still be considerably to our credit that we have made

A HEROIC SACRIFICE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR COUNTRY AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THOSE VERY KITH AND KIN

who may be so cruel as to cast us off. But such social persecution and banishment cannot continue for ever. Our cause is so just and righteous, our principles and methods of action so loyal and upright, our opportunities of doing good so many and varied, that, in the long run, even our worst enemies will learn to find us their best friends, and such of our kinsmen as estrange themselves from us will, I believe, gladly associate with us again and restore to us the social privileges that they temporarily withhold from us. Such is my belief, judging from precedents in other, yet analogous, departures. But if the worst should happen, there is already

THE BEGINNING OF A CONGRESS-CASTE

fundamentally based on Hinduism and substantially in accord with its dictates, and such a visitation as a determined social banishment lasting for any

length of time would only tend to cement that caste more closely together and to greater purpose. Thus would it be possible to form the nucleus of a daily multiplying and expansive fraternity; and it would soon be seen at large that by social union with it there is much to gain in matters mundane and little to lose in interests truly spiritual. Should we succeed in holding a session in London, and thereby secure seats for elected members in our Legislative Councils, that in itself would give us much indirect help in pushing on internal reform. A decent interment of rather moribund laws, virtually dead, but lingering only to thwart, and the introduction of fresh laws to give an impulse to the betterment of our social condition, are now hopeless impossibilities. The Government fight shy of them, and nominated members, who take their cue from that Government, are equally timorous. If, however, this quiescence is departed from in any instance under the existing system, the Government and the members that lend themselves to the departure at once fall victims to calumnious abuse and unpopularity; for it is quite possible for a minority to raise a powerful cry and give it the character of a popular outburst of indignation. As matters stand, no means exist for gauging the popular feeling for or against the measure. Newspapers have too often given an uncertain sound, and Commissions to take evidence cannot sit long enough and examine a large enough number of witnesses to be sure that a correct conclusion has been reached. If, as we propose, elected members should have seats among our legislators, the problem would be fairly solved. Men, seeking election, would find it necessary to present themselves with such proposals as, in their view, might be acceptable to the popular mind, and the fact of their being elected or rejected would, in many cases, afford conclusive proof whether the legislation proposed was well-timed or not, in harmony with popular feeling or at variance with it. Should any dispute arise as to whether a legislative measure proposed is popular or otherwise, the member in charge of it, and members in favour of it, might resign their seats and seek re-election on that very measure; while the Government, not identifying itself with the measure, would, without incurring any odium, be able to allow useful legislation to go on or to be tried respecting matters which its solicitude, not to be misunderstood and not to incur unpopularity, might make it avoid. Whatever may be our decision as to the duty of sending a gallant contingent to London to make up the Session of the Congress there, it is undoubtedly

IMPERATIVE ON US TO PENETRATE TO THE MASSES
HERE MORE THAN HITHERTO,

and deeply imbue them with the spirit of the Congress, which is only another name for national sentiment. (Cheers.) The impression is still prevalent that as yet the effect of our efforts in this direction has been only slight, and we have done little more than to scratch the outer skin and to

awaken the spasmodic enthusiasm of our unanglicised brethren. Let us approach them with all the energy and fervour that we have hitherto brought to the Congress platform, but which energy and fervour—so far as the Indian field is concerned—will not, on the present scale, be necessary for that purpose in future, quite apart from the question whether we should close our Congress labours in India for a time. Whether we resolve to rest on our oars or not, it becomes our bounden duty all the same to go more amid the masses and to saturate their minds with the aspirations of a united nationality. There is another very solid reason for such effort. It involves the fulfilment of a trust; for, constituting the upper strata of Indian society, we have first caught the light of the enlightened West—as mountain tops catch the first glimpses of the rising sun. But, unlike those glimpses, that light will not descend to the lower strata of our society, unless we actively transmit it from a sense of duty and a sense of honour. Let us impart to our people, as we are in righteousness bound to do, our conviction that they should

CEASE TO LOOK UPON THE BRITISH RULE AS THE RULE
OF A FOREIGN PEOPLE.

We should ask them to look upon our British rulers as filling a gap that has existed in our national economy, as taking the place once held by the Kshatria, and as being therefore part and parcel of the traditional administrative mechanism of the land. Let us not heed the sinister cry that we shall thereby drag the people of this country into discussing politics, into paths they are supposed never before to have trodden. For our part, we shall only act up to the undoubted right involved in the fact that we are England's subjects; and, as regards our countrymen at large, they will only be brought back to those privileges which—unquestioned by authority and with the full knowledge of authority—our ancestors are recorded to have enjoyed in their Samsaths, Sabhas, and Ootwaras, in the days treated of in that grand old epic, the Mahabharata. Gentlemen, I am deeply thankful to you for the patient and indulgent attention you have accorded to me. Our British rulers have indeed withheld from us the privilege of demonstrating our love and loyalty towards our Sovereign Lady, the Empress Queen, by fighting her battles as volunteers under the British flag; but we have still some consolation left in the fact that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than those of war." The Congress platform is the field on which such bloodless triumphs are to be won, and though as yet we have had but a small measure of success, there is ground for hope in what the poet sings,—

"For freedom's battle once begun,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

We, as the pioneers of the movement, may attain little more than the satisfaction of upholding what is right and protesting against what is wrong; but

succeeding generations will reap the fruit of our labours, and will cherish with fond remembrance the names of those who had the courage and the humanity, the singleness of purpose and the self-sacrificing devotion to duty, to work for the benefit of posterity, in spite of calumny and persecution and great personal loss. Men such as these may obtain no titles of distinction from Government, but they are

“NOBLES BY THE RIGHT OF AN EARLIER CREATION.”

They may fail to win honour from their contemporaries as the truest apostles, but they are “priests by the imposition of a mightier hand;” and, when their life's work is done, they will have that highest of all earthly rewards,—the sense of having left their country better than they had found it, the glory of having built up into a united and compact nation the divers races and classes of the Indian population, and the satisfaction of having led a people, sunk in political and social torpor, to think and act for themselves, and to strive to work out their own well-being by constitutional and righteous methods. (Loud and continued cheers.) And now, gentlemen, I have to request you to elect your Subjects Committee.

ELECTION OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

The delegates representing each of the Congress Circles then handed in slips bearing the names of those delegates chosen by them to represent their circle on the Subjects Committee. The General Secretary then read out the names of the gentlemen thus elected, which were as follows :—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE.

1. J. GHOSAL, Esq. Calcutta.
2. PANDIT PRAN NATH SARASVATI do.
3. REV. C. N. BANERJI do.
4. BABU KALI CHARAN BANERJI do.
5. „ SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE do.
6. „ BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE do.
7. „ HERAMBO CHANDRA MOITRO do.
8. „ PREO NATH GHOSE do.
9. „ JAGADISH CHANDER LAHIRI do.
10. „ PULIN BIHARI SIRCAR do.
11. RAI JOTENDRO NATH CHOWDHRY 24 Pergunnahs
12. BABU AKSHAY CHARAN DASS Howrah.
13. „ JADU NATH CHATTERJEE Nuddeah.
14. „ BISWAMBHUR ROY do.
15. „ JAGADISH MUKERJEE do.
16. „ BASANTA KUMAR BOSE Jessore.
17. „ TRALOKHYA NATH PAL Midnapur.
18. RAJAH SRINARAYAN PAL do.
19. BABU JADU BHUSHON MAZOOMDAR Khulna.

DACCA CIRCLE.

1. BABU DHIRENDRA NATH KASTAGIR Chittagong.
2. „ PROSONNO KUMAR BOSE Mymensing.
3. DR. M. M. BOSE do.
4. BABU HARA KANTA SEN Burrisal.

RAJSHAHYE CIRCLE.

1. BABU JADUB LAL ROY Bogra.
2. „ MADHUB CHUNDER CHATTERJEE Dinajpore.
3. „ MOHINI MOHAN CHUCKERBUTTY Pubna.
4. „ MOHINI MOHUN LAHIRI do.
5. „ MUKUND MOHUN MOITRO Rajshahye.

BHAGALPUR CIRCLE.

1. BABU PARBUTTI CHARAN DASS Bhagalpur.

CHOTA NAGPUR CIRCLE.

1. BABU JAGAT PAL SAHOY Hazaribagh.

BEHAR CIRCLE.

1. BABU GURU PERSHAD SEN Bankipur.
2. „ SALIGRAM SINGH do.
3. MOULVIE ABDUL HAMID do.
4. MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY Mozufferpur.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES CIRCLE.

1. MUNSHI KASHI PRASAD Allahabad.
2. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA do.
3. „ MOTI LAL NEHRU do.
4. BABU CHARU CHANDAR MITTER do.
5. PANDIT BALDEO RAM DAVE do.
6. BABU KALIPROSSONO KAVIYA BISHARAD Allahabad.
7. MUNSHI SADRUDDEEN do.
8. PANDIT PRITHI NATH Cawnpore.
9. HAFIZ ABDUR RAHIM Aligarh.
10. PANDIT JWALA DUTT JOSHI Almora.

OUDH CIRCLE.

1. BABU BUNSHI LAL SINGH Lucknow.
2. REV. R. C. BOSE do.
3. BABU B. M. ROY do.
4. PANDIT SHYAM LAL MASLADAN do.
5. MUNSHI GUNGA PERSHAD VARMA do.

PUNJAB CIRCLE.

1. LALA MURLIDHAR Umballa.
2. BABA NARAYAN SINGH Amritsar.
3. SODHI NUND KUMAR SINGH do.
4. CAPTAIN A. BANON Lahore.

SCINDE CIRCLE.

1. MR. SHEWAKRAM AWATRAI Kurrachee.

SURAT CIRCLE.

1. MR. HARDEORAM NANABHAI HARIDAS Surat.

SHOLAPUR CIRCLE.

1. MR. G. K. GOKHALE Sholapur.
2. „ P. L. NAGPURKAR do.

BELGAUM CIRCLE.

1. MR. M. B. NAMJOSHI Belgaum.
2. „ D. S. B. BHATE do.

ELECTION OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

BHUSAWAL CIRCLE.

1. MR. VITHUL GOVIND DASTANE Bhusawal.
2. „ SAKHARAM GANESH do.

NUGGER CIRCLE.

1. MR. SADASHIV V. JOG Ahmednagar.
2. „ SHAKKAR VINAYEK VABLE do.

DECCAN CIRCLE.

1. RAI BAHADUR VISENU MORESH-
VAR BHIDE Poona
2. RAI BAHADUR GOBIND RAM-
CHANDRA GARUD do.
3. RAI SAHEB PANDURANG RAM-
CHANDRA KARANDIKAR do.
4. MR. PUNDLIK NARAYAN do.

BOMBAY CIRCLE.

1. MR. DINSHAW EDULJEE WACHA Bombay.
2. „ DAJI ABAJI KHARE do.
3. „ G. R. KIRLOSKAR do.

BERAR CIRCLE.

1. MR. RUNGNATH N. MUDHOLKAR Amraoti.
2. „ G. S. KHAPARDE Ellichpur.
3. RAI SAHEB DEORA'O VINAYEK Akola.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

(Including Nagpur and Jabalpur Circles.)

1. MR. BHAGIRATH PERSEAD Nagpur.
2. BABU BIPIN KRISHNA BOSE do.
3. MR. LUXMON GOVIND DURASKAR Arvi.
4. „ BAPURAO DADA Nagpur.
5. „ GOPALRAO HARI BHIDE do.
6. RAI SAHEB CHITNAVIS do.
7. MR. GANPATRAO GHATATE do.
8. „ SADASEO RAO PATWARDHAN Harda.
9. „ ALFRED NUNDY Jabalpur.

MADRAS CIRCLE.

1. MR. M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR Madras.
2. „ VIRASWAMI IYER Salem.
3. „ M. KRISHNA CHARI Madras.
4. „ RANGA CHARI do.
5. „ J. M. NALASWAMI PILLAI Madura.
6. „ K. APPIAH DIKSHITULU Guntur.
7. „ PAUL PETER PILLAI Madras.
8. „ P. KESAVA PILLAI Gooty.
9. „ K. VENKAT RAI Bellary.
10. „ K. VENKATA CHARIAR Salem.
11. „ N. SUBAROW PUNTULU Coconada.
12. „ P. RAMA CHANDRA PILLAI Secunderabad.
13. HON. C. SANKARA NAIR Calicut.
14. RAI BAHADUR SABAPATHI MUDLIAR Bellary.

EX-OFFICIO.

1. RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU, President and Standing Counsel, Madras.
2. MR. C. NARAIN SWAMI NAYUDU, Chairman, Reception Committee, Nagpore.

3. MR. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA, Standing Counsel, Bombay.

4. MR. W. C. BONNERJEE, Standing Counsel, Calcutta.

5. MR. A. O. HUME, C.B., General Secretary, Punjab.

6. HON. PANDIT AJUDHIA NATH, Joint General Secretary, Allahabad.

Mr. MULLICK (Calcutta): I should like to ask by what process the names of the Bengal delegates, or rather the names of the Committee from Bengal, have been arrived at.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta): My friend may not know what has happened. There was a meeting of all the Bengal delegates.

Mr. MULLICK: I am a Bengal delegate. I was not there.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE: It is unfortunate that you were not present. A circular was duly sent round and a formal meeting was held. We tried to reach everybody we could think of whose address we knew. At that meeting the names were submitted, and these gentlemen were elected. I think that is the formal, regular, and constitutional way of electing members of the Subjects Committee, and that no objection can be taken to it.

A DELEGATE: All the delegates except that gentleman were present. It is to be regretted that our friend Mr. Mullick did not attend, but he surely could not expect seventy odd gentlemen to suspend their work because one of their number chanced to be absent. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: I do not think, Mr. Mullick, that your objection, if you intended your question as such, is sustainable. I will now ask the Congress as a whole whether they approve and ratify this election of the Subjects Committee.

The President then put the question, and the election was unanimously affirmed.

The PRESIDENT: The Subjects Committee has now been duly elected, and I will ask all the members to meet me here on the dais as soon as this day's proceedings of the Congress has closed. But there is an important question that has been raised, and much discussed in certain quarters, viz., as to whether the Congress as an annual meeting should continue as heretofore, or be suspended for some time. To come to a satisfactory conclusion on that subject, it has been thought proper to propose the appointment of a small Sub-Committee to consider the question in all its bearings and bring up a report. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee will bring the proposition before you.

THE EXPEDIENCY OF TEMPORARILY
DISCONTINUING THE ANNUAL
MEETINGS OF THE CONGRESS
IN INDIA.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta):
Sister and Brother Delegates,—I am called upon to
move the following resolution, which, although a
formal one, is one of the very gravest importance:—

“RESOLVED—That a Committee be appointed to
consider and report, on or before the morning of
the 30th instant, whether or not it is advisable to
discontinue the Annual Sessions of the Indian Na-
tional Congress until after the British Session, and,
if not, under what regulations, as to numbers of
delegates, localities for assemblage, and the like,
future Congresses shall be held. The Committee
to be composed as follows:—

“*Ex-Officio* Members—

The President.
The Chairman of the Reception Committee.
The General Secretary.
The Joint General Secretary.
The Standing Counsels to the Congress.

“Ordinary Members—

Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee.
Viraraghava Chariar.
Hafiz Abdul Rahim.
Ganga Persad Varma.
Pringle Kennedy.
Guru Prasad Sen.
Dinshaw E. Wacha.
M. B. Nam Joshi.
Hamid Ali Khan.
Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide.
Lala Murlidhar.
R. N. Mudholkar.
Deo Rao Vinayek.
Gopal Rao Bhide.
Bipin Krishna Bose.
Dajee Abajee Khare.
Madan Mohan Malaviya.
Saligram Singh.
Sankara Nair.”

To all outward appearance this is nothing more than
a formal resolution, but the question which this
Committee will be called upon to discuss is a ques-
tion of the most vital importance as far as this
Congress is concerned. “To be or not to be,” that
is the question which this Committee will be called
upon to decide. Shall the Congress exist as it has
existed in the past, or shall it pronounce its doom?
That is the important, the vital, the pregnant,
question with which this Committee is charged. I
do not wish to anticipate its verdict. Being on the
Committee it would not be right for me to do so.
But there are one or two considerations occurring
to me at the present moment, which it is as well
that I should bring before this meeting. Gentle-
men, the spirit in which your opponents deal with
any question which you take up is always one useful
guide to the manner in which you should treat it.
It has, as you know, been suggested that we should
not hold any more Annual Congresses until after the

British Session. And what is the result? There is
jubilation in the camp of the enemy. They say it
is the beginning of the end. They say that you
are about to abandon the Congress. The begin-
ning of the end? The beginning rather of a new
departure which I hope and trust will be memorable
in our annals. Abandon the Congress? Much
rather abandon life and all that we hold most dear.
(Loud cheers.) Abandon the Congress, the standard
round which we have fought for the last eight years,
the standard which we trust one day to carry proudly
before us to victory? (Cheers.) Abandon the Con-
gress? No! We will do nothing of the kind.
(Cheers.) We mean to stick to the Congress.
(Cheers.) We mean to hold to it from year’s end
to year’s end, until we have won for ourselves those
rights and privileges to which (as natural born
subjects of Her Majesty) we are indefeasibly en-
titled. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, let us look for
a moment at the other side of the question. We
must not blink the matter. It is necessary to
consider it in all its bearings. The financial aspect
of the question is not to be overlooked. And when
I refer to the financial aspect of the question I do
so with assurance and confidence. I remember the
days of the Bombay Congress. I remember our
meeting one afternoon, when I had the honour of
making an appeal to you for the purpose of aiding
the Congress with your funds, and you subscribed
on the spot nearly sixty thousand rupees. (“More.”)
Am I to understand that that enthusiasm has flagged,
that that devotion has become weak, that the men
of 1891 are not the men of 1889? (“No, No!”) I
hope not. You are still the same! I am sure of it.
Therefore I feel confident that if there is any diffi-
culty with regard to this financial question the
matter has only to be laid before you in order to
evoke from you that enthusiastic response which
you are accustomed to give when questions relating
to your purse and connected with acts of self-sacri-
fice are brought before you. I have said that I do
not wish to anticipate the verdict of this Committee.
I am confident that it will discuss the question in all
its bearings. We desire that the Congress should
meet in London. I know nothing of greater im-
portance. It means the culmination of our cherished
hopes and aspirations. The Congress must be held
in London. But if you desire this, it is necessary
that we should keep up the fire, and maintain the
national enthusiasm by continuing to hold the Con-
gress sittings here. Therefore, having regard to
all these considerations, but without attempting to
anticipate the verdict of the Committee, I hope you
will decide by an unanimous vote, by an emphatic
and eloquent vote, by a vote which will carry with
it a splendid money gift, to go on holding our Con-
gresses in India, and that for the very same reasons
that have decided you to hold the Congress in
London, namely, as essential steps to the realisation
of those national hopes and aspirations which we
tenderly cherish, and the fruition of which we look
forward to bequeathing as a priceless legacy to

12 EXPEDIENCY OF TEMPORARILY DISCONTINUING ANNUAL CONGRESS IN INDIA.

future generations of our beloved but now suffering country. (Loud cheers.)

PUNDIT PRANNATH SARASWATI (Calcutta): I should have thought that it was a work of super-erogation for any one to second a resolution so ably and eloquently proposed for our acceptance. I do it more as a matter of form than of necessity, and I am sure that you will unanimously accept the resolution. The subject is one of great importance, involving the consideration of many details; and it is therefore only right and proper that a small and able Committee should sit to investigate the matter in all its bearings, and to present to us a report

which, by the weight of the names attached to it, will command unanimous acceptance.

The President then put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT: Before you leave I have the pleasure of inviting you, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to an evening party in this pavilion, and trust that you will give us the honour of your presence at nine o'clock.

The Congress then adjourned until next day at 11.15 a.m. The Subjects Committee assembled, and sat until 8.30 p.m.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, December 29th, 1891.

The Congress reassembled at 11.15 A.M.

MR. GLADSTONE'S 83RD YEAR.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Before we begin the proceedings of this day I must ask you to perform the agreeable duty of giving three cheers for William Ewart Gladstone, who to-day completes his 82nd year and enters upon his 83rd year.

Three hearty cheers were given by the delegates and visitors, all rising in response to the President's suggestion.

REFORM OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The PRESIDENT: I will now call upon Mr. Banerjee to move the second resolution.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta): Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates,—I rise to move the following resolution:—

“That this Congress re-affirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose good-will towards India it gratefully recognizes, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform.”

In moving this resolution you will permit me to observe that our present gathering is one of peculiar solemnity. Ordinarily speaking the meetings of the National Congress are sufficiently solemn. There is a dignity, a majesty, about our proceedings which may be said to lie beyond what can attend gatherings convened at the fiat of official authority. It is no king, no priest, no prophet, who has brought us here on this occasion, unless it be that we have hied from the most distant parts of the empire in obedience to the summons of our illustrious friend behind me, the prophet of our race—(cheers)—who, emulating the sacrifice and the devotion of the Rishis of olden times, has consecrated the evening of his life to the service of the land of his adoption. (Cheers.) Oh, no! We have come here under the irresistible pressure of an overwhelming impulse. It is

THE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM THAT MOVES US

and animates our being: it is this spirit which is the presiding divinity of this place. Solemn, then, as our ordinary gatherings are, the circumstances of this meeting enhance its solemnity. We have met to confirm and ratify, by our seal and sanction, our deliberations in the past. Looking back to the past, we may well review it with hope and enthusiasm. I will not tread upon the ground which was so eloquently touched last night in that admirable discourse from the chair to which we listened with so much respect and attention. Nor will I seek to spoil the effect of that eloquence by expressing in language less powerful than his, the toil-won achievements of this great national gathering. But this I will say without fear of challenge or contradiction, that

THERE NEVER HAS BEEN A QUESTION TAKEN UP BY THIS NATIONAL GATHERING WHICH WE HAVE NOT BROUGHT NEARER TO SOLUTION.

Take, for instance, the question of the police. You took it up and discussed it, and recorded resolutions regarding it, and that is the question which is now being earnestly discussed and considered by the different governments. You took up the question of the excise system, and the out-stills have been abolished throughout the district of Bengal, with an exception here and there, while in the Madras Presidency the liquor shops have been closed by thousands. (Cheers.) You took up the question of the income-tax; and at the present moment I have reason to believe that Government is considering the feasibility of raising the minimum of taxable income from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. (Cheers.) You advocated the creation of Councils for the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab. The North-Western Provinces have got their Councils, and that for the Panjab is being actively discussed. You pleaded for justice to the Indians in the matter of the Public Service, and they gave us, if nothing else, the Public Service Commission, and raised the age for the admission of candidates. You insisted on the separation of the judicial and executive junctions: Lord Dufferin admitted that, in this matter, yours were counsels of perfection, and now I learn that, in Madras, by next April, that separation will have become an accomplished fact. (Loud cheers.) Then, again, you gave voice to the voiceless, heralded forth the cry of the poor by

INSISTING UPON THE REDUCTION OF THE SALT DUTY.

And what did the Viceroy of India say on the occasion of the St. Andrew's Dinner, held about a

month ago? He said that if the financial position of the Government of India ever made it possible to consider the question of a reduction of taxes, the salt duties would be the first to be thought of. (Cheers.) And, lastly, you took up the question, the question of all questions, which lies at the base of the Congress platform, the question of representative Government, and you have brought it within the range of practical politics. (Cheers.) When you took up that question seven or eight years ago, you were greeted with a burst of derisive laughter and scorn. That scorn and that laughter have now given place to respectful attention and recognition, and Lord Dufferin, no friend of the Congress movement, thought it necessary, pressed by circumstances over which he has no control, to recommend a reform of the Councils somewhat upon the lines indicated by the Congress. He recommended the

RECONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS
UPON AN ELECTIVE BASIS,

and further, the expansion of the functions of the Legislative Councils. And, what is still more extraordinary, a Tory Government, with its reactionary policy, with its traditions about the black man, with its avowed policy (at least on the part of one responsible Minister) to discourage talent and to encourage mediocrity, such a Government has felt itself constrained to introduce a Bill with a view of giving effect to one portion of this reform. I think, gentlemen, looking at all this, that we have reason to be proud of what we have achieved. What is the position of the question at the present moment? It is as well that you should take a review of the situation. I think it may safely be said that the question has advanced by leagues. Circumstances have occurred, and evidence can be adduced, within the last few months in support of the contention of the Congress leaders. Last Wednesday the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal issued a Resolution on the working of the municipalities in Bengal, in which he distinctly declared that he was on the whole well satisfied with the working of the Bengal municipalities. (Cheers.) Sir Charles Elliott is no respecter of persons or of institutions; he does not share in any of those sentiments which may be said to be peculiar to the Congress party; he is a matter-of-fact, business-like politician; and that is the opinion which he has placed on record. But that is not all. This is the opinion not only of Sir Charles Elliott but of a succession of Bengal Governors. Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Rivers Thompson, Sir Stewart Bayley, have all expressed their deliberate opinion to the effect that

THE GENERAL RESULTS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT
HAVE BEEN SATISFACTORY

throughout Bengal. And I presume that similar testimony would be forthcoming from the other provinces. What, then, does all this imply? If it implies anything, it implies this: We go and tell the Government; "You have conferred upon us the boon of

local self-government, you have tried us by conferring that privilege upon us, and you have found that we have been eminently successful in regard to that matter: therefore, we claim, on the basis of our past achievements, that the principle should be extended to the wider concerns of the Province and of the Empire. (Cheers.) But that is not all. Take the case of the Mysore representative assembly. That assembly was not the creation of agitation; it was the product of the spontaneous beneficence of a far-seeing statesman whose memory ought to be cherished by the people of Southern India, C. Runga Charlu, (oheers) and the labours of that assembly have been so singularly successful that the present Dewan, not the author of the original scheme but its watchful guardian, has found it necessary to reconstitute the present legislative assembly upon a partially representative and elective basis. It has been reserved—I say it with regret, but the fact much be stated—for an Indian State, supposed to be, in regard to culture, intelligence, and the arts of progressive government, behind Her Majesty's own dominions,

TO SET AN EXAMPLE TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

which that Government may do well to imitate. But, gentlemen, the most hopeful feature of the position lies in the attitude of the Liberal party of England with regard to our progress. You are probably noting the tide of circumstances in England in connection with the Bill. The Government is playing a sort of hide-and-seek game in connection with the Bill. It introduces the Bill in the beginning of the year, it drops it towards the end of the year; and this process has been going on during the last two or three years. Can you solve the enigma? I think I can, at any rate, help you to a solution. In 1890 we had a conference (Mr. Hume and Mr. Mudholkar were there, and two or three others) with Mr. Gladstone, who gave us a sort of promise that he would speak in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh's amendment in support of the recognition of the elective element in the constitution of the Councils. The Government was alarmed; and well it might be. The fear has never since left them. They introduce the Bill as a matter of form, and drop it as a matter of necessity. (Laughter and cheers.) That seems to be the explanation of the riddle. It is said in the Resolution that unless the people of this country, through their duly elected representative, are allowed a substantial voice in the task of legislation, the country cannot be well or properly governed.

IS THE COUNTRY WELL GOVERNED AT THE
PRESENT MOMENT?

That is a very serious question. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that

IT IS NOT WELL GOVERNED.

I mean no sort of reflection upon the official classes. There are very many honourable men amongst them, especially among the officials of this Province, who are doing their very best in the arduous situations

in which they find themselves. It is not the men who are to blame; it is the system; it is the bureaucracy, the autocratic despotism, that has been established, that must be arraigned before the bar of public opinion in India and throughout the civilized world. To my mind it is a matter of astonishment that the system has been so successful as it has been. The reason is that it contains the leaven of popular institutions. It is a despotism tempered by a free press and by the right of public meeting. It is because of this element of popular institutions that the Government has been so far successful. But I say again

THE COUNTRY IS NOT PROPERLY GOVERNED.

Finances form the backbone of an administration. John Bright, in one of his memorable speeches about India, said: "Tell me the financial position of a Government, and I will tell you all about the condition of the people, their prospects, and their happiness." What is the financial position of the Government of India? It may be briefly summed up. It is a position of ever-recurring deficits diversified by ever-increasing debt. Do you call that a properly governed country? I say, No! Famines are of constant occurrence; and millions of lives are lost every few years through starvation. Sir William Hunter said a dozen years ago that forty millions of our people live on one meal a day; he would have, alas! to raise the figure considerably now. The other day, when a great Province was suffering from scarcity, and afflictions of a serious nature were impending, a Provincial Governor was indulging in a little devil-dancing in a summer retreat on the hills. Do you call that proper government, righteous, efficient, government? I do not. If you do, your conception of things and mine greatly differ, but I know well that is not the conception of Congress men. The Resolution also states that

THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY CANNOT REMAIN SATISFIED OR CONTENTED

unless, in the task of legislation, the assistance of properly elected men is secured by the Government. England has educated us, and has awakened in our minds ambitions which she is bound to satisfy. England has given us a free press, and has conferred upon us the inestimable boon of local self-government; she has placed in our midst the marvels of Western civilization; she has given us information and knowledge; she has stimulated the intellect and ennobled the character; and we should be less than human if, having lived under these influences, we were not fired with the lofty desire to transplant into our country some at least of those institutions which have contributed to uprear the fabric of English renown and greatness. (Cheers.) Millions of money have been spent upon frontier defences, and God knows how many more millions will be spent upon those defences. But it seems to me amazing that the Government of the country

should neglect to avail itself of those resources which lie near at hand, and which, if properly utilised, would afford the best safeguard against a Russian invasion. Could they, by a process of justice and conciliation, win the love and the enthusiastic gratitude of the people of India, that would be a barrier which would hurl back the multitudinous hordes of the Czar. But

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT A POLICY OF CONCILIATION

I am sorry to say. At times it is an irritating policy. Take the case of the volunteers. We are excluded from enrolment as volunteers. Armenians, Negroes, West African mulattos, and nondescripts of humanity who infest the back slums of Calcutta—these are all eligible as volunteers, these are our martial heroes, these are the defenders of our hearths and homes. These are invidious distinctions; and I am sure that they must disappear before the irresistible might of constitutional agitation. They are opposed to the spirit of British law; they are opposed to the spirit of that law which is higher than all human laws, the law of nature, which is engraved on the hearts and consciences of the people of this country. Gentlemen, you are on the right track. Wisely have you resolved to hold a session of the Congress in London. If you care for the political amelioration of your people, if you care to win for them the inestimable boon of representative institutions, you cannot do better. England is the home of representative government, the sanctuary of the free and brave. The history of England is, in the eloquent words of Mr. Gladstone, the history of the growth of representative institutions, a consecrated possession that, in the counsels of Providence, has been entrusted to the care and guardianship of the English people. To a people with such traditions and such instincts an appeal from the only great dependency where representative institutions do not exist can but elicit one reply; and that reply will be in conformity with their noble traditions and in keeping with your legitimate aspirations. God grant that you may have strength of purpose to persevere in the effort to hold a session of Congress in London. God grant that you may overcome the obstacles, and they are legion, which lie in your path. God grant that you may be in a position to redeem the solemn word of honour which you have given in the eyes of the civilized world. Yes, your honour is pledged. You have entered into a solemn league and covenant before the eyes of man and God to hold

A CONGRESS IN LONDON.

You may argue, you may philosophise, you may sophisticate; you cannot get out of your position, you cannot wriggle out of it. There you stand; your credit, your name, your reputation, the future of your country, the glory of your race, the possibilities of your advancement, are all staked upon the redemption of that solemn promise. I am sure you

will rise to the height of the occasion. I have no misgivings, no doubts. I am sure the Congress will be held in London; and when that is done you will not only have taken the most effective step towards the accomplishment of those aspirations which you have cherished for generations, but your Congress, political in its character, in its scope, and in its tendencies, will have paved the way for the solution of a great social question which, in all its bearings upon distant posterity, will bring messages of unspeakable benefit and happiness to this country. (Loud cheers.)

Rev. R. C. BOSE (Lucknow): Coming, as I do, immediately after the most popular orator in India, I labour under peculiar disadvantages, and I am tempted to set forth my own unworthiness in a long preamble. But I resist the temptation and begin the business. In an able article which recently appeared in a well-known religious periodical an objection to the attitude of the Congress, which may be set aside as old, is reproduced, and an assertion is made which cannot but strike us as very strange indeed. Some of the evils by which our social life is disfigured, and which peremptorily demand rectification, are dwelt upon in the article under notice, and it is triumphantly affirmed that we are wasting our time and attention in striving to form "the tail of the Legislative Council" rather than in removing evils which are admittedly demoralizing. It is an indisputable fact that by far the majority of those who would see our attention concentrated on social questions are animated by a very unworthy motive. They do not care a straw for the removal of our social maladies, and their aim, obviously, is to create a diversion in favour of the exclusive privileges with which they are blessed in this country. The latent sentiment of their hearts vocalised is: "Whether you remedy your social evils or not is a matter of very little consequence to us, only

LEAVE POLITICS AND OUR POLITICAL ASCENDANCY
UNTOUCHED."

But, there are a few gentlemen who sincerely believe that in view of the magnitude of our social evils we are squandering away our energy in fruitless political discussions, and who, therefore, advise us to direct our attention from these discussions to the removal of those evils. We respect these persons, but we must be permitted to say that the advice they kindly give us involves a two-fold error. What right have they to draw a sharp line of demarcation between political evils and social evils? Are not political evils related to social evils as antecedents are related to their consequents, as causes are related to their effects? Does not political degradation often, if not invariably, bring about social degradation? The truth is the two classes of evils, political and social, act and re-act on each other, and if we begin reform in one region, the region in which it is practicable at present, and leave the other for a time untouched, we cannot reasonably

be accused of wasting our energy. Again, political evils are surely as deplorable and demoralising as social evils. In fact, political evils are to-day eating like cankerworms into the vitals of life in India as thoroughly and decidedly as social evils. What social evil is greater than the extravagant cost of the machinery of the State on account of which

MILLIONS OF OUR COUNTRYMEN

are not only ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed, but

ARE BROUGHT TO THE BORDERS, OR RATHER THE
HORRORS, OF STARVATION.

Are not the taxes which fall most heavily on the classes least able to bear them as demoralizing as, say, early marriage? Is not that political death which is the inevitable result of our exclusion from the Legislative Councils of our own country and from its administration—is not that political death as great an evil as any social evil that can be named or imagined? Again, we do not by any means strive to "form the tail of the Legislative Council." On the contrary we oppose, with might and main, what may be called the tail system. The nominated members of, say, the Imperial Legislature, those who are nominated on account of their wealth rather than their intelligence and ability, are its tails, magnificent tails, tails in a blaze of purple and jewellery! But the members to be elected by the people are sure to form vital parts of its body, to complete its organism; they are to infuse new life into it; they are to cause new blood to rush through its veins; they are to effect in it, and through it, a revolution fraught with lasting good to the country. (Loud cheers.) One word more, and I shall have done. The National Congress has been, during the last seven years, passing through its enthusiastic age. But its age of enthusiasm must give place to an era of cool calculation; its heroic age must be followed by an age of calm statesmanship before it can be a source of permanent benefit to this country. In other words, its enthusiasm, which has been noisy, impetuous, and dashing, like the sources of a mighty river, must expand into a broad and tranquil stream ere it can fertilise the dreary wastes of Indian politics. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, this resolution is one in regard to which no two opinions exist, or can exist, among us Indians. We have much to do, and, therefore, if you approve I will, without calling upon other speakers (and every man present is, I believe, ready to speak on this question), at once put the question. (Cries of "Yes, Yes; Vote, Vote.") Then, gentlemen, the second resolution—we passed the first, if you remember, yesterday in appointing that Sub-Committee—the second resolution, I say, will run as follows:—

"RESOLVED,—That this Congress reaffirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people be prosperous or contented, until they

are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose good-will towards India it gratefully recognises, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform."

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

GRIEVOUS DISTRESS AMONGST THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

The PRESIDENT: I will now call upon Mr. Pringle Kennedy to propose the third Resolution.

Mr. PRINGLE KENNEDY—Gentlemen, the position which I have the honour to move runs 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.

"That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to:—

"(a) the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II;—to

"(b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, military and civil, but especially the former; and to

"(c) a short-sighted system of land revenue administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

"That, hence it has become imperatively necessary:—

"That the cost of the administration be greatly reduced: in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops, like those of the Honourable East India Company, for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport, and of excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on, now for several years, on so-called frontier defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Store Departments; and in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported staff; and,

"That measures be at once taken to give, as was

promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years, is found to be impossible; and to establish agricultural banks.

"That this Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, Administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms."

"Peace, Economy, Reform:" the good old cause, the grand old cry—a cry, which to me, at least, and millions in Europe, comes like the sound of a trumpet. These are the three watchwords which we find in this resolution. You cannot have one without the others; where one is not neither of the other two can flourish. First, Peace: We ask that the army of India should be primarily armed for defence, not for offence, and we also ask that the waste from these so-called frontier defences may cease. You all know that since the days when the good old policy of that good old man, Lord Lawrence, was abandoned, the Indian Government, under the lead of Lord Beaconsfield, went in search of

A SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER;

and you know that the scientific frontier has ever been pursued hither and thither and has never been found. Like a certain Japhet, who went in search of a father,

WE ARE STILL SEARCHING FOR IT.

Some time ago it was Kandahar, then it was Herat; now we learn it is on the Pamirs; and shortly, I suppose, we shall hear that it is in the Gobi desert or in the Great Sahara. We are told, and I believe told in all good faith, that this scientific frontier is needed for the purposes of defence. But it needs neither seer nor expert to say that if it ever does become of any sort of use it will not be used as an instrument of defence but of offence. England, by its geographical position, happily, and India to a less extent, but still to a great extent (though I am afraid that the Government policy, which I do not like to characterise, is doing its best to do away with this insularity), needs not a militaryism similar to that which, like a nightmare, weighs down the nations of Europe. The other day the German Chancellor said: "Peace, peace, all is peace; still I must have more troops." Now, Germany has an enemy on one side and an enemy on the other; but we have no enemy on either side, unless we persistently go forward to seek him. My friend has already referred to the real defence of the country. Nobody will accuse the Earl of Derby of being an

agitator. But it was he who said in the old debates of 1878: "A full treasury, a prosperous and contented people—these are the real defences of the country." If our rulers will not listen to the Earl of Derby, let them go a little further back and read the statement which deserves to be remembered for all time, by Sir Thomas More: "Better rule a small territory and rule it well than rule a world and rule it badly." Next, Economy. We ask for

A REDUCTION OF BOTH MILITARY AND CIVIL
EXPENDITURE.

Even for the best of Governments, for the ablest administrations, a nation may pay too highly; there must be some limit to expense. According to the old homely phrase, "You must cut your coat according to the cloth." The most obvious reform in civil expenditure would be the substitution, as far as practicable, of cheaper indigenous, for more expensive imported, agency. The home charges, which are really the greatest incubus on the Indian Treasury, consist in considerable part of charges connected with this more expensive European agency which we have to use. Then, still more heavily, figure in these home charges, items with reference to military expenditure caused by the fact that the English Government, or the Secretary of State for India, regularly makes India the scape-goat for all experiments; it is the "vile body" on which experiments in military science and other matters of military administration may be tried. And, last of all, we ask for Reform. First and chiefly we ask for reform as regards the Councils. We ask that the people should have a potential voice in the making of the laws which they all have to obey, and in the settling of taxation which they will all have to pay. At present, to look at it in another way, the Government gets a great part of its knowledge of the feeling of the people from the newspapers. These are very valuable in many cases. But what we want is to have duly accredited representatives in the place of irresponsible newspaper editors (too often appointed by themselves). Then other reforms are asked for, prominent among which are

FIXITY IN OUR SETTLEMENTS,

and also that the Government should help agriculturists by the establishment of banks. Let me ask your attention for a short time to the terms of the resolution. First, we make the statement, which I believe is nowhere doubted, that a great part of the people are in the deepest poverty. Millions, as we have been told, have not, from year's end to year's end, a sufficiency of food. From one day to another they do not know, what every one of us knows every day of his life, what it is to have their stomachs full. Actual starvation carries off a part; but who can tell

THE MILLIONS CARRIED OFF BY DISEASES WHICH ARE
ENGENDERED AND FOSTERED BY INSUFFICIENT
NOURISHMENT?

This mournful fact is acknowledged by all. Many responsible statesmen, in admitting it, argue that it is a law of nature—a huge population and an insufficient supply of food, and they come to the conclusion that nothing can be done. For my part, I will never accept what I may call the philosophy of despair. It seems to me very much as if a doctor who could not radically cure his patient should decline to treat him at all. We know that all the ills of mankind cannot be removed by the best Governments; but we know,—and history shows it in a thousand instances—that many ills can be thus removed. Then, having stated in our preamble that the people are very poor, we state what we believe to be three causes of the same. As regards the first, I need say nothing, as you have already heard enough from a more eloquent tongue than mine. As to the second point, the question of economy, we have already heard something, but I must add something more. Let no one think that we ask for an inferior army. We want as good an army as we can get. But we also want value for our money. A smaller army of veterans, hardy and inured to the climate, we are told on the highest military authority, would be better than

A LARGE ARMY CONSISTING OF UNACCLIMATIZED BOYS,

a great number of whom die or have to go home every year on account of sickness, and who leave the army almost in every case, just as they are beginning to be useful. As to the active army, as military authorities tell us, a great number of regiments are such that we could never think of putting them in line against the one enemy that we are told we have alone to fear—the Russians. In that case, what is the need for them at all? In another resolution we speak of the means whereby the internal peace of the country may be sufficiently kept. Some twelve years ago there was a Commission, headed by Sir Ashley Eden, in which certain recommendations were put forward. Those recommendations, I believe, were accepted by almost every responsible head of the Army in India, the dissentients being very few. Yet those recommendations have never been carried out, simply for one reason, that

THE SECRETARY OF STATE, AND OTHER PERSONS
AROUND HIM, DECLINE TO PART WITH THEIR PATRONAGE.

If one could get rid of a few useless general appointments it would do more good to the country than the disbanding of more than one regiment. As regards the civil administration I have already spoken. With reference to economy, all may be summed up by saying that if several of the millions, which now go into the coffers of the Government, were left to fructify in the pockets of the people, much of the present poverty might disappear. As regards the land settlement I will give you one instance. In Gurgaon, in the Punjab, an assessment was made early in the Seventies, which was called a fair-weather settlement. About 1877 or 1878 came the

years of famine. In 1881 or 1882 the people were numbered again, and, speaking from memory, I believe I am within the mark in saying that there was a diminution of 500,000 as compared with 1871. Now, where do you think I got this information? I have not got it from the railings of the native press. I got it from the *Pioneer* itself, the organ of the Imperial Government, which, while the last Congress was sitting in Calcutta, actually published an article on the subject which, if any of us on this platform had spoken, we should have been called liars, sedition-mongers, and I do not know what else. Well, sir, we want to make future settlements on the Gurgaon principle impossible. Let me refer to Bengal. When the permanent settlement of 1796 took place there, two-thirds of it were calculated to be jungle; now the greater part of it blossoms like a rose; and, although the Government loses in regard to the land, it has a large revenue from other sources of income which have only become fruitful because the people are prosperous. In Behar they are not so prosperous. The population is denser than in any other part of India, but, poor as the people are, they would be poorer still if they knew that at the end of thirty years the assessment was to be renewed. In the latter days of the old assessment they would make no wells and no improvements, knowing that they would ultimately be confiscated in great part (to use plain English) by the Government. We also ask that the ryot should be able to get money in times of distress from agricultural banks. He now borrows from the village money-lender. What we want is that he should get his money at easier rates than at present. There is plenty of money in the country, and all that is wanted is to give the persons who lend abundant security, and let those that need it for the land have money at low rates of interest. The last paragraph in the Resolution deals with

THE BRITISH PEOPLE. WE APPEAL TO THEM

to help us in procuring these demands. It is desirable, not only for the sake of India, but for the sake of England herself. (Cheers.) We appeal to the English Parliament, the mother of free parliaments, that she should confer on this country the great gift from which she herself has profited so much. We appeal to the great English nation to consolidate and complete the great work which has already commenced in India. We ask that the inestimable blessings which have resulted from free institutions in England may also be conferred on India. Light came from the East; let it return to us from the West. If India gets from England what it has a right to demand there will be (in the language of the greatest Englishman living) a covenant between the two countries, not engraved on tablets of stone but in the hearts and consciences of men. Then in the words of the old motto, *Quis separabit*, Who will separate the two? Justice and Love—nay God himself—will have united them, and “whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder.” (Cheers.)

Mr. MUDHOLKAR (Berar): Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The third resolution which my friend Mr. Pringle Kennedy has proposed in so able and eloquent a manner is one which concerns the most vital interests of our people. It is a resolution which I may say affords the most convincing proof of the necessity that exists for what my friend has called the policy of peace, economy and reform. The resolution proposed by our great countryman, Surendra Nath Banerjee, which has been aptly called the main plank in our platform—the resolution about the reform of the Legislative Councils—is one which is brought forward, not on mere speculative grounds, but on the highest practical considerations. It is because we feel that the present system of government is not productive of those benefits which were expected from the pure intentions of its founders that we have considered it necessary to advocate its reform. Every form of government, like all human expedients, is only a means to an end; and, if we find that this present form of government is inadequate to secure the objects expected from it, it is necessary that it should be reformed. We say that, in spite of the noble and generous intentions of the British people and the British Government

THE INDIA OF TO-DAY PRESENTS A MOST MOURNFUL AND ABNORMAL SPECTACLE.

Here is a country which poets have called the land of gold and pearls. The wealth of India is a simile familiar to all readers of literature. The mineral resources of the country are second to none in this world. And what do you find, and that under (so far as intentions go) one of the best Governments established by human agency? There is peace (at any rate internally; on the ever-expanding frontiers, of course, Government has always some war on hand); there is order; there are courts of justice; there is security of property; and in a country with all these natural advantages what do we find? We find that there is acute, widespread, growing poverty; that

THE MASSES ARE EVERY DAY SINKING LOWER AND LOWER,

that there is an utter absence of any economic staying power in them. It is natural that in face of results like these the minds of the people should be occupied with this unhappy state of affairs, and that they should ask for the reasons for this phenomenon. It may perhaps be said that our statement as to the people growing poorer is but the vapourings of the press or random assertions. What I say is not based on my knowledge, though I of course know it well. I do not advance it on my own authority, but on the authority of the responsible officials of the Government. Here we have had Sir William Hunter, Director General of Statistics for the Government of India, saying emphatically, years ago, that fully forty millions in India went through life with insufficient food. Then there is Sir Charles Elliott, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writing as Chief

Commissioner of Assam, who says: "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal." Then there is another authority, Mr. Harrington, Commissioner of Lucknow, who says, that he has not the slightest hesitation in stating that the greater part of the population of India suffers from a daily insufficiency of food. Endless testimony to the same effect could be cited. That is the spectacle which is afforded you under this most beneficent of rules. Take, again, the dismal record of famine. What do the Famine Commissioners themselves say? They say that there have been seventeen great famines in this land of plenty in comparatively recent times. During the twelve years which preceded 1878, as many as twelve millions died. Most of these occurrences happened, not in the Feudatory States, but in British India, in provinces directly under the Government of the British people. ("Shame!") Compare this heavy loss which the country has sustained with the deaths which occurred from what are called preventible causes in other countries. Take, for instance, the number who have died from war in Europe and in America. During the hundred years from 1793 to 1890, only four and a-half million people died from war. Here, in India, you find that

DURING SOME TWELVE YEARS SOME TWELVE MILLIONS
OF PEOPLE DIED FROM FAMINE

and starvation, the most miserable of deaths. Is this to be wondered at when you see how poor the people are, what their average income is, and how utterly impossible it is for them, in the best of times, to do more than just keep body and soul together? What is the average annual income of India? From official statistics it is put down at Rs. 27; this is the estimate of Sir E. Baring, a responsible minister of the Government. But Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's calculations show it to be nearer Rs. 20. In England the average income is £41, which, at the present rate of exchange, is Rs. 570. Taking the United Kingdom it is £35 per annum. For the poorest country in Europe it is £9; but for India it is less than £1 10s. Again, see from Government statistics what is necessary for the most frugal meals to be given even to the lowest people. The jail diet costs Rs. 23; the camp follower's diet costs the Government Rs. 30; the native sepoy's diet Rs. 42. According to the calculation of Sir James Peile, formerly member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and now a member of the Secretary of State's Council, it is necessary to have at least Rs. 40 for maintaining a Deccan agriculturist. Now, when you find that the average income per head in India is, even according to the officials, only Rs. 27, and that in all probability it does not exceed Rs. 21 for all purposes, and that for only feeding the criminals in jails, it is necessary to have Rs. 23 you can judge for yourselves what the condition of the masses must be. Especially if you bear in mind that this is an average, and that while several millions have immeasurably more, scores

of millions have much less. If you require Rs. 30 for camp followers, people cannot maintain themselves for Rs. 21 and pay a lot of taxes besides. The result of this is that from one-fourth to one-fifth of our vast population are ever perilously near starvation. In normal years they manage with difficulty to keep themselves, but in years of scarcity, then comes the trial; and what happens? By hundreds of thousands, by millions, the people succumb, and there is an end of the whole thing, a large death-roll furnished by the dismal record of the history of the famine. On the other hand, what do you find in this the poorest of countries. You find that there is

AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH IS PERHAPS THE
COSTLIEST IN THE WORLD.

It has been estimated that the gross income in India is about 540 millions of tens of rupees. Of this it is calculated that 450 millions are required for the most necessary expenses, so that there remains only 90 millions available. Out of this 90 millions let us see how much the Government requires from us. The gross revenue of the Government, according to the latest calculation, is slightly above 82 millions. From this we deduct the charges of the income from railways and opium (which are not taxation properly so called), and there remain 56 millions to be supplied out of the 90 millions; the balance being what is left for 250 millions of people for every purpose except the barest necessities, amounting to four annas per head of the population. When you find that the people are growing poorer day by day, and that the expenditure is not only so enormous but daily increasing, as the Secretary of State's Memorandum admits, the subject is one requiring the most careful and anxious thought. It is one about which we have cried ourselves hoarse to the Government, but our voice is like "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." It is, therefore, necessary for us to carry our appeal to a higher, a more potent, and, let us hope, a more willing tribunal. The spectacle which India affords is one which civilized England ought not to look upon with equanimity. It is one which does not do credit to their administration. If these stern facts are brought to the notice of the people of England, we have great hopes that a nation which has spent millions upon millions in obtaining the emancipation of the negroes will not fail to give a response to our appeal; and I feel sure that if we set to work in the right way with one accord and one heart, we shall obtain some redress, at any rate, of our cruel grievances. It is for you, gentlemen, to do the work. (Cheers.)

Mr. MURLIDHUR (Punjab) spoke in Urdu. He said: Brothers,—I marvelled greatly that I was told off to speak on this question, seeing that much abler exponents of our grievances were already on the list, but I know, now. People cannot listen so long to the sweet voices of the nightingales, the polished phrases of so many silver-tongued orators without longing, by way of contrast, for the hootings of the owl or the hoarse croak of the raven—in other words for

the rough untutored speech of some uneducated man like myself. (Laughter.) Ah! you laugh; but it is I who am to blame, for the tale I have to tell of the poverty of India's people is too sad, too hopeless, for even a passing smile. Alas! as a young and beautiful girl wedded to an old and decrepit husband can enjoy no happiness, so India yoked to cruel poverty can know neither prosperity nor comfort. Look round you, you who rich and happy, have never known what it is to feel really the pangs of hunger, least of all to hear your children crying vainly for food you cannot, cannot give them. Look round you, in every hamlet, in every town, and you will find scores, or hundreds, who never, or very rarely, know what it is not to be pinched by hunger, who can reckon up child after child murdered by long-continued semi-starvation. No doubt for nearly a thousand years there has been poverty in the land. She is an old hag, once a slave girl of Mahmud of Ghuzni, who, having robbed and ravaged India, left her behind him as a parting curse. But it needed the fostering influences of

OUR WELL-INTENTIONED BUT PURBLIND GOVERNMENT

to render that hag prolific, and now, lo! she has brought forth a brood—wretchedness, misery, degradation, famine, pestilence, and crime tenfold more evil than herself, which now hold millions and millions of our brethren and their hapless children tightly clutched in their cruel grip; and you, you, it seems, are content to join with these accursed monsters in battenning on the heart's blood of your brethren. (Cries of "No, No.") I say yes; look round. What are all these chandeliers and lamps, and European made chairs and tables, and smart clothes and hats, and English coats and bonnets and frocks, and silver-mounted canes, and all the luxurious fittings of your houses, but trophies of India's misery, mementoes of India's starvation! Every rupee you have spent on European-made articles is a rupee of which you have robbed your poorer brethren, honest handicraftsmen, who can now no longer earn a living. Of course I know that it was pure philanthropy which flooded India with English-made goods, and surely, if slowly, killed out every indigenous industry—pure philanthropy which, to facilitate this, repealed the import duties and flung away three crores a year of a revenue which the rich paid, and to balance this wicked sacrifice raised the salt tax, which the poor pay; which is now pressing factory regulations on us, to kill, if possible, the one tiny new industrial departure India could boast. Oh, yes, it is all philanthropy; but the result is that from this cause, amongst others, your brethren are starving. ("Shame, Shame!") Not thirty years ago wheat sold for one and a-half maunds and grain for two maunds for the rupee, for our grain was not exported to foreign lands. Now

GRAIN IS SIX TIMES AS DEAR, AND IT IS SIX TIMES AS HARD FOR THE POOR

to fill their bellies, because our philanthropists have

conjured up the phantasm of free trade to drain our granaries. Free trade, fair play between nations, how I hate the sham! What fair play in trade can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist, England? As well talk of a fair fight between an infant and a strong man—a rabbit and a boa-constrictor. No doubt it is all in accordance with high economic science, but my friends, remember this—this, too, is starving your brethren. And our good Government is so grieved at the decay of all Indian industries, so anxious that we should once more be in a position to supply ourselves and find work here for our people, that they have established, I believe, nearly one dozen technical schools amongst three hundred millions of people. (Hear, hear. "Shame, Shame!") Then there is

AN OUTRAGEOUSLY COSTLY SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION,

civil and military. Our Government is anxious that we should have the very best article, and so imports all its officers, and while India's people starve, Europeans grow rich on India's money, and thousands of Indians are kept out of situations for which they are as fit as, or fitter than, any of the Europeans we get now-a-days; and mere boys, just fresh from school, because they have white faces, draw five times the salaries of old, experienced, black-faced officers who knew their work before these boys were born, far better than these will ever know it. The bravest, ablest, black men—men who have fought and shed their blood for England, in Afghanistan, Abyssinia, China and Egypt (English wars with which India had no concern, except that of paying or helping to pay for them) remain for life at the beck and call of the youngest English subaltern, and are never even promoted to a lieutenantcy, let alone any higher rank. This is no doubt true Christianity, and doing to others as you would be done to; but, alas! even this true

BRITISH CHRISTIANITY IS HELPING TO STARVE YOUR BRETHREN.

("Shame!") Then there is the costly, utterly unsuitable, foreign system (this too is imported, like so many of our other blessings) of civil and criminal, mis-called, justice. I say our so-called courts of justice are too generally dens of injustice. Litigation is fostered and fomented by this system. [A Voice: "But you are a pleader yourself." (Laughter.)] Yes, I am a pleader, and hence thoroughly know what I am speaking about. (Cheers.) Litigation, I say, the necessary result of this unsuitable and alien system of judicature, has ruined large sections of the community morally and materially. Millions, who would otherwise have remained honest and truthful men, are now rogues and professional liars. In old days there was no tax on justice. You did not always get it, but when you did, it was free. Now, I really think you never get it except by accident, and those foolish enough to go to courts to seek it, even if they go with full pockets, return as paupers, for fees and stamps and law charges of

innumerable kinds, to say nothing of bribes, are now the order of the day. But

THIS SYSTEM OF JUDICATURE IS ALSO HELPING TO
STARVE THE PEOPLE.

And then—again, of course, all a part of their philanthropy, for naturally they know so much more about our concerns and our interests than we do ourselves, and can so much better feel where the yoke galls us than we foolish people can—they keep the whole management of our affairs in their own hands, and spend our money in their own ways, just as they know to be right. How should we know anything about it? It is true that the greatest of the Emperors always entrusted the management of the finances of the Empire to Hindu financiers, and that these managed passably well, and had always large surpluses and money to spare for wars and famines when these did, though the latter very rarely did, occur. But what was Akbar when compared with Lords Lytton and Dufferin, and the splendid deficits by which they immortalised themselves? [Here the President sounded his gong.] Gentlemen, the time of my dissolution is fast approaching, the angel of death has already sounded my doom. I will only say this; as a result of the causes which I have touched upon, and many others, which the President will not allow me to treat of, millions, millions of your countrymen, aye, and of their wives and children, are, at this moment, have been any time this last twenty years, and will, for all the Government of India seems inclined to do, remain for ever on the verge of starvation, in the depths of misery, and if you have the hearts of men, if you care for happiness in this world, if you would avoid misery in the next, you will persevere with redoubled and ever-growing energy and zeal in this glorious contest which the Congress is carrying on against

DESPOTIC MISMANAGEMENT AND BLUNDERING
PHILANTHROPY.

You will persevere, regardless of the sneers of cynics, the frowns of authority, and the base apathy of so many of your own people, until you wring from free England and free Britons the reforms the Congress is fighting for, and achieve the political enfranchisement of our at present down-trodden and enslaved country. (Loud and continued cheers.)

Mr. D. E. WACHA (Bombay): I fear that, suffering as I am from a severe cold and sore throat, I may, perhaps, not be heard distinctly in every part of the pavilion, but I trust you will excuse me for any shortcomings arising from this complaint, in the discharge of the duty that is entrusted to me. But for the fact that the question of the growing military expenditure of the country in all its branches, on which I am called upon to speak, is of the highest importance to our national well-being, I would have fain foregone the pleasure of addressing you. With this preliminary observation I now proceed with the subject in question. The speakers who preceded

me have made you fairly acquainted, more or less, with the question of the prevailing poverty in India; and none, I think, has brought more vividly home to us the miserable condition of the masses, mostly the agricultural population, than our old friend, Mr. Murlidhur, who has just left the tribune. The lifelike picture which he drew, and the object lesson he tried to convey to you thereby, were indeed most heartrending. They were

SUCH AS MIGHT HAVE MOVED EVEN CELESTIAL
HEARTS TO PAIN.

This, gentlemen, is the condition of the country to be witnessed from year to year, and if any person in India has devoted a lifetime to the study of the facts relating to this harrowing condition, and incessantly laboured to make us and our rulers understand the true causes of that poverty, it is our noble and patriotic countryman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (Cheers.) It would be supererogatory for me, therefore, to refer to them at any length here. But if I may be briefly allowed to touch on the most salient causes of it, I would observe that two circumstances, above all others, have greatly contributed towards it. They are the system of land revenue assessments and land legislation. These have been mostly instrumental in bringing unnumbered woes on the peasantry. The impoverishment has so far increased and become general that the Government of India has thought it expedient to appoint a Land Indebtedness Commission and to direct it to inquire minutely into the whole question connected with the debts of the peasantry and the impoverishment consequent thereon. Not only the condition of the ryots of the Deccan, but of the Punjab also, is to form the subject of its investigations. We all trust that the inquiries may be thorough, and that the sores may be probed to their innermost recesses, so that the necessary relief, if substantial relief come at all, be forthcoming. That the system of land revenue in vogue in all parts, save Bengal, has led the peasantry from bad to worse is not denied. It has been officially admitted. Our rulers departed from the old system in vogue in the times prior to British occupation, which was really the sheet anchor of the agriculturists. It had the great merit of elasticity—elasticity in this sense, that in years of prosperity and abundance the ryot was able not only to pay his assessment to the State and maintain himself and his family, but lay by something against a rainy day or the inclemency of a bad season. The revenue, in fact, was paid in kind. But our rulers have changed all that, and have introduced in its place the cast-iron system of payment in hard cash at one invariable rate. It is unfortunately so rigid that there is no escape out of it for the ryot; while, to add to his misfortune, it has, more or less, to be paid in many provinces on two fixed dates during the year, when he is least able to pay it. In this aspect of the revenue system of British India there always lurks, I fear, great danger. The peasantry is the backbone of the

country, and the land revenue derived by the State is the backbone of Indian finance. You have only to conceive, and it is a possibility which is not remote if things go on from bad to worse as they do now, what may be the condition of the country, politically and financially, if, out of sheer poverty and starvation, the ryots refuse *en masse* to pay the State dues. The great danger, the great internal danger, infinitely more to be guarded and watched against than any external aggression, is, gentlemen,

THE POSSIBILITY OF A UNIVERSAL AGRARIAN RISING.

(Hear, hear.) Surely I need no further urge how grave and portentous is this condition of affairs, this growing poverty of the masses. Then the second great evil, which in reality aggravates the first evil, are the land laws prevalent in the various provinces of the Empire—the laws which Sir James Caird, when visiting this country fourteen years ago, in his capacity as a member of the Famine Commission, characterised as “legal chicanery.” You are all so well acquainted with the chicanery arising from the precious land revenue codes that I will not detain you with any description of the growing evils daily arising from them. Sir James has tersely referred to them in his separate report to the Secretary of State for India, dated 31st October, 1879. Thus, in the words of that expert authority: “Having parted with the two sheet anchors, the native village organisation and the self-adjusting principle of land tenure, with produce rents, Indian Statecraft has fallen upon the quicksands of legal chicanery.” I think, gentlemen, you will agree in that statement and not hesitate to attribute to these two causes a large measure of the present impoverishment of the Indian peasantry. There are a dozen other minor causes which I might rightly say would take twelve volumes and twelve years to acquaint you with. So that I could not even whisper them here. The problem presented to us is so perplexing that it would require a lifetime to study it; and I am afraid there are very few Indian gentlemen—they might be counted on your fingers—who have studied the question in the light in which it ought to be studied. Were it to be studied in the way it ought, I would entertain a hope that the next generation, not ourselves, might witness a better and less oppressive and harsh system of land revenue assessments, suited to the circumstances and the ability of the ryot. Coming now to the question of

THE GROWTH OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE

might remind you that at the first Bombay Congress I was entrusted with the task of seconding the resolution on it. Those of you who have taken the trouble to peruse the proceedings of that Congress will no doubt be able to follow me when I state that since the Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, under which the organization of the Indian army was decreed to be uniform in all respects with that of the Queen's British army, which is at the root of all the woes and troubles and embarrassments to which the

Indian Treasury is subjected from time to time—troubles and embarrassments which have grown interminable as the interminable Indian jungles themselves since the days of the second Afghan War, with but a brief respite of economy during the righteous administration of Lord Ripon. (Cheers.) The period embraced by the Viceroyalties of Lords Canning and Lawrence, say from 1859 to 1869, was one of consolidation—consolidation consequent on the events which followed the dark days of 1857. The economical and sagacious statemanship of those two excellent Viceroys—(cheers)—had really achieved a substantial reduction in our army expenditure. When Lord Lawrence left these shores the cost was fourteen crores* of rupees. His successor, Lord Mayo, loyally endeavoured to maintain it at that figure. But still, the Amalgamation Scheme, and the ruinous Staff Corps arrangements, were slowly making their inroads on the national treasury. It was virtually a partnership transaction, as was observed by the late Professor Fawcett—(hear, hear)—in which the stronger and the richer partner successfully managed to foist on the weaker and the poorer—(“Shame!”)—burdens which really did not belong to her. The Government of India itself has from time to time expressed the same sentiments in some of their important military despatches which may yet be read with profit. In my speech at the first Congress, I submitted ample evidence of the growth of the military expenditure as culled from official Blue Books and despatches. So I will not detain you by reciting them here. Suffice to say that, between 1864 and 1885, they had increased by five crores. Since the days of the second Afghan War, of unhappy memory, there has been no limit to that growth. If you ask me the reason of it, I will say that it is

THE IMPERIAL POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

which

IS ANNUALLY ENTAILING ON THE POOR PEOPLE OF INDIA SACRIFICES WHICH THEY ARE ABSOLUTELY UNABLE TO BEAR,

but which they do bear, all the same, silently, and with a sullen discontent. It is the policy of England in her relations with the politics of Central and Eastern Europe—the policy which leads to complications now and again with Turkey and Russia, and other great European Powers—which unhappily leads to military activity or military “preparedness,” so called in this country, entailing crores of wasteful expenditure. Of late, thanks to the Russophobists and the Imperialistic jingoes, at whose head is the veteran Sir Henry Rawlinson, our frontiers have remained constantly disturbed. It is all a game of cross purposes ever since poor Shere Ali was driven away from his throne to die in exile. The Russian game is to gain as far as possible a footing on the banks of the Bosphorus, while England tries to thwart her in that desire. As a consequence the former

* A crore = Rs. 1,000,000; thus, fourteen crores, Rs. 14,000,000, or Rs. 140,000,000.

tries, whenever occasion offers, to threaten England in Central Asia. But, while Russia idly threatens us,

THE MILITARY TAX EATERS AT SIMLA,

who eagerly pant for promotions, decorations, and kudos besides, do not leave a stone unturned, under one pretext or another, to push forward what is euphemistically called the "scientific frontier"—("Shame!")—a visionary frontier leading nowhere, but ever plunging the country into greater and greater financial embarrassments. Scares are manufactured which could never be substantiated, and while this sort of manufactured panic is designedly created among us, they push on new schemes having for their object nothing but the conquest of wild border tribes, the despoiling them of their territories, the bribing of the recalcitrant with British rupees, and so forth. They thus carry on a warfare of external aggression under the hollow pretence of defending India against so-called attacks from without. ("Shame!") From what I have stated you will no doubt be able to understand the import of the intense activity going on on our North-Western Frontier borders since 1885, and the rapid construction of forts, bridges, and so-called strategical railways. There is a whole history of these scares and scientific frontiers, but which it is impossible for me to unfold before you on this occasion. So I now pass on to the question of actual expenditure itself since 1885. That year was indeed a calamitous year for India. For it was the year which witnessed

THE FORCIBLE SEIZURE OF UPPER BURMAH,

which brought an additional step in the Peerage to the Earl of Dufferin, the then Viceroy. At the first Congress we deprecated that seizure as iniquitous and unrighteous; and if you read between the lines all that has been stated in the Blue Books on this conquest, you will be fully convinced that the Congress was justified in condemning those proceedings. Thus, our financial troubles recommenced with the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, a well-meaning and, so far as his private morals are concerned, virtuous Governor-General, but ignorant of the true facts and aspects of Indian problems. It was this ignorance which alone prompted him to precipitately rush into Upper Burmah. His ignorance could have been dispelled by the Foreign Office. But it is this Foreign Office of the Government of India which, more than all the Viceroys put together, since the days of Lord Lytton, is the real *fons et origo* of our woes and troubles on our frontiers, East and West.

THE SECRET DOINGS OF THAT MISCHIEVOUS BUREAU

will never be known, though, if disclosed, they might create such a revolution in opinion on the political history of India with Foreign States as to make us stand aghast. But on this subject, too, I will refrain from saying aught save this: Bring to bay the Foreign Office, and you at once bring military expenditure within reasonable bounds and control.

This is my humble conviction. At present the Foreign Department is more omnipotent than the Viceroy himself. Well, gentlemen, it was the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin which led to the increase of 30,000 additional troops (10,000 English and 20,000 Native), saddling India with a permanent expenditure of another two crores.* It was this Viceroyalty which laid the foundation of those financial embarrassments, the consequences of which are to be seen in the enhanced duty on salt and the re-introduction of the income-tax of nearly sixpence farthing in the pound. How fruitful are these embarrassments for evil may be further perceived in the larger amounts which India had annually to remit to England for the army services, effective and non-effective. When it is remembered that, on an average, we remit four millions sterling on this account, or just one-fourth of the whole amount of the bills annually sold by the Secretary of State for India, it will be evident how much heavier this loss becomes with every fall, even of one farthing, in the exchangeable value of the rupee. But the increase is not only on account of additional troops; though it is a fact that, inclusive of the army services in Upper Burmah since 1885-86, the additional burden laid on the taxpayers is equal to twenty-four crores. There are again the expenses for special defence works, strategical railways, so-called punitive expeditions, mobilisation of the frontier army corps, transport service, new arms and ammunition, and so forth. It would be tiresome to treat you to a formidable table of statistics; but if you would only turn to the pages of the current financial statement under the head of "Army," you would find all the details stated. I will, however, summarise these figures for you. Thus:—

	Rx.
1. Increased Army Expenditure since 1885-86..	24,220,000
2. Special defence works to date	3,770,000
3. Strategic Railways to date	7,500,000
4. Frontier Expeditions to date	1,320,000
5. Upper Burmah Military Expenses	10,020,000
Total	46,830,000
<i>Add:</i>	Rx.
6. Special defence works, balance to complete ..	1,230,000
7. Strategic railways yet to be completed ..	4,000,000
GRAND TOTAL	52,060,000

I do not think, however, that the limit of the military expenditure will be reached when the special defences are completed and the additional railways, now under construction, are built; neither do I believe, gentlemen, that Upper Burmah will ever become a paying province. My fear is that there are many troubles still to be overcome there. But the Government is reckless. It is trying to heap on itself more troubles in that direction, while it is madly endeavouring to push the Eastern frontier to the very gates of Yunnan. You have but little idea of the difficulties beyond Bhamo; while the fixed intention of the Government is to penetrate the southernmost and fertile province of China,

IN OBEDIENCE TO THE CALL OF PIOUS MANCHESTER

* Crore = Rx. 1,000,000.

for the sale of the products of its spindles and looms. Remember, gentlemen, this may soon bring the Indian Government into collision with China. And I need not again describe to you what a Chinese war in that direction may mean. It will be as disastrous and sanguinary as was the Second Afghan War or the war of the French with the people of Tonquin a few short years ago. You will thus perceive what possible embarrassments there loom in the near future for unhappy India. While your net land revenue is increasing during the last few years at the slow rate of twenty-five lakhs per annum, the net military expenditure is growing at the rate of fifty-one lakhs or at double the pace.

THE RYOT IS BLEED IN ORDER THAT THE MILITARY
TAX EATER MAY THRIVE

and gain stars and medals ("Shame!"). But just think for a moment, gentlemen, how contented, how prosperous, how progressive India might have been to-day had she been saved this huge extraordinary extra expenditure of Rs. 54,000,000 in five years. How many productive commercial railways and irrigation canals, branch feeders and lines, which are yet a crying want in almost every province of the empire, might have been built. And what blessings these might have brought to our unhappy countrymen. How many millions might have been easily spared to arrest the growth of that gaunt famine which is devastating parts of Southern India and Deccan. Is there a doubt that all this expenditure is a pure waste—waste of the resources and the labour of the whole population? They might as well have dropped them to the bottom of the sea. (Hear, hear.) You heard an hour ago from the lips of my eloquent friend on the right, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, how the question of the reform of the Legislative Councils is closely connected with the entire policy—fiscal, political and military—of the empire. No doubt this question of reform is the burning and pressing question of the day, and, of course, the Congress allows this question first place among its annual resolutions. It is right that it should be so, and I trust and hope we shall go on giving it that premier importance till we have obtained what we want. (Hear, hear.) But, permit me to say that no question presses on the country with such urgency as this question of the appalling growth of military expenditure. The saying of John Bright was quoted by my eloquent friend: "Tell me the finances of a country and I will tell you whether the Government is good or bad." Had that great friend of, and sympathiser with, the aspiration of Indians been living to-day—(hear, hear)—I am quite sure that, looking at this appalling expenditure, he would not have failed to raise his powerful voice against, and exert his influence to reduce, it by denouncing it in the terms it deserved. Looking at the chronic impecunious condition of our finances he would have certainly observed that it was not one on which he could congratulate the rulers of India. In other words, that India was not wisely governed, or as she ought to be, and that she was

not governed in the interests of the people. It is, gentlemen, recorded in black and white, in the report of the Simla Army Commission, of which Sir Frederick Roberts was no inconspicuous a member, that the army seems to exist not for the people of India, but that the people of India exist for the army. ("Shame!") Truer words were never recorded by an official Commission. If, then, our finances are more or less embarrassed, and if military expenditure is the principal cause of that embarrassment, how are you to remedy this growing and uncontrolled evil? This is the practical question which it is our solemn duty to solve. For I repeat, gentlemen, and I repeat with emphasis, that on this question depend grave financial issues, aye, and the gravest political issues, in the near future. We must all endeavour, first, to realize the magnitude of this state of military finance. When you consider that the expenditure of a Government depends on the policy it pursues in its relations both to internal and external affairs, you will at once perceive that it is

THE PRESENT CALAMITOUS, NAY CULPABLE,
FOREIGN POLICY

of the Government of India which dominates the whole condition of finance. And as the financial position of India in turn dominates all its other conditions, especially the material conditions, you will be further able to perceive how imperative is the urgency to agitate for a complete change of that policy. If our Government, therefore, adopts a wise policy you may depend on it that our finances in the near future can be more economically administered, and that the people will immensely advance in material prosperity. If, on the contrary, it persists, in spite of all remonstrances and representations, in adhering to its present fatal policy, it goes without saying that the material condition of our people will grow worse and worse, till one day some appalling disaster (which God forbid) overtakes the Government. I think, therefore, you will agree with me that it is time for us all by our persistent agitation to bring about a healthy and wholesome change in the military policy of the Government. The military activity, which has been unceasing and restless since 1885, will never cease until we make it clear to the British electors at home that it needs to be altered. If we are only true to ourselves, we ought from this time forward to take every legitimate and constitutional means in our power to expose

THE UTTER WICKEDNESS, THE ABSOLUTE MADNESS,

of the course on which the Government are embarked. We must din it, not only into the ears of our rulers, for they seem to be of those who having ears hear not and having eyes see not, but into the ears of the public in Great Britain, that this growing military expenditure is eating away the vitals of the people, and can only lead to the ruin alike of India and of England. (Hear, hear.) Those who have followed the annual financial statements of recent years will have noted the tone in which this question of military

expenditure is referred to by the Finance Minister. It is indeed satisfactory to note that, following Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Ilbert, Sir David Barbour has not been unmindful of its great evils. I think in all fairness and justice it must be said that he has been a true friend of the people—(applause)—and has manfully endeavoured and is endeavouring, so far as he possibly can, to resist the uncontrolled and uncontrollable demand of the military advisers of the Viceroy for a larger and larger expenditure. And I beg you to specially mark the clear way in which he has given a warning in his latest financial statement. Finance Ministers and Viceroys have regretted the expenditure, but it is our great misfortune that they have hitherto done so little towards mitigating its appalling burden.

A TONE OF HELPLESSNESS PERVADES THE
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

whenever the question is referred to, as if a change in the policy could not bring about a better state of matters. In support of my statement allow me please to quote to you one or two short paragraphs. It is observed in the twenty-third para. of the Financial Statement of 1886-87 as follows: "By the events of late years, in Central Asia, India finds herself almost in contact with one of the greatest European Powers, and she cannot hope to escape the necessity which the position imposes on her of increasing her military strength." The question here is this: Who created the necessity? Did the people of India create it? Did they appeal to their rulers to cross the natural but impregnable boundaries of the country on the north-west, and thoughtlessly rush into the open to meet the Russians half-way? Did they say that benefit was to be derived from such a course; that India would be assured of greater external security and internal contentment? No. The people have all through condemned the procedure. They have still to be convinced of the "necessity" on which the Government grounds the increase in the military strength of the empire in a variety of ways. Gentlemen, it was the wise policy of the earlier generation of Viceroys, beginning with the ever sagacious John Lawrence (than whom no other Viceroy has more fully grasped the true significance of confining our line of defence within the natural boundaries of the Empire), and ending with Lord Northbrook, never to cross the Indus. The weighty reasons urged in favour of this line of policy may still be read with profit in those ponderous Blue-books on Central Asia which have been published since 1864, and which have been so well summarised in that book issued by Lord Lawrence and his coadjutors entitled "Causes of the Afghan War." To go beyond our natural line of defence, gentlemen, is to court defeat. We expose ourselves needlessly and fritter away the resources and strength which we ought to conserve for the defence from within our impregnable boundaries whenever the dreaded external attack becomes a real one, which, I think, is still a remote contingency. At present we are creating

AN ARTIFICIAL RING FENCE IN WHICH TO
ENTRAP OURSELVES.

Just imagine what may be the result in case of a defeat. Let us assume the worst. Does it not stand to reason that the very lines of strategical railways, the very outposts and forts which we take to be our special defence works, would be in the hands of the enemies, and that these would be the very means whereby Russia would sooner become master of India than she could possibly have done had we left the natural physical difficulties of the country untouched as Providence gave them to our hands? Ordinary commonsense tells us that this policy is a most fatal one. It has not the merit of ordinary sagacity, let alone statesmanship. It is the maddest policy which a wise Government could be led or betrayed into adopting by its irresponsible military advisers. The late Mr. Slagg, whose memory we shall always keep green, condemned it in that memorable debate he procured in the House of Commons, in the early part of 1889, as a "mad" policy. I go a step further, and denounce this policy, this feverish military activity to checkmate Russia, halfway beyond the natural boundaries of India, as "epidemic lunacy," to quote the words of Professor Seeley. For verily, gentlemen, there seems to prevail a sort of epidemic, allied to madness, on this trans-frontier question at the headquarters of the Government. But, to pass on. Here is another statement from the speech of Mr. Westland, Acting Finance Minister, while introducing the Indian Tariff Act Amendment Bill in the Supreme Legislative Council on 27th January, 1888. "We might shut our eyes to events in Central Asia and refuse the increases of political and of military expenditure forced upon us by the approach of a great civilized Power on our north-west frontier. In short, we might have refused to discharge the duties and responsibilities of a civilized Government, either with respect to our own subjects or to the nations which lie beyond our frontier; and those who think we should have observed this attitude are, to this limited extent, right in pointing to our increase of expenditure as evidence of want of financial control. With such people I do not care to argue, and the Legislative Council is not the place where such arguments are called for." Here, gentlemen, it may be reasonable to ask again whether the Government of India is correct in observing that the increased expenditure is forced upon it by the progress of Russia in Central Asia? Can this statement be substantiated? Who is it that prompts Russia to approach nearer India? It is the Government of India which first takes a forward aggressive move under one pretext or another, supplied by the Foreign Office, a pretext which can never be verified because it is only an *ex parte* one.

RUSSIA ONLY RESPONDS TO THE BRITISH MOVE.

Outpost answers outpost, and gun answers gun. Thus, is it not intelligible, nay manifest, to take the latest instance, that it is the occupation of Kashmir and Gilgit, and other secret expeditions beyond that outpost, which have brought the Russians on to

the Pamirs? And yet a responsible official of the State complacently observed that it is not the business of his Government to argue with people who question the wisdom of its trans-frontier policy! The fact is the Government is unwilling to argue with its critics, that is, the people of the country itself. Of course we have a voice next to none in the present Legislative Councils, but if we had our reformed Councils, I dare say, my good friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, and others, might have risen in their place and compelled the Government to listen to the arguments of those who condemn, and, in my opinion, justly condemn, this bloated army expenditure and this frantic trans-frontier policy. In such an eventuality India might have been better off to-day; for at least a greater portion of that wicked waste of fifty odd crores might have been saved to her. The whole question hinges on this? Are the trans-frontier defences required? Is it a wise policy to advance beyond the natural frontiers of India? They say it is a question for military experts. In the first place, I deny that proposition.

IT IS A QUESTION OF POLICY AND NOT OF EXPERTS.

And on questions of policy those who have studied and given thought to them are as competent to pass an opinion as the Government itself. But, leaving this argument alone, may it be asked if even military experts are all agreed? Gentlemen, there are able military experts who have condemned the defences on which so many millions have been spent. They have demonstrated that in the long run these will prove a "death trap." There are experts like Colonels Maurice and Home who have written in the public journals on the question. And, if I am not misinformed, there is a very able minute of the former which is pigeon-holed in one of the secret bureaux of the India Office. It is stated therein that these strategical defences are entirely misconceived, and that the monies spent on them are a pure waste of public monies. (Hear, hear.) I will now pass on to other experts, though not military experts, who speak with authority from the position they occupy as the responsible members of the Executive Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Earl Dufferin in its earlier period. Their names are held in the highest respect. I allude to Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Ilbert, who have recorded a joint minute of dissent on the subject of increased troops and trans-frontier defences, which is as much remarkable for its independence as for its close reasoning and logic. It is not possible to read the whole of that minute, but I will refer to some of the salient points—points which show conclusively the absence of any necessity for increased troops; and, secondly, the aggressive character of the policy of the Government. They also direct attention to certain military despatches and show their apparent inconsistency. In fact the sum and substance of their argument is that the increase of troops and other measures would "prove a weapon less of defence than of aggression." (Hear, hear.) This memorable statement, so forcibly and tersely put,

changes the whole aspect of the policy pursued by Government. On the one side the military advisers say: "These are for your good; we are going to make you secure against external attack." On the other hand, the two members, who have based their opinion on the strength of the opinions of various military critics themselves, observe: "No, do not believe what these military advisers say; we have read the despatches, minutes, and other papers on the subject, and we have come to the conclusion that the Government is pushing forward and extending its frontiers under the hollow pretence of repelling Russian invasion, and thus squandering millions of monies of the tax-payers." (Hear, hear.) The Simla Army Commission distinctly and categorically asserted that fifty thousand troops would at any time suffice for repelling external attack. This was stated after mature deliberation and after the dire events and incidents connected with the disastrous Second Afghan War. The Commission was fully aware of the nearer approach of the Russians, and, in spite of the knowledge of that fact deliberately recorded that

NO INCREASE OF TROOPS WAS AT ALL NECESSARY OR EVEN EXPEDIENT.

Sir Frederick Roberts was a member of that Commission and signed that report. But within a few short years he has strangely changed his mind. It is a matter of deep regret that, as the Commander-in-Chief of India, he has wholly ignored his previous opinion as a member of the Simla Army Commission. But to proceed with the minute. In the very first paragraph, the dissentient members sound the keynote: "We have no desire to dispute the claim of our military colleagues to speak on the point with greater authority than any to which we can pretend; but we perceive that there is a great divergence of opinion on the subject among military men; and we think that, in the consideration which has now been given to the subject, the obligation of the English Government to contribute towards the safety of the Indian Empire has been unduly minimised. The Indian Army Commission, who were appointed by and reported to Lord Lytton's Government, who wrote with perfect knowledge of the rapidity, and the direction of the Russian advance in Central Asia, and on whose recommendations are based some of the most important proposals of the despatch, summarised as follows, in their Reports of November, 1879, the purpose for which the Army in India is maintained: (a) Preventing and repelling attacks or threatened aggression, from foreign enemies beyond the border; (b) making successful or armed disturbance or rebellion within British India or its Feudatory States impossible; and (c) watching and overawing the armies of native Feudatory States." "It appears indisputable from the report," proceed the dissentient members, "that, in their enumeration of these purposes, the Commission contemplated the contingency of operations beyond the frontier, not merely against Russia with Afghanistan as our ally, but against Russia assisted by Afghanistan." They

say: "The external foes which the Indian Army may have to meet on its land frontier are Russia and Afghanistan on the North-West For operations against Russia or Afghanistan assisted by Russia, a force of two Army Corps, or fifty thousand to sixty thousand fighting men, might possibly be necessary. No one has ever suggested that the army of India should be maintained at a strength necessary to put into the field a larger force than this." They were of opinion that the Army of India, if properly organised, was sufficient to provide for the purposes thus enumerated, without any addition to its numerical strength. They expressly made the reserve that in making this estimate they "did not take into consideration the contingency of a permanent or lengthened military occupation of Afghanistan." So much, gentlemen, for the now-a-days alleged necessity of an increase in the Army. But to add emphasis to their arguments, Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Ilbert observe: "It is necessary, on the contrary, to remember that, since the Commission wrote, a large scheme of strategical frontier railways has been sanctioned, and is being vigorously pushed on Apart altogether from the immediate purpose which they serve, these works will add indirectly, but not inconsiderably, to the mobility and fighting strength of the force?" Then, speaking of the frontier fortifications, they observe: "The frontier fortifications to which we refer cannot require for their occupation an increase to the Indian Army of twenty-seven thousand men. We fail to see why any force needed for this purpose should not be obtained in the mode contemplated by Lord Lytton's Government, that is to say, by withdrawing the necessary troops from other parts of India." Then follows the most significant part of the minute, to which I beg to draw your special attention, as it is the kernel of the whole subject: "If the above reasoning is correct, there seems to us every reason to apprehend that the increase of our forces beyond the needs enumerated by the Army Commission may prove

A WEAPON LESS OF DEFENCE THAN OF AGGRESSION.

The presence in India of so strong a force as is desired may even suggest the permanent occupation of some part of Afghanistan. Against the policy of extending to a point beyond Kandahar, the frontier, formal or practical, of British India, and the area which must be permanently held by British troops, weighty arguments, moral, political, and financial, have been, and may still be, urged. But whatever may be the merits of such a proposal, it forms no part of the grounds on which an increase to our army is now advocated, and is foreign, we have every reason to believe, to the desires or intentions of our colleagues." Here then, gentlemen, are some very important statements made, and arguments urged, from which you will no doubt be able to infer that the increased army strength adopted in 1885 was absolutely uncalled for and that it is altogether unnecessary, even at this day, bearing in mind all that is going on on the frontier, and all

the other military changes and organisations since brought into play. This being the situation, is not the following observation in the same Minute prophetic? "We are further of opinion that the proposal is open to the objection that it may lead to the advocacy, and possibly to the adoption, of projects for the extension of our present frontier. The question then narrows itself to this: Is it the duty of the Government of India to maintain the charge on Indian revenues of a permanent addition to its forces, not required for India, but available for the purpose of extending and securing its dominion beyond India?" There are many other points which, for want of time, I must give up. But I cannot conclude this important part of my observations without drawing your special attention to the caution and forethought displayed by these two members of the Viceroy's Council as far as the financial aspect of the question is concerned. In this respect they have rendered an invaluable service to India, for which we must publicly express our warmest gratitude. (Applause.) "We agree entirely with the opinion of those who hold that, as an alien people, our best claim to the regard of the people of the country, and therefore one of our main sources of security, lies in the fact that taxation is light. We believe that this is a principle which has been admitted by all Governments foreign to their subjects, and that it has been uniformly recognised and adopted by our predecessors in the administration of British India. It seems an axiom which, at the present time, it is singularly incumbent on the Government of India to bear in mind. If it was important when India had no European neighbour, it becomes much more so when she has at her frontier a Power whose agents will make the most of all our mistakes, and will bid against us, by every means at their disposal, for popularity. We are aware that it is easy to push this consideration too far, and that the Indian Government must be prepared to risk a certain unpopularity if it is convinced that the measures which it has in view, and for which the imposition of burdens is required, are of so urgent a character as to necessitate their adoption, all drawbacks notwithstanding. But we have given in this Minute our reasons for holding that in the present instance no sufficient case is made out for departing from the policy above indicated." (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I have, I fear, taxed too much of your patience already, and I am loth to tax it any more. But if you will kindly allow me the indulgence, I would just read a short but pertinent extract from the pen of a German military critic on this trans-frontier defence question. It is meet that you should know what even Europeans, who are not Englishmen, think on the subject. "England may either await an aggressor on her Indian frontier or move against him across it. Political considerations plead in favour of the latter course, while on military grounds, the former might be preferable. An Anglo-Indian army which awaits the invader on the Indus is in close communication with its depôts, magazines, and its present sources of reinforcement.

Above all, it would be nearer the sea, which is England's principal base in all her expeditions, and a numerically stronger English force could there be assembled than could be put forward to Kandahar or Herat. On the other hand, a Russian force, which had to advance to the Indus, ere it could get within striking distance of the enemy, would be so far ahead of its base that it could with difficulty preserve its long line of communications. It would have to cross a wild mountain-range after a long and weary march, part of which would be through barren desert, and on emerging from the passes it would find itself exposed to the fire of hostile forts, and the assaults of the fresh troops of the enemy." Here, gentlemen, is the opinion of a military foreign expert on the military aspect of the trans-frontier policy of the Government. Is it not in accord with the opinion of all common sense people? He plainly informs us that it is far better that the Indian Government should

REMAIN WITHIN HER LINE OF DEFENCE

than rush forward beyond it and court defeat. In fact that it can ensure defeat to any aggressor coming from the other side if it only remains where it ought to remain. You will thus be able to judge for yourselves from what I urged in my speech on the same subject at the first Congress, and from what I have adduced before you to-day, how crushing is the growing burden of military expenditure, and how uncalled for it is. It is fast increasing, and it will go on increasing, unless we are true to ourselves and legitimately and constitutionally resist further burdens in the same direction. We must agitate, firstly, for a complete change of the present unwise and aggressive policy—a policy which, under the hollow pretext of defending the Empire, secretly aims at extending its frontiers and is really courting untold disasters—in fact a policy of external aggression pure and simple. The pressure caused by the absorption of our resources, consequent on this mischievous policy, transcends in its cramping and distressing effects all other financial errors of the Government. And, I repeat, we must earnestly agitate for either an outright reversal of that fatal policy or for security against repetitions of similar disastrous sacrifices of our country's best and truest interests. If the policy is to be persisted in, then

WE MUST DEMAND THAT ENGLAND SHALL CONTRIBUTE
A SUBSTANTIAL SHARE

towards the cost entailed by that policy. I will not expatiate on this question, for I have taken up too much of your time. Moreover, I must leave many other points unsaid because they demand a greater occupation of the time of the Congress which, after all, is only very limited. I must, therefore, conclude with the earnest appeal to you to persist in raising and agitating this question in all places and on all occasions, if we are at all intent upon diminishing the present appalling burden on the shoulders of the Indian tax-payers. But, before I sit down, permit me to read a few verses from the pen of Dr. Pollen,

a distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service, who stayed for some months in Russia to study the language of the country. From his intimate contact with the people there he was of opinion that there was a great deal of exaggeration and misrepresentation as to the intentions of Russia. I believe there is a great deal of truth in his observations. If Russia's political necessities goad her forward in Central Asia, is it not true that the same necessities have in times past been alleged as compelling the British to annex,—first to seize Sind, then the Punjab, then Lower Burmah, then Upper Burmah, and so forth? For my part, gentlemen, I believe that there is not in these respects a pin to choose between the practical political morality of the English and the Russians. (Loud cheers.) Here, then, is Dr. Pollen's appeal to Englishmen which is, indeed, worth remembering. I am sure every right-minded Englishman, who is not biassed, will admit the force of the observations which that liberal-minded and honest Bombay civilian has embodied so eloquently in rhyme:—

Then, England, pause! know friend from foe!

Where, when, has Russia crossed thy path?

That she doth ever greater grow

Is this the only fault she hath?

Thou callest her "a Giant Liar."

Did Britain never stoop to lie?

Is Prussia's moral standard higher?

Did Austria's ever range so high?

Nay! diplomatic lies have streamed

Since first the Tower of Babel fell,

That Diplomat the best is deemed

Who dext'rous falsehoods best can tell.

In truth, the "Teuton" is thy foe!

Thy rival he in every field;

His power thy Court, thy Councils, know;

Thy commerce naught from him can shield.

His princes lead thy daughters forth

Dowered deep in dowers of English gold.

His merchant vessels sweep thy North;

Thy "silver streak" his warships hold.

He threatens thee on every side,

While thou dost oringe to him, and yield,

Surrendering to his armed pride

The best of thy Colonial field.

He stirs the Russ against thy power,

Pointing to plains of Hindustan,

Hoping to stay the dreaded hour

When France will meet him man to man.

But why should England cross the Russ?

We both have kindred work to do!

Asia is wide: for him, for us,

There's space to spare, and high aims too.

Redeem the cradle of our race,

Let commerce circle everywhere,

Let Love regain its pride of place,

Let Eden once more blossom there!

Let "great white Tsar," let "great white Queen,"

Stretch forth o'er Asia healing hands,

Touching the sere leaf into green,

Blessing with bloom the barren lands.

England and Russia—friendly Powers,

India secure, and strong and free,

Over the West no war cloud lowers,

The East regains its liberty!

(Cheers.)

PUNDIT MAQAN MOHAN MALAVIYA
(Allahabad): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,
—It is my duty to second the proposition, or part of the proposition, which has been so ably moved by my

friend, Mr. Wacha. That duty is rendered easy by the exhaustive manner in which he has dealt with the subject. Still I must ask your indulgence a few minutes in order to lay before you a few more ideas bearing on the same subject, and to show the extreme necessity and urgency of the reforms which we are advocating. It has often been said that we Congress people repeat from year to year the same old cries, the same demands, and then go back to our homes after completing this part of our work. But, gentlemen, who is to blame for this state of things? Are we to blame for repeating these old cries, or does not the blame rather pertain to the Government which turns from year to year a deaf ear to those of our most earnest appeals? Numberless officers of the Government have said that the poverty of this country is unquestionably very great, and that poverty is growing from year to year. Sir W. Hunter, Sir Charles Elliott, Sir A. Colvin, and a number of others have, from their seats in the Viceroy's Council, constantly repeated, mournfully and sadly, the fact that

INDIA IS POOR AND IS BECOMING POORER AND POORER
EVERY DAY.

And what do we find? Have any measures worthy of the name been adopted to ameliorate that condition, to check the growth of that poverty, and to stamp it out of the country? No, to our deep regret, and (I am extremely sorry to say it) to the shame of our Government, nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done. Ten or fifteen years ago Sir William Hunter said that nearly a fifth of the population of India, nearly forty millions, go through life on insufficient food. Sir Charles Elliott, while Commissioner of Assam, said: "I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population do not know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Sir E. Baring, Financial Minister in the Viceroy's Council, said: "That the average income of the Indian people was Rs. 27 per head." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has proved, and Mr. Digby has also recently shown, that the amount is under Rs. 21, per head. But, in view of these admitted and undeniable facts, what measures have the Government taken to check the growth of poverty and stamp it out of the land? They may, no doubt, have made efforts now and then to show that they are willing to check the growth of this poverty. They now and then appoint a Commission to take evidence, here and there, and submit reports. But what is their treatment of these Commissions? And what do they do with these reports? They throw them aside. There was the Simla Army Commission; there has been the Public Service Commission; there was the Finance Committee. What have their labours brought about? No doubt bulky reports ably written and well printed; but nothing further has resulted from them. It is, therefore, no fault of ours. It gives us no pleasure to repeat these same old cries—cries prompted by

THE INTENSE AGONY OF OUR CONDITION

—cries which go out of our hearts and our lips, not

because we desire to talk of these things, but because the pain we feel compels us to utter them, to make these appeals to the Government in the hope that their hearts may yet melt, that they may yet take pity on the condition of the people and make an honest, manly effort to cut down expenditure, and to save the people of this country from the misery they are suffering at the present moment. Of course we know that the causes of this poverty are manifold. No one can expect us, in the course of our debates here, much less in the short speeches made on any of these resolutions, to deal exhaustively with all the causes of that poverty. In this resolution we deal with the causes for which the Government is mainly responsible, and we point out the remedies which the Government can directly apply, if it chooses to do so, and which it is the plainest duty of the Government to apply, if it cares to call itself a civilized Government. What are those duties and those remedies? In the first three clauses you speak of the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration. That has been dealt with by my predecessors, and I will leave it. Those who follow me may well take up the question of revenue administration. My friend, Mr. Wacha, has spoken of the military expenditure of the country. It pains me deeply to think of that question. You know that in the gracious proclamation of Her Majesty she said that she held herself bound to her Indian people by the same ties and obligations, as those which bind her to her subjects in Great Britain and Ireland; and, further, that no Indian subject of Her Majesty will be excluded from any appointment by reason of birth, colour, or creed. And yet, what do we find? Take the military branch of the service. Our countrymen have served the Government, and will continue to serve it, with remarkable fidelity and unflinching courage; they have gone beyond the borders of India, wherever Her Majesty has desired them to go, and have fought and shed their blood. And what have been their rewards? They are confined to such subordinate positions as Subedar and Resalder majorships; they are not allowed to go higher; after twenty-five years of valorous service, they remain subordinate to the sub-lieutenant who joined yesterday. Is that carrying out the intentions of Her Most Gracious Majesty? Where is the justification, in reason or in fact, for not allowing Indian soldiers to be appointed as captains, as colonels, and as generals in Her Majesty's Army? Have they not faithfully and bravely served Her Majesty in numberless battles? Can the most confirmed of our opponents point to one instance (setting aside the doubtful case of the sad Mutiny) in which Indian soldiers have not discharged their duties faithfully and honourably? Send Muhammadans to fight against the Afghan: they lay aside all considerations of religion and fight against brethren of their own creed. Send Hindus to any part of the country beyond India: they fight for Her Majesty faithfully and honourably. Why, then, exclude these people from any participation in the reward of the higher branches of the military service? What is the result? That

A LARGE PROPORTION OF THE INCOME OF THIS COUNTRY
GOES TO FOREIGN LANDS

in the shape of pension and pay. The same remark applies to Civil Administration. There is that gracious Proclamation, and there is the practice of Her Majesty's representatives here and in England. Is the practice in conformity with the Proclamation? You exclude Indian people almost entirely from the Covenanted Civil Service by saying that you will hold the examinations for it only in England. You do not employ children of the soil even in those positions which Secretaries of State for India have declared are reserved for children of the soil—I mean employment in the Uncovenanted Service. You recruit officers for the Covenanted Civil Service. A hundred officers are needed; you recruit a hundred and fifty. The result is, in the first place, that you make the country pay for services which it does not require; and, in the second place, you make these covenanted officials encroach upon the grounds reserved for men in the Uncovenanted Service. For all matters, whatever branch you take up, forests or railways, or the Public Works Department, the desire is not that Indians should be employed, not that fit men should be employed, but that places may be found (I am sorry to say so) for Englishmen in India, so that they may

DRAW INCOMES FAR BEYOND THEIR MARKET VALUE

in their own homes, and take their savings and pensions hence to spend them in England. (Cheers.) Let none think that I am prompted by any unkind feeling towards my English brethren in saying so. I have the same love, affection, and esteem for them as I have for my other fellow human beings. What I say is that it is most improper, that it is unrighteous, that it is criminal and sinful to let people living in a distant country come here and enjoy all these advantages while you have a host of people starving at your door. You speak of the poverty of the country. What else can the country be but poor! The Marquis of Salisbury himself declared that much of the revenue of India is exported without any equitable equivalent in return. There are others who say that a large proportion of the revenue of India goes out in the shape of pay and pension to England and other places. The total expenditure of the Civil Service is about fourteen millions. Of this nearly two-thirds go to Europeans, and only one-third to people of this country. In the Military Service, again, all the loaves and fishes,

ALL THE BEST AND MOST HONOURED OFFICES ARE
GIVEN TO EUROPEANS,

not because they are a whit fitter than their brother Indian soldiers, not because they are more courageous, more able to fight and to defeat the enemy, but because they happen to possess a fairer complexion. ("Shame!") Combining the Military and Civil Services, you will find, I cannot give the exact figure, but it cannot be less than fifteen millions sterling, every year going in the shape of pay and pensions, and home expenditure of various kinds to England

from India never to return to it. The result has been well pointed out in the press and on the platform, but no one has put it more pithily than Mr. J. Wilson in the *Fortnightly Review* of March, 1884, and his remarks are true now, with the necessary corrections. He says: "In one form or other we draw fully £30,000,000 a year from that unhappy country, and there the average wages of the people is about £5 per annum, less rather than more, in many parts." (Of course we know that it is nothing like £5; it is £1 and a few shillings.) "Our Indian tribute, therefore, represents the entire earnings of upwards of six (in reality twenty) million heads of families, say 30,000,000 (in reality one hundred millions) of the people. It means the abstraction of more than one-tenth (really one-third) of the entire sustenance of India every year." I will not longer occupy your time. I have had my little say, and I hope that those who follow will make it clearer still that the Government, in excluding the children of the soil from employment in the higher branches of the Service, are persisting not only in a most unrighteous but a most suicidal policy. Gentlemen, Governments cannot live without the people. Let the people continue to grow poorer and poorer, and the Government is nowhere, or at any rate it ceases to deserve the name of Government. We have hitherto appealed, almost in vain; let us hope that our present appeals will not be entirely fruitless. It is true that we are interested, and, therefore, we speak with bitterness and warmth. Who else will speak but those who are interested? It is the man who is being flogged who cries out, not the bystanders!

WE APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE WHO ARE
OUR BRETHERN,

to make their administration of this country more in conformity with reason, with justice, and with common sense, with those high and noble principles which have always been their pride, and which have raised them to the proud position which they now occupy before the world. Then, and then alone, will British rule in India be the glory, as it should be, of England. Let me quote, in conclusion, the words of Mr. Bright on this subject: "You must remember that all this great population has no voice in its own affairs. It is dumb before the power that has subjected it. It is never consulted upon any matter connected with its Government. It is subject to the power that rules over it in a manner that cannot be said of the population of any civilized or Christian people in the world." Let the English people make haste and take away this great reproach cast upon them by a man whom they revere, and then we shall all be happy in our mutual union and to our own mutual benefit. (Cheers.)

Mr. K. G. DESHPANDE (Nagpur): Mr. President, Gentlemen and Brother Delegates,—Before addressing myself to the discharge of my proper duty as a supporter of the Resolution that has been so ably and eloquently proposed, seconded and supported by those who have preceded me, allow me, as a humble representative of the chief city of these provinces, to

tender to you a most hearty welcome to Nagpur, once one of the chief of Indian cities, of vast historical celebrity and importance, but now only the headquarters of these backward provinces. I happen to be a landlord in these provinces, and my remarks will be confined to the special features of the Settlement question as it affects us. There obtained in these provinces, under the Bhonsala Raj, a system of

TRIENNIAL FARMING LEASES

to the patel on payment of a fixed premium. The patel was thus to all intents and purposes the head of the village community, with full powers to derive all profits from the possession of his villages, and with limited liability to pay the agreed revenues. Of course, he had no absolute ownership of the estate, but it rarely happened that property changed hands. On the contrary, in most cases it was heritable, and created customary rights in the lessee. When the British Government settled these provinces for the first time in 1867-68, the administration of Mr. (now Sir) Richard Temple, the author of the Settlement now expiring, laid down three principles as the basis of the Land Settlement. I will discuss, however, only one of them and leave the other two in the able hands of the speaker who follows me. The point I wish to deal with was the conferring of the private proprietary rights in the soil on the malguzars, with a promise to convert as soon as possible the temporary into a permanent settlement. Sir Richard observed at the time, in support of the first principle, that "another obvious and pressing need in these provinces is the recognition and determination of proprietary title and tenant right in the land. The matter lies deep at the root of all improvement in by far the largest portion of society. Until this shall be done the public mind will not be easy nor contented, capital will not be accumulated and applied, and

AGRICULTURE WILL NOT ADVANCE."

Besides, a permanent limitation of the State demand was distinctly promised to the people of these provinces by Sir Richard Temple as the head of the administration. I read in support the following, from one of his administration reports: "The period over which the limitation of the Government demand according to the new assessment is to extend, is thirty years for all districts alike; this has been sanctioned by Government. It has also been recommended that the boon of the Permanent Settlement, that is, the limitation of the Government demand in perpetuity, should be conceded to those landholders who might have brought their estates to a high state of cultivation. The Government have decided that after a lapse of three years from the commencement of the new settlement, those landholders who may be thought worthy of the concession, and who may desire a perpetual limitation of the Government demand, may have their assessments revised with a view to such limitation in perpetuity being declared." The advantages of the above policy cannot be better

described than in the following words of Sir Richard Temple himself:—

"It would have an effect altogether beyond immediate calculation in stimulating the industry, enterprise, and self-reliance of the agriculturists, the application of capital and the accumulation of wealth where the assessments were fair. It would be accepted as a great boon by the people; on the one hand the State no doubt will subject itself to prospective loss by surrendering all future rights to increase its land revenue. But on the other hand such loss would be more than compensated by the gradual, if not rapid, increase of all the other branches of revenue.

"These branches entirely depend upon the growth of the wealth in the mass of the people. A Permanent Settlement will contribute more than any measure that could be devised to augment that wealth. It follows that a Permanent Settlement will cause all other heads of revenue, except the land-tax, to increase. Now in these provinces more than one-third of the total revenue is derived from taxes other than that imposed upon the land. The other taxes are increasing, the land-tax alone will remain stationary. In a fiscal point of view, then, there can be no fear for the success of a measure which would, while restricting the land-tax, cause all other taxes to rise."

The evils of constant revisions of Settlement have been thus described by Sir Auckland Colvin in one of his minutes: "The value of the property depreciated until the exact amount of the new assessment is declared, credit affected, heart-burning and irritation between landlord and tenant, suspicion of the intention of the Government, a host of official underlings scattered broadcast over the vexed villages." The only rational ground on which the policy of short-term settlements can be defended is that the Government has a right to participate in any improvement in the condition of the country which is not the product of the people's personal labour and capital, but which results from changes in the extrinsic circumstances of the country, or in one word, the "unearned increment" theory. Extension of cultivation and rise in prices of agricultural produce under the influence of general prosperity and the opening up of the Empire, are the only causes which can operate to increase the profits of land independently of the efforts and exertions of the people themselves. As regards the first, Lord Lawrence said, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1873, that a margin must be kept in all villages for grazing purposes, and he fixed this margin at twenty per cent. of the total average area. He further said that no revenue should be put on any but the cultivated land, and that

THE WASTE LAND, INCLUDING PASTURAGE, SHOULD BE LEFT UNTAXED.

Now, as we ask for a permanent settlement only for such estates as have fulfilled the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State's well-known despatch of 1862, that at least four-fifths of the cultivable area should be redeemed and brought under the plough, and as, according to the high authority of Lord Lawrence, one-fifth of the total village area must be left unassessed for grazing purposes, it is

clear that our prayer for a permanent settlement cannot be denied us on the ground of prospective loss of revenue from extension of cultivation. As regards rise in prices it has to be borne in mind that along with it there is a corresponding rise in the cost of production and the prices of all the necessaries of life. Then, again, the major portion of the profits accruing from this source is intercepted by middle men, leaving only a pittance for actual tillers of the soil. Rise in prices, stimulated by compulsory exports, expanding every day with our growing liabilities, have little or no effect in increasing the real profits of cultivation for those with whom land is the only means of subsistence; for in a country where the people are too poor to effect any agricultural improvement, where the soil, under an exhausting system of cultivation is fast deteriorating, and when more land has to be given to non-food crops year after year to respond to an ever-increasing export, and where at the same time, with the increase of population, the number of mouths to be fed is increasing, the local demand for food grows *pari passu*. Thus the main cause of the rise in price is decrease of production concurrently with a growing demand, both local and foreign. But what does this mean for the ryot? What else but that, while the exports bring him less and less returns, his home supply of food grains diminishes. Again, those who have any experience of the Indian ryots know that with him

THE IMMEDIATE OBJECT OF CULTIVATION IS
SUBSISTENCE

for himself and his family. He has little or no capital employed in his cultivation unless we include under this term his crude implements of husbandry. His seed-grain and his food-grain, to maintain him till the next harvest, have all to be borrowed at a high rate of interest, and are deducted by the money-lender as soon as the harvest is cut and ready for the market. He has thus too little surplus left after meeting his own requirements and the claims of his creditor to be in a position to realise any profit from the high prices induced by foreign exports. Where a man's circumstances do not enable him to reserve enough food for himself and his family, and where he has no surplus to sell or, even if any is left, he is unable to sell it at the most advantageous time so as to secure the best price, no rise in the prices can have the effect of increasing his real profits of cultivation. Again, agriculture in India is the most uncertain of industrial enterprises. It is subject to great vicissitudes. The least change in the weather may destroy the results of the most unwearied industry. This is specially the case in parts of the Central Provinces, like Bilaspur, where the population depends almost entirely on one solitary crop, and that crop is one which requires an abundant rainfall—I mean rice. Lastly, with a growing population, all depending on land, and a vanishing margin of culturable waste, the question how the people are to live and prosper is becoming every day one of the gravest moment. Land, which thirty years ago paid the Government

dues and supported a community, say, averaging one hundred and fifty per square mile, will now have to sustain the weight of enhanced State demands, and, at the same time, maintain a population twice as numerous. Thus a considerable portion of profits accruing from rise in prices will necessarily be absorbed in feeding the people, leaving a small margin for the Government to take in the shape of increased land revenue. It will thus be seen that the rise in prices will scarcely afford any room in the future for enhancement of assessment. Admitting, however, that the Government cannot fix the land revenue in cash permanently, it is yet possible to give fixity to its demand by

SETTLING ONCE FOR ALL THE RATE OF LAND
REVENUE

in kind, for various classes of soil. If the Government follows the simple and broad classifications of soil known to the people, and does not introduce refinements of its own in the matter; if for each class of soil thus ascertained revenue in kind be fixed permanently and for ever, the Government will be in position to benefit by any future rise in price, and at the same time will give to the people that feeling of security which alone can induce them to spend their capital and put forth their strength in the cultivation of land. My friends who will follow me will give you practical illustrations of the evils of temporary settlements by putting before you certain facts and figures relating to the new settlement that is in progress among us. All I have to say as regards this is that, supposing a *malguzar* in those provinces, having strictly complied with the conditions laid down by Sir Richard Temple in his public declaration regarding the conferring of a permanent settlement, were to ask the Government, to fulfil its promise in the matter, it could only refuse to do so by declining to be governed by those rules of equity and good conscience which, in the case of private individuals, it enforces through the agency of its courts of law. Instead of a permanent settlement, however, the period of the new settlement already made ranges from ten to twelve years, and along with this are elaborate and complicated classifications of soil, while ingenious rules for revisions and enhancements of rents have been introduced and adopted, with the result that the revenue has been immensely raised, as you will be told later on. Whether justifiable or not such a sudden increase in their liabilities is sure to subject the people to the greatest difficulties. They have been accustomed for years past to regulate their expenditure on a certain scale. All of a sudden they are called upon to pay in the shape of tax on land

DOUBLE, TREBLE, FOUR TIMES, FIVE TIMES, IN ONE
CASE SIXTEEN TIMES, THE SUM THEY WERE
PAYING BEFORE.

Before they can so re-adjust their domestic expenditure as to be able to live on a reduced scale some time must necessarily elapse, and in the interval

they will for ever alienate from themselves all their other property to make good the inexorable State demand. Millions may be spent in opening up the communications of the country and developing its resources, but the people will remain as abjectly poor as ever. A single failure of harvest would be enough to depopulate whole tracts of the country and to drive the wretched agriculturists to flock like beggars to the relief works to earn their starvation wages. If, then, the whole population are not to be reduced to one dead level of poverty-stricken agriculturists, to be decimated, in spite of all the aid the State in its bounty can give, by a single failure of harvest, the Government is bound to stay its hand and give the people an opportunity to accumulate wealth and property by conferring on them the boon of fixity and permanency of the revenue demand in some shape or form. Let this National Congress, therefore, in whose occurrence here, (at this critical period of settlement operations in these provinces) there is, to my mind's eye, something providential, with one voice pray for the bestowal of this boon on these provinces. In the name of national good, justice, and equity we beseech the Government, in the noble words of that generous and high-souled statesman, Lord Cornwallis, "to endeavour to remedy evils by which the public interests are essentially injured, and by granting perpetual leases of land at fixed assessment to render their subjects the happiest people in India, and to have reason to rejoice at the increase of their wealth and prosperity as it would infallibly add to the strength and resources of the State." We shall then invoke the Almighty, and implore—

"Full-udded be the kine, the soil be fertile,
 May copious rains descend and balmy gales
 Breathe health and happiness on India's clime;
 And may the Monarchs, prosperous and just,
 Humble their foes and guard the world in peace."

With these remarks, gentlemen, I commend the resolution to your approval and acceptance. (Cheers.)

The Congress then adjourned for lunch. After a short adjournment, the Congress reassembled.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—In all previous sittings we had a rule as to the time that proposers of resolutions and other speakers should occupy. I have thought it my duty not to remind you of that rule, but, considering the small progress we have made, or rather the immense amount of work still remaining for us to do, and remembering that we have to close to-morrow evening, I now feel it my duty to remind you of the rule; and I trust that no one will cavil if, in the discharge of my duty, I sound the 'gong and thus invite them to cease speaking. The rule is for movers of resolutions ten minutes, and for other speakers five minutes.

Mr. GOPAL HARI BHIDE (Nagpur): Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—India is essentially a country of agriculturists. This is specially the case with the Central Provinces. The people, mainly through necessity and force of circumstances, are compelled to depend solely on the produce of

their lands for their livelihood. The question as to what share of such produce the Government should take as land revenue is, therefore, with us a question of life and death. The guiding principles of the old settlement here were:—

- (1.) Conferral of proprietary rights on the people.
- (2.) Limitation of Government demand to 50 per cent. of the village profits.
- (3.) Fixation of period of Settlement at thirty years.

Official records in support of this could be quoted if time permitted. As regards the first, the landholders or malguzars were everywhere recognized as proprietors. What was done under this head at the last Settlement has not been undone anywhere except in one district, Sumbalpur. Here, in direct violation of the declarations of Sir Richard Temple, in open Durbar, the Government now refuses to acknowledge the gounteas, as the landholders are locally called, as proprietors of any but the bit of land actually cultivated by them. Not only that, but Maafi rights, created by sanads, granted by old Indian rulers and recognized at the last Settlement by the Settlement Officers, are now construed as amounting to a mere assignment of land revenue and not to a grant of the village itself, revenue free. These confiscatory measures have been petitioned against, and thanks are due to the present Chief Commissioner for having ordered enquiry into the subject. As regards the second point, unfortunately the people were kept out of the benefits which the Government had resolved to confer on them by the illegitimate action of the Settlement Officers. Sixty per cent. was the maximum fixed for the Nagpur Province, but the assessment as made swallowed up eighty per cent. of the profits. On the strength of

THIS ACT OF INJUSTICE AND RACK-RENTING

the local administration has secured the sanction of the supreme Government for the abrogation of the fifty per cent. rule for the new Settlement that is now in progress, in order that the Government Revenue may largely increase. In my humble opinion, however, the right way to redress a wrong is not to perpetuate it, but to undo its effect by giving back to the people what has been unjustly withheld from them. This shows that in India, for the sins both of omission and commission of Government officers, it is the people who have to suffer. If the Settlement Officers at the last Settlement over-assessed, in contravention of the express orders of the Government, they ought to have been called upon to explain their irregular proceedings; not only they were not so called upon, but were promoted to the highest posts and honours in the administration of these very provinces. However cruel was the conduct of these Settlement Officers towards the landholders in rack-renting them, the latter proved themselves more merciful towards their tenants. The Chief Commissioner, in his address to the people of this division, declared that the enhancement of

rents payable by ryots in the Nagpur Division are moderate and fair. What is the reward for this moderation and fairness? Abrogation of the half assets rule and substitution in place thereof of sixty-five per cent. as the maximum limit. If the Government cannot rise to the moral height of reducing the present assessment so as to make it fifty per cent. of the existing assets, it ought not to enhance it, unless it be to bring it up to that limit. As regards the period, the new settlement in Bilaspur and Raipur ranges from ten to twelve years. In this district it is to be from sixteen to twenty-two years. The reason given for the reduction in the period is that the Government intend to keep a small permanent settlement staff and to make new settlements by rotation, district by district. This may be a justification for fixing a different period for different districts, but not for the reduction of the period. The principle of rotation could be given effect to equally well if the period were to be from twenty-six to thirty-four years, or even greater. That

THERE HAS BEEN A RADICAL CHANGE OF POLICY

under this head would appear from the fact that not merely long settlements, but a permanent limitation of the State demand, on the fulfilment of certain conditions, was publicly promised by the head of the Government. I cannot give extracts from official records for fear of overstepping the allotted time, but believe me my statement is so supported. In other respects also the new settlement is to differ from the old settlement. The seer or home farm of the proprietor was assessed before at half the prevailing rate. Now it is to be the full rate. With so high an assessment as eighty per cent. on an average, and one hundred or even one hundred and fifty per cent. in individual instances, you will wonder how people lived under the weight of this crushing burden. The solution lies in the light assessment of the seer. By industry and expenditure of capital, prudent malguzars realized sufficient profits from these lands to enable them to meet the Government demand, and at the same time maintain themselves. The rest, constituting the great majority, are all sunk in poverty, and a Commission is now sitting to find out how to improve their condition. The remedy is, however, simple enough, if only the Government would see it and adopt it—

A LIGHT SETTLEMENT FOR A LONG PERIOD,

if not a Permanent Settlement. Settlement profits from waste, or, as they are called, miscellaneous income, were either not taxed at all or only nominally so. Now they are to be fully taxed. What these precious miscellaneous profits are is a question which may well be asked. The possible yield from a tamarind, a mango, a mohwa and other similar trees is to be rated to revenue. As a matter of fact, this income is so precarious and uncertain that speaking generally no permanent income is made from it. Moreover, this is being done in violation of a law which only allows such assessment under special previous

sanction of the Supreme Government. No such sanction has been obtained. The cesses at the old Settlement were four and a-half per cent. They have already from time to time been raised so that the total is now to stand at 13½ per cent. Moreover, at the new Settlement, there are signs of more cesses coming into existence. Remuneration of mukudams at five per cent. and of lumbardars by sharers at the same rate is now payable by the malguzars. Imposition of a kotwal cess is, we hear, under contemplation. After meeting all these charges and the loss from uncertainties of season, unrealised rents, and the failure of the so-called miscellaneous profits, the balance that will ultimately be left will be no adequate return for the capital spent in the acquisition and improvement of the village. There is no remedy for the state of unrest and anxiety which these constant changes of policy adopted in the supposed interest of the Government revenue create, except by giving effect to the principles embodied in the resolution which I have the honour to support. A persistence in the present policy will only substitute in place of the stimulus of hope the discouragement of utter despair, and this feeling is bound to paralyse all exertion, and will lay the axe at the root of all progress and improvement.

Mr. SADASHIVA ROW (Nagpur), then spoke as follows in Mahratti: Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I come from Bilaspur, and am a landholder there. What revision of Settlement at short intervals of time means for the people is well illustrated by what has transpired in my district. A new Settlement has recently been made there, with the result that the land revenue has been enhanced 66, 99, and 116 per cent. in the three sub-divisions of the district respectively. The cesses were 4½ per cent. on the land revenue at the old Settlement; but, including some new cesses imposed subsequently, and the enhancement effected at the recent Settlement, they now stand at 13½ per cent., giving an increase of 9 per cent. These are general average results. In some individual villages, however,

THE REVENUE HAS BEEN RAISED THREE TO FIFTEEN TIMES

or by 300 to 1,500 per cent. I admit their number is not many, but at the same time it is not inconsiderable. It has been authoritatively stated that, despite these heavy enhancements, the portion of the profits which the Government has now taken is less than the portion taken at the last Settlement. This is owing, it is said, to the large increase in the village profits since then. Assuming, for the present, the correctness of the figures upon which the new assessment is based, the case stands thus: At the last Settlement, seer land (home farm) was assessed at half the prevailing rate of rent in my district. With this low valuation of seer the total assessable assets were put down at Rs. 4,43,361. But this concession regarding seer has now been withdrawn. In order that the comparison may be fair, assessable assets of the old Settlement must therefore be increased by the putting the full rate on

seer. If this be done then the total assets come to Rs. 5,26,391. My authority for this is para. 302 of the Settlement Report. The Government demand being Rs. 2,51,934, the proportion it bore to the total assets was thus a little less than 48 per cent. The real burden of the demand was, however, even lighter than what this proportion indicates. Two sources of income were not taken into account or taxed, viz., profit from waste lands and the prospective income from extension of cultivation and rise in rents. These were left untaxed for the people to enjoy. According to the figures of the New Settlement, the profits under these heads have been about three and a quarter lakhs. Taking into consideration the fact that this income came into existence gradually and not at once, the average for the whole period of the Settlement may fairly be put down at half this sum. If this half be added to the assessable assets as given above, the proportion which the revenue bore to them would be 37 per cent. Now at the new Settlement the proportion is 54 per cent. for the whole district. Thus the Government has taken 6 per cent. more, if income from waste and extension of cultivation be left out of account, and 17 per cent. more, if they be taken into consideration. The comparison is made to appear in favour of the new Settlement by ignoring the circumstance that there has been a change in the method of assessing seer. If the Government had fixed the new assessment on the same percentage as that adopted at the old Settlement, viz., 48, then the land revenue demand would have been about eighty-seven thousand rupees less than what has actually been imposed. If the Settlement had been made on the basis of the fifty per cent. rule, then it would similarly have been about sixty thousand rupees less. I have up till now assumed the correctness of the figures of assets of the new Settlement. In a petition which was recently presented to the Chief Commissioner by almost all the leading landholders in the district, their correctness has been challenged. In two of the sub-divisions, the Settlement Officer has wrongly swelled the rental paid by the ryots, by about Rs. 88,000, on the plea that there has been systematic and wholesale concealment of real rents in the village revenue papers submitted by the landholders to the Government. The Settlement Officer said that, under a combination between landlords and tenants, these village papers have, year after year, been falsified all throughout the district in order to show less income than what was actually made under the head of rent from ryots. It has been submitted that such perfect concord between two such classes of people having conflicting interests was impossible. It was further impossible that the fraud could have existed on such a large scale and for so many years without being detected by the local district officers. We also relied upon records prepared by the Imperial Survey party in view of the new Settlement. The difference between the rental as appearing in these records and the rental as assumed by the Settlement Officer, was about Rs. 88,000. The people preferred various

other objections which it would be tedious to mention here. Their humble prayer was for an enquiry, but it has been refused. So that under the cover of this assumed rental, they have been wrongly charged with an assess of about Rs. 50,000 as land revenue, besides cesses at 13½ per cent. These figures will give some idea of

THE HEAVINESS OF THE BURDEN

which the new Settlement has imposed on the people. Already under its pressure transfers of land have considerably increased. Whereas in 1885-86, before the new Settlement, the total number of transfers by mortgage and sale was 68, it increased to 178 in 1890-91. It is to be hoped the Government will give some relief to the sorely stricken people of Bilaspur, and not turn a deaf ear to their cry of despair.

Mr. SABAPATHI MUDLIAR (Madras): Mr. President, Sisters, and Brothers,—I am asked to support one of the minor propositions contained in this programme, viz., that relating to the establishment and encouragement of

AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

This is a matter in which I have some experience, and therefore I have ventured to come forward and give my humble opinion on this important subject. The establishment of agricultural banks is a great necessity from the fact that the ryots have now to pay at least 24 per cent. interest, in the shape of money or in the shape of grain, for loans obtained from the so-called sowcar or other money-dealers. This is too well known to you, and therefore I will not say much on the subject. It is to prevent the ryot's position from becoming worse and worse every day that this proposition for establishing agricultural banks is brought forward. The Government of India have passed two Acts, one of which is called the Land Improvements Act and the other the Agricultural Loans Act. These two Acts now remain in the Statute Book, under which the Government have authorised collectors of districts to grant loans to ryots for the sinking of wells and for the improvement of lands in other ways, as well as to advance money to ryots in difficult times, such as times of famine, for the purchase of bullocks, seed-grain, and other minor matters. But the procedure established by these Acts or by the rules made under them, which have the force of law, is so circuitous that it takes two or three months before a ryot's application is complied with; and even then it is a matter of doubt whether the ryot will get half the amount he has applied for, the other half going as remuneration, not as a bribe, but as remuneration, for the people who have kindly interceded to get this loan for him. I have known cases recently in the district of Bellary, which is now suffering from famine. People made

APPLICATIONS ABOUT TWO MONTHS AGO, AND THEIR REQUESTS HAVE NOT BEEN GRANTED AS YET.

If such is the case in a famine district where the ryots wanted money immediately to enable them to carry on their avocations, to feed their cattle, to sow their land, or to sink wells, what is likely to be the case where there is no such manifest pressing necessity for expedition? What, again, is likely to be the position of people in ordinary times who have to wait for months and months to get loans, and who then do not get the full sum of money applied for, but only a portion thereof, whereas they have to pay the whole amount by instalments? The fact is both statutes are virtually dead letters. Every intended concession being hedged round with red tape routine and official formalities, no one practically obtains any benefit from them. It is, therefore, my duty to support this proposition for agricultural banks managed on ordinary business principles, as strongly as my humble voice will enable me. I hope you will agree with me in thinking that this is one of the most important measures for relieving the ryots who are now in a very impoverished state. (Cheers.) And it is not as if the thing was impracticable or difficult. The Government need not advance a rupee. There is plenty of money with the money-lenders which they would gladly put into these banks and receive thence a very moderate interest if only the investment is made safe for them. The best of these men might be directors, the Government nominating other men of repute, including, if it thought it desirable, some of its own officers, as their co-directors. But you ask

IF THEY CHARGE 24 PER CENT. NOW, HOW WOULD THEY CONSENT TO TAKE 9 PER CENT.

from the bank? They charge 24 per cent. now because of the terrible uncertainties and intolerable delays of the civil courts, in consequence of which it is often cheaper to let a fraudulent, and always cheaper to let a poor, debtor, go than sue him, and so if they did not charge 24 per cent. they could not even keep up their capital intact, much less realise interest thereon. They would be glad to get regularly not nine but even six per cent. All Government has to do is to frame rules for the banks, keep them to a certain extent under its control and authority, see that it is well represented on the Direction, lay down the maximum rate of interest to be demanded from ryots who borrow, and the maximum interest ever to be paid to shareholders; then by law give all these loans the second lien on the crops (just as by law the land revenue has the first lien), and make the instalments summarily recoverable, in the same way as, and along with, the Government revenue. Such a bank was actually organised at Poona, and approved by the Government of Bombay, but, as usual, disallowed without any reasons worthy of the name being advanced, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Gentlemen, these banks have now become a necessity, and you will, I am sure, join me in insisting on them. (Cheers.)

Mr. KALI CHARAN BANERJI (Calcutta): Gentlemen,—In the matter of this resolution, after the consolidated findings of previous Congresses that have been quoted in your hearing, and the fresh evidence of experts that has been adduced before you, I am sure you do not need even a five minutes' summing up to determine what your verdict should be. If I were to sum up the resolution before you I should do it in four words, which ought to be words of authority to our Government:

“FROM DEATH UNTO LIFE.”

That is a transition which we may covet, and keenly covet, without a breach of the Decalogue. It is a transition, likewise, which we may confidently expect a Christian Government to help us in securing for ourselves. If you consider the contents of this resolution you will be in a position to assert that it does not reflect the ambition of the Bengali Baboo or any of his aspirations. It embodies

THE RESPONSE OF HUMANITY TO THE CRY OF HELPLESS SUFFERING.

It is said that the attitude of our people towards the poor clashes with some of the principles of Western schools of political economy. We are told that in dealing with the poor we do not seek to secure that they help themselves. And that is why we seek such a regulation of the agricultural interests of the country as will make it possible for the poor to help themselves. Then, again, we seek the enforcement of economy. That, you all know, involves, in present circumstances, a good deal of retrenchment; and that this form of retrenchment may be secured we offer our services in order that the indigenous agencies and resources of the country may be utilized to the full. It is very often said of us that we make idle suggestions, and then do not come forward to help those who are expected to give effect to those suggestions. But here we offer our minds and our bodies, a reasonable sacrifice, to the service of the Government, in order that the Government and administration of the country may be worked in harmony with the well-being of the people. These are the two things that we seek to secure for the country: relief of the helpless poor through the enforcement of economy, and the utilisation of indigenous resources and agencies. I am sure that I may, even at this stage, demand at your hands an unqualified verdict for the relief of the poor. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Before I put this proposition to the vote I shall exercise one right, which I believe I possess, that of summing up in about half-a-dozen words the substance of the arguments hitherto brought forward. It seems to me that the result of the whole argument is that there are facts and figures of a very telling character impaling us on the horns of a dilemma: either, if we believe the authorities, to submit to Russian aggression, or, if we look to facts, to calmly look on when

MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF OUR COUNTRYMEN DIE
OF FAMINE EVERY DECADE.

That is the sum and substance of the whole of what has been said. We call upon the Government to take away the one horn of that dilemma, which is based on undeniable facts, and is going us even now, and leave us, if needs be, exposed to that other shadowy and still very distant horn, in which, sooth to say, we have no belief. I shall now call upon you to vote on this the third Resolution, which runs as follows:

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

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

"That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

"(a) the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances, of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II—to

"(b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former; and to

"(c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured—

"That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

"that the cost of the administration be greatly reduced; in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops, like those of the Hon. E. I. Company, for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport, and of excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Store Departments; and, in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported staff; and,

"that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years, is found to be impossible, and to establish agricultural Banks:

"That this Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but, to insist, and speedily, on these reforms."

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

RULES UNDER THE ARMS ACTS.

Mr. B. G. TILAK (Poona): Ladies and Gentlemen,—Our worthy President observed yesterday that in this world of imperfections the burthen of duty often falls upon unworthy shoulders, and I stand before you as an illustration of his observation. The proposition that has been entrusted to me ought to have been entrusted to stronger hands. I can only say that I will try to do my duty. The Resolution runs as follows:—

"That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that, to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian public opinion and encourage and qualify the Indians to defend their homes and their Government—

"(a) by so modifying the rules under the Arms Act as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;

"(b) by establishing Military Colleges in India whereat natives of India, as defined by statute may be educated and trained for a military career, as commissioned or non-commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;

"(c) by organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire a system of militia service; and

"(d) by authorizing and stimulating a wide-spread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India."

Shortly summed up the resolution comes to this: In the first place it relates to the military policy of the British Government. Hitherto it has been included in what was called the omnibus resolution. It has now been separated; and this year, in laying down the programme, we have given it as a separate item as distinct from the several other questions affecting the civil administration of the country. Our old writers and old Governments divided the Indian community into four parts: those whose business was, respectively, literature, commerce, war, agriculture. The charge sometimes brought against the Congress that it is a mere gathering of place-hunting literati seems to have little weight when on examining the resolutions we find that the great bulk relate to measures requisite for the relief of the poverty of the masses. While one refers to agriculture, others refer to the military protection of the Empire; to the reforms in the judicature, and only one to education, and that mainly technical education. Here we have a resolution with which we—I mean those of us who do belong to the literary classes—have but little direct concern; it is a resolution directly in

THE INTERESTS OF THE MORE WARLIKE RACES

and members of the community, though indirectly,

in so far as it will operate to diminish military expenditure, affecting us in common with the entire community of which we are a fractional component part. But, when we ask for certain military privileges for our more warlike brethren, we are often told we are the only persons who want them; and when application is made for permission to start a military college, we are told that there are military difficulties in the way. That was the answer that the Government of India made last year in response to an application to start a military college in the Deccan to which his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught had kindly consented to give his name. (Cheers.) The principle involved in the resolution has been so far recognised in practice that we have made an appeal to the Government of India to grant us concessions, and their reply is that they do not dispute the principle, but there are administrative difficulties in the way. That is a very good excuse in its way, but the difficulty is not insurmountable. If we only keep on, it may soon vanish. The principle has already been recognised by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, by Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, and by Sir J. Dormer, Commander-in-Chief of Madras, and other Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay before His Royal Highness. In all these cases the principle so recognised cannot be inconsistent with the best interests of Government. The question has often been put: "Has not the British Government undertaken to defend you from the attacks of a foreign power, to keep you in peace and prosperity? Then

WHY DO YOU WANT ARMS?"

At first that appears sound, but a little consideration will show that the question can be answered satisfactorily. The responsibility that the British Government has undertaken is very great, almost terrible, to defend two hundred and fifty millions against the attacks of wild animals in India, and the

WILD BEAR OF THE NORTH.

As regards the wild beasts here, as a matter of fact, they wholly fail to defend us, and thousands of human lives, as their own returns show, and tens of thousands of cattle, are the victims of the present Arms Act Rules. As regards the other

NORTHERN WILD BEAST,

no doubt, if the time ever comes, which we may venture to doubt, they will do their best. But, in the meantime, the cost of the preparations, which (as they will take no help from us) they feel bound to make, is simply crushing the life out of the country. Now we do not wish our people starved to death at this present time, because, twenty-five years hence, the Russians may venture on a raid into India. We want the cost of these military preparations largely reduced. But

WE DO NOT DESIRE TO WEAKEN THE GOVERNMENT.

On the contrary we wish to strengthen it, to render

it impregnable to all assaults, whether from Russia or any other foe; and we ask the Government therefore to associate our people in the responsibility for the defence of our country; to take measures to train our people to fight for their homes and their Government; to keep alive the martial spirit where it still exists; to revive it where, by their present shortsighted policy, they have almost smothered it, and generally to realise that with the people, prosperous and contented and qualified to strike a good blow for hearth and home, it would be far more powerful for all good purposes than though it were able to create an army doubly as strong as the existing huge force. It is in this light that we have to consider this resolution. It is in this light that we ask that we should be provided with arms and taught their use, and that when we have been instructed we should not only get higher appointments in the military service but have the privilege of offering our voluntary services to the Government. We ask for these things from a

DESIRE TO CO-OPERATE IN THE DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE

and not from any other motive. You probably remember that the present Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, Sir G. Greaves, speaking of the military policy of India, said: "We rely upon you and you depend upon us." That surely means, in plain language, that the native Indian should stand shoulder to shoulder with British officers and troops on the battle-field and in office. If that is the ideal, is it to be realised? The argument usually put forward is that the Bengali Babus do not belong to the martial races. Take the argument for what it is worth. Here are millions who do belong to military races, who are asking for privileges that have been enjoyed by their forefathers, and the enjoyment of which has been shown to be consistent with the safety of the Empire; and the question is how far these privileges should now be granted. In the resolution some means are suggested, but I do not think this is the time to consider details or settle the programme definitely. It is, at the outset at any rate, a question of principle; it is not a question of details nor of expenditure; that can be settled when the time comes. I would add that the form in which, apparently for the sake of brevity, the clause relating to volunteering has this year been put, may possibly lead to misconceptions. When we speak of a widespread system of volunteering, we do not mean that everybody, indiscriminately, is to be permitted to volunteer. On previous occasions we have always laid down that volunteering is to be "under such rules and restrictions as may be necessary," or, "as to the Government may seem fitting," and though this year the words are omitted, as needless to repeat, it is in no way intended to alter our standpoint. (Hear, hear.) It has, I believe, always been the idea that volunteering should practically, at present, be confined to those who are to a certain extent educated, and, hence, necessarily belong to

the party of order; and certainly if this was our view in the past, it is not a restriction that the Congress could consent to forego in the present state of the country. (Hear, hear.) It has been said that the British Government will only allow the development of India on intellectual lines, not the development of the sinews of the country. On that question we are unanimously agreed that it is the duty of the Government to develop the nation in all its branches, and not allow it to be paralyzed in regard to one-half or one-quarter of its aspirations. That is exactly the point. There are four sides to the development, and they must all be looked to. When they are all developed we shall have time to consider what is to become of the united nation. As the matter stands at present, when there is a warlike chief, we are told that he ought to go to school and learn reading and writing. The result is that

THE WHOLE NATION IS BEING DEMARTIALIZED AND
ENERVATED,

and deprived of men who could or would stand by the Government in times of difficulty. Already the Government is complaining of a difficulty in recruiting for the Indian part of the army, and I fear that, unless they modify their present policy, that difficulty will increase—partly because they are, by their existing system, emasculating the more warlike tribes, and partly because doubt is growing up as to serving as soldiers under a Government which treats its subjects with the distrust with which, judging from their policy in all these matters, they appear to regard us all. It will be a bad thing for India, and a bad thing for Government, if these obstacles to recruiting are allowed to develop further. It would lead to a state of things that I do not think we can permit to evolve without a protest such as this resolution embodies. [Here the President touched his gong.] As the bell has rung I will only say further that as you have carried previous resolutions, so you will, I doubt not, carry this unanimously. (Cheers.)

Mr. ALI MOHAMMED BHIMJI (Bilaspore): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution, which, as you know, defines the military policy in certain matters that we desire to see adopted by the Indian Government. It has been said that the country is very poor, and that, consequently, our military expenses must be curtailed. But supposing, instead of being poor, it was rich, ought we to spend more than is necessary? Comparing the military expenses of European nations, you will see that with nations vastly richer than we are, their military expenses are small compared with ours. The German expenses man for man are one-fourth of the Indian expenses. The amount per soldier in Germany is Rs. 145, whereas in India it is Rs. 775. In France the amount is Rs. 185, and in England Rs. 285. Taking the average income in those countries, England stands at the top—£42 per head per annum; Germany £18; France £23; and India £1 10s. Are

we not then justified in asking the Government to reduce our expenditure?

WHY DOES ENGLAND MAKE POOR INDIA SUFFER

for the wars she wants to carry on for the purposes of English trade and in the interests of the Manchester people? The Manchester people who have done so much for India—by repealing the cotton duties, if you please! It has been said that we want reform in the matters dealt with in this resolution to enable our warlike tribes to obtain a military education, but that the Babus are intellectually inclined and do not care about the question. But allow me to say that the Babus themselves have taken the initiative in this matter. Let me refer you to a petition lately presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne by the Babus of Bengal, containing the earnest request “that Your Excellency will be pleased to sanction our being formed into a corps of volunteers as a second, or Bengali, battalion of the Presidency Volunteer Rifle Corps.” And let me also recommend you to follow this example and send in petitions to the same effect. In regard to the question of volunteers, I do not see what objection there can be to our being enrolled. Are there not the armies of the Feudatory States? If those in authority are afraid of Indians carrying or being trained to arms, then I say there are plenty of Indians in those States carrying arms. What harm are they doing? You are yourselves training armies for the Feudatory States to supplement the Imperial defences. You are calling upon Europeans and Eurasians to come forward and enlist largely as volunteers; you give them inducements and exempt them from income-tax. Why then refuse the privilege to us, the natives of British India, who have been knocking at your door and calling until we have become hoarse? But, let us go on, knocking and knocking, and perhaps the door will, at last, be opened. (Cheers.)

Mr. RAMA CHANDRA PILLAI (Madras): Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have been commanded by our esteemed President to support this resolution in consequence of the indisposition of the Honourable Mr. Sankara Nayar, who would have done ample justice to the subject. I will try and do my best to discharge the duty assigned to me, which is to support the sub-clause (a) of the resolution. Permit me, however, first to state that during the five years that I have been connected with the Congress I have taken great interest in this movement by convening meetings at the place from which I come. I may tell you that I do not belong to any presidency town or even to any of the regulation provinces in British India. I come from Secunderabad, which is the largest British military cantonment in India, in Hyderabad, Deccan, which State is ruled by a Prince called the Nizam. The reason why I mention the fact is that about four years ago, this Government—I mean His Highness the Nizam’s—under the advice of certain British officers, who shall be nameless just now,

issued a resolution in the *Official Gazette* strictly prohibiting, not only its own officers, but also its own subjects, from attending any meeting of, or relating to, the Congress ("Shame!")—the most severe penalties being laid down for any breach of these ridiculous orders. You may imagine then the difficulty we have to contend with, although Secunderabad itself is under British rule, in convening meetings. But, with the co-operation of my friends, I am glad to say I have succeeded in convening meetings year after year, and also in raising subscriptions for the Congress. (Cheers.) I spoke on the subject to my brother pleaders and some of the leading Muhammadan vakils, and asked them to take part in the meetings. Of course they sympathized with the movement, and they promised to attend, but

AT THE LAST MOMENT THEY ABSENTED THEMSELVES.

In spite of this disappointment we convened a large meeting, and it was attended by representative men of Secunderabad. I may say without egotism that the people of Secunderabad are nearly as well educated in matters relating to the National Congress as any other part of India. As a proof I may mention that I was authorized by my townsmen to promise a sum of Rs. 1,000, at the Congress held at Bombay, which I am glad to say has been paid in full. (Cheers.) The town has a population of over 60,000, and how do you think we are treated? We had two English organs in Secunderabad—one was the *Deccan Times*, a respectable paper, but it was stopped four months ago. The other was the *Deccan Standard*, in my opinion a disreputable paper, subsidized by the Nizam's Government, but I am glad to say that this too has ceased to exist, though only last week. The editor of the paper was appointed Superintendent of Education and of the Printing Establishment of the Nizam's Government. I interviewed our worthy General Secretary as to whether we delegates from Secunderabad might not be permitted to lay our grievance before the Congress; but he told me that this question was outside the Congress, and, therefore, it must be put off to some other occasion. The ground of our grievance was that a Resolution was passed by the Government of India that

NO PAPER WAS TO BE STARTED

in places not coming under the category of British India without the special permission of the Political Agent; and we are, therefore, practically without a single paper in Secunderabad. With regard to the resolution I need not say much, as so much has been said by able speakers at previous Congresses. I am sure it will commend itself to you all. I do not see why there should not be more facilities for obtaining licenses for keeping arms in our homes. I think that the Government has fully satisfied itself of our loyalty. I do not believe that there is a single section of the nation so grateful to the British Government as ourselves. In Hyderabad there are turbulent races, Hindus and Muhammadans, Sikhs

and Marathis, Turks, Arabs, Rohillas armed to the teeth; and it is a matter of great wonder that there never has been any rising against the Government. If, however, there have been no disturbances in a place like Hyderabad, notwithstanding the presence of all these professional swash-bucklers, there is no reason surely to fear any such in India on the part of the respectable and educated classes against our Government, which, with all its faults, may at any rate be truly said to be well meaning, and to have done India, in a great many ways, a great deal of good.

Mr. C. S. NAYADU (Nagpur): Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates,—I rise to speak a few words on the resolution so ably proposed and seconded by my predecessors. In doing so, I have to keep two points in mind: first, to say what little I have to say within the space of five minutes; and, secondly, speak nothing but to the point. I rise to support the fourth clause. Having been animated by the invincible warrior spirit for thousands of years, and having stood shoulder to shoulder as soldiers for our countries' sake on many a battlefield, I ask have we now, within the last quarter of a century, become so unfit that we are not to be allowed by our benign British rulers to wear weapons and qualify ourselves to defend our own sacred hearths and homes? (Cheers.) The sacred promise, the solemn proclamation, of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India, delivered to us by His Excellency Lord Canning, in 1857, put it very clearly before us that the rights and grievances of the Indian subjects of Her Majesty would be as fully considered as the rights and grievances of other subjects of our Sovereign, and that without any distinction of caste, colour, or creed. (Hear, hear.) His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught says that

THE INDIAN PEOPLE ARE BRAVE AND LOYAL,

and he does not see any reason why a military institution like Sandhurst should not be opened in India. His Excellency Sir George Greaves (the "battered old soldier," as he likes to call himself), while addressing the Kumars at Rajkot, asked them to become soldiers. He said he was a soldier, and that he was very fond of soldiery. I say, "So are we. (Cheers.) But how are we to be soldiers if we are denied the use of weapons, if we are debarred from becoming volunteers, and if we are prevented from joining any military institution, and that in the face of all these distinct promises?" Oh! forgive me, dear Mr. President, don't look swords and daggers at me, although we are discussing the question of arms. I will soon join the majority. (Laughter.) I ask what is the reason for this anomaly? All say, we are loyal, able, and brave, and yet we are treated like children. When my distinguished friend, India's orator, Surendra Nath Banerjee—(loud cheers)—and India's grand old man, Mr. Hume—(loud cheers)—visited England, while addressing British audiences there, they said

that the day was not far distant, they hoped, when young Indian gentlemen would be seen holding commissions in the army. I sincerely join in that hope, and I trust also that the day may soon come to revive a martial spirit in the breasts of all India's children—the children of the mighty warriors of old and the descendants of heroes—so as to

QUALIFY ALL TO FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE WITH
OUR BRITISH BRETHREN

against the enemies of our common sovereign, our beloved Queen Empress. God bless her! (Cheers.)

Mr. NALA SWAMI PILLAI (Madras): On the question of the arms rules I wish merely to press one or two points. Theoretically, those who are people of position can get licenses for arms, but in practice the obstacles are almost too vexatious. Applications have to be filed; we have to satisfy this, that, and the other authority; we have to do many things that are not pleasant. You all know what I mean. I need not particularize. (Laughter.) Then, after a month or six weeks, you do get the license, but that will only cover the arms in one district. If you go shooting in the jungle, and cross the boundary and are caught, you are punished. You must take out a separate license in each district. Then, these licenses have to be renewed before the close of each year, and to get them renewed you have to take your arms to the nearest Police Station and dance attendance there, for perhaps a week, and do other disagreeable things—(a laugh)—so that, what with one thing and another, it is hardly to be expected that gentlemen will go through it all. As for poor men who want arms to save their crops, why, it may take them six months, or a year, to get a license and involve the loss of several weeks' work. Certainly the rules need amending as suggested in the Resolution, which I strongly support. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: I will now ask you to vote on the fourth Resolution which runs thus:—

“Resolved—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian public opinion and encourage and qualify the Indians to defend their homes and their Government—

“(a) by so modifying the rules under the Arms Act, as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class, or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;

“(b) by establishing Military Colleges in India whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as commissioned or non-commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;

“(c) by organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire a system of militia service; and

“(d) by authorizing and stimulating a widespread system of Volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.”

The resolution was then put and unanimously carried.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS IN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

Pandit PRAN NATH SARASVATI (Calcutta): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—The resolution which it has fallen to my lot to propose is this:—

“That, as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, declares it to be essential that all examinations for any and of all the civil branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be also held simultaneously in India.”

This resolution, like its predecessor, is only a further development of the third resolution already adopted. It embodies a demand which is no stranger to these meetings. I think the best plan for me will be to focus, as it were, the positive declarations of persons in authority upon the question at issue. From a very remote period every Government of India—I do not mean the Government of mere temporary invaders like that of Mahmud of Ghuznee, but every permanent and settled Government—has availed itself to the full of all the indigenous talent of the country as well in the civil as in the military departments of the Administration. At first the British Government, from the very nature of the case, also availed itself of such indigenous agency; but, by a gradual process of elimination (for the most part owing to difficulties of linguistic attainments), it has now come to pass that

EVERY HIGH POST IS RIGIDLY ENTAILED UPON
FOREIGNERS.

But, although this is the practical result, declarations have not been wanting, from very early periods, as to the necessity, or the abstract propriety, of admitting the sons of the soil to a due share in the administration of the country. The first declaration which I wish to place on record, is contained in the Statute 3 and 4, William IV, Cap. 85, sec. 87, well known as the Statute of 1833. It was then declared by the Lords and Commons of Parliament that “no native of the said territories” (meaning 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” (meaning the East India Company, whose Charter was being renewed). Twenty years after that, Lord Monteaule, in the House of Lords, made the follow-

ing declaration: "If the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance, or what possibility, is there of natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country, which their education and abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitles them to possess?" Shortly afterwards, upon the pacification of the country after the Mutiny, in 1858, on the occasion of the gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty, which the people of this country have always adhered to as the great charter of their liberties, the Sovereign was thus pleased to express herself: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge." Gentlemen, in these late days the fashion has grown up in official circles (I am glad to say there are bright exceptions) of speaking disparagingly of this Proclamation. I need only remind you of the weighty words of Lord Ripon, who said that this document "is not a treaty or diplomatic instrument, but

A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine to which Sir James 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." After this we had an Official Committee of the India Office, constituted of such experienced and honourable men as Sir James Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaghten, and Sir Erskine Perry. That Committee were unanimously of opinion that, in order to redeem the pledges which former Governments had given to the people of India, it was necessary to hold simultaneous examinations in India and in England, classifying the candidates who pass the examination in one list, examining them by the same standards, and then giving appointments upon the amalgamated list. That was in 1860. Nine years afterwards the Duke of Argyll made this confession: "With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the Government of this country, in the Covenanted Civil Service, formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that

WE HAVE NOT FULFILLED OUR DUTY,

nor the promises and engagements which we have made." I take it that the statute of 1870 was partly due to this confession, and it was thereby enacted that natives of India, of proved merit and ability, might be appointed to any office in the Indian Civil Service. The history of that Statute and of the Public Service Commission is too recent, and too well known to require repetition. I will only draw your attention to the well-known confidential despatch of Lord Lytton, in which he made the candid confession that whatever might be the declarations and promises of Parliament and the Crown, the Government of India had always tried to avoid the fulfilment of those pledges. The people of India endorse the opinion of Lord Lytton that those pledges have not been redeemed; but we are thankful to Lord Lytton for stating the dilemma, to which that non-fulfilment is due, so clearly. I have no doubt that if that dilemma is put to the people of England, to the House of Commons, and to the Sovereign herself, in the form in which Lord Lytton has put it, viz., whether the promises are to be kept or violated, there will come from our august Sovereign, from that august assembly, and that august nation, the unanimous assurance that the promises so often made were meant to be kept and not to be violated. And, gentlemen, the only practical way of enforcing those promises and making sure of their fulfilment is to insist upon the system of simultaneous examinations. (Cheers.)

Mr. N. SUBBA RAO (Madras): Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates,—The first thing that strikes one in reading the resolution is that we are making a royal road for our youths to become the rulers of the land. Our British critics have not been slow in charging us with being unfit to occupy such a position. The reason is not far to seek. They point to various disabilities under which we suffer in social matters. At the same time, in making this charge that we are unfit to enjoy the concession we claim, they lose sight of the fact that it is not the Hindus alone that ask for this concession, but Muhammadans, Christians, and other races who are free from our prejudices, and they, therefore, make a grievous mistake. Moreover, they do not take into consideration the fact that there are advanced sections among us already, powerful and numerous, who are slowly rising above these social prejudices. What we ask by this resolution is this: Devise such test to secure the highest talent, the largest conception of duty, and whatever else you may think proper; but only let these

APPLY EQUITABLY AND FAIRLY TO ALL, BE THEY
ENGLISH OR INDIAN.

Do not let the best of us be handicapped; do not continue this policy of practical, even if unintentional, favouritism on the one hand and exclusion on the other, by which the best of the Indians cannot be utilized for consolidating your own rule. By the best of us, I mean not so much Hindus as Muhammadans, Eurasians, Christians, and other races, whose tradi-

tions and habits leave them far more free to furnish the material necessary according to the approved Government standards. These races, as well as the advanced sections of the Hindu community, are at present grievously handicapped. I say it is these races just as much as the Hindus that feel the danger of sending their young people to England, possibly to fail, and their lives to be wasted in unknown lands. Therefore, the Congress asks, on our behalf, for such examinations as may secure physical, moral, and intellectual fitness, simultaneously in England and India, instead of as now only in England. It must not be understood by this that the Congress as a whole is pledged, in securing these examinations, to demand also that appointments shall be conferred without

SUBSEQUENT TRAINING IN ENGLAND.

That is a question of detail which is left to the Government, whose duty it is to lay down what conditions shall combine to complete that fitness which, in its opinion, is needed to qualify the candidate for its service. I, for one, believe (and I know that this opinion is shared largely by a considerable body of Congress members, men of "light and leading" in each province) that a training in England is essential before the candidate can enter on his duties in India, and take his place on an equal footing with his brother civilians. There is no use in disguising this. We, at any rate several of us, are quite prepared for this. What the Congress, as a whole, asks is this: No matter what the tests, what the limitations may be, whether it be to go to England, America, or Japan, even if it be to drop from a balloon, let those tests be the same to the English and Indian youths. We do not ask that English youths should come here to be examined, we ask only that our Indian youths be not compelled to go there to be examined. We ask that as English lads are examined in England, so Indian lads should be examined in India, and having passed and secured a lien, as it were, on an appointment, if Government so wishes it, let them go to England and go with hope, not anxiety, to go through the remaining tests. Such is briefly our request. Is this any new idea created by this Congress? No, gentlemen, we are charged with want of originality. I admit it freely in this instance, at any rate, since for the last fifty years or more we have been promised just this equality of treatment, first by the Parliament itself in 1833, and subsequently by our Queen-Empress herself, to say nothing of other great authorities. On these promises rests our claim—"a claim" (in the words of Lord Lytton) "which has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen, and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament, and which is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aims of its policy." (Cheers.) Surely the time has come now to satisfy that claim¹ (Loud cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: For seven years at least we have all been of one mind in regard to the subject-

matter of this resolution, and so, without further speaking, I will ask you to vote on the fifth resolution.

"RESOLVED—That, as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, declares it to be essential that all examinations, for any and all of the Civil Branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should, henceforth, be also held simultaneously in India."

The Resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

REDUCTION IN THE SALT TAX AND OTHER TAXES.

PANDIT AJUDHIA NATH (Allahabad): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—It is now my duty to propose the sixth resolution for your acceptance. I proceed first to read it:—

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

- "(a) The reduction of the Salt Tax, by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;
- "(b) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000;
- "(c) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all provincial administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise Policy enunciated in paras. 103, 104, and 105, of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages."

In other words, we propose to ask the Government to reduce the salt tax; to raise the taxable minimum income to Rs. 1,000; and to compel its subordinates to carry out that policy in regard to excise which was sketched out by that Government itself. In defence of the enhancement of the salt duty it is said, first, that it is an indirect tax, and that it entails upon each man so small a contribution that it matters very little whether it is enhanced or not. But it is forgotten that this is a country where admittedly from fifty to sixty millions of people live on the verge of starvation, and that, therefore, even this light additional burden weighs heavily upon them. The Government, in dealing with questions between the landlord and money-lender on one side, and the ryot on the other, is

PROFUSE IN ITS PROFESSIONS OF SYMPATHY AND
COMPASSION;

but, in dealing with a tax by which its own coffers are to be filled, to enable it to commit acts of extravagance, or worse, on the frontier and elsewhere, those humane feelings are entirely lost sight of. I think I am entitled to speak of the evils of the income-tax as it affects people whose income is small in my part of the country, and to speak with some

authority. Many come to me for advice. I have a large number of acquaintances in the Public Service, many of whom are assessors of this income tax. It is a fact in Upper India that if any officer of Government, in any particular year, reduces the aggregate amount of the tax within his jurisdiction, he is called upon for an explanation, and a satisfactory explanation too. You know what is meant by satisfactory—

AN EXPLANATION WHICH GIVES SATISFACTION
TO THE SUPERIOR AUTHORITIES.

But, in almost every instance, no explanation, however satisfactory in itself, is considered technically satisfactory. But, if an income-tax officer is so fortunate as to show an increase in the amount of tax levied by him in any particular year, so far from being called upon to give an explanation, he is commended to the notice of his superior officers. I remember that when the Act was passed in Mr. Wilson's time one Deputy Collector was actually recommended for promotion on that account. ("Shame!") Now, gentlemen, that being the case, on whom should the burden fall? Upon those whose incomes are small? In the first place, they do not keep elaborate accounts, and it is difficult to prove what their exact income is. In the second place, even if they can prove it, it is very difficult for them to get a *bona fide* hearing. It is obvious then that we ask you to adopt this resolution in the interests not of your wealthy countrymen, but of those who are comparatively poor. The third and the last clause requires no argument from me to commend it to your notice. Government itself has laid down the policy, and we ask that Government should carry it out, and see it carried out by others, in its integrity. I am perhaps one of the fittest persons to ask you to adopt this part of the resolution, because, in the North-Western Provinces the local Government, to the best of my knowledge, has done nothing in that direction. Much has been done in Bengal and Madras, but the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh has turned a deaf ear to the representations of the people and to the recommendations of Parliament. One word, by the way, about local option. Whatever may be the difficulties in towns—and to me they do not seem serious, since each separate mohulla or ward can be treated as a separate hamlet—I say, whatever the difficulties, real or imaginary, in towns, no one can pretend that there would be

THE SMALLEST DIFFICULTY IN INTRODUCING THE
SYSTEM OF LOCAL OPTION

into all villages and hamlets, including populations not exceeding, say, 1,500 or 2,000 souls. The only thing necessary would be, on a day fixed, and locally notified beforehand, to poll all the adult males in each, as to whether they would or would not have a liquor shop within the limits of their mouza, or township, or parish, or whatever in English best describes the land area pertaining to each village. This done, we maintain that, wherever two-thirds of such adult males opposed the existence of a liquor shop within

their limits, none should there be allowed. As Government is itself the proprietor of all these liquor shops (or public houses), and only lets them on competitive leases, year by year to the highest bidders, no question of compensation can here complicate the question. Such a system would save annually millions and millions from drink, degradation, and crime. (Cheers.) Such a system can be introduced throughout the country in six months without the smallest difficulty, and the Government know this. (Cheers.) Such a system would close nine-tenths of the rural liquor shops, and the Government know this well also—(cheers),—and this, it seems, is why they will have nothing to say to it. No, they will cling to their money, to the fruits of sin and misery, rather than act righteously and do justice. (Loud cheers.) Individually our rulers are, I think, good men, many of them really religious men, but, collectively, they have neither conscience nor religion; their financial codes are their Shastras—(cheers)—and money, no matter how obtained, to spend on

FRONTIER DACOITIES

—(cheers)—on a grand scale, their *summum bonum*. None the less will we press this resolution until, stung by shame, they realise that it is doing right which constitutes the chief strength and glory of a Government. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. M. V. JOSHI (Berar): Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I am taken by surprise in having to second this proposition. I expected that it would not come on for discussion so soon, but I do not think that any special preparation beyond what I know of the matter is necessary to introduce the subject to you, because it has been threshed out in all the previous Congresses; and we have simply to reiterate our former conclusions. I bring them forward for your confirmation and ratification. I need not tell you that this may be called especially a "people's" resolution. Everything involved in it relates to the masses rather than to the richer classes. Referring to its various clauses, it will be seen that we advocate first a reduction of the salt tax. You know that salt is one of the prime necessities of life in a country like this, where the bulk of the inhabitants are vegetarians. In a country, too, which is essentially agricultural, we require salt for purposes of the most varied kind. We want it for human food; we want it for cattle, and for the land. It is against every principle of political economy that such a necessary article of diet should be heavily taxed by the Government. It would not be justified in taxing an article like this except in the most dire necessity, say in time of war, or when the Treasury has to be replenished for some exigency which could not have been foreseen or provided against. But our bureaucratic Government cannot see this, and for this blindness there are two reasons. One reason is that there is not, as in England, the healthy stimulus of public opinion keeping a check upon the Government; and the other is that they, comparatively rich as they are, do not themselves in the smallest degree

feel this tax, which yet presses so cruelly on our legions of paupers. Now I might equally speak upon the other clauses of the resolution, but what would be the use of my thus wasting your time, the time of the assembly? I truly believe that there is no single delegate now present, no, nor one single intelligent Indian in the whole Empire, who does not, this day, thanks to the labours of previous Congresses, understand all the questions involved in this resolution as well as I do myself, and who would not and does not endorse with unshakeable conviction all its proposals. You will carry it, I know, un-animously.

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSEIN SHEIK CHAND (Bombay), spoke in Urdu to the following effect:— The way the Government Forest Laws are worked is a scandal to a civilised administration, and in many parts of the Bombay Presidency

THE PEASANTRY CALL THE FOREST DEPARTMENT,
BLACK DEATH.

Even the dead leaves are taxed, and tens of thousands have been despotically shut off from rights of user that they and their forefathers have enjoyed from generation to generation. ("Question, Question.")

The PRESIDENT: We are not discussing Forest grievances at present.

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSEIN: Well, then, the absence of permanence in the land tenure, the want of a permanent settlement, is another crying evil. The fluctuations and continued increase in the land revenue demand leads to much misery and hardship, and is the main cause of the ever-increasing indebtedness, misery and degradation of our ryots. Once grant a permanent settlement and the Deccan Ryots Relief Act will no longer be required, though it must be admitted that under existing conditions it operates somewhat favourably. ("Question, Question!")

The PRESIDENT: We are not now discussing the permanent settlement; will you please confine your remarks to the Resolution which is before the assembly?

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSEIN: Then I shall speak of the salt tax. By making salt dear and greatly restricting its use, the health of the community and its herds is injuriously affected. If the Government want the ryots to be really *nimak halal* (faithful to their salt, *i.e.*, loyal to their rulers) it must reduce its tax on their *nimak* (*i.e.*, salt); and the tax is a bad one, not felt by the rich, pressing seriously on the very poorest. The Government cannot refuse this prayer, at any rate, of the Congress, since able medical men are unanimously of opinion that the want of salt engendered by the heavy duty and consequent heavy price brings about many diseases. (Here there were interruptions and cries of "Time, Time! Vote, Vote!") The President touched his gong.)

The PRESIDENT: I must ask you now to sit down; you have already spoken for five minutes, and the assembly wishes to dispose of the question.

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSEIN: But I have not said half I have to say, and I protest, after having been permitted to speak, against being thus interrupted. (Cries of "Sit down, Vote, Vote!")

The PRESIDENT: I am really very sorry, but it is your own fault. You would go on speaking on subjects not before the meeting. You have had the five minutes by rule allotted to speakers, and the meeting does not wish to hear you any longer. (Cries of "Vote, Vote!") Very well, then I formally put to you our sixth Resolution, which stands thus:—

"RESOLVED—That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- "(a) The reduction of the Salt tax, by at least the amount of its latest advancement;
- "(b) The raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000;
- "(c) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise Policy enunciated in Paras. 103, 104, and 105 of the Despatch, published in the "Gazette of India" of March 1st, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages."

The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

REFORMS IN THE JUDICIAL AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. POORNENDU NARAYAN SINGH (Behar): I beg to propose the following resolution:—

"That, having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects, of the Judicial and Police Administration, this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- "(a) the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions, such as that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- "(b) the extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury;
- "(c) the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries;
- "(d) the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- "(e) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications, of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police."

With regard to the first clause: the executive and judicial functions were united by the East India Company more on economical than on other grounds,

but the great administrator, Lord Cornwallis, discovered that the result of that system was to sacrifice the administration of justice to the supposed fiscal interests of Government. It was he who made a beginning in the separation of executive and judicial functions by making a radical change in the codes for the administration of civil and criminal justice. In 1805 it was enacted that the Chief Justice was not to be a member of the Supreme Council, in order, as the preamble to the regulation says, that the separation of the judicial from the executive authority in all their gradation and branches, might, in form and practice, be carried into full operation. In 1831 Lord Auckland procured the sanction of the Court of Directors to the separation of the offices of collector and magistrate. You thus see that during the time of the East India Company, our position in this matter was far better than it is now. But the forward policy of Lord Cornwallis received a check in 1858, perhaps on account of the darkness of the political atmosphere at that time. It was in that year that the offices of collector and magistrate were again united, and, in 1872, when the matter again came before the Legislature, and when there was peace all over the country, the provisions were re-enacted in the code of that year, and the grounds were set forth by Mr. Fitzjames Stephen in a minute on the administration of civil and criminal justice in British India. He was of opinion that "the maintenance of the position of the British officers (collector-magistrates) is essential to the maintenance of our British rule; and, in order to maintain that position, judicial power in criminal matters must be left in their hands. The exercise of criminal jurisdiction is both in theory and in fact the most distinctive and most easily and generally recognised mark of sovereign power. All the world over the man who can punish is the ruler." If this be the basic principle of the present anomalous union of the executive and judicial functions, the sooner its fallacy is exposed the better. I may tell you that Mr. Justice Phear, lately a judge in the Calcutta High Court, made some very pertinent observations regarding this position of Mr. Stephen in his introduction to the Bengal Regulations. He says: "It may be well to consider that the district magistrate does not in fact exercise the criminal jurisdiction. In the Lower Provinces he has not leisure to do so, and its exercise in practice devolves upon the joint magistrate. Again, the *nisamat*, or right to administer criminal justice, was not given to us at first, and it remained in the hands of the native, while we notwithstanding exercised the real sovereign power." Then the objection on financial grounds is equally futile. The existing staff of Assistant and Deputy Magistrates is quite sufficient, at any rate in Bengal and Behar, for the complete separation of the judicial and executive functions, if the staff be remodelled, and they be partially reinforced from the judicial service—I mean at head-quarters of the districts. But that is beside the question; we are not at present concerned with the financial aspect

of the matter. The next clause refers to

THE EXTENSION OF THE JURY SYSTEM

in parts where it is not at present in vogue. The present jury districts in Bengal were created in 1862, in Madras also in the same year, and in Bombay in 1867. There are seven in Bengal, seven in Madras, and only one in Bombay. It is a calumny against the British rule to say that in the year 1862, more than a quarter of a century ago, we were where we are now. They speak of the abuses in jury trials in India. That is as much as to say that no human system is perfect. Human nature is the same in India as elsewhere, and it has been pointed out several times in these Congress meetings that many of the so-called abuses are due to the bad and wantonly, if not intentionally, careless selection of juries. And, then, what about the infinitely greater abuses in trials without juries by civilian Magistrates and Judges? As to the withdrawal from the High Courts of the power invested in them in 1872, to set aside verdicts of acquittal by juries, I need only refer to some remarks made by those who have administered this law of 1872. Mr. Justice West, in a case in the Bombay High Court, said, in distinct terms, that the verdicts of juries ought not to be interfered with: first, on the constitutional ground that it was not proper to take away powers from those in whose hands they were originally vested by the Legislature; and, second, that any undue interference might and must interfere with the jurymen's sense of responsibility. The records of the High Courts, both in Bombay and Calcutta, sufficiently show their uneasiness in having to deal with cases already disposed of by juries. There is something inhuman in the suspense and mental torment to which an accused person is subjected after a protracted jury trial ending in a verdict of acquittal, simply because the element of finality is withdrawn from it. (Cheers.) The point has been again and again pressed from the Congress platform; and in the interests of justice and humanity the British Government should not turn a deaf ear to our representations. The next clause relates to the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions. Now, in Session cases, the Magistrate inquires whether the accused can be committed to the Court of Sessions or not. If the accused himself requests to be committed to the Court of Sessions there is no reason why public time should be wasted, and the accused made to undergo the trouble and expense of the magisterial proceedings. There are cases in which the Court of Sessions has a concurrent jurisdiction with the Magistrates. In such cases the accused ought to have the opportunity of having the benefit of going to the higher Court whenever he likes. Speaking of warrant cases, if the accused takes his trial at the Court of Sessions, a step will be taken in the separation of judicial and executive

functions, without the addition of any public burden. The next clause relates to police reform. That

THERE IS SOMETHING RADICALLY WRONG
IN THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION

is admitted on all hands. Sir Steuart Bayley's resolution on police reforms mentions that upwards of seventy per cent. of serious crimes in Bengal goes unpunished, and ninety per cent. of dangerous offences against property remains undetected. In pursuance of this resolution, the Bengal Government appointed a Select Committee which submitted a report, and one must be thankful to Sir Charles Elliott for giving prompt effect to the recommendations of that Committee. Some of those suggestions covered the grievances pointed out by clause (e), but the recommendations do not cover the whole ground. As to the appointment of police officers the obvious necessity of the provision renders it needless for me to add any words of mine. As to the attitude of District Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, I may be permitted to say that it is a notorious fact that these higher officers take a pleasure in making themselves mere uninformed satellites of the District Magistrates. Now I submit that by keeping themselves aloof from the people they are not in a position to inquire into the real grievances of the people, and also to discharge their duties properly. Without further remarks I will move the whole of the resolution, and recommend it to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

Mr. OKHOY CHUNDER DASS (Calcutta): Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates, I have been greatly surprised at the announcement that I have to speak on this resolution, but as I am suddenly called upon as a delegate, it is my bounden duty to respond to the call of our honoured President. As regards the second and third questions referred to in the resolution, I think I need add nothing. My learned predecessor has already touched upon them at some length, and I will, therefore, confine my remarks to the last question, namely, the reform of the police administration. We are as anxious to get the police administration reformed as is our benign British Government. We have the authority of no less a personage than Lord Dufferin as to the validity of our claim. In his memorable speech at St. Andrew's Dinner, on the eve of his departure from India, His Excellency the Viceroy admitted the necessity of police reform. In fact he said that the Congress resolution on this head was a "counsel of perfection," and that the concession should be granted; but the promise of the noble lord has not been redeemed. As regards the presidency police, it is in a better state on account of the existence of public opinion and the constant vigilance of the press. The mofussil requires, I think, more reforming than the presidency police. The present district superintendents are not well educated men. They enter the service by the back door of nomination, as they have not the slightest chance of getting any appointment through a com-

petitive examination in any department of the State. They and the assistants are, as a rule, relatives of high officials who have been too backward to get into any other branch of the service. In regard to many of the present superintendents of police, their educational qualifications are absolutely nil. I have the authority of one in high position for this statement. An examination was held in Calcutta, and the assistant superintendents of police obtained only one, two, three, or four marks, even in English, their own mother-tongue. Most of these assistant superintendents of police are connected with officials enjoying the highest posts in the land. Some are sons, and some are nephews, cousins, and so on. The police service has, to all intents and purposes, become a sort of family arrangement with these Anglo-Indian officials. These well-connected nonentities do not, because they cannot, effectively discharge their duties. They are simply paid; the police department, it seems to be thought, existing only to provide for them. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Steuart Bayley, announced that without passing a competitive examination no assistant superintendent of police would be allowed to remain in the service. Even the *Pioneer*, the champion of these Europeans, remarked that hitherto examinations of officers were unknown in the police department, that it served as

A REFUGE FOR INCAPABLES,

and asked if these places were taken from them what could they do. They would, most probably, it was suggested, end their lives in England as members of some of the lower grades of the British police service. The whole matter lies in a nutshell. Broadly speaking the superior English officers are wholly unfit for their position. They are the flowers and fruit of an unchecked nepotism; and, are intellectually, the inferiors of many of their subordinates and many of the criminals whom they ought, but generally fail, to bring to justice. There are of course exceptions, and many wholly unfit for the very responsible positions they occupy are, as the phrase goes, "very good fellows," but they are wholly out of place in the positions into which their uncles and cousins have inducted them. As for the Indian subordinates, rank and file, they are grievously under paid; selected in the most reckless way; often themselves worse criminals than the majority they have to arrest; to a great extent uneducated; and when in the police taught chiefly to gabble by heart certain police regulations and attend to their uniform. What can you expect? With these remarks I beg to second the resolution. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: Before putting this resolution to the vote I wish to say a word with regard to clause (a). For some time past the propensity to pass unappealable sentences and record findings of fact, on the part of the magistracy, has become great; an immense injustice has, in many instances, resulted from that propensity. One instance which ought to be proclaimed from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin is as follows: A magistrate was

determined to convict a certain accused; his pre-determination was so manifest that the Government's power was invoked, and the magistrate's convicting hand was stayed. He was told to send the case up to the Sessions. He obeyed; but the last sentence in his committing order ran thus: "I am perfectly satisfied as to the guilt of the accused; I was prepared to convict him and pass sentence on him, but my hands have been tied." That case went before the Sessions Court which, after hearing the case for the prosecution, without even calling upon the accused for his defence, acquitted him honourably. That is a typical case; and, as I well know that many if not all of you can call to mind many cases of this nature, though none perhaps quite so atrocious, there will be no difficulty I apprehend in saying "Aye" to this, or indeed any section of this resolution 7, which I will now read and formally put to you:

"Resolved—That having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects, of the Judicial and Police Administration, this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

- "(a) the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- "(b) the extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury;
- "(c) the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries;
- "(d) the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- "(e) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing deputy inspector generals, superintendents, and assistant superintendents of police."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

DIMINUTION OF EDUCATIONAL GRANTS; THE INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

HERAMBO CHANDRA MOITRO (Calcutta): Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates, The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows:—

"That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency, in

view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of appointing a Mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country."

I will follow the example of my distinguished friend, Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, who summed up the substance of the third resolution in four words. I will also sum up the substance and spirit of this resolution in four words—"From darkness unto light." We desire, as our friend said, certain great fundamental administrative changes which to India would be as the passing from death unto life, but we also simultaneously entreat our benign Government not by any mean economy in educational matters to impede the nation in its upward course from darkness unto light, light without which life is miserable, nay, more miserable than death itself. This is a question of such magnitude, and presents to us so many aspects, that I will only venture to glance at a few matters connected with it. The time has come when the Government is upon its trial with regard to its oft-repeated profession of anxiety to promote primary education. We see it gradually withdrawing itself from the sphere of higher education. Does it fear that we already know too much? I am grieved to find that there is no longer anything new done by Government in that direction. The mouths that once were never weary of trumpeting the cause of higher education now

MAINTAIN AN INGLORIOUS SILENCE;

and yet in face of the fact that ample resources have been placed at the disposal of Government by the contraction of its operations in the field of higher education, no new departure has been made in that of primary education. How can we account for this discrepancy between the professions of the Government and the manner in which it has been actually acting? This is not the time to go into facts and figures. But it is a truth, which cannot be disputed by the most servile supporter of the official bureaucracy, that

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SPENDS A SMALLER AMOUNT PROPORTIONALLY UPON EDUCATION THAN THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

A Government, like ours, professing so loudly to be enlightened and Christian, priding itself on the nobility of its motives, ought to be a little ashamed, one would think, of such a state of affairs. (Cheers.) I happen to be in possession of facts which have not yet found their way into public documents, and I will put you in possession of some of them. Some time ago the Director-General of Public Instruction of Bengal happened to communicate to Sir Charles Elliott his anxiety to promote primary education more largely and devote funds to that end. What was the reply? That the Lieutenant-Governor had no funds to spare! At the same time we believe it is in contemplation that all the district schools of Bengal should be abolished, so far as the Government is

concerned, and that the Colleges of Rajshaye and Hugli should be closed. That is the state of things. Let us resolve not to permit this

SCANDAL AND BARRBARISM.

We will not allow the Government to assert uncontradicted that it is anxious to promote primary education and yet remain doing nothing in that direction, while gradually withdrawing itself from all concern with higher education. It may be that higher education has made some little progress, but in comparison with the countries of Europe or America it cannot be said, as yet, to have taken a sufficiently deep root in the soil here. The Government that taunts us educated men with being a "microscopic minority" is at least bound, in decency, not to withdraw from us all sources of higher education. If the educated classes are a microscopic minority, who but the Government is to blame for this? Perhaps at the root of this policy there may be some apprehensions regarding the attitude of the educated classes towards the official class, apprehensions of hostility. Now, if hostility means hostility to unconstitutionality, to despotism, and to old and corrupt traditions, we are hostile; but if hostility means reckless, inconsiderate, desperate, enmity to constitutional Government, we are not the enemies of Government; we are its friends, the friends and supporters of order and justice and of the Crown of England. (Cheers.) As in the sphere of religion the human mind passes, if not rightly guided, in a single bound from grovelling superstition to defiant Atheism, so in the sphere of intellectual culture the human mind, if not rightly guided, passes at a single bound from servile ignorance into defiant rebellion against the established order of things.

LET GOVERNMENT BEWARE OF THE FATAL POLICY

that would withdraw, just at this critical period, that rightful guidance which is essential to the peaceful evolution of the new order. It may be that the growth of education and of public opinion will be stronger and stronger, and will impose a check upon despotism, but it will at the same time strengthen the foundations of the British Empire. The true foundation of an Empire is righteousness—that righteousness that exalts the nations of the world. A truly constitutional Government has nothing to apprehend from the educated; they are its natural supporters, its necessary allies. There is another cry that we often hear from officials, viz., that they cannot provide bread, i.e., official positions, for all the educated, and hence that they will stop educating. This resolution covers that ground. Education need not mean the casting of all minds in the same mould, and the turning out of an unlimited supply of clerks and deputy magistrates. Provide a many-sided education, educate our people in such a manner that they may promote the development of the resources of the country, and show them how to earn their own bread. We do not want academic education merely;

LET US HAVE A MANY-SIDED EDUCATION,

and the Government may be quite sure that its cry of inability to provide bread for the hungry literati will fast disappear before the expansion of the immense resources of this blessed land. It is they themselves who taunt us with being a microscopic minority, who tacitly refuse to make any adequate efforts for the promotion of education. In reply to the charge of being a microscopic minority we say that it is a telescopic sort of benevolence which they manifest, and that it is so remote that it requires a most powerful political telescope to discover its wisdom. It is a telescopic sort of benevolence to be spending millions upon millions on frontier defences, and taking away money from the schools and colleges and technical institutes. Hence, it is one aim of this Congress to give prominence to this great question, and to force the Government to adopt a more liberal and righteous policy in this matter than has hitherto obtained. Even at the risk of being suspected to be a heterodox Congress-walla, I will declare my conviction that this resolution does not yield in importance to the great resolution with reference to the elective system. That is merely a weapon; education is to supply the power which is to wield that weapon righteously and efficiently. Be it then the glory of England to promote the interests of India by consecrating and vitalizing her exertions in the administration of this Empire, with a copious infusion of righteousness, so as to elevate this unhappy and still fallen country, shorn of its glory and splendour, and to teach our countrymen to regard the advent of the English as the great instrument, ordained by God himself in his wisdom, for the revival of this down-trodden and unhappy land. (Cheers.) It is hard upon three score years ago that this great problem formally forced itself on the consideration of the British nation. "Shall we for ever retain these Indians, whose destinies God has confided to our charge, ignorant and as slaves, or shall we educate and raise them to be fit and anxious to join, as free men, in the administration of their own country?" Day after day in both Houses of Parliament, the great debate was carried on until the nation, through its peers and representatives, decided for the latter and nobler course. For years this decision was honestly acted up to, and Lord Derby's (then Lord Stanley) despatch of 1859, and John Stuart Mill's famous despatch of 1854, remain proofs of

THE HONESTY OF PURPOSE OF THE BRITISH NATION.

But ever, since the Congress arose to advocate and vindicate the cause of constitutional freedom, and threaten the autocratic powers and exclusive privileges of the great Indian bureaucracy, this latter, alarmed for these its cherished possessions, has begun to crave for a retrograde movement into the policy which their nobler countrymen, sixty years ago, indignantly repudiated. ("Shame, Shame!") It is too late, my friends—too late—the seed has been

sown broadcast—has germinated, is germinating everywhere. In vain, you try now everywhere to repress and discourage higher education by every insidious means. You may delay, but you cannot destroy. You may earn hatred, you cannot secure the enslavement of those who now know that they are free British Subjects. It is too late. Put aside this folly. Accept the inevitable and foreseen results of the policy your nobler predecessors deliberately adopted. Abstain from discouraging, as you now are discouraging, education; be true to the higher and better impulses of a Briton's heart; be true to the edicts of your senates, the orders of our Queen-Empress; stimulate, heart and soul, as in days gone by, education of all kinds and of every grade, and then, in lieu of a Frankenstein monster ever on the alert to destroy you, you will find in the educated generations that will rally round you, not indeed the servile sycophants that ignorance might have furnished you, but

TRUE, LOYAL, AND CAPABLE COLLEAGUES,

whose foremost aim and chief glory it will be to labour on equal terms, side by side with you, to secure the safety, honour, and welfare, of our common sovereign and all her dominions. (Loud cheers.)

Mr G. K. GOKHALE (Poona): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition which has just been so eloquently moved for your adoption by Mr. Moitra. As the time is very short I will do no more than put my points before you. My first point is that the Government has pledged itself in the most solemn and unreserved manner to regard the education of the people as its most sacred duty. In the despatch of 1854, which is believed to have emanated from Mr. John Stuart Mill, the Directors say that the education of the people is the most sacred and solemn duty of the Indian Government. After the transference of the Government of this country from the Company to the Crown in 1859, the Secretary of State for India, in a despatch to the Indian Government, reiterated the same thing. So far, therefore, as the promises of the Government are concerned there can be no doubt. My next point is that, taking all civilized countries into consideration, India is the least advanced in the matter of education. I have the statistics with me, but will not quote them. You will find that in the countries of Europe ninety per cent. of the school-going population attend school; but in our own country the proportion is only eleven per cent. I have also statistics with regard to expenditure, but I will mention only a few. In Europe, in the most backward country as far as education is concerned, no less than 6.5 per cent. of the public revenues goes towards the expenses of education, whereas in India the proportion is about one per cent. The expenditure on education has not kept pace with the increase in the ordinary revenues of this country. About twenty years ago it was 1.4 per cent., and now it is only one per cent. The Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon has

exhaustively dealt with the question and recognized

THE NECESSITY OF INCREASING THE EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

The most sympathetic of Governor-Generals in 1884 directed the local governments to increase the outlay upon education as much as possible. Then came a change in the Government of the country, and in the policy of the Government. Lord Dufferin's Government issued a resolution in June, 1888, distinctly stating that thereafter the expenditure on education should be reduced rather than increased. The policy of reducing the expenditure on education is only recent, coming into existence with the Government of Lord Dufferin. I was going to say something with regard to the picture presented by Lord Ripon's Government and Lord Dufferin's; but there is no time. The second part of the resolution asks the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry which is to report upon the industrial problems of the country. I am no great believer in these Commissions. Their reports are submitted to Government, but nothing comes of them. There is, however, one distinct advantage about them, that they supply most exhaustive material for those who like to study the question. It is only in this light that I support the recommendation on this subject. The Government cannot now hesitate.

THE TIME FOR HESITATION HAS GONE.

In 1833, as my predecessor so eloquently explained, Government was at the parting of the ways, and if they wanted to hesitate should have hesitated then. But they, or rather the British nation, chose the policy that alone was consistent with the best traditions and the glory of England. Having entered upon that path, they cannot now go back, they cannot even halt; they must go on—(cheers)—and, why, in God's name, should they halt? The spread of education in India means the glory of England, and an ever-growing guarantee for the peaceful continuance of her rule. For it involves a continuous expansion of that section of the community which labours to secure that happiness for, and contentment amongst, the masses which are essential to the permanence of a foreign supremacy. Truly in the happiness and contentment of India's people lie England's glory and England's strength; and in England's sense of honour and justice lie, at this critical period, all our hopes and all our aspirations. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the shades of eve are falling fast. I am loth to stop this instructive and interesting debate, but, as we are all agreed, and night is closing on us, I must do so. This, then, is our eighth Resolution.

“RESOLVED—That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing), as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency, in view of the promotion of one of the

most essential of the branches, the technical, of appointing a Mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial conditions of the country."

The resolution was then put and carried with loud cheers.

The PRESIDENT: Before we adjourn I want to say one word with regard to our "grand old man." I want all of you to go to Babu Bhupendra

Nath Bose for Mr. Hume's photograph, an excellent picture, some thousand copies of which have been most generously supplied by Mr. Radha Raman Kar —(cheers)—a Calcutta gentleman, for gratuitous distribution to all Congress-wallahs. (Continued cheering.)

The Congress then adjourned to the next morning, Wednesday, the 30th, at 11 o'clock a.m.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, December 30th, 1891.

The Congress re-assembled at 11 a.m.

TELEGRAMS OF SYMPATHY.

◀ The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—You all know that this is the last day of the present Congress meeting, and you also know that we have a good deal of work still to do. I need not remind you that there is a rule with regard to the time to be allowed to each speaker. That rule was not strictly enforced yesterday, but, considering that we must go through the work to-day, it will be my painful duty to exercise the authority which you have placed in my hands for the benefit of you all. Speaking to the point, and omitting all irrelevant and collateral discussion, is what we should all aim at. Before we proceed let me mention that we have had a very large number of telegrams expressive of sympathy in the Congress cause from different quarters, as well as telegrams expressive of their regret from a great number of delegates, who, in consequence of sickness or other causes, have been unable to attend; but there is one telegram which deserves special attention—I mean a telegram from General Booth—which I shall call on the General Secretary to read to you, together with the reply which your Subjects Committee has proposed to send, and which, I doubt not, you will adopt without a moment's hesitation.

GENERAL BOOTH'S TELEGRAM AND REPLY THERETO.

Mr. A. O. HUME (General Secretary): General Booth's telegram runs as follows: "May I be allowed to commend to the attention of the delegates the claims of the millions of India's starving poor, and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country, in such an organized and befriended manner as will enable them to gain for themselves those necessities of healthy existence which, in their present circumstances, are denied to them? Praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind,—WILLIAM BOOTH, General of the Salvation Army."

To this it is proposed to send the following reply:—"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message, thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve

THE FIFTY TO SIXTY MILLIONS OF HALF-STARVING PAUPERS,

whose sad condition constitute the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress Programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, Associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in the same field, and we have to thank you that your army, too, is now engaged in the good work of elevating the masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions, be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many faiths, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren."

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Does this reply of the Subjects Committee meet your approval? (Cries of "Yes, Yes," "All right.") Very good then. To put everything in form I shall submit the proposition as Resolution IX in the following form:—

Read the following telegram from General Booth:

"May I be allowed to commend to the attention of the Congress the claims of the millions of India's starving poor, and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country, in such an organized and befriended manner as will enable them to gain for themselves those necessities of a healthy existence which in their present circumstances are denied. Praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind.—WILLIAM BOOTH, General of the Salvation Army."

RESOLVED,—That the following telegram be despatched in reply to General Booth:—

"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the

same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, Associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in the same field, and we have to thank you that your army, too, is engaged in the good work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions, be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren."

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

THE ANNUAL INDIAN SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE (Calcutta): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—I have a purely formal duty to perform, and that is to present to you a report of the committee appointed under your first resolution. One word of introduction is necessary before I read the report. You will remember that the British Committee, at a meeting held on the 13th October, 1891, used these words: "At the same time the Committee think it desirable that no other Session of Congress, after that of December of 1891, be held until the Congress has assembled in England." Out of deference to that opinion of the British Committee the General Secretary issued a notice to all standing Congress Committees asking them to consider this subject, and to come here prepared to say whether the annual Indian Sessions should be discontinued or continued pending the British Session. We have all considered this matter, and it has been discussed, both formally and informally all over the country, and as the result of that consideration and discussion, and in view to a formal settlement of the question, you appointed a committee, whose report I am about to present to you. That report runs as follows:—"Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them, and have also consulted, informally, various members of the Subjects Committee and other delegates. They are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and that future Congresses should be held under the same regulations as heretofore." (Loud and continued cheering.) I have much pleasure in presenting that report to you, and from the way in which you have received it I have no doubt that it will be accepted unanimously. (Cheers.) I move

that it be accepted and filed amongst the records of the Congress.

PUNDIT AJUDHIA NATH (Allahabad): It affords me sincere pleasure to second the adoption of this report. It is quite in accordance with my own feelings. (Cheers.) I think we are all agreed that wherever else we may also hold Sessions of the Congress, we will go on holding our annual Sessions in India until all needful reforms have been secured. (Cries of "Yes, Yes, Yes.")

The PRESIDENT: Are you all agreed? ("Yes, Yes.") Shall I then put it formally as our tenth resolution? ("Yes, Yes.") Then it will run thus:—

Read report of the Committee appointed under Resolution (I.) which runs as follows:—

"Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them, and have also consulted informally various members of the Subjects Committee and other delegates. They are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and that future Congresses should be held under the same regulations as heretofore." Resolved—"That the Annual Sessions of the Congress in India continue to be held until all necessary reforms have been secured."

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE FOREST LAWS.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Before I call upon the speaker who is in charge of the next resolution, I think it is necessary to make a few remarks to avoid future misconception. The proposition, as worded, might be construed to involve the admission that the Forest Laws in themselves are good enough, and that our complaint in regard to them is only as to the manner in which they are administered. I may tell you that it was never our intention, or the intention of those who framed the resolution, to make any such admission. The question of whether the laws themselves need amendment is left open, and the discussion to-day will be independent of that question, and without prejudice to any conclusions that a more minute investigation of all the sources of the present discontent may lead to.

Mr. PAUL PETER PILLAI (Madras): I beg to move the following resolution:—

"That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India be most respectfully, but earnestly, entreated to investigate this carefully and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes."

I am from Tinnevely, the southernmost district in India. With the knowledge and experience of a small ryot owning a few acres, I have the good fortune to combine an intimate knowledge of the

conditions and circumstances of landholders of all grades and positions, among whom I move largely, and for whose benefit I am working, and I, consequently, know a good deal about the Forest Laws and their operation. I speak from personal knowledge and observation, and from careful study of the agricultural condition of the country. Some time ago I held and declared the opinion that

THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE

was degenerating. Now I may venture to say that it

IS ON THE HIGH ROAD TO A COMPLETE COLLAPSE.

The indigenous arts and industries of the land have collapsed, or are collapsing. While this is the case with the arts and industries, agriculture, the only thing left for the people, may truly be said to be well on the way to a collapse. Alas! if this goes on there will be an end of everything so far as India is concerned. The Forest Laws which I have now to discuss have, amongst other things, largely contributed to this unhappy result. I shall simply enumerate the various ways in which the Forest Laws exercise a disastrous influence on the agriculture of the country, at least as far as the Madras Presidency is concerned. With a single stroke of the legislators' pen the Forest Laws have extinguished the communal rights of the ryot—rights which have been enjoyed from time immemorial—rights recognised and respected by former Governments and even by the British Government in former times, which went so far as to issue pottahs to ryots for the enjoyment of such rights; and several ryots showed me such pottahs. While the Government, as a general rule, reserved valuable timber forests, the ryots were allowed the enjoyment of minor forest produce, and of inferior wood necessary for every-day domestic use, free pasture, and the right of procuring vegetable manure, fuel, stone, and gravel. Now all these rights and privileges have been taken away summarily by a single stroke of the legislators' pen. It is some thirty years since the Madras Government thought of developing and enlarging the Forest Administration. Since the passing of the Forest Act of 1882, the laws have been enforced rigorously, with.

UNHAPPY CONSEQUENCES TO THE RYOT CLASSES.

By the extinction of these communal rights our peasant proprietors have ceased to possess that status and moral influence, as compared with non-land-owning classes, which so materially aided to reconcile them to their position. Any one acquainted with the village system of rural India, at any rate in the south, will agree with me in saying that the ryots have ever possessed unquestioned the gratuitous enjoyment of all waste lands, cultivable or uncultivable, the pottah lands under cultivation being answerable for the Government revenue, and the waste lands under valuable timber forests being in the enjoyment of the State.

By the extinction of communal rights village society has been revolutionized. By the extinction of the rights and the privileges of the landholding community they are placed on the same dead level with the artizan and non-landholding inhabitants of villages. Not only that. Their condition has become inferior to these, for they are answerable for a heavy Government land tax though they have no longer the enjoyment of pasture for their cattle or the right of procuring wood for their houses and for agricultural implements, vegetable manure for the fields, thorns and prickly shrubs for fencing their fields, and the like. Under pressure of necessity they are driven to infringe the all-embracing Forest Laws and thus stand liable to criminal prosecution.

FOR PETTY INFRINGEMENTS

of these vexatious forest ordinances

THOUSANDS OF CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS TAKE PLACE in my district. The protecting wings of the Forest Laws have descended from the hills to the plains. The hills have been divided into reserved and unreserved forests. The plains also have been divided into reserved lands and unreserved. The ryots are often unable to find which are reserved and which are unreserved. The unreserved lands, if there be such, are let to the ryots with restrictions and prohibitory conditions. Unreserved lands are gradually dwindling to such an extent that in many a village there is hardly any room for cattle to move beyond fallow lands. In such places, if the pottah lands be under cultivation, the hardships are inseparable. Then I may refer to the loss of the privilege and status of the landholding and cultivating community over mere artizans and labourers. The charges of labourers have risen enormously high without bringing any corresponding profit or benefit to the ryot. By the Forest Laws, which impose taxes on forest produce which was before exempt from taxation and Government interference, the land revenue is directly, or more strictly speaking indirectly, enhanced. The land is heavily taxed enough. Pasture for cattle necessary for agriculture is taxed. Vegetable manure is taxed. Wood, necessary for agricultural implements like the plough, is taxed. Even when the tax is paid the labourers engaged in working out these forest products have to be paid heavily, as they work subject to continual interference from forest subordinates, and this leads to worry and annoyance. Moreover, even when the ryot is willing to pay the tax, he experiences great difficulties in getting licenses. The social and economic revolution brought on by these changed conditions is most keenly felt in rural districts. The wages of the labourers engaged in procuring these articles, according to the laws of political economy, increase the wages of labour in other directions also. The abnormal disturbance of the labour market produced by this cause, among others, is a very serious subject for consideration. The Forest Laws are making great havoc with the live stock of the country, so essential for its agriculture

I wrote to the leading paper of Madras, the *Madras Mail*, stating that by taking away pasture you destroy the British power in India; by taking away pasture you destroy cattle; and by destroying cattle you destroy the industry of agriculture in India. This is nothing but a truism. In consequence of the difficulties experienced in procuring food for cattle on the hills as well as on the plains there is heavy mortality among them. Cattle degenerate in every way, and, accordingly,

THERE IS A GROWING DIMINUTION OF CATTLE POWER

so essential to agriculture. There is a growing diminution in the supply of farm-yard manure (animal dung and urine), in the supply of milk and its products, and in the supply of animal food. For want of nutrition and sufficient pasture cattle are degenerating in their procreative power. What a tremendous loss will these be to India when all these things are put together! Whether there is pasture or not cattle must live. On account of the pasture difficulty cattle are liable to commit trespass upon prohibited lands reserved by the Government, or pottah lands under cultivation. Cattle are impounded wholesale in large numbers, by six hundred or seven hundred or one thousand head of cattle or sheep at a time. I have made a very strong protest against such wholesale impounding. In prosperous times even cattle degenerate, and the live-stock declines rapidly in consequence of this iniquitous and blundering forest administration. Cattle-owners, in most instances, have not even half of what they had twenty years ago. In times of scarcity and distress they die in large numbers, which was not the case formerly, when the ryots had the right of free pasture and when they had the opportunity of economising and storing the fodder of the plentiful years for years of scarcity and drought. The Government realised last year one and a-half lakhs from pasture fees. While so much is realised from legal fees for pasture, the Government got three and a-half lakhs of rupees from penal fees by impounding cattle for trespass. The legal and penal fees amount to five hundred thousand rupees on account of pasture alone. You have heard of the controversy between Mr. Caine and Lord Wenlock, about cattle mortality on account of the distress and famine in the Presidency of Madras. On the eve of my departure from Madras I read in the *Madras Times* (by no means friendly to Mr. Caine), that within the short period of eight months, from January to September this year, in the single district of North Arcot, about three hundred thousand cattle perished from want of pasture and fodder, over and above the normal mortality during the corresponding periods of previous years. The facts are from official reports obtained from tanneries. More than half of the cattle that died would have been useful for agricultural labour. Taking on an average that a bullock or draught ox is sufficient for cultivating six acres throughout a year,

MORE THAN A MILLION ACRES ARE WITHOUT
BULLOCK POWER,

so necessary for agriculture in the district. I myself experienced just such a difficulty in 1886, when there was heavy mortality in my place on account of agricultural distress. The difficulty of procuring bullocks for ploughing was very great, by the fall of rain out of season; and the ploughman's wages rose from three annas to a rupee and a-half per day. On account of this difficulty, I had to employ coolies to stir up the soil with mammoties and hoes according to the rude and primitive method of agriculture. There are a number of ryots who are driven to this primitive method of cultivation. This is one of the reasons why large areas of land, once under cultivation, are left lying waste. There is a difficulty in procuring wood for agricultural implements like ploughs. The ryots are put to the hardships of buying timber, often of a valuable kind, from bazaars and markets far away from their places, while the wood in the village in the neighbourhood of their houses, and the use of which they have enjoyed from time immemorial, is closed against them. There is difficulty also in procuring vegetable manure from Government forests and practically even from pottah lands, beyond forest thanas, by Government interference and taxation. How is it possible to carry on agriculture without vegetable manure and farmyard manure whose supply is growing more and more scanty every year? Land must necessarily deteriorate under such circumstances. There are certain other hardships which the agricultural classes suffer equally with the non-land-owning classes. Fuel has become a State monopoly. The monopoly of fuel supply causes great hardships. The price of fuel has risen considerably. Often fuel is not procurable either for love or money. Fuel is as much a necessary of life as food itself. When there is a fuel famine,

THE PEOPLE SUFFER NEARLY AS MUCH AS DURING
THE TIMES OF THE WORST FAMINE
AND SCARCITY.

I have heard of instances of ryots converting valuable teak and other timbers into fuel. I have heard of instances of even Government servants starving temporarily and delaying to attend to their office-work in consequence of the fuel difficulty. I have heard of people being driven to the necessity of soaking grain in water and eating it raw and fresh; while during ordinary times the price of fuel is high, in times of scarcity and distress the price becomes very low in consequence of too many of the coolie class and the poorest people, for want of better work, supplying fuel far in excess of the demand, the demand being lessened by the distress of the consumers. Thus, in the district of Salem, while the coolie class sold their head loads of fuel for nine pice, the Government tax amounted to six pice, leaving a surplus of three pice only for the support of the labourer and his household.

THE MATTER WAS REPRESENTED TO THE COLLECTOR
AND THE GOVERNOR, BUT WITH NO EFFECT.

The wild berries of trifling value, thatch grass, and inferior wood for constructing huts are taxed and are subject to prohibitory restraints. Even stones and gravel are taxed on pain of one month's imprisonment if removed from forest lands (plain and hill forests). My brother delegate, Mr. P. Kesava Pillai, of Anantapoor, has told me to-day that there is a recent General Order of the Madras Government enjoining the revenue authorities to discourage the ryots from removing stones and gravel, even from pottah lands. I believe fully in this strange treatment, because now and then there is such interference from the revenue authorities, and because we in our pottahs are requested or forced to declare the surrender of our claims over mineral produce and mining rights. I am unable to imagine how the removal of stones and gravel will injure forest conservancy. Anyone who knows anything of our agriculture and forestry will tell you that the removal has only the contrary effect of improving the forests by improving the soil. By such restrictions the people suffer, especially in the ceded districts, where stones are largely used in house building. When it was proposed to introduce forest legislation, it was done on the plea of making provision for posterity, and following the scientific principle of procuring more rain by increasing the foliage area. From philanthropic and scientific grounds it has in practice degenerated into a mere money-making and other-people's-property-grabbing arrangement. Everything within the forest limits has been taxed, except the atmosphere, without any rhyme or reason. Difficulties and ruinously prohibitory restrictions are raised with regard to the right of way for cattle and men even for drinking purposes. The Government seems to have some extraordinarily dismal idea about fires and cattle grazing. Forest fires are not caused by owners of cattle alone. They often arise from natural causes, like lightning and friction; under the influence of wind, dry sticks and bamboos rubbing against each other and igniting. But the economy of Nature has so arranged things that pure grass hills will remain grass hills to eternity, unless the nature of the soil and topography of the ground are changed. Such hills, which will remain useless for the growth of valuable timber, are only slowly to be improved by the chemical action of the atmosphere on rocks and gravel, by the ashes of the grass burnt periodically, and by the pasturage of cattle which give the hills the benefit of their manure. For the past ten years forests have been very rigorously conserved in my place, even from cattle trespass, and protected from fire. But

THERE IS NO PROGRESS IN RAINFALL.

There is less rainfall now in my parts than before. There has been a water famine in my place twice, of the severest character, unprecedented in the memory of living men, and that although the place is at the foot of the Western Ghats. Forests in

Native States which have less scientific forestry, and zemindaries, which have no scientific forestry to boast of, are as good as Government forests, and, in certain respects, even better in well managed States and estates, and in these there is none of the cruel rigour which characterises British territory, where the rulers do not seem to have realised the real reproductive and recuperative powers of Nature. If the axe and saw be carefully watched and controlled within the forests, it is quite sufficient for the purposes of forest conservancy. These are some of the facts, and those who are well acquainted with the suffering of the ryots in consequence of all this absurd and useless so-called scientific forestry will feel that I have not overstated my case. Gentlemen, this is a very serious matter for the consideration of the Congress. Repeated memorials to the Government and protests in the press have been of no avail. If there be any institution that is to save India from its agricultural ruin resulting from the hardships inflicted by the Forest Laws, it is the National Congress. It is the highest duty of every one of the two hundred and eighty-five millions of India, princes and peasants, to support the grandest movement that history has ever seen. If we are not able or willing to support the movement we are not worthy of our existence and not fit to be called men and a nation. The grievances of the Forest Laws affecting millions of people are such as to require immediate redress. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. P. KARANDIKAR (Satara): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates,—I believe that the announcement made by our worthy President at the beginning of the discussion will dispel many of the fears that have been entertained by some of the delegates from the Bombay Presidency who wanted the Forest Laws themselves to be made the subject of discussion rather than the administration thereof. I believe, therefore, that we need not waste time by going over that question, important as it is. I will refer to the serious inconveniences or, as the resolution puts it, the serious discontent created by the administration of these laws. In the first place, I would ask the favour of your walking with me out of this Pandal—I do not mean bodily, but mentally—and if you will go with me to a village situated somewhere in the western hills, you will find a small hut with a few persons consisting of a man, a female, and some children. For the edification of those who are anxious to see what they are like I have their photographs here. [The photographs were distributed for inspection.] We are now speaking in the interest, not of those who are rich, but of those who are really poor. Indeed this proposition may be called the poor man's proposition. If you look at the map of India you will see that the country has on the east and on the west mountainous ranges, and it is the people of these districts that are particularly affected by the Forest Laws. Here is the hut, there is the field, and you have the cattle outside the man's door; there is also what is called the family. I want you to see on how many sides this

family is encircled with difficulties consequent upon the introduction of the Forest Laws and their administration. I have here all the facts and materials with me, but I will simply draw your attention to the remarkable statements made in the speech by Sir Theodore Hope, who had charge of the forest measure in the Legislative Council, and who assured the people that the object of legislation was not to trespass on their rights, but merely to conserve and take better care of that part of the forest which was over and above the actual wants of the people who tilled and used the forests. Now you will see whether that promise, coming from so high an authority, has been kept, by the rules that profess to be framed under the regulation which was passed with this object in view. You will observe in the photograph that there is one bullock, a milch cow, and a sheep. It is not expected that a cow is at all times giving milk. The rule is that as long as cattle give milk they are to be allowed free pasturage, provided that they belong to cultivators, and provided again that there is land belonging to the village in which the cultivator is resident included in the forest reserve. It cannot be supposed that at all times the cattle can be giving milk. You will see that the regulation has been cautiously worded, giving room for over-anxious officers to try their best and see that the interests of the Government are protected by increasing the revenue year by year. The cattle that are actually in use in agriculture are only not excluded. But all know what herds of cattle are, and we cannot suppose that all the herds can be used directly for the purpose of agriculture. With reference to the fields most complaints come from the western and eastern parts. In Peninsular India there is a cultivation known as shifting cultivation. As long as it goes on—and there are people who have lived by it for generations—it is necessary that the cultivator should have sufficient land at his disposal to make a living out of this kind of cultivation. I will give you a concrete instance because it is no use laying down general propositions. There are nine villages in my district in which the shifting cultivation area had been so restricted by the reserves that the only course open to the people was to cultivate portions of land included in the reserves, and thus make themselves amenable to the law. Cases were actually prepared against the residents of all these villages, but fortunately common sense prevailed, and the matter was dropped. At every turn now-a-days the cultivator is harassed and impeded by forest restrictions of one kind and another. Mr. P. P. Pillai has referred to

MANY AND UNIVERSAL GRIEVANCES IN REGARD
TO THE FOREST ADMINISTRATION,

and I can confirm all he says. But besides these almost every place has some special grievance. Take the district of Tirwah and its grievances. It is a district in which more brushwood and foliage is required for agricultural purposes than in any other. There are hill slopes that are well watered, but to utilize these properly for rice and other crops, it is

necessary to use quantities of vegetable ashes and refuse. But the privilege of collecting this needful manure, which has been enjoyed for centuries, is now denied to the villagers, and complaints have been made to the Government which have not received a satisfactory answer. But the Forest Department with its aggrandizing policy is so powerful that the Government itself is almost powerless against it. I wish to say, in conclusion, that I have been specially sent here by a meeting, not attended by the cream of the educated natives of India, but by eight thousand people assembled from villages lying within a circle of some fifty miles, every man of whom would have told you, far better than I can do, how destructive of all prosperity and comfort to our ryots is the present system of forest administration. (Cheers.)

Mr. S. B. BHATE (Belgaum): In rising to support this resolution, I must endeavour to remove a possible objection that may, with some show of reason, be raised to the discussion of the question involved in it. It is said, or felt, in certain quarters, that this matter is provincial in its character, and that therefore the Congress has no concern with it. I desire to meet this objection. And the first consideration that I wish to urge is that in the present depressed condition of Indian industries, agriculture, upon which eighty-six per cent. of the population depends for its means of sustenance, is inextricably bound up with Forest Laws and their administration. Various kinds of forest produce are required for agricultural purposes. It is from this standpoint that the question is to be regarded. And, if so, our grievances will be seen to be of universal application all over India. There is, within the district from which I come a large forest area; and, following the example of my leaders, I should like to place before you striking illustrations of the rigour of the administration of Forest Laws if it were necessary to do so. But, really, Mr. Pillai has gone over the whole ground, and I do not wish to trespass on your time, but I may mention that from ten to twelve head of cattle can be purchased in my district for a rupee. Indeed, many cultivators of the soil are ready and willing to dispose of their live stock as a gift. This is because there is a fodder famine from which our cattle have been suffering; and were the rigour of the forest administration diminished; were the lands into which, in such seasons, our cattle used to be driven to graze, once more, if only temporarily, thrown open to our starving herds, this deplorable state of things would be appreciably, yea immensely, ameliorated. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. R. NIMBKAR (Nasik) then spoke in Marhatti. The following is a translation: Gentlemen and Brother Delegates,—I have been permitted by our worthy President to support the eleventh proposition, but, in doing so, I cannot, I feel, either satisfy myself as to the full discharge of my duty or do justice to the subject within the short time allowed to each speaker. You all know the subject in hand is a vast one and has numerous details; still I will try my best to put it before you in as

explicit, but concise, a form as I can. Before proceeding, gentlemen, to touch the subject in hand I have to assure you here, that by finding fault with the forest administration of our Government, we do not at all admit that our present Forest Law is in any wise agreeable to us. It requires substantial and numerous amendments which, however, do not fall within the scope of the present resolution, to make it compatible with the real interests and welfare of our masses. But we cannot have these greater changes all of a sudden. What we are now asking is that the law, bad as we think it, may yet be fairly, righteously, and mercifully administered. To revert then, gentlemen, to the subject, I must first show you how injuriously the forest administration affects our poor ryots. It is a recognised principle throughout the civilized world, that that country is prosperous whose peasantry is prosperous.

THE PROSPERITY OF THE PEASANTRY IS THE BASIS
OF THE PROSPERITY AND MATERIAL WEALTH OF
THE COUNTRY.

It is the masses, or poorer classes, those illiterate, ignorant, suffering, cultivators upon whom our daily existence depends. It is they whose better condition alone tends to the happiness of all other classes. It is they for whom the sovereign enjoys his sway. It is they for whom our hearts are most specially moved when we see their helpless condition. The poor who have not even rags to cover their persons, who have not even the means of living from hand to mouth, and who have no cultured tongues to plead their cause or expound their grievances—it is on behalf of these countless thousands of mute sufferers that we first and foremost attack the forest administration. You all know, gentlemen, that forests, jungles, wilds, constitute one of the necessities of life. From birth to death, and even after it, we require all kinds of things that are derived from the forests and wilds. During our life we want fuel; we want wood: we want grass, stones, earth, leaves, bark, roots, and everything else, which, being ours, has been made to belong to others, not by Divine agency but by the avaricious desire on the part of men like ourselves.

NATURE HAS HERE IN INDIA PROVIDED US BOUNTI-
FULLY WITH ALL THIS

without any request on our part, and for hundreds of generations we have enjoyed it unchallenged, but, sad to say, suddenly we have been deprived of it by man—by the Forest Administration—acting against Nature. If you look back and see what forests were in the times of the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers, you will find they were blessings, but under the present administration they are curses to all living in their neighbourhood. They existed solely for the real good of ryots, as all necessary rights of user were freely enjoyed by those—the inhabitants of the neighbourhood—for whom nature had manifestly designed them. Of recent years Forest Laws have been introduced, nominally to protect the country

from droughts, absence of rain, and famine, though practically they have been worked otherwise. To declare one policy and to work up to another, to the disadvantage of others, is not an honest act. If you desire a typical instance of that kind of thing it is before you in the present administration of forests. I am an original inhabitant, rather a Khot and a Dharekari of a poor hilly village in a poor district, misnamed Ratnagiri. (I do not know who first named it “The Mountain of Jewels.”)

THAT DISTRICT CANNOT MAINTAIN ITS RESIDENTS FOR
MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A YEAR

upon its own produce. It has its peculiar hardships in connection with the Forest Administration, very different from any of yours. We have most of our “warkas” cultivation lands on the hills. We are the owners of them, but curiously and ridiculously enough we cannot take the least advantage of what may be upon them in the way of forest, brush, scrub, though they are our own. Formerly sag (teak), sesum (black wood), and sandal trees were the only trees for the cutting of which permission was necessary from the immediate authorities. We freely use the rab (fallen leaves, twigs, branches, burnt for manure) from those trees, but, nowadays, under

THE MOST INCONSIDERATE AND HARSH RULES

made by the Bombay Government, a cultivator is prohibited from gathering any fuel or rab, not only from the above-named forbidden trees, but also from the trees called Ayan and Kinjal. What is the use of those trees then being our property, grown by us? Not only does the Administration press this rule with the utmost stringency, but it further enhances our troubles under the new rules—so kindly framed to facilitate our exit from this world—by prohibiting a cultivator from burning rab or even cultivating any portions of his ground lying within the circumference of eight feet around any one of these, his own, trees. The “warkas” land in that district requires a fallow of at least four years; but, owing to the operation of these rules, there remains in some villages only half, and in some only one-third, of the cultivable lands, practically and legally, available for even this quadrennial agriculture. Thus, owing to this circumscribing scientific circumference rule, a large area of cultivable lands has to be left permanently uncultivated, and this is one of the ways in which

THE FOREST ADMINISTRATION WORKS AS HARSHLY
AND AS MERCILESSLY

as a thirteenth month in a famine year. Now with regard to cattle grazing: pasture lands have been almost swallowed up by the inordinate spread of reserved jungles. Where are the cattle to graze? The very means of husbandry, the cattle, have day by day diminished, owing to want of grass and hay. A few grazing grounds, out of so many ancient ones, have been kept, but to no purpose, as most of

them can produce no grass and do not, and never can, suffice for the number of cattle in the neighbourhood. As we are not able to maintain sufficient cattle even for agricultural purposes, how can we expect to have them for milk and its products? Our people are, therefore, reduced to skeletons, being vegetarians as they are. In spite of the so-called spread of education our villagers, having no doctors, have to be their own physicians, but whence to bring the needful simples, the roots or leaves of plants or trees, as all these are now inside Government reserves? If to save his life from disease a man brings a chitak's weight of any thing medicinal out of the forest, he is fined under the forest produce definition section which, gentlemen, you must have specially studied, if only for the sake of curiosity. Now with respect to the mortality of ryots from the spread of forests; instances are numerous in several districts, such as Sholapur and others, where the, to European sportsmen, greatly beloved tigers and boars, reigning predominantly over man, have killed or wounded, and are still killing and wounding, numbers of poor human beings. The Arms Act has combined its full force to complete the human sacrifice with the Forest Administration! Is it worthy of our civilized British Government to allow such human sacrifices in the nineteenth century, offered by the Arms Act priest and accepted by the Forest Deity, on the altar of their reputed wisdom of ages? Let us now see the subject in hand from a sanitary point of view. The vicinity of a jungle to the inhabited portion of a village always tends considerably towards the increase of various sorts of diseases, and I am ready to prove this, not only under the "Vagbhut" and "Sooshroot" works, but also from the canons of modern medical science. What is a still worse feature of the Forest Administration remains to be mentioned.

PAPER DEMARCATION OF FORESTS IS NATURALLY
UNKNOWN TO CATTLE

which are not, and cannot be, trained at schools and colleges. (Laughter.) Cattle trespassing into forests are carried to pounds for no fault of theirs or their owners, but of that of the forest preservers, who never fence them as they want to turn their own faults to their own advantage. The cattle are then released on payment of fines. The owners are prosecuted for the cattle trespass and fined as a separate source of income, in addition to civil damages, which are also recoverable without mercy. The pound fee and fine rates have been increased. In one of the talookas of the Nasik District the aggregate amount of fines in eighteen such prosecutions was Rs. 450 during four months, civil damages and pound fees excluded. I cannot enter, gentlemen, into any more details, as I think what is said is sufficient for the present purpose. Let me repeat, once more, with all my power, that neither the Forest Law nor its administration is carried out in the interests of the people. The whole thing is treated as a source of revenue, a golden spring for

Government. What else can there be under the sun

MORE ABOMINABLE, MORE HORRIBLE, MORE CRUEL,

than the sham philanthropy of the mismanaged administration of forests. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. V. N. APTE (Poona): Amongst the several grievances which this Indian National Congress has made its duty to bring before our rulers for redress these connected with the Forest Laws administration must take a foremost place. These laws may have been framed with a benevolent intention, as all laws and regulations presumably are, but the way in which they are enforced on the poor ryot is simply cruel. It must be a strange irony of fate that our rulers should have, I will not say deliberately, but perhaps unwittingly, so enacted laws and regulations that many of the necessaries of life—things which are essential to keep body and soul together—are denied to us, or rather made too dear to be attainable by the poor, such as salt, firewood and corn; while other articles which are detrimental to health, nay, to the very life of the ryot, ruinous to him, body and soul, are, so to say, forced down his throat, for instance, liquor and opium. Firewood is as great a necessity as food itself. What would you do without it even if you had plenty of corn. Man is said to be a cooking animal. That is one of the characteristics of man distinguishing him from the lower animals. He must cook his food before he can eat it. Then, again, he must have firewood to protect himself from the rigour of cold, to warm himself with. Again, he has cattle (his sole wealth) to feed, and so he must have grass and fodder for them. Then come also his implements and his hut, which require from time to time to be repaired or renewed. Where is the wood to come from for these purposes except from the forest about his village? He has not always the money to buy these materials with, and so he goes into the forest, as his forefathers have done for generations, and hews down a suitable tree. But then he is prosecuted and punished. Is this justice, I ask? Gentlemen,

THE FOREST LAWS AND REGULATIONS ARE SO
STRINGENT AND SO HARSHLY ADMINISTERED

that these necessaries of life are made almost unattainable both to the ryot and his cattle. People living in large towns and cities can have no adequate idea of the hardships to which, in the districts, the ryot is subjected by these forest rules. The cow movement, which is assuming such proportions, has its origin partly in the stringency of the forest laws. The numerous witnesses, who were examined by the late Bombay Forest Commission, gave, as you are already aware, painful details of the effects of these laws. I need not, therefore, enter into them here, especially after the speeches of some of my predecessors. I will only once more make an appeal to our rulers. This appeal is on behalf of the voiceless ryot. It is an appeal on behalf of the masses and not the classes. The demand for the elective principle of representation

may be said to come from the educated and enlightened "microscopic minority," but certainly this appeal, which concerns the conditions of life both of man and animal, comes from the ryot. It must, therefore, be heard and prompt relief given. (Cheers.)

Mr. K. B. MULLICK (Serampur): Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates,—In asking permission to say a word or two on the resolution before the Congress, I may mention that my brother delegates from Bengal said to me: "What business have you, coming from Bengal, to take any part in the discussions in regard to Forest Act? Where you are there is no serious trouble about this matter?" I reply that we are proclaiming to the world that we have given up sectional distinctions and have become a united people. Millions are suffering under the Forest Laws, and though I personally am not so suffering, I equally desire their improvement. I wish, however, to propose an amendment. I have very little hope that it will even be seconded; but a sense of duty prompts me to say a word or two in regard to this Act. I wish to substitute for the words in the resolution: "By the practical administration of the Forest Laws," the words, "by the operation of section 41 of the Forest Act." The reason why I want to substitute these words is simply this: I have no knowledge of the operation of the Forest Laws in Bengal, to which I belong, as I have lived in Rajputana for the last twelve years. But I know that in and about Ajmere there is a large class of poor people who earn their livelihood simply by cutting small trees in rocky wastes and bringing them to the market. They have no other means of livelihood, and from generation to generation they have thus subsisted. These poor people, especially many women, who have to support themselves and their children, depend simply on these waste land products, derived from lands situated near the frontier of a British possession called Ajmere, a small place in Rajputana, surrounded by a number of Feudatory States.

THESE POOR HELPLESS FOLK HAVE TO PAY BLACK-MAIL TO THE BRITISH FOREST DEPARTMENT

for every twig of fuel they bring into the market, though this feeble trade is the only means of their subsistence. If it is not the law itself which is in fault, I do not know what is. If it is not the oppressive operation of section 41, I do not know what it is. The section is an amended section. It makes it criminal for any one to cut down forest trees, not only from these wastes, the ownership of which by the British Government is disputed, but from their own land. Before they can cut the smallest branch of a tree they have to get permission from the Government officials. If they do not, they come under the operation of the law, and are taken before the nearest magistrate and punished. If this is not the oppressive operation of the Forest Law of India, I do not know how to

characterise it. My only object in coming here is to try and save these poor people from the oppressive action of this section.

The PRESIDENT: I fear that you have hardly understood the bearing of your so-called amendment. The adoption of this will make that alone to be the grievance. This resolution speaks of the practical administration of the Forest Laws, and it therefore covers a much larger area. Is it your object to restrict our protest to complaint against the operation of this particular section and this only?

Mr. MULLICK: No, certainly not.

The PRESIDENT: If not, your complaint against the operation of this particular section is already covered by our more general proposition, and ceases to be an amendment. I thought I made that clear when I wrote to you on receipt of your notice of intention to move this amendment.

Mr. MULLICK: Well, if the words "practical administration of the Forest Laws" means or includes the operation of section 41, my amendment falls to the ground. But does it? Is this quite certain?

The PRESIDENT: Yes.

Mr. MULLICK: Then I withdraw the amendment.

Mr. VIRA RAGHAVA CHARIAR (Madras): Gentlemen and Fellow Delegates,—If I stood here as an advocate on behalf of the people of this country, in a technical sense, and if you constituted yourselves a public tribunal, I would charge the Government of India in regard to the administration of the Forest Laws under the following two heads: First, I say that I would charge them with breach of faith or contract; and, secondly, I would charge them with misappropriation. I charge them with breach of faith, because when this Act was introduced in 1877, the Government distinctly assured us that it was introduced not with a view of raising revenue, but in the interests of the people at large. A Commission was sent to some of the European countries, and the experts reported that the periodical famines which ravage this country could probably be minimised by the growth of protected forests. A resolution was consequently passed, and we were distinctly told that the Government would not endeavour to increase its revenue from these forest lands. Now, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, in the year 1877 the revenue was 4½, in 1878 it was 6½ lakhs. In 1879 6½ lakhs. In 1883 it grew to 8 lakhs. In 1884 it was 9 lakhs. In 1887 it went up to 12 lakhs. In 1888 and 1889 it had grown to 13 lakhs. That is only in the Presidency of Madras, although they assured us that the Act was introduced not to increase the revenue. They have been systematically encroaching upon lands belonging to the public. Then, as to the charge of misappropriation in our own presidency. There are two or three charters of land prevailing. In Chundu and Tungari and other districts,

THE OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND IS WITH THE PEOPLE,
NOT WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government, in violation of the several regulations passed in the times of the East India Company, have been gradually extending their rights over these lands belonging to the people, and reserving large tracts in them to the detriment of the cattle and the general health of the people. Not only are people suffering, but the cattle are also dying in large numbers. The death-rate in times of famine has greatly increased. Last year, in two or three districts, there was an increase of 81,000 deaths among cattle owing to the rigour of the Forest Laws, and in some districts the Collectors themselves have reported that there ought to be some relaxation in the working of these laws. By the Government's short-sighted and immoral policy, as regards forest questions, they are not only making the people still poorer and more helpless, and more liable to succumb in any scarcity, but they are also

CAUSING THE DESTRUCTION OF CATTLE IN LARGE
NUMBERS

—cattle which, here in India, as you all know, are the primary requisite of all agriculture. Spade culture in our poor soils is practically impossible; a man cannot dig a sufficient area to earn a subsistence. Ploughing is essential, but this without cattle is impossible, and the Government, or its limb, the Forest Department, is gradually, but certainly, destroying the cattle. It is here, as in the case of the army, as in the case of excise, the Government enter on a course and originate a policy upon the highest, noblest, and most unassailable principles; but having got in the thin end of the wedge, they throw aside all these principles, and thereafter work the scheme for their own profit. They created an army to defend their own territories; they have expanded it so as to enable them to seize the territories of others. They originated the excise to check insobriety, and then gradually expanded it so as to spread drunkenness broadcast and increase their own revenue. So they started the Forest Administration to benefit the country and conserve the rights of posterity, and now they work it only to pile up revenue, careless that they are ruining the peasantry and perilling the existence of any posterity. Against this misconception by Government of their duty to us, to England, and to God, this resolution is a premonitory protest; it will be stronger a good deal next year, and I ask you to carry it unanimously. (Loud cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: Shall I now put this question? ("Yes, yes." "Vote, vote.") Well, then, our eleventh Resolution stands as follows:—

"RESOLVED—That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India be most respectfully, but earnestly, entreated to investigate this carefully,

and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes."

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Mr. K. G. NATU (Poona): Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—If ever the saying that "Art is long and life is short" is anywhere realized, it is realised in this Congress Hall, when the man who stands here to give utterance to his thoughts is allowed five minutes, and no more. But fortunately for myself I am entrusted with a proposition which does not require much argument. It requires only a heart. And, is there a soul that lives that is not moved with gratitude to those who are working in England for the protection of India? I need not repeat their names. There is one among us now, Mr. Hume (prolonged cheers), whose name will be remembered, not only by ourselves but by posterity, as one who has brought about the resurrection of the whole country. (Loud cheers.) Yesterday it was said that what India wants is to pass from death unto life, and that is what is aimed at by those who are so generously working for us. I beg now to move the following Resolution:—

"That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved."

When I look on you, representing as you do every province, every class, every creed, the whole of India is mirrored in the view, and I ask, Is India so poor that it has no feelings of gratitude towards those who are working for it? What are the services that they are rendering? They are reiterating your utterances. There are oceans and mountains between us; and your cry perhaps is not heard so far away; but they are standing at the heart of the Empire, repeating your prayers, pressing for a consideration of your grievances and insisting on justice for you. While, on the one hand, they are pleading with Great Britain to do something for India, on the other hand they are turning towards us and

BREATHING HOPE INTO OUR HEARTS,

by their support and sympathy. There is the true heart in them bent on doing good to our country. They are not paid servants. Their work is a labour of love. It is not their own advancement but our welfare that they seek. How, oh how, can we

sufficiently thank them? And yet, such is human nature, while we thank them for all that they are doing and have done, we now ask them to do more. (Cheers.) We want them henceforth not to restrict their exertions to those special great fundamental questions, which have been discussed and adjudicated on by this Congress, but to interest themselves generally in all Indian matters involving any principle accepted by the Congress, properly vouched representations in regard to which may be submitted to them from this country. Matters, in the first place, often occur between Congresses, which need immediate action, like that Bombay judicial appointment which is fresh in all your minds, and, again, monthly, cases are cropping up, involving no doubt violations of principles that the Congress has insisted on, yet hardly of such national importance as to warrant their discussion in this assembly, with the very brief space of time it has at its disposal; and yet, for all that, cases involving cruel wrongs and gross injustice, in regard to which immediate public protest in England and in the House of Commons is essential, and we desire that our British Committee should be in a position to deal with all such matters. At present they have only the mandate from us to deal with and press Congress questions. We, as representing the nation, now desire to empower them to deal with all Indian questions on India's behalf, involving violations in letter or in spirit of those great principles, which we have, in our various sessions, affirmed on behalf of our countrymen and constituents; and we are not desirous of restricting the right to seek their intervention to the openly acknowledged members of the Congress party, to the Standing Congress Committees, as was at one time contemplated. No, national as is our movement, and dear as it is to every Indian's heart, whether he so acknowledge it or,

FOR FEAR OF THE POWERS THAT BE, CONCEAL HIS
TRUE FEELINGS,

we desire that this channel for the redress of grievances should be open to all India, not merely to Standing Congress Committees but to all Associations, Sabhas, and other public bodies, that have been or may be formed amongst our countrymen. Of course we must have definite rules, under which such references will have to be made. We must make sure that all such complaints are, as the resolution says, properly vouched for. Again, of course, there are multitudes of private grievances, not only not national, but not even public, in their nature, which, if put forward in England at all, must be pushed through private agents and not through a public body like our British Committee. Our rules must provide for this and must leave the fullest discretion in all cases to our Committee to move or not to move in any matter. But these are mere details; it is the principle of this new and important departure that this resolution affirms, and it is one I venture to say that you will all concur

in. (Here the gong sounded.) My time is spent and yet I have only said half of what I wished to say. Never mind, perhaps I may be allowed to say the other half at the next Congress. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. GIRISHA CHANDRA SETT (Calcutta): Fellow Delegates,—It is with great pleasure that I find myself privileged to second the resolution. I am sure there is no one here who is likely to forget the name of Sir William Wedderburn. If this country can be grateful to anybody, it is to that eminent gentleman who has laboured so long, not only in India but also in England, for the good of this land, and who is also continuing his labour in its behalf. We are also grateful to all the members of the British Congress Committee who from year to year have been anxiously endeavouring to do their best to ameliorate the condition of this country. Mr. Nathu has so fully and ably expounded the true purport of this measure that I need now only add that I trust you will all carry the resolution by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now formally put to you the 12th Resolution, which runs thus:—

“RESOLVED—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved.”

The resolution was then carried by acclamation.

THE LATE MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

Mr. PHEROZSHAH MEHTA (Bombay): Mr. President and Delegates all,—It is with the most unfeigned reluctance that I have been persuaded—I ought almost to say over-persuaded—to undertake the painful task of placing before you the next resolution. For it is a task which I cannot approach without being overcome with the deepest and most sincere emotion. To me human speech has always seemed helpless and impotent in the presence of death, and as I rise to speak of it, the death of Charles Bradlaugh seems to rush upon the mind as fresh in all its terrible and mournful reality as if it were only yesterday. India had never more reason to lament what the poet has described, with all the force of the old Hellenic conviction, as “the mystery of the cruelty of things,” than when it was suddenly, despite the prayers of millions, deprived of the valiant knight who had sworn to do battle for her, her chosen and trusted champion, her true and tender friend, her wise and sober

counsellor, her accredited representative in the great and august Council of the Empire. It is only two short years ago—nay, not so much, not two—that, plucked from the very jaws of death, snatched, as he himself said, from the blackness of the grave, we greeted him, in the name and at the call of all India, with the simple enthusiasm which his unselfish and untiring devotion to India's cause had already created from one end of the country to the other. I well remember how our hearts were unutterably stirred within us at finding him in our midst, restored, as we then fondly, but alas, vainly, hoped, to health and a long career of noble usefulness. I shall never forget (and who that was present could forget?) the memorable speech which, his gentle heart-moving him almost to tears, he addressed to the vast concourse of people that had assembled to welcome and greet him, and in which he pledged himself,

MODESTLY AND UNOSTENTATIOUSLY,

but earnestly and feelingly, "to do his best, so far as one man may, for the greater happiness of India's people, the greater peace for Britain's rule, and the greater comfort of the whole of Britain's subjects." Only one short year was given him to redeem his promise. But even in that short year how nobly, how indefatigably, how devotedly, he applied himself to the task he had undertaken, with all that large human sympathy which always seemed to me to pervade and direct his fearless, powerful, and uncompromising, vindication and championship of right and truth and justice. Even during the few months that have elapsed since his death, how often have we missed, on great occasions and small, the ring of his sagacious and powerful advocacy, and how often have we had reason to exclaim :

J "Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!"

Death's heavy hand has indeed fallen heavily upon us in the loss of Charles Bradlaugh. England has lost in him one of her best sons like unto those knight errants of old "who went about redressing human wrong,"

ONE OF THOSE LARGE-HEARTED AND LARGE-MINDED
ENGLISHMEN,

whose love and sympathy, reared and nurtured in a lofty conception of moral and political duty, does more than is imagined to transform the feeling of gratitude for the material blessings of British rule, inestimable as they are, into a sentiment of earnest, devoted, and enlightened, loyalty. His name has become a household word in the remotest parts of the country. It is a more eloquent and surer tribute to his worth than monuments of brass and marble. These may be raised to deserving as well as undeserving people. We have a statue in Bombay to Lord Reay. We have another to Sir Richard Temple. But the heart cannot belie itself. Let us then reverently enshrine his memory in our hearts as we have already enshrined those of John

Bright and Henry Fawcett! (Cheers.) I beg to propose the following resolution:—"That this Congress puts on record an expression of the gratitude felt throughout India for the signal services rendered by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh to that country's cause, and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engendered, and that a copy of this Resolution, signed by the President, be transmitted through the British Committee for presentation to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner."

Mr. K. P. KAVIABISHARAD (Allahabad): Fellow Delegates,—Fully conscious as I am of my utter unworthiness to stand before this august assembly, I am really grateful to the learned President for permitting me to second this resolution. Although suffering from the disadvantage of coming after that distinguished orator and patriot, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, I dare to stand up because I yield to none, not even to Mr. Mehta himself, in keenness of appreciation of our late champion's services or of grief at his untimely loss, though I have not his power to give expression in words to what my heart feels. What shall I say of Charles Bradlaugh, a man "the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose." Before even he had begun to take an active interest in Indian affairs, I had learned to admire, nay, almost to worship, him. An unworthy and insignificant disciple of his, words cannot describe the joy I experienced when he stepped forward to fight my country's battle, or the pain I felt at his irreparable loss. I had, however, the consolation of knowing that my grief was shared by all my countrymen from the Himalayas to Cape Cormorin, from the Indus to the Brahmapootra. We all of us know that Charles Bradlaugh was no mealy-mouthed philanthropist. He used no empty words. He was a practical man in every sense of the word. He was slow to promise, but sure to perform.

"THOROUGH" WAS HIS MOTTO.

What he undertook to do he meant to do thoroughly. He could never be disturbed by the bureaucratic owls hooting their hoots, and misrepresenting this national assembly in every way. But it is not for me to dilate on the merits of Mr. Bradlaugh. You know them full well, and they have been referred to by the honourable gentleman who preceded me with a fulness and pathos to which I can never attain. But as an illustration of Mr. Bradlaugh's universal sympathy for us, permit me to quote from memory a few words of the late lamented Member for India—words that have been ringing in my ears from the memorable day of his Bombay speech. Said he: "Born of the people, trusted by the people, for whom shall I work if not for the people? I know no geographical or race limitations." Such was the man to whom we owe a debt of immense and endless gratitude. (Cheers.)

MUNSHI SADRUDDIN AHMED (Allahabad) then spoke in Urdu :

‘Oh! God thou hast turned my smiles into tears, and added anguish to my sorrow,
Thou hast made the song of my heart mournful as the nightingale’s and hast watered the flowers of my garden with fire.’

The objects of the Indian National Congress are so very straightforward, simple, and reasonable, that no one ever thought of antagonism from any one—nay it was hoped that all the Mussulmans as a body (in accordance with the saying that Hindus and Muhammadans have been together for eight hundred years like the chest piece and the skirt of the same coat) would be of the same mind; and no opposition was feared or expected from the Anglo-Indians, and specially from those of them whose flesh and skins had been nourished with Indian salt; and from those officers who, by virtue of India’s good name, obtained positions ranging from an Assistantship to Lieutenant-Governorship; but—

“I was wrong in what I thought.”

Shortly after (the Congress had made some progress) the fire of antagonism was kindled. Those Europeans upon whom we relied as friends turned into enemies. Aligarh and Benares also aimed side blows treacherously. The poor Congress wallas began to grow disappointed so far as Indian Officers were concerned, and they contemplated securing a powerful help and patron in England. The country was in this condition when English papers began to reveal that

MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH HAD CAST THE SKIRT OF MERCY UPON US

helpless Indians, in other words, that the sun of Bradlaugh’s sympathy having risen from the West had lighted the East. This news, however, was not believed universally in India and was considered to be the Congress wallas gossip till at last Mr. Bradlaugh came to the Bombay Congress. His bright face, reverend locks, benign manners, majesty of speech, public sympathy, constancy of mind, vivified the soul of the nation, and all were convinced that that helmsman would steer our ship to the shore of desire. Our countrymen, thus consoled and rejoiced, were taking part in the proceedings of the Calcutta Congress when the sad news of his illness made all anxious, and soon after our return from Calcutta we suddenly heard the sad occurrence of his death.

“O friends, I pray, shed tears of blood for Bradlaugh, for the sake of God. He, who in Bombay joined brother-like with all, has alas! suddenly left our company. I have learnt the cause of his death, viz, that ever in anxiety for India’s freedom that great man has fought to death.”

It was our desire to make that revered man our leader before the Imperial Throne when our caravan should reach London. But, alas! he whom we were to place before the Imperial Throne has sunk into the pit of the grave. It was our aspiration to make

THIS PATRON OF THE COUNTRY THE CONSORT OF THE BRIDE,

the embodied aspirations of the Congress, to make ready all the requisites of procession and pleasure, so much so as to make, with our thanks and love as it were, garments of brocade for the bridegroom. But, alas! we had to read the following verse instead.

“We have seen many a body besmeared with dust; if the friend changed dress we saw a coffin.”

I will recite now some verses of condolence. The last hemistich gives the date of the deceased’s death (by adding up the numerical values of its letters):

“When he who loved our country fell ill my prescription of sorrow was huge. Why may not the inhabitants of Earth cause torrents of blood tears to flow when that high-minded man took abode in heaven?

“For the cause of justice he acted many parts, some time he was a pleader and some time a physician.

“The guardian is gone, the patron is gone, the adviser is gone; if you think rightly the Congress is now an orphan. The world of souls is filled with lamentation. Angels weep and Moses himself is grieved. Bradlaugh has not died, but the day of resurrection has come. Alas, a thousand times a heavy calamity has befallen us.”

I support the resolution, a copy of which will be sent to his daughter to prove our sorrow for her father’s death as some consolation to her.

MOULVI ABDULA AZIZ SAHEB (Nagpur) then spoke in Urdu, as follows: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It is absolutely binding upon us all to be grateful to all those who show us kindness, who try to get our grievances removed, and who do not let an opportunity escape without doing us good. The late lamented Mr. Bradlaugh, who was neither a follower of any of the Indian religions nor an inhabitant of India, was kind enough to show sympathy to us, took up our cause and promised, though unostentatiously yet most sincerely, to educate British public opinion upon Indian matters to such an extent that our grievances should become dreams of the past, and thereby the union between England and India eternally cemented. We are, therefore, bound to place on record our feelings of deep gratitude towards him. We cannot refrain, at the same time, from expressing our great sorrow for his untimely severance from us.

HIS UNTIMELY DEATH HAS BEEN AN IRREPARABLE LOSS TO US,

to the whole of India, and every true son of India is conscious of this. Had he been spared to us, Lord Cross’s Bill for amending the Legislative Councils in India would never have been withdrawn, but amended upon the lines laid down by the Indian National Congress and passed into law. I do, therefore, most earnestly beseech you, ladies and gentlemen, never to forget his services, and to hold for ever engraven in your hearts the sacred memory of him, who laboured so much and so unselfishly for us and for India.

The PRESIDENT: I will now formally put to you our thirteenth Resolution, and it is only meet

and fitting that you should, if you accept it, as accept it you will, pass it in solemn silence, all standing in reverence to the memory of our great champion :

“RESOLVED.—That this Congress puts on record an expression of the gratitude felt throughout India for the signal services rendered by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh to that country's cause, and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engendered, and that a copy of this Resolution, signed by the President, be transmitted through the British Committee for presentation to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner.”

The Resolution was then put and assented to silently by all, the entire assembly (visitors as well as delegates) standing in solemn silence during the whole time that the Resolution was being read and put, and until the President declared the Resolution to have been unanimously carried.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE (Calcutta), who was received with loud cheers, said : Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am extremely grateful to you for the kindness with which you have received me. I understand the feeling that prompted your kindness, and I assure you I appreciate it heartily. The resolution which I have to propose for your consideration is one which does not require any advocacy on my part to induce you to accept it. It is this:—

“That this Congress hereby puts formally on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the great services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has rendered, during more than a quarter of a century, to the cause of India, that it expresses its unshaken confidence in him, and its earnest hope that he may prove successful, at the coming elections, in his candidature for Central Finsbury, and at the same time tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most cordial acknowledgments to all in England, whether in Central Finsbury or elsewhere, who have aided or may aid him to win a seat in the House of Commons.”

Is there any one amongst you who has not heard the name of Dadabhai Naoroji or, having heard it, does not revere it, does not love it, does not carry it about with him as a household word? From the time when he was a young man to the present day, when he is over three score years old, he has devoted himself, his fortune, his talents, his life one may say, to the cause of his country. There is no publicist among us who knows the economical condition of India so well as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. He has fought, and in my opinion fought successfully, many a tough battle with the adversaries of India. Chief amongst them was that very superior person, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant

Duff, who, when he was in India, only corresponded with such high personages as Prince Bismarck and the Empress Frederick. (Laughter.) Now Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, not for any personal advantage to himself, but only for the sake of his country, has been trying for some years to get into the House of Commons, so that there, in the midst of the representatives of Great Britain herself, he may plead the cause of his native country. You know how difficult it is even for Englishmen to get into the House of Commons. He has failed once, but the spirit which led him to devote his life to his country is still in him and spurring him on to do the best he can to get a seat in the House of Commons. All that I ask you to do by this resolution is to say that you have your old confidence in the old man, and that you will be sincerely grateful to any constituency in Great Britain that will do itself the inestimable honour of sending Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the House of Commons. (Cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. SANKARA NAIR (Madras) : It is only as a matter of form that I rise to second this proposition. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji took up the question of national reform long before any one of us turned his attention to the subject; and how well, how ably, and how persistently, he has fought for us, has been so well insisted on by Mr. Bonnerjee, that it is needless for me to add anything to what he has already said. It is only just and proper that to him, and to those in India and in England who have been aiding him, and are still aiding him, whether in Central Finsbury or elsewhere, we should tender our most cordial acknowledgments. With these remarks I leave the resolution in your hands, confident of its unanimous acceptance. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: I now put our fourteenth Resolution which I really need not read again.

The Resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

POSTPONEMENT OF THE ENGLISH SESSION.

Mr. C. N. NAYADU, Chairman of the Reception Committee, (Nagpur) : Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates,—The proposition that I have to bring before you runs thus :

“That in view of the General Election, now impending in England, and in accordance with the recommendation of our British Committee, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890 for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than 100 Delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election.”

Gentlemen, this is one of the most important if,

not the most important, resolution that has been brought before the Congress. You know that our existence as a Congress is largely based upon the efforts that we may make in England for the recognition of our proceedings. It is a matter of vital importance that we should go to England and try and move the people there and our Mother Empress, and impress upon them the necessity of granting us the reforms that we are praying for. You know well that

UNLESS WE GO THERE,

and knock at the door of the headquarters of the Empire,

NOTHING REALLY SATISFACTORY WILL COME OF OUR MOVEMENT.

We have to move the British nation, and through the nation the British Parliament, through the British Parliament the Secretary of State, and through the Secretary of State and Her Majesty's Ministry our Government in India, to grant us the reforms that we advocate, and unless we do so I do not see how we can hope to succeed within any reasonable time. The system on which the British Government is now administered is this: The Government here complies with the orders of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is guided by the sense of the majority of the House of Commons, when this finds an expression; and the House, as it were, only speaks out when the constituencies press it. So we must go to the fountain head if we wish to get our grievances redressed. Unless we send a strong representative body of Indians to England, I fear we shall not be able to move the constituencies or obtain any reasonable instalment of that which we are longing for. I do not wish to make a long speech on this subject, because the argument was fully gone into at the last Congress by able speakers. The necessity is felt by all of us, and I am sure you will all agree with me and adopt the resolution without any hesitation. (Cheers.) But there are two things that I have to bring to your notice: First, we asked the several Standing Congress Committees on the last occasion to give us lists of the delegates they desired to be sent to England to represent us there. These lists we do not consider it necessary now to make public. For, as the general elections are expected to take place in 1892, and we have been asked by the British Committee to suspend our going to England till after the election is over, many things may occur between now and then to modify these lists. When the elections are over then we shall expect to receive new lists up to date. (Cheers.) Secondly, you are aware that the British Committee have most generously invited our delegates to England, when we do send our chosen hundred, to be their guests for one month. (Loud cheers.) I am sure that you all appreciate the generosity and kindness of this noble offer of hospitality, and that you all join with me in heart-felt thanks—(hear, hear)—to these brave

English gentlemen, on whom we have only that claim that sufferers from injustice ever have on British hearts, and who are, yet, ready to labour for us as they do, and to receive us as their guests as they promise—and will. (Long and continued cheering.)

BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU (Calcutta): Mr. President, Brother and Sister Delegates,—It is not desirable at this stage of the proceedings to dwell at length on the resolution now before you: nor is it necessary. Fears were entertained by the gentlemen who suggested it at the last Congress that Conservative India, so largely represented in the Congress, might hesitate to accept it. All fears were dispelled, all misgivings swept away, when the resolution was put to the vote and carried with acclamation by all sections of the Congress. Delegates from all parts of India, delegates representing widely divergent views on matters of social usage, delegates of all creeds and castes, Hindus and Mussulmans, Brahmins and Sudras, all stepped on to the platform at the mandate of the Chairman to support the resolution. And you, brother delegates from Bengal, will certainly remember that one of us, always modest and retiring, always reticent and unpretentious, but always a warm supporter of the Congress movement, himself the worthy representative of one of the most ancient and orthodox families of Calcutta, for once in his life, shaking off his habitual reserve, came forward to speak in favour of the resolution. I allude to Maharaj Kumar Neel Krishna—(loud cheers)—who, alas! for us, is now no more to help and to cheer us. Well, gentlemen, the question has been asked with pertinacious insistence, the cry has been raised, and swelled into volume by the arts of the enemy, What have been the achievements of the Congress? What have been the results of these annual gatherings? Mine is

NOT THE CREED OF EASY SUCCESS.

No triumph is worth the achievement unless reached through sacrifice and labour. It has taken Ireland, with representatives in the House of Commons, backed by the unselfish patriotism and devotion to duty of thousands of her sons, backed by sacrifices almost superhuman, backed by the indomitable energy and untiring patience of the Irish race, backed by the moral support of civilised Europe and backed by the great Liberal party in England, it has taken Ireland nearly a century to bring her programme to the threshold of victory. And we poor Indians, held for ages in foreign yoke, diversified by creeds and castes, distracted by mutual jealousies and internal dissensions, fanned into flame by the breeze of official favour, sleeping for centuries the sleep of petrified Ahalya, and just awakening into life at the magic touch of one whose memory we and our sons after us will cherish with the love and reverence with which we Hindus have been accustomed to regard the great Rama, of the family of Raghu—what could we expect to do in the brief

space of seven years? It is a wonder that we have been able to achieve the little that may safely be placed to our credit, something of which was recalled yesterday to our minds by our friend Surendra Nath Banerjee, but does any man in this great hall, even the most sanguine amongst us, believe for a moment that we shall succeed in winning our battle on the soil of India? Our officials, "lulled by the languor of the land of the lotus," are not easy to move. Bureaucratic India has turned a deaf ear to our cry. Come then, friends, gird up your loins and fight your battle on the soil, where no slave can breathe. Our real masters are

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, AND TO THEM WE MUST
APPEAL.

We, in Bengal, have made up our minds, and found our men. Reverend Pandits learned in the Shastras have pronounced that there is no harm in a sea-voyage. Long before the question of sea-voyages had become the burning question of the day, the only passage in the Shastras, which the opponents of reform cited in support of their narrow-minded views, was interpreted for other purposes by the late Pandit Taranath Tarka Bachaspati, justly considered in his time the first grammarian of India, and he said that not sea-voyages, but the expiation of sins by drowning oneself in the sea was what was interdicted in the Kaliyuga. Through a wrong interpretation of one single passage in the Shastras, we Hindus had been burning our widows for centuries, and through the wrong interpretation of another passage, we have shut the door on our progress. Well, gentlemen, the question of sea-voyages, so far as Bengal is concerned, has, thanks to the energetic efforts of Maharaj Kumar Benoy Krishna, been practically settled, and

ORTHODOX HINDUS, HOARY WITH AGE, AND OF
INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITY,

have pronounced themselves in their favour. I have no doubt that the other provinces of India will readily find men to espouse our cause in England. The Central Provinces have pronounced their verdict. My friend, Mr. Mudholkar, continues to be the same respected member of Hindu society as he was before he went to England at the mandate of the Congress and in obedience to the call of duty.

The PRESIDENT: More respected; more.

BABU BHUPENDRA: Our President says more and I say "Yea," with all my heart. Well, gentlemen, the way being cleared shall we halt in sight of the promised land? Here in India we ask for bread and they give us stones. Let us now stand before the bar of the British public, pleading our cause, pleading the cause of our country, which is the cause of justice and of freedom, a cause which has never failed, and is not now going to fail for the first time, and success shall be ours. The misgivings of doubt, the sneers of contempt, the voice of cavil will be drowned for ever, and we shall earn

for ourselves the gratitude of the voiceless millions of India and of generations yet to come.

MR. A. C. PARTHASARADHI NAIDU (Madras): I wish that this resolution did not exist in the Agenda Paper. I wish it were in my power to expunge it now. For, when this resolution was moved last year at Calcutta, I capered with joy and fondly believed that the scheme would soon become an accomplished fact. Deeply regretting, therefore, the circumstances that have necessitated the postponement of the Congress Session in London, I, however, think it reasonable that the arrangements of the London Congress should be suspended as signified in the resolution in question. I consider the causes that have contributed to the suspension as Providential; for during the two years that will elapse, Pandits and others may thoroughly investigate the question of the feasibility or otherwise of sea-voyages, so that there may not be any persecution when

THE BAND OF CONGRESS DELEGATES

return from England. I have much pleasure in announcing the report that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and His Highness the Rajah of Bobbili are contemplating visits to England, and that they have asked the opinion of the Pandits in Southern India and in Benares on the question of sea-voyages. It is almost certain that the result of this investigation will be favourable, and I hope therefore that delegates from India will be able to go in a body to England and present to the British public their grievances in the most right loyal manner possible. (Applause.)

SWAMI ALA RAM (Allahabad) spoke in Hindi as follows: Friends,—In the last Congress at Calcutta, it was resolved that the Congress of 1892 should be held in London. But anticipating the dissolution of Parliament, the British Committee has recommended the postponement of the Congress in London till after the Elections, for in the time of Election members are too much occupied with their own affairs to attend to anything else. We fully concur with the suggestions of the Indian Political Agency, and say that the Congress Session of 1894 should be held in London. It is said that Mr. Hume is about to enter Parliament. If this be true, the Congress will soon attain its objects. Friends, may God elevate Mr. Hume to the position of Secretary of State for India, and then, and then only, the grievances of the three hundred millions of the Indians would be redressed. Mr. Hume is not going to separate himself from the Congress, as was given out some time ago, but will continue to be its General Secretary, and thus nurture the tree which he has planted. Friends,

DON'T REMAIN INACTIVE LIKE STONE STATUES

during this interval, but continue to hold these grand Congresses as usual year after year. In 1893 the Congress should be held in London, and you should be prepared to send your delegates there. The loss of caste, consequent on a sea-voyage, is

a pure misconception. Sea-voyage is not an ekadasi fast that is broken by eating a grain of gram. There is no harm in a person cooking his own food and eating it anywhere. Here you drink water brought to you through pipes, and there, too, you have to do the same. This in no way would take away your caste. It is stated in Nannuck Chandrodaya that Guru Nannuck went to Mecca for the good of the people, still he did not lose his caste. How think you, then, that you would lose it by undertaking a sea-voyage? Friends,

ENGLAND IS A LAND OF ANGELS

—(laughter)—then why do you raise unnecessary objections to seeing angels! Though sixty years old and a sanniyasi (hermit) still, if I be alive, certainly I would go to England, and with this view I have commenced studying English. That well-known Englishman, Mr. Bradlaugh, died while labouring for your good; then, don't you feel ashamed in shrinking from visiting England, his birth-land, his home, which his death has hallowed. A series of Congresses held in India would not be so effective in rousing public attention in Britain as a single Congress in London. Let us, therefore, hold our Congress in 1894 in London before the threshold of our Mother Empress Victoria and pray her to redeem those solemn and sacred pledges given by Parliament in 1833 and by Her Majesty herself in 1858.

PANDIT SHYAM NARAYAN MASALDAN (Oudh): Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which is now before you. It was resolved last year that the London session of the Congress should be held this next spring. But now our English friends and members of our British Committee are of opinion that we should hold our session in London after the General Election which must come before long; and I agree with this opinion, because I think that at present with the near prospect of a General Election the public mind of Great Britain is so much excited that it is hardly possible to divert its attention to any other subject, however interesting and even important that subject may be. If after the assembling of a new Parliament when the present excitement would have ceased, and when (I also hope) the Liberals will have been installed in office, we go to England—and

THE LARGER OUR NUMBER THE BETTER IT WOULD BE

—and lay our grievances before the English nation, acquaint them with the hardships and injustice of an alien bureaucracy, extenuating nothing, nor setting down aught in malice, but telling them plainly what our sufferings are, and what it is that we want and what those measures are which would mitigate those sufferings and lighten the burden of our political and social sorrows, I have no doubt that the English people, whose love of justice and fair play is proverbial, who having enjoyed themselves the fruits of freedom from time immemorial,

have so often helped to nurse the infant liberties of less advanced states, will redress our grievances and free us from those political evils which our own fate (for after all what does it avail to blame the officials who may be but mere instruments of an evil fate?) has brought upon us. Every new Parliament has its own ambitions and aspirations, and the next Parliament, which I trust will be Liberal, will have its own ambitions, not the least of which will be (at least with a large majority of our Liberal friends) to do something for India. Those who are fighting for Irish Home Rule may well be expected to take some interest in the furtherance of a movement which is, beyond doubt, the greatest political movement of modern times, and which, while it embodies all the best features of Irish Home Rule, involves none of the drawbacks and dangers, which some, though I am not amongst the number, believe to attach to this latter. If we go out in large numbers to England and appeal to them for help,

REST ASSURED THAT HELP THEY WILL GIVE US,

and through their support our cause will form a strong plank in the Liberal platform. Of course, our critics will not be slow to discredit our movement in their eyes. They will tell them what they have been telling our Government here that we are not fit for what we want, that our chief demand for a moderate measure of representation in the Legislative Councils is premature, and out of place in a country like India, where there are so many sects and creeds, so many discordant elements that would defy all attempts at bringing them together to work harmoniously under a representative system. Now, I will not wait to examine the sincerity of these criticisms, I can only say that if they are not deceiving the Government then they are themselves labouring under a very lamentable self-deception. It may be a rather hard task to cure them of this self-delusion, but it is certainly wisest to take every precaution to prevent the contagion of this malady spreading to the people of England. It is one of the noblest traits in the character of Englishmen that, as soon as they are convinced of the existence of any political evil or injustice, they do not rest until that evil has been removed or that injustice redressed. The English are well aware that even in countries where the co-existence of divergent races and creeds was a source of political discontent and instability, the establishment of representative institutions has been the means of restoring public contentment and tranquillity. It is one of the principles of human nature that

THE HIGHEST CLASS OF FEELINGS ARE CALLED INTO EXISTENCE AND NOURISHED ONLY BY EXERCISE AND ACTION.°

Men who are accustomed to take part in public affairs, to make sacrifices, for these are, by mere force of habit and circumstance, raised to a higher level of morality, while those who have no interest in public matters, whose daily actions and aspi-

rations are confined to their own selves, however, good and pure-minded they may be, come instinctively to take a narrow view of man's calling, lose their generous sympathies, and become unconsciously selfish and demoralised. There will be sectarianism, class bias, disunion, and all the rest of it among a people who are debarred from taking part in public concerns, in things which raise the mind, if even for a moment, above the sordid veil of self and awaken it to wider and more generous sympathies. On the contrary, when a different set of principles prevails, then the results will be far happier, as we see in Switzerland. That country is divided into a number of Cantons each having little in common with the rest. The differences between the Protestants and the Catholics are most marked. Even the nationalities are various. In former times there used to be great feuds among them. But in spite of all this Switzerland is the most democratic country in Europe, and ever since it has become so, feuds and quarrels have, practically, disappeared, differences of race and religion have lost their odious features, and the Swiss people are considered the most peaceful and contented people in Europe. Take another instance, that of Canada. There too, so long as "British ascendancy" prevailed, the people were on the verge of rebellion. In Canada, there are two such discordant elements as the French and the English. At one time it was thought impossible to reconcile the two, and attempts were made to rule Canada, not in accordance with the wishes of the Canadians but according to English ideas. The attempt egregiously failed. Discontent and disaffection rose to the highest pitch, until, fortunately for England, wiser counsels prevailed, and Canada was granted representative institutions which appeased the public mind and have ever since converted that country into one of the most loyal portions of the British Empire. If differences of race and religion did not stand in the way of representative Government in Canada and Switzerland, I see no reason why they should constitute any argument against the limited representation that we claim for the people of India. If it is not granted to us, it is because the English nation has not yet made up its mind that it shall be granted to us, and it has not made up its mind because it is not yet sufficiently informed upon Indian matters. The moment its information is complete it will do justice to India. It is for us to go to England and inform it.

The PRESIDENT: I know every one would like to speak on this subject. I think I could myself speak straight off for an hour—(laughter)—but I really must urge you to finish our work. Now shall I put this resolution without further speaking? (Cries of "Yes, Yes", "Vote, Vote"). Come then, our fifteenth resolution will stand thus:

"RESOLVED—That in view of the General Election now impending in England, and in accordance with the recommendation of our British Committee, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance

of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890 for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than one hundred Delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election."

The Resolution was then put and carried *nomine dissentiente*.

ASSIGNMENT OF FUNDS FOR ORGANISATION.

Mr. J. GHOSAL (Calcutta): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—I have been called upon to move a merely formal resolution. As you have passed the twelfth resolution with acclamation, we have cleared the ground. We have acknowledged gratefully the services rendered to this country by the British Committee, and we expect that they will go on working for the good of this country. But for that purpose we must provide them with funds. They are giving their services gratuitously, time and much time, that to most of them means money, and we must at least provide for actual expenses, printing and the like, incurred on our behalf, and for these expenses we have to allot, as we do every year, a certain sum of money. A calculation has been made as to the amount that will be required to meet the expenses of next year, and this resolution has been framed:

"That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's office and establishment, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged in Committee for the year 1892."

I have no doubt that you will unanimously adopt this resolution. May I also add the suggestion that you should not merely vote the money, but do your best to see that it is made promptly available for remission to England. (Cheers.)

Mr. VIRARAGHAVA CHARARIAR (Madras): This subject has been threshed out by the Subjects Committee whom we appointed to consider it and other questions, and they have come to the conclusion that Rs. 40,000 should be voted to meet the expenses of the British Agency in England and promptly paid in, so as to keep the Committee going with its work. The money is urgently required, and if we forget to discharge our duty the Secretary is frequently bothered in making the necessary payments. I therefore appeal to you not only to order the money now, but to collect it and remit it at once to England. (Cheers and cries of "Vote, Vote.")

The PRESIDENT: By all means, if no one else wishes to speak on this subject? ("None, None".) Then I put the sixteenth Resolution in these words:

"RESOLVED—That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses

of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's office and establishment, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged in committee for the year 1892."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

RE-ELECTION OF GENERAL AND JOINT GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE (Calcutta): Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It has always been my privilege to propose one resolution at the meetings of the Congress—I refer to the reappointment of Mr. Hume as General Secretary—(loud and continuous cheering), and of Pandit Ajudhia Nath as Joint General Secretary. (Loud cheers.) This resolution does not require any seconding or putting to the vote from the chair. I have always proposed this to the Congress except at the last meeting, and I do it now. There is but one word that I ought to say. You must have all been dismayed by the circular issued by Mr. Hume in which he hinted that perhaps he would not be able to continue our General Secretary; and you may have heard that the health of Pandit Ajudhia Nath is such that it is with the greatest difficulty that he can retain his post. But Mr. Hume and Pandit Ajudhia Nath have yielded to the persuasion that has been brought to bear upon them. (Cheers.) I ask you to carry this resolution with acclamation as usual; and I think I may say, in conclusion that we bring you glad tidings of great joy.

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

The Resolution was carried by acclamation, the delegates rising, and crowds of them bestrewing the platform with showers of flowers.

EIGHTH CONGRESS TO BE HELD AT ALLAHABAD.

Mr. A. O. HUME (Punjab), who was received with further long-continued bursts of cheers and showers of flowers, said: Brother Delegates,—I also have the privilege of annually submitting one resolution; but before I ask you to accept it I have one or two little matters to touch upon. In the first place, I would attempt to thank you for the kind manner in which you have received me. It is hopeless for me to find words to express my gratitude for the sympathetic attitude which you always assume in regard to me in return for such small poor sympathy as I have been able to show you. (Loud cheers.) The first point on which I wish to touch is this. I have been very unwilling to continue in the post of your General Secretary

simply because circumstances will prevent my visiting India next year, and I think that if the duties of the General Secretary are to be properly performed he ought to visit the country, and I should be unwilling to continue in an office the duties of which I could not adequately fulfil. That alone is the reason for my hesitation in continuing to hold the office of General Secretary. You know well that my heart is ever with you all! (Loud burst of cheers.) I have hesitated to accept the honour offered to me; but when I found that my friends here were of opinion that for the good of the Congress it was necessary that I should remain I at once acceded. (Cheers.) And I am thoroughly pleased at heart that it should have been thought necessary that I should remain. Then I want to allude publicly to one or two little points about which there is a misunderstanding. I came across in the "Gujerati" the other day, and in some other native papers, passages referring to the accounts of the British Committee, and saying that they, the writers, did not know what became of the money that went to England. Now, elaborate and full accounts are sent out every year to this country, and if the Standing Congress Committees do not choose to distribute them, we in England are not to blame. There is nothing secret, every farthing spent at home is accounted for, and you get a regular account audited by professional accountants as auditors. Then I am told that a great number of persons in India do not understand that the newspaper *India* is the property of the Congress. It was started with your funds by the British Committee. Some people fancy that Mr. Digby is the proprietor. He is nothing of the kind. He is paid £100 a year for editing the paper, in addition to his other salary. It is absolutely your property—(cheers)—and it is your interest to develop its circulation. If you only do your duty in that respect it will be perfectly self-supporting. At present it is rather a drag upon the funds that you send home to the English agency. I hope, therefore, that in this matter you will all exert yourselves. I have occupied four and a half minutes. Another half minute will suffice to submit the resolution which it has always been my duty to propose.

"RESOLVED—That the Eight Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1892, at Allahabad." (Cheers.)

To me there is something saddening and something gladdening in this announcement: gladdening, because we have reached the Eighth Congress and are going to have a gathering which I know will be successful; saddening, because, for the first time from the commencement of the Congress, I shall not be present to share your enthusiasm and your labours for the good of the country. But be sure that, though distant from you in body, my spirit will be with you and I shall watch over your progress, and shall be expecting, if still in the land of the living, to receive good tidings and

hear that the next Congress is the most successful that you have ever had. Remember that our opponents have been always telling the world—you and I know how false it is—that these Congresses depend entirely upon Mr. Hume. It will be for you to show next year, when Mr. Hume has not been near the country for twelve months, that you can run the Congress yourselves as well as, or better, than it has ever been run when Mr. Hume was present. I lay this burden upon you. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. PANDIT AJUDHIA NATH (Allahabad): Mr. President and Fellow Delegates,—On behalf of the North-West Provinces I cordially invite the Congress to Allahabad. (Cheers, and "Three cheers for Pandit Ajudhia Nath.") According to the usual practice it would not be necessary to say a word more. But under the special circumstances I ask permission to add a few words. I want those good friends, whether Anglo-Indians or others, who have been saying that this is the beginning of the end, to note once for all that there is no lack of enthusiasm for the Congress in the country. (Cheers.) India means to carry on this movement, or, as our opponents call it, agitation (be it so) as long as our reasonable demands are not granted; and if Government defer the granting of these demands, the Government and the British Parliament and the British Nation will be responsible before man and God for this waste of India's time, India's money, and India's energy. (Loud cheers.) We are all sorry that one of the reasons why Mr. Hume will be unable to attend the Congress next year is failing health. At the same time there is some consolation, both to him and to us, in this that, if we hold the Congress in his absence, and if he finds any shortcomings—and shortcomings there must be—he will still be able to teach us how to overcome them. While heartily and sincerely thankful to Mr. Hume for the invaluable assistance he has rendered to us at the time when we most needed it, for all he has done, for all he is doing for us—(cheers)—we are sure that no one will be happier than himself to discover that his political child, the Indian National Congress, has not only learned to walk, but is able to work for itself. (Cheers.)

The PRESIDENT: You will now allow me to put to you formally our eighteenth and last Resolution:

"RESOLVED—That the Eighth Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1892, at Allahabad."

The Resolution was then carried by acclamation amidst a perfect storm of cheers.

THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. SURRENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta): Brother Delegates—I have to invite you to join me in the performance of a duty which I am

sure will be most welcome and acceptable to you all, and that is to tender our acknowledgments and our most cordial expressions of gratitude to Mr. P. Ananda Charlu for his conduct as President of this great assembly. (Cheers.) The President of the National Congress has a most responsible, most difficult, and I was going to say most embarrassing, duty to perform. He has, in the first instance, to enforce the rules of debate and also the rule in regard to the limitation of time—a very unpleasant duty at times. I think I express the sense of this great gathering when I say that, having regard to the delicate nature of his duties and the responsible character of his functions, he has nobly merited an expression of our acknowledgments. I hope and trust that this vote will be carried by acclamation.

The vote was then carried by acclamation with a good deal of cheering.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—I am now *functus officio*. I have no right to ask you to listen to me with authority; this, however, I am entitled to ask, that since I have to address my brethren they will give me a patient and indulgent hearing. My object, first, is to thank you all, the entire body of delegates, for the manner in which you have made it possible for me to discharge the function which you have assigned to me. It is but right that having done me the honour of electing me to this chair, you should assist me in my efforts to deserve that honour; and, if, in the discharge of the duties entrusted to me any measure of success has attended my efforts, it is solely due to you, one and all. But I find it necessary to single out two bodies who are entitled to special praise at my hands. One body is composed of the many gentlemen who spoke in connection with the resolutions. I cannot too highly praise the sense of proportion that marked them generally. If occasionally there was a little trespassing beyond the allotted time, I put it down, and put it down rightly I believe, to the enthusiasm under which the speaker was speaking at the time, not to any oblivion of the rule that I am sure he was determined, in his heart of hearts, to observe strictly. If, therefore, in dealing with any of the speakers I have unwillingly been a little peremptory—"No, No"—I beg of you to excuse me. Then there is another body to whom my thanks are due, consisting of gentlemen who were inclined and qualified to speak, but who, out of respect to the authority you have vested in me, have foregone that pleasure, and have thereby proved in the highest degree their possession of that sense of propriety that should belong to every representative elected to a national assembly. And now, gentlemen, I beg, on your behalf and on my own behalf,

to thank the Chairman and the various members of the Reception Committee for all they have done to make this Congress a success. In a work done by a large number of people, the apportionment of praise is an invidious task. I do not, therefore, propose to bring before you any names as entitled to any special consideration, except to say that Mr. Naryan Swami conducted the Congress car to triumph and victory, as Narayana conducted the Pandavas in their virtuous war to undoubted victory. Mr. Hume, in his circular, referred to the undoubted fact that this Congress indicates a distinct stage which we have reached. In that we all unquestionably concur. But he suggested that the Congress sessions in India might be suspended for some time. That suggestion was facing me when I came here from Madras, and one of the things that I wanted to incite you to do was to differ from Mr. Hume in that matter. I am glad to find that without my help you have done this and have resolved to continue to hold these annual Congresses without intermission. Now a few words more, by way of completing the remarks which you were kind enough to hear from me when I began. At that time, not knowing how you were going to determine, I could certainly not have given you what, in my mind, ought to be the forecast of the future of this institution. Is it to be reduced in dimensions, and in numbers, and denuded of all demonstration? Or is it to be a mere demonstration? Or is it to be an institution coupled with demonstration? Considering that one main object that we have in view is to unify India, and that in that respect we have yet to go a long way, it is desirable that the propagandist character of the Congress should not cease for some time to come. (Cheers.) Wherever we have a centre in India, promising anything like a good local audience, and giving us the prospect of gathering together a large body of visitors, it is our religious duty to pitch our camp there, and do all that we can to influence those who assemble. Whatever

be the method adopted next year, we must, in order to carry out our purpose, effectually go in for a big, moveable pavilion of our own, with seats sufficient to accommodate at least four thousand persons; and over it we must have a banner containing a monogram "I.N.C." (Indian National Congress) inseparably intermingled with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, of the British flag. (Cheers.) If in that way we meet at different stations, we should, I think, in addition to the regular Congress work, devote one day to an important purpose to which no time has yet been allotted at the Congress sittings. We have, no doubt, on the opening day the Chairman's speech and the President's speech; but I think it is necessary that we should add to our programme, by proposing in regard to each presidency or important province, an honourable mention, and from every one of those provinces or presidencies some one should give a review of the administration thereof, with well-attested and calmly stated facts by way of response. If we can devote, say, one day to hearing speakers in that way, the Congress record will contain not merely what takes place in regard to those questions with which Congress is immediately connected, but a good, intelligent, and careful review of the administration of the whole country from the closing of one session to the beginning of another. Those, gentlemen, are the thoughts which I should have added to the observations with which I began the meeting, but, as I have said, I could not then do so. The only thing that now remains for me is to thank you again from the bottom of my heart for the manner in which you have received the proposal of thanks to me—(Cheers)—and to declare, as I now do, this Seventh Indian National Congress dissolved.

Three cheers, again and again repeated, were then given for Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and then the Congress dissolved.

APPENDIX I.

The LIST of DELEGATES who attended the SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, held at Nagpur, December, 1891, printed, with all details, in the Indian Edition, is not reprinted in the English Edition.

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, & SIXTH CONGRESSES.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

RESOLVED—That, in the opinion of this Congress, the competitive examinations now held in England for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, "be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than twenty-three years.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burma, and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burma should be separated

from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of the country as is Ceylon.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.

- (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interest would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month; and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the third Resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

RESOLVED—That a committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be appointed

*Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji (<i>Bombay.</i>)	Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (<i>Patna.</i>)	to consider the
" S. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras.</i>)	Pundit Prannath (<i>Lucknow.</i>)	Public Service
" Peary Mohun Mookerjee (<i>Calcutta.</i>)	Munshi Kashipershad (<i>Allahabad.</i>)	Question and re-
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras.</i>)	Nawab Reza Ali Khan (<i>Lucknow.</i>)	port thereon to
Babu Motilal Ghose (<i>Calcutta.</i>)	Mr. Hamid Ali (<i>Lucknow.</i>)	this Congress.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (<i>Calcutta.</i>)	Lala Kanhyalal (<i>Amritsar.</i>)	
" Gungapershad Varma (<i>Lucknow.</i>)	Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao (<i>Madhaw</i>	
" Ramkali Chaudhuri (<i>Benares.</i>)	Chitnavis (<i>Nagpur.</i>)	
	Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (<i>Bombay.</i>)	

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

RESOLVED—That, in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great

*REPORT.

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

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

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

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

Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government effectively in any crisis.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

RESOLVED—That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally enumerated*)

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

to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

RESOLVED—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in

regard to utilizing such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively, than at present, the skill and talents of the people of the country.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

SCHEME.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

- (i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light *ad valorem* import duties;
- (j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.

RESOLUTION IV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons; and, while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION XII.

RESOLVED—That Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., be re-elected General Secretary of the National Indian Congress for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XIII.

RESOLVED—

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

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

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

- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;
- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

RESOLVED—That, while recognising the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on *all* Provincial administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in 103, 104, and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to subsection 4 of para. 103, viz.—

“That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.”

RESOLUTION V.

RESOLVED—That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council.

RESOLUTION VI.

RESOLVED—That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago.

RESOLUTION VII.

RESOLVED—That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows:—

THE CONGRESS.

“The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavillion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a circular to all secretaries and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited;”

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy:—

BELVEDERE, 26th December, 1890.

“DEAR SIR,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavillion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

“To
J. GHOSAL, Esq.,
Secretary Congress Reception Committee.”

Yours faithfully,
P. C. LYON,
Private Secretary.

authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquire, most respectfully, whether his His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VIII.

RESOLVED—That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardly Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

RESOLUTION IX.

RESOLVED—That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers, proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

RESOLVED—That of the funds now in the Joint-General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed in fixed deposits, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and, ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

RESOLVED—That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the reforms which the Congress has advocated.

PHEROZSHAH MEHTA,
President of the Sixth Indian National Congress.

CALCUTTA,
December 31st, 1890.