## REPORT <br> THE SEVENTH MEDIAN

NATIONAL CONGRESS

$$
N A G P U R
$$

On the zsith, 291h and 3oilh December, 1891.

## SOME

## ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

## Rtct of Warrliament of 1833.

That no native of the said teríltories (India) or any natural-born subject of His Majenty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent; colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any.place, office, or employment under the said Government (Act 3 and 4, Wm. TV., c. 85, s. 87, 1833.)

## Rev Quyiesty's Prandamilion in 1858 .

Wa hol! murselies lound to the matires of our Indian Tervitories by the same oiligations of Inty which himed re to ald nur wher Suldicets; and thoser olligutions, hy the Blessing of Almighty rivid, tec shull firith fully aint comaiontiosts! y fullit.




## Lord Northbrook on Indian Affairs.

"Whew is ine simple tist which we may apply to all Indiumigurstions; let us never furget
 natives aj Ladia.

## Lord Lytton's Speech at the Delhi Assemblage on 1st January, 1877.

"But ,"w, the nutives of Inilia, whaterer yutr race and whatever your orsed, have a


 or the Imprial Parlinnont. It is cocomised ly the Gionernment of. Induas binding amp its humener und consistent reth "ll the aiusie its poligy."

## Lord Ripon in the Viceregal Legislative Council.






 di mive than anytheng rise con'd passition do to strike at the rowt of our fo.cer and to distroy our




## Lord Dufferin's Speech on theocoasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee in 1887.







Lord Lansdowne in the Viceregal Legislative Council. 9th January, 1891.



## REPORT

## THE SEVENTH

## INDIAN

NATIONAL CONGRESS;

耳卫IDD.AT

$$
N A G P \cup R,
$$

On the 28th, 29th and 30th December,
1891.

## $\mathfrak{g n}$ Loving ᄅtemembrance PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH，

 ：Years 188t，1887，1888，1889，1890，
Frllow of both the Calcutta and allahabad Unifrrbitibs， AXD
gioint general gecrefary of the finian glational．Gongress．
Appeared，8th April 1840．Passed away，IIth．January I892．
Death has no power，th＇immortal soul to slay，
That，when its present body turns to clay，
Sueks a fresh horuo，and with unlessened might
Iuspires anothar frawe with life and light．

## エ尺エアゴコS TO EIエS MEMOET。

Bir Joun Enor，the Cuier Justics of the Allahabid Bigh Court，said ：－
＂Wo feol that wo ought not to allow this opportunity of our being assembled in Full Benoh to pass withnat expressiny our eorrow for the douth and paying＇our tribute of respect to the memory of one who， for many ycatm，has hold a high position in thata Court and in these Provincea as an advocatc，and who was


 that tho profersiona at larie of theer Provinces hul suffered a still greater loss in losing in lim a bright and living exnmple of whal an honourable adrocate ghould be．Pundit Ajudhya Nath＊＊had that won uil and riru judrnout which onsbles as great aivooate，as we think he was，to discriminate betwoen the implootinnt and the waimpurtant facts and incidenta in a case．＊＊In his argumenta before as he
 ludypmadent．
＂Ihincourt will be elosed for the day，and also the office on aecount of the death of Pandit Ajudhya Nath＇＂
At one of the largest public meetings ever hold at Allahadad it was resolved that－
＂This meatiny heroby puts on record its omphatio expresaion of the deep sorrow everywhere folt at she reoent untimely denth of Pumit Ajudlya Nath，who by his conrageous，patriotio，and indefatigablo labonrs in the oanco of India＇s people had wou tho rogard，eateem，and respect of all good men throughout the ocuatry．＂
At ngreat publio meetieg at Madnas it was resolved－
＂What this metting desires to place upon record its high sense and approciation of the sulandid and divinturested murvines reudered by the bate Hon，Pandit $\Delta$ jullhya Nath，Pleader of the High Conrt of Allahatinh，to the onum of the Indian National Conaresa，and to reoord its deep，and lnsting regret for the lome of a luader who，il his own purana，combinol so menty and brilliant unalifications for command，＂
Igain at Nampare it was－
＂Rrsidred－That thl Genomal Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Nappur does hereby put on record an exprenwin in tho univereal sorfur with which all porsons in theze central provinoes havo receiv－ cil the saliukellizence of che untimely nud deplorable death of Pundit Ajudhya Nath，lato Joint General Acoretary of tho Indian National Congreesh In Pubdit Ajadhya Nath all felt that they had amongst them

 sushiiuuta grisvoun and aluved irreparable loas，＂
At a publio meeting held in the Town Hall，Oalcetra，it was resolved－
＊That this Mleviting devires to plewo on reount ita nenso of the great and irreparable lozs which the country has zustaincl by the denth of Punalit Ajudhya Natb．Ilis courage，devotion and seif－Racrifice in the dixultar rin of his publio ducies entitie his mumary to the respectfal gratitudu of his countrymen．＂
At a miblic medting at Larore itwas resoturd－
 Pundit Wudhya Nath，Joint Genurnl suaretary，Indian Sacional sorm at the nntimely desth of the Hon＇ble countery had theroly sustained．＂
Speech of tho Vice－Chancellor of the Oalentta Universitr－
＂In Pundit Ajudhya Nith wo bave loct another dixcinyuiahod colleagua，man＇of whom，＇as sho Vim．Chanowhor the Allahakud Univenits has jnsty remurked，＇any oountry and race mimbt bo proud．
 respoched by the educ ceet olawseas all over India，and bendal moarus his losa as decply as his natire prorince．＂
Recolutions sidular in purpert，to those alove quoted，mere passed at public mectiogs held at－

| Allaweh． <br> Alua－lnages <br> Alut．csi． <br>  <br> 13 nithy． <br> Rull｜live <br> Mhatins． <br> H．ria <br> 炜 1. <br> norin． |
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Lisminti．
Gowrih．
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Onsok．
Proun
$\frac{8}{8}$ junatitid
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Tanjure．

Trichengoh<br>Piplicaps．<br>Chanuripet．<br>W：ard<br>Anl ：ang other

## 


 Spech of Mri. O. Naragan Bwami Naynda (Chairman af. the Recerption Committe)... 8-8 Election of Preeident
Specch of Pandit Ajoodhya Nëth (proposing Eai Bohodur P. Amanda Char/a ä President $M_{r}$ Pherombhal-Mobte -.. .............. id
Mr O. Narasan Bmami Neynadu (declaring R̆ai Buanadur Pe inanda


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Splech of President proposing Birthday Cheers for $\mathrm{Mr}_{\mathrm{H}}$ Gladslone ......... 12



RESOLUTTON, in rogaril to the Reform of He Iegishatire Concicils-

$\because$ BECOZ
: Spech of Mr. Privilo Kentiedf (oroposing Brd Renolutigh, regarding he oriacoum
 28-25 24, 26
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46, 45
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 India and the roforman peeded tor its remoral- Carrica wnemimounty... 36
$\therefore \therefore$ Spech of Mr.B. G. Tilai (poroposing the Renolution, afto the modjelcation of the - rileo mnder the 1 mos Acs ond masurres nedfint b qualify the popple to deffend thair homus. and Goovnment)
Mr. Ali Mehowed Bhimij -
Mr. Reme Chand dit Pirif
Mr. C. S. Nyadd M .

FOURTE RESOLUTION, prieigg for the mpdification of the railes moder thi Arms Aot and meearres needfal to quatity the people te detesad beir bomee and Goveramoent -Cariad Enemimouly



## APPENDIX 1.

## LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

## EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

: IIELDATALLABABAD, DECEMBEA, 1899.

( ii )

( iii )


| 5 首 |  |  |  | Names in foll of Delegates, with honorary titles, schoiastic degrees, etc. | Race, Religious denomination, and Casie, if any. | Occupation and Address. | How and when elected. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6818 | Bombuy. | Satarn. | Satara. | Rno Sahib Ramchandra Krishra Kothawale. | Brahmin. | Inamdar and ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Jandholder, Member of the Distriet Local Board, Sasara, and Chairman, Municipal Consmittee, Wai. | Public Meeting at Borgaons on 5th December. 1892. Pullific Meeting at Wai un 27th November, 1892. |
| 69 |  | " | " | Mr. Raghunath Pandarapya Karandikar. | do. | Pleader, High Court, Sataran ... | don |
| 70 |  | " | " | Rao Sahib Balawanta Shridhera Sahasrabudhe. | do. | District Plender, and Monicipal Conmissioner, Satara. | do. . |
| 71 | " | " | " | Rao Bahadur Ganesh Papdurang Apte. | .do. ' | Inamdar, Vice-President District Roard add Municipality, Satara. | do. |
| 72 | " | Belgaurn. | Belgaum. | Mr. Sadasiva Balkrishas Bhate. | do. | Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Member District Local Board; Joint Secretary District Association, Belgaum. | General Meeting beld as Belgaum on 18 th Decem ber, 1892. |
| 73 | " | " | - | ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ Bhim Rao Ramjee | do. | Pleader. | do. |
| 74 | " | Ichalkar- Enji. | Ichaikar. anji. | ", Ramchandsa Balader Aple. | do. | Member of A. V. School Committee, Ichatkaranji, - in charge of J. N. Congress Hill of Ichalkaranji, Member of Poone Industrial Con:ference. | Public Meeting beld at Ichalkaranji on .14th December, 1892: |
| 75 | " | * | " | ", Ramchandra Ballal alias Rabe Sahib Ranade. | do. | President, Sarvajanik Sabha, Ichalkaracji. | do. |
| 76 | " | Deccan. | - Poona Sarvajanit Sablis. | "Krishnaji Sakharanı Joshi. | do. | Pleader, Karandwar State. ... | General Meeting of :he Poona Sarvajanik Sabha held on 6th December, 1892. |
| 77 | " | " | " | " Naro Bhaskar Deo. dhar. | do. | Pensioned Deputy Educational Inspector, Member Pusna Sarsajanik Sabha and Member Local Board, Taluka Situr. | Do. and Pullic Metung heli at Poona on 20th Norember, i892. |
| 78 | " | " |  | $\text { "Melay. } \begin{gathered} \text { Ranganalha Bapuji } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | do. | Member of the Poona Sarva. janik. Saiba and Sowkar, Poonm. | do. |
| 79 | " | 12 | " |  | do. | Mcmber of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Joint Secretary Deccan Standing Congress Com., Sowkar, Inamgar, Narayan Peth, Poona. | dos- |
|  | " | " | * | " Raghunath Narayan Pandil. | do. | Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Sowkar, Kesava Peth, Poona. | do. |
| 81 | " | " | * | " Vinayak Narayana Aple. | do. | Member of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Merchant Shanwarpeth, Poona. | do. |
| ${ }^{82}$ | " | " | " | "Gopala Krishna Gokhale, B. A. | do. | Professor, Fergusson College ; Superiatendent New English School, Hon. Secretary and Member, Poona Sarvajanik Salba, Editor of the "Quarterly Joarnal" of the Sabbs. | do. |
| 83 | " | " | $\cdots$ | "Sbivarama IIari Sathe. | do. | Member and Hon. Secretary Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and Editor "Nyayashraya," Mehoonpoora, Poona. | . do. |
| 84 | " | * | " | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Raghonatha } \mathrm{Daji} \\ & \text { Nagarkar. } \end{aligned}$ | i do. | Mehoonpoora, Poona <br> Pember of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Munscipal Commissioner, District Ilea- | do. |
| 85 | " | * | " | Ruo Bahadur Vishnu Mureshwara Bhide, | 0 do. | der, Budhwar Peth, Poona. Pensioned First Class Sub. Judge; Chairman, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Sedashiwa | do. |
| 86 | " | $\because$ | " | Mr. Rampchandra Betava Limayc. | do. | District Pleader, Sadashive Peth, Poona. | Public Meeting held at Poona, 20th Nuvember, 1892. |
| 87 | " | $*$ | " | "Marthusudan Wasurieo | -o do. | Landholder, Poune $\quad .$. | . ${ }^{\text {do. }}$ |
| 48 | - | " | " | .0 Raghanatha Ramachandra Agesti. | - do. | Pensioned Sab-Engineer, Mu- nicipal Commistioner, Mem- ber, Arbirration Cout; Malc- waver, Poona | - do. |

( $\times$ )

( vi )

| $\begin{aligned} & \dot{8} \\ & \frac{8}{y} \\ & \frac{3}{4} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{1}{H} \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 家 | Names in foll or Delegates; with honurary ti:tes, scholastic degrees, etc. | Race, Religrus denomination, and Caste if any. | Occupation and Addiress. | How and when clected. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| . 183 | Bombay. | Deccap. | $\left(\begin{array}{c}\text { Rui } \\ \text { CKolhapur.) }\end{array}\right.$ | Mr. Krashi Nath Ranga Nath Joshi. | Brabmin. | Land-holder, Ruii, Kolhapar District. | A) a Public Meeting beld at Rui, agth December, 1892. |
| 184 | - | " | $\cdots$ | Appaji Vishnu Kulkarni, | do. | Land-holder, Rai, Kolhopuq Distuct. | do. |
| 115 |  | \% | * | , Krishnaji Dadaji Kulkarni. | do. | do. | do. |
| 816 |  | Berat. | Amrsoti. | , Keshav Balwant Deshpende. | Marhatta Brahmin. | Land-holder ... ... | At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6ib November, 1892. |
| 137 | " | * | " | Vasndeo Narayra Jog. | do. | Pleader ... ... |  |
| 118 | * |  | ${ }^{*}$ | ", Moreshwar Bapuji Marathe. |  |  |  |
| 119 | " | " | ! | " Kanganath Narsinha Mudhoikar, E.A., LL, B. | do. | Pleader, lligh Court, and Land-holder. | Do. and General Meeting of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabhe on 6th Navem. ber, 1892. |
| 130 | " | - | " | ", Ganesh Shrikrithna "Khaparde. | do. | Vakil, High Conrt, Malguzar, Vice.chairman Muncipal Commitlee and Chairman District Board. | At a Public Meeting at Amraption 6th Novem. ber, 8892. |
| 381 | $\because$ | * | $\because$ | 1) Panduranga Gorinda. | do. | Vakil, High Court, and Landholder. | At a Public Meeting held at Amration onth No yember, and a Public Mecting at Akola on 11th December, 8892. |
| 122 | $\because$ | i | " | "Vinayaka Savlaram Oak. | do, |  | A. a Public Meeting held at Amraoli on 6 th No. ventser, 1892. |
| 133 | " | " | Ellichpur | Bapu Mabadeo Pandse. | do. | Distuict Cont Pleader ... | Public 'Meeting beld nt: Ellichpere on $\mathbf{3}^{\text {th }} \mathrm{No}$ vemiker, 1892. |
| 124 | " |  |  | " Gangatbara Namajana Japdall. | do. | do. | do. |
| 125 |  |  |  | DVasye. Erishna | Hiadu Krisina Hakshi | do. | dol |
| 126 | 11 | " | 9 | "Shripal Mahadeo Kesknf. | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text { Hindu } \\ \text { Brahmap: } \end{array}\right.$ | Distriet Court Plamiler, and Land holder. | do. |
| 127 | " | " | Abole | ${ }^{2}$ V, R. Mudbolkar ... | do. | Municipal Comsmissioner and Editor, "Vaidariuha," Akvis. | Public Meeting at Akols, anth December, 8892. |
| 128 | " | " | " | " Ramachandra Viahiau Mah.j̇ana. . | ${ }^{\text {don }}$ | Agriculturist and Banker ... | da |
| 139 | '0 | " | " | "PRusin Rao Gopal Deak- | do. | Deshpande and Land-hoider. | $\cdot \text { daf }$ |
| 130 131 | " | " | $"$ | " R.ama Rao Jagirilar ... | do. | Jagirdar of Babulgyon ... | dd |
| 131 33 | $\because$ | $\because$ | Man'gral | of Shankara Guvinda ... "Kam Ḱrishna Balirama | $\begin{aligned} & \text { do. } \\ & \text { do. } \end{aligned}$ | Banker  <br> Savakarkarniya .. <br>  .... | Public Meefing held on. |
| 133 14 | " | " |  | "Ktiny. <br> n Lakshmana Atpoaram Mahnjana. | do. | Merchant, Money-lender, and Vice. President, District Board, Bassein. | 21st Novemither, 1892 At a General Meeting of the Sablan held on 5 ib November. 1892. |
| 134 | 3 | 13 | " | Rao Sahib Dey Rao Vi. aaynk. | do. | Vakil, High Court, Land-lord and Kunicipal Cunpmissioner, | Do. and at al Public Meet. ing of the akola people at Akola, held on sath December, 1892 |
| 135 | ${ }^{*}$ | 11 | " | Mr. Kondo Belaji Purekar. | do. | Pleader and Municipal Com. missioner, Aymrauti. | December, 1892. <br> At a General Meeting of the Saibha held om 5 th Nuvember, 1892, and Public Meeting beld at Amraotion 6th Novem. bcr 8402 |
| 136 137 | 10 | " | Malkanar | "Vasudeo Ralaji 「imp. likar. | . do, | Pleader, Malkapur ... | At a Pulvic Meeting beld at Malkapur oo 24ich December, 189z |
| 137 | 4 | " | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | ${ }^{4}$ Sampal Rao Parwata Rno Deshmukh. | Flindu Narhatto | Land-lord | do. |
| 138 | Central Irovin. Com | Nagpur. | Jabalpore. | n Kam Gulam dvasthi. | Ifindu Brahroin. | Teacher, Miscion School, Jabalpur, Fditor of "Shulbachintaka," a weekily Anglo- | At a Public Mecting heid at Jabalpore on riti Deccaiber, 1852. |
| 139 | $\cdots$ | 10 | Nagpore. | ${ }^{10}$ Bhagiraithe Praseda, n. A. | Hindu. | Professor of Mithematies. Hislop College, Nagpur; Municipal Commissioner, Nagpur, Secretary. Tutal Ahsticence Association and President of Young Men's Association; Secretary, Reception Committee, zth Indian National Congreas, and secretary, $C$. P. Standing Congress Committec. Nagpor. | At a Public Mceting held in the City School, Nagpore, on 2013 Nukeraber, 1892 At a Pullic Meebiag held at Damoh on zand December, 2 Sg 2 |

（ vii ）

| $\begin{aligned} & \dot{8} \\ & \frac{8}{E} \\ & \frac{1}{2} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | Names in full or Delegnte， with thownary tition echolmaic douresen cle． | Race，Reli． 4ncs：dran． ｜пomatinus． and Ciack． if any． | Occupation and Aldres． | How and inden drestan． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 140 | Central Provis． ces． | Nagpas． | Naspar． | Mr．Mahadeve Sakba． ram | Coldemils． | Contractof，Chen and Put Otice，H．N．K．Magper． | AI A MiNk Nectle held on her tits whi A，Nate pur，now outh Noverilet． Bhys． |
| 141 |  | $\because$ | ＂ | ＂C．Nexnia Swamy Nayade． | $\underset{\substack{\text { Hindr. } \\ \text { Nadras } \\ \text { Kibaya. }}}{ }$ | Plemker，Central Prorincm and Herar，Naypus：Chawnian Rrappion Civmanlex，ith Inilan Nabimal Cimentes． Sigure：Mankipai Cind mestorer and Presilem． Nagitul Munispal lhand： Secrelary，theitint Ifungit． Ninguar：fresedent Theum， <br>  | lbys．to． |
|  | " | ＂ | ＂ | ＂．C．S．Mayeda，man， （Caniabl） | do． |  | m |
| 145 | 0 | $\cdots$ | * | C．V．Mayade． | do． | Do． | do． |
| 144 | ＂ | ＊＇ | ＂ | ＂Hari Mahadera Pun－ dit． | Naharas． tra Il．ah －man． | E．litsf，＂Deaherevalton＂an Arugo Slanathe weekly． | Publice Nowing e：Trhal Kaisaty un idid Devem bet， 1 ind． |
| $145$ | ＊ | $\omega$ | n | Kimehime Vimatit | Mrahama． | Head Nawer，Cisy Ablet School，Nagpur． | Prlaje Mofline hold et ithe <br>  guth Novoniles，dell |
| $\text { . } 4.46$ | ＂ | ＊ | Raipuc． | ＂Kedanach Bagchi， K． | Alengali Brabuna． | Pleader，Rupur ．．．．．． | lienepal Mmaling Mall at Kaljut un apth Nurpom bet，Illos． |
| 44 | ＊＊ | ＊ | ＊ | Fandit Nagdaw ．．． | Mither | Sanpal，Respar as |  |
| 148 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂ | Mr．Gajaram Regho Bag． | Mishone． <br> Mi haravica | Mexder，Raipar ．．． | de． |
| 14 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂ | chi． | Ifrihnun． | Nexuri，Rapar ．．． |  |
|  |  | ＂ | ＂ | ＂Dohe Govied Prased | Itimluvana Mabimin． | D． | dis． |
| 0ز" | ＂ | ＊ | Bilapus． | or Nogendramathe De． | Bengalh Kayacthe． | Rastecer．at．Lamm，Hinn．Mock teate and Murycopal berose－ Chity，Bulamintis． | Tublife Merring hrid of <br>  にぐ，がy |
|  | 0 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂Thakur Binal Singha， ＂Sheikh Qhwaje | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Kapims. } \\ & \mathbf{M a i n a t i n e . ~} \end{aligned}$ |  <br> Arrnt to ilie datainalat wh Saia， | do du． |
| 152 153 | $\stackrel{3}{3}$ |  | ＂ | Bukhsh． <br> Jaodit Naodlal Timei | t．an talno： blimductan | Hila peor． <br> Sukhar of Champar Zenimian． |  |
| 153 | $\stackrel{+}{4}$ | $\$$ | ${ }^{\circ \prime}$ | Pandit Naodlal Timaci， | Hitulustami | Sukhat ol Champor Zandiman． hilaspur． | do． |
| 154 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} b \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{array}\right.$ | 34 | Sagor <br> Hita－ <br> Subbat． | Danoders Reo S̋hrikhuode． | Mahrrivire <br>  | Mexiser，Monul ．．． | Diy a Compial Maeting of th．H1．Chidad，Axem． <br>  <br>  Dont al lisurin om gant Wicember，1898． |
| 155 | ＂ | ${ }^{*}$ | ${ }^{*}$ | Mr．Vincyck Gamena Vuidya． | ¢0． | ITlender，Sagor ．．． | Hya liewrol Mmotine of <br>  h．）！man and Naveative． Bri： |
| 136 | $\cdots$ | i） | Harde． | ＂Kalamant Kashionth Agnabota． | $\begin{gathered} \text { Arye } \\ \text { Vardir } \mathbf{M z}_{3} \\ \text { hafestura } \end{gathered}$ | Malyome Hata | Pricis Moating puin me Hat is nat Mia Navemiver． 180． |
|  |  |  |  | ${ }^{10}$ Govindar Reo Nurayte |  | do． | do． |
|  |  | ＂ |  |  | do． | Jagizadat，Ilarda | do． |
|  | 13 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂na K－uay． | do |  | do． |
| ． 399 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂ | ＂0 Vilhial Demoder Qui． darh 25. |  |  | d． |
| － 160 | ＂ | ＂ | Howhager banl． | n Kaoi Gaviede Khis． | do． | Pleaster，Ilanda ．．． | d．${ }^{\text {，}}$ |
| 161 | ＂ | ＂ | Raj Nand． gnoo． | Pandis Shackers Pra． | ｜llimh：astant Hishann． |  | Problice Meaine mid m <br>  <br>  |
| 162 | ＊ | ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ | \％ | Smami Brohmenand Serre－ mall． | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \text { Hinde sane } \\ \text { yail } \end{gathered}\right.$ | Honde Precher，Re）Mead－ gane． | do．om atm Lucrember 189. |
| ． 163 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂ | Pandit Striaive Rao Mudak． | Maharextre Gramaria | llemiler，Kaj Niedgaco | Do．na try Nomeme． ibn． |
| $\therefore \quad 364$ | 0 | $\pm$ | ＊ | Mr．V．Sumaepand Mida． tinr． | Malrai Talunge． | Mantipal $r_{\text {remaniminner，}} \mathrm{Ma}$ enyer．＂Haltanis Pion．＂Pa， proving of＂$k_{2 j}$ Vinicain $^{2}$ （i．asette and rieneral five． itmectr，Kaj insogare． | $\omega$ |


| $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{y}{x} \\ & \frac{y}{y} \\ & \text { 采 } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | Names in foll of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc. | Race, Reli- <br> tious deno- <br> mination, <br> and Caste, <br> . if any. | Oecupation and Address. | How and when elected. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 165 166 167 | Centril <br> Provin <br> ces. <br> $"$ <br> $i r$ | Nagpor. | Chhird- wara. " " " | Mr. Prabhakara Sridhara Rachy. <br> " Mathuraprasade. <br> n. Vinayak Rao Ganesha Waznlwara. | Brahmin. <br> Kayzstha, <br> Maharash: <br> tra Brah- | Land-owner, Chhindwara. ... <br> Pleader and Land-owner, Chbindwara. do. | By a Poblic Meeting held at Chbindwara on 20th November, 1892. <br> do. <br> do. |
| 168 169 | " | " | Wardha. <br> " | " Keshava Rao Mahadeva Kawlay. <br> 4 Laxman Govinda Des. kara, | man, do, do. | Malguzar, Baaker and Plender. Wardha. <br> do. | By a Public Meeting held at Wardha on 27ich November, 3892. do. |
| 170 | * | " |  | "Naragana Shripal Patel. | Kindu Kunbi. | Malguzar and Cnltivator of Mouza Takli, Tahsil Wardha, | do. |
| 171 | " | " | District Associa.-. tion, War- dha. | " Balkrisbna Pandgrance Kalyani. | Hiadu Brahman | Malguzur and Cultivator, Wardia, . | At $\pi$ General Meeting of the Wardha District Association held. on 161h November, 1892. |
| 172 173 | " | " | ; <br> ; | "Ganpala Reo Keshi- nath Meghay ", Balirama Chanaji a | $\underset{\substack{\text { Kunbi. } \\ \text { do. }}}{\substack{\text { Hindu }}}$ | Malguzar and Banker of Tukli, Tahsil Wardha. Malguzar and Cultivator Tabli, | do. do. |
| 174 | " | " | Balaghat. | " Sham Rao Keshav Ma. zumdar. | Mahareshtra Brahman | Municipal Commissioner for the town of Burha, Landbolder, Malguzar, Balaghat. | By a Fublic Meeting held at Bilaghat on 20th November, 1892. |
| 175 | ". | " | " | "Moreswara Jaganaatha. | do. | Municipal Commissioner for the town of Burha, and Mal. Guzar, Bulaghat. | dot |
| 176 | $"$ | * |  | "Narayana Krishna Kelkar. | do, | Municipal Conmissioner and Secretary for the Town of Burha ; Pleader, Balaghat. | do. |
| 177 | " | " | Burbanpur. | , Raghunath Rao Bal.kristna Bhide. | do. | Manager, "Arya Baibhapa" Press, Burhaapur. | By a Public Meetiog beld at Burhanpar on 10th December, 1892. |
| 178 | Bengal. | Calculta. | The Nor- Them Mc- Tropolitan Electoral Division. | Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ... | Bengali Brahmin. | Barristerat.Law, 6, Park Street, Calcutta. | At a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall. Calcultan on 22nd Decem. ber, 8892. |
| 179 | " | " |  | Bahy Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A. | Bengali Brabmo. | Prefessar, City College, Cal. cutta. |  |
| 180 | " | " | " | "Khiteadra Nath Tagare. | Bengali Brahmin. | Zamindar, 6, Dwarka Nath Tagore's lane, Calculti. | do: |
| 18! | " | " | " | " Amoy Nath Bose ... | Brahmin. <br> Bengali | Tagore's lane, Calculti. Private service, 13, College | do. |
| 183 | " | " | " | " Tarak Nuth Pajit, B. 2. | Kayastha, do. | Square, Calcutta. <br> Vakil, High Conrt, Bechoo Chatterjee's Sireet, Calcutta. | do. |
| 283 | " | " | " | ". Nalin Behari Sircar, | do. | Merchant, Municipal Commisn sioner and Port Commissioner, -21, Beadon Street, Calcutta | do. |
| 184 | " | ". | " | n Monmotho Mohan Bose. | do. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Calcutta. <br> Assistant Professor, Physicil Science, Metropolitan Instisution, 38, Muktatam Babu's Street, Calcitta. | do. |
| 185 | " | " | The Sonthern Me. tropolitan Electoral | Pandit Kali Trasanoa Kavyabisharad. | Hindu. | Editor, "Cosmopolitan" and Proprietor "Secular Press," Bhọwanipur. | At a Meeting of the Division held on the.8th December, $189 z$. |
| 186 | 3 | "' | 1. | Babu Basonto Kumar Bose, M. A., B. L. | Hindu Kayastha. | Vakil, Iligh Court, Calentu. | $d 0$. |
| 887 | * | " | Pritish Indisa Associs. tion. | Mr. J. Ghosal | Bengali Brabmin. | Zamindar, Mcrehant, VicePresident, bengal National Chamber of Commerca, Honorary Magistrate and Mrnicipal Cummissioner, Calcula, | At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association. <br> At a Comnsittee Meeling of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, and at a Public Mering held at the Albert Hall on the 2and December, 1892. |

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| $\begin{aligned} & \text { 星 } \\ & 4 \\ & 4 \end{aligned}$ | 号 |  |  | Namen in full of Delegates, with honurary titles, achulastic degrees, cic. | Race, Religious denomination, and Coste. if ans. | Ocçupation and Address. | How and when elected. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 208 | Bengle. | Calcutta. | Hughly Chunsurah and Chan- detnngote. | Balu Keshav Chandra Sadhu. | Rengali Hindu. | Trader, Rai Bagan, British Chanderaagore. | At a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah on the tuth December, 1892. |
| 209 | " | "' | . | "Mondal. | Bengali Hinda Subama - | Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner. Kamarpira Road, Chissurah. | do. |
| 210 | " | $\because$ | Murshida. bod. | B, Baikuntha Nalh Sen | banik. <br> Bengali <br> Hibilu <br> Vaidya. | Vakil, High Court, Chairman, Barhainpur Municip a 1 it $y$; President, Murshidalar As. snciation, Honornty Magistrate and Zomindar. | At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 4 h December, 1892. |
| 211 | $\because$ | $\because$ | " | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Brojendra Nath Seal, } \\ & \text { 'w,A. } \end{aligned}$ | Bengati \#rahmo | Principal, Barhampur College, Bengal. | do. |
| 212 | 4 | " | " | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mohendra Nath } \\ & \text { Mukerjee. } \end{aligned}$ | Sacharan). Brahgali Branan. | Plender, Zamindar and Honotary Magistrate. | do. |
| 213 | " | " | " | " Gourballabh Sen, M.A. B.L. | Bengali Knyastha Hinidu | Pleader and Zamindar ... | do. |
| 214 | " | 11 | " | : Nafardas Roy $\quad .$. | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \text { Bengali } \\ \text { Hindu } \\ \text { Kihatriya. } \end{gathered}\right.$ | Zamindat, Honorary Mf agis. trate, Xunicipal Commissioner, and Honnrary Secretary, Murshidabad Assuciation. | do. |
| 235 | * | $\because$ | " |  | Bengalf Hindu Baidya. | Plender | - do. ${ }^{\text {- }}$ |
| 216 | " | " | " | Kumar Umesh Chandra Roy. | Bengati Brahman. | $\begin{array}{ccc}\text { Zaminder } & \ldots . . & \cdots\end{array}$ | At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Asso. ciation held on the 12 h December, 1892. |
| 217 | " | 11 | * | Bnhan Hacasankar Bhatta. charya. | do. | Pleader, Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner. | do. |
| 228 | " | " | " | "yal, Dianbandhu San. | - do. | Retired Deputy Collector ... | do. |
| 219 | " | " | Banitura. | " Ramanaod Chat. terjee, M.A. | Bengrai Brabmo. | Prolessor, City College, Calcutta, | At a Meeting of the inha. bitants held on the 4 th December, 1892. |
| 230 | " | " | Hirblusm. | "w,A, D,t. Kanto Ghose, | Bengali Hindu Kayastha | Plender, Judge's Court, Zamindar, and late Chnirriean, Soory Municipality | At a Mecting held at Soory on the 22nd Novem. ber, 1892. |
| 301 | " | " | Kalna. | " Jogendro Nath Sen. | Kiyastha. <br> Hindu <br> Vaidya. | Sonry Municipality. <br> Innd-holder and Physician, Kalna. | ber, 1892. <br> At a Public Meeting held on the 27th of Noveraber, 1892. |
| 223 | " | " | " | Nr. K. B. Nallick ... | Bengali Kayasthe. | Journalist $\quad \therefore \quad$-.. | do. |
| 223 | $\sim$ | " | Cumilla. | Batra Chare Chandra Mu. tra, B.A, B.L. | Hinda Bengali Kayastha. | Pleader, Judge's Court and Land-holder, Tipperah. | At a Public Meeting of the People's Association, Comilla, held on the 4 ib Desember, 1892. |
| 324 | " | " | Tipperal. | " Hardayal Mag ... | Bengali <br> Hindu. | Pleader, Land-holder, ViceChairman, Local Board, Chandpur, Tippernh. | At a Public Meeting at Chanopur beld on the 4th December, 1892. |
| $125$ | * | n | Astam, Gauhati. | * Bholanath Baruah ... | Assamese Hindu Rayastha. | Merchant, Gauhati | At a Meeling of the Assamese Residents of Cal. colta held on the 12 h December. 1892. |
| 237 | " | " | " | " Iakshmi Nath Bezbarua, li. A. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Assnmese } \\ & \text { Hindu } \\ & \text { Brahman. } \end{aligned}$ | Editor of "Janoki," 18, Sararam Basak's lanc, Calcutta. | da. |
| 2278 | " | " $\begin{gathered}\text { \% } \\ \\ \\ \\ \text { vymen. }\end{gathered}$ | Dibrugath, Assam. | " Radhanath Chaogkakoti. | Brahman. <br> Assamese <br> Brahman. | Proprietor "Radhanath" Printing Press. Secretary, Upper Assam Association, Municipal Commissioner and Membeir Local Board, Dibru garh, Assam, | At a Pablic Meeting of the Upper Assam Association held on 7th December, 1892, at Dibrugath. |
| 228 229 230 | " | $\left\{\left.\begin{array}{c} \text { Vymen. } \\ \text { simg. } \\ " \end{array} \right\rvert\,\right.$ | Mynienม่ㅆ. " | ```" Revati Mohan Guha, N,A., B.L. Nay.``` | Hindu Kaynstha. Hindu. | garh, Assam, <br> Pleader, Judge's Court, Msmensing. <br> Talugciar, Sherpar town, My. mensing. Chairnan, Sherpur Tuwn Municipalits. | At a Meeling held on the 3rd December, 8892. do. |
| 230 | " | ${ }^{*}$ |  | - Anath Bandhu Guba, B.L. | do. | cuwn municipality. <br> Pleader and Taltaqiar, Member of the District Board, Honotary Magistrate, Secretary, Dymensing Association. | da |
| 23 | * | - | * | * Srinath Rai, mai. ... | Bencati Knyastiba. | tien. <br> Pleader, Mnnicipal Commis. sioner, Secretary, Mymensing Association. | do. |


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|  | 它它 | 4． 0. 0 0 0 0 0 | 言 <br>  | Names in full or Delegates， with honorary titles， scholastic degrees， etc． | Race，Reli－ gious deno－ mination， and Caste， if any． | Occupation and Adreses． | How and when elected． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 251 | Bengal． | Chota Nigpore | Hazari－ Hagh Sulder Suthe Division， | Babri Hacaman Prasad | $\begin{gathered} \text { Hindu } \\ \text { Kayas than } \end{gathered}$ | Government Pensioner，Hon－ orary Magistrate，Hazati－ bagb： | At a public meeting beld at Haznribagh，on the 26ih November， 8892. |
| 252 | ＊ | ＊ | Divisuon． | Mirza Indad Ati ．．． | Mahome－ dad． | Landholder，Honorary Magis－ trate and Municipal Com－ missioner，Iazaribagh ．．． | do． |
| 253 | ＂ | ＂ | Hazari－ bagh． | Babu Narendra Nath Ma－ kerjee． | Rengali Hindu， Brabman． | Landholder，Hazaribagh ．．． | At a Committee meeting of the Hazaribagh Asso． ciation，held on 23rd December， 1892. |
| 254 | ${ }^{\circ}$ | ＂ | Lohar－ donga． | ＊Parbhu Narain ${ }^{-} \times 1$ | Hindu Bihari Kaystha． | Mukbtar and Zamindar Ran． chi． | At a public meeting held at Ranchi，on 15 th No－ vember， 1892. |
| 255 | ＊ | ＂ | ＂ | n Radha Gobind Chaudhari，M．A．，B．L． | Hindu <br> Bengali <br> Vaidya | Pleader <br> 28 <br> ＂ |  |
| 256 | ＂ | Behar． | Paina． | Moulv Basharat Hosein． | Mahome： dan． | Zamindar，Bankipur ．．． | At a General Meeting held at Patna on the 25 th November， 1892. |
| 257 258 | ＂ | 3 | $\because$ | Moulvi Abdui Hamid，B．a．， B．L． | do． | Zamindar，Pleader，Secretary． Standing Congress Commif－ tee，Hon．Magistrate，and Member，Local Board． |  |
| 258 | 3 | ＂ | ＂ | Babu Udit Singh ．．． | Hindu Brahman． | Zamindar，Sultangunj，Patna City． | do． |
| 259 | 11 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂Guru Prased Sen， |  | Vakil，Figh Court，Kanicipal Commissioner，Zamindar，Ne－ cretary，Behar Land－holder＇s Association and Editor， ＂A Behar Herald．＂ | do． |
| 260 | ＂ | ＂ | ：＇ | in Biaheshar Singh ．．． | Hindu Kshatrija， | Zamindiar，Pleader，fion．Ma－ gistrate，Bankipur，and Mem－ bes，Local Board． | do． |
| 261 | ＂ | ＂ | 11 | ＂Gadadhar Pravad ．．． | Hindu <br> Behari Kayasthe． | Pleader，Zumindar，Chairman， Local Board，Member，Dis－ trict Pboard，and President 5ih．Kayastha Conference． | da． |
| 262 | ＂ | ＂ | 3 | b．Purnendu Narayn Singh，M．A．，B．L．． | Hindu Knyastha． | Zamindar and Pleader，and Secretary，Paton Ratepayer＇s Association． | do． |
| 263 | ＊ | ＂ | ＂ | ＂Mahabir Sabay，Bia．， | Hindu Behari Kayasthu． | Vakil High Court，Calcutta， and Zamindar． | do． |
| 269 | ＂ | ＂ | n | " Saligram Singh, 8.A. | Hindu Kshaltiya． | Zamindnr，and Vakil High C ount，119，Rupon Street， Calcutta． | Do；\＆by the British Indian Assuciation on the 32nd December，1802．and the Indian Assuclatien on the 4 th November， 1892. |
| 265 | ＂ | 11 | Bankipur． | $\text { " } \begin{gathered} \text { Bhagwat } \\ \text { Singh. } \end{gathered}$ | Hindu Brahman． | Zamindar me $\quad . .$. | At a meeting helid at $P$ atna on the 25 th Novem ber， 1892. |
| 256 | ＊ | ＂ | arbhanga | Rabu Durga Prasad • ．．． | Hinda Kayastha． | Zamindar，Darbhanga ．．．． | At a Public Meeting held on the 4 th December， 1892，at Darbhanga |
| 267 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂ | Bhavpni Dhar Palit， B， $\boldsymbol{A}$ ． | Bengalee Kayasiha． | Head Master，E．B．Schosi， Darbhanga． | 1892，at Darbhanga． do． |
| 203 | ＊ | ＂ | $\cdots$ | ＂Mewalal Saha | Kayasiha， <br> Hinda | Darohanga． <br> Mershant，Darbhang ．．．． |  |
| 369 | ＂ | ＂ | ＂ | ＂Ameer Siogh ．．． | －Hingau | Proprietor＂Hari Prakash | do． |
| 270 | ＊ | 10 | Gaya． | „ Nand Kishore Lall， M，A．，B．L． | Kshatriya， Hindu Kayastha． | Press，＂Benares． Vakil and Zaninilax，Gaya ．－ | At a Public Meeting hela at Gaya on isth Decern－ |
| 271 | ＂ | ＂， | ＂ | Hakim Syed Altaf Ho． sain． | Mahome－ dan Sayyed | Hakim（Medical Practitioner） 1st Read，Gaya． |  |
| 272 | ＂ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Moexfliar. } \\ \text { pur. } \end{gathered}$ | Mosafar． pus． | Babo Shorashi Charan Nititra，B．L． | Hindu Kayastha | Pleader，Mozaflarpur ．． | At a Poblic 3feeting held in Murafterpur on the 27th November， 1892. |
| 273 974 | $\cdots$ | $\because$ | ＊ | ＂Rameshwara Narayad Mehta． | Kshatriya． | Hon．Magistrate，Zamindar and－Binker，Nandipati Road，Mozsferpur． | do． |
| 274 | ＂ | ＊ | $M$ | Syed Aftal Hosein ．．． | Mabo－ medaa． | Mokhian，Mogafterpur ．．． | do． |


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| $\begin{aligned} & \frac{8}{8} \\ & \frac{1}{2} \\ & \frac{\pi}{2} \end{aligned}$ | B | $\dot{4}$ 0 0 曷 0 0 |  | Names in full of Delcgates, with honorary titien, scholastic degrees, cte. | Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any. | Occupation and Addrest. | Ilow and when electer. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 304 | N.W.P. | Benares. | Gbazipur. | Babu Shriaath Deva ... | Hiadustani Brahmañ. | Zamindar, Gharipur | Public meeting held at Ghazipur, on I3ih Noveniber, 1892. |
| 305 | " |  | " | Babu Govind Marain | do. | Talukdar, Ghaxipur... |  |
| 306 | " | " | " | $\underset{\text { Moulvi M. Usman Khatn }}{ }$ | Mahomedan. | Zamindar and Pleader, Gharipur. | do. |
| 307 | " | " | 19 | Babre Bishwanath Singh | Hindustani Brahman. | Zamiodar, Ghavipor . ... | do. |
| 308 | n | " | " | Munshi Aditye Prasad ... | Hindustani Kayastha | Zamindar and Fleader, Ghazipur: | do. |
| 309 | " | ; | Azamgarh. | Babu Mukteshwar Ray... | Bhuinbar Brahman. | Pieader, Member, Manicipal Board, andSecretary Standing Congress Committee, Azamgarh. | Public meeting beld at Azamgarh, on 4ih December, 1892. |
| 310 |  |  |  | , Brij Bihari Lal ... | Sunar. | Pleader, Azamgarb | do. |
| 311 | " | " | $\because$ | " Sunder Das ... | Agarwala Baniya. | General Merchant and Zanoindar. | do. |
| 332 | " | " | " | " Gouri Shankar Singh | Hindu. | Pleader, Municipal Commis. sioner and Zemindar. | do. |
| 313 | " | " | " | Munshi Dasudeo Sahai ... | Hindu Kayastha. | Teacher, Church Mission High School. | do. |
| 314 | " | " | " | Moalvi Muhammad Zain-ul-Abdin. | Mahome: dan. | Pleader and Member, District Board. | do. |
| 315 | " | " | $\therefore$ | Miran Mohamonad Naim, | Mahomedan. | Pleader and zamindar | do. |
| 316 | " | " | Gorakhpur. | Thakur Ghumai Ram ... | Hindu. | Plender | Public meeting held at Gorakhpur, on 5th December, 1892. |
| 317 | " | " | " | Pandit Bindesbwari Pra. sad. | Brahman. | Pleader and zamindar ... | do. |
| '318 | " | 3 | Mitzapur. ${ }_{\text {- }}$ | Baber Sree Ram | Hindu Khatri. | Zamindar, Banker, Pleader, Member, Municipal and Distriet Boards, and Secretary, Arya Samaj. | Public meeting held at Mirzapur. on 25th December, 18q? |
| 319 | " | " | * | Babu Mahadeo Prasad Sinha. | Hindu Brahman | Rais, Zamindar, parg@na Kerait. | do. |
| 320 | " | $\because$ | 11 | Setha Laduram Poddar, | Hindostani Marwari Agarwala, | Banker - ... ... | do. |
| $3 * 1$ | " | $\because$ | " | Babu Budrinath Setha ... | Hindustani Kshatriya, | Stone-contractor and Honorart Secretary, Saraswat Kshaatriya Hit Karini Sabba. | - do. |
| 332 | " | " | " | "Jadu Nath Simba ... | Hindu | atriya Hit Kariai Sabba. <br> Zamindar and Banker, Gopi- | do: |
| 323 | . | * | " | " Nanhu Lal | Kshatriya, Hinda. Khatri | gadj, pargana Bhadohi. <br> Service, President Axya | do. |
| 324 | " | " | " | " Kedarnath Bhatta. charji, B. A. | Brabman. | Vakil, High Court, and Mocicipal Commissioner. | do. |
| 325 | " | " | " | Chowrhati Wasudeva Sharma. | Hinda Brahman. | Zamindar ... ... | do. |
| 336 | " | " | " | Pandit Ghanshiam Sharma. | do. | Panditai | do. |
| 337 | " | " | " | Pandit Ram Prakash Sharma. | do. | Preacher ... ... | do. |
| 325 | " | $\because$ | * | Babr Kedarnath Mueum. dar. | do. | Medical Practitioner | do. |
| 339 | " | " | " | Babu Beni Prasad *... | Bhargaca. | Honorary Magistrate, Merchant, Zamindar, and Member, Municipal and District Boards. | do. . |
| 330 | " | " | * | Chowdhari Badri Nerain Sharroa. | Hindu Brahman. | Zamindas ... ... | do. |
| 331 | " | " | " | Setha Bihari Lal ... | Agrawala Marmati. | Banker ... | do. |
| 332 | " | " | Ballia. | Ralut Yamuna Prasad ... | Mabzina Kandu. | Mabajati, Ballia * $\quad \therefore$ | By a public meeting beld at Ballin, on 2nd December, 1892. |


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| $\begin{aligned} & \dot{8} \\ & \text { 总 } \\ & \text { 2 } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | Names in full of Delegatex, with hononary tities, scholastic dequees, etc. | Rece, Religious denomination and Cesse, is any. | Oscupation and Address. | How and when elected. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 333 | N.-W.P. | Altaha. bed. | Allahsbad. | Babu Dattee Lal, B.An ... | Hinds Khathi. | Vakil, High Court, Mahajanicola, Allahabad. | At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Path. zhala, Allahỉbad, on 291h October, 1892. |
| 354 | " | * | " | Belos Lal Behari Lal ... | do. | Trader. Gurrati Mohollah. Allahabed. | do. |
| 355 | " | " | $\because$ | Lala Sheo Cbroran Lia, B. A., LL. B. | Jain, | Vakil, Kigh Court, Allahabad. | do. |
| 356 | * | " | " | Lala Badri Prasad ... | Hinda Agarwala. | Pleader Jouharitola, Allahzbad. | do. |
| 337 | " | " | " | Lala Rum Lal Jooburi ... | do. | Mahajan, Joriburitola, Allahsbad. | do. |
| 358 | " | * | $\because$ | Mr. M. Corbett ... | European Christian. | Merchant, Municipal, Commissioner, Canning Rond, Allahabad. | do. |
| 359 | " | * | " | Lalm Ranhya Lal ... | ( Hindr | Mahajan, Mirgabj, Allahabad. | do. |
| 360 | " ${ }^{\text {P }}$ | " | " | Munshi Mahesh Prasad... | Hindu | Pleader, Allahabad $\quad \cdots$ | do. |
| 361 | " | " | " | Lala Gamesh Das ... | Hinda Marwaree | Banker and Municipal Cornmissioner, Katra, Allahahad. | do. |
| 362 | " | $\cdots$ | " | Pandit Govind Reo Goray | Hinds Brahman. | Pensioner, Daragajo, allahabad. | do. |
| 363 | " | 9 | " | Munshi Sbeombhar Lall... | Hindu | Pleader, Allahabad .-. | do. |
| 364 | * | " | 19 | Babu Raghuber Dyal ... | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Kayastha. } \\ & \text { do. } \end{aligned}$ | do. ... | do. |
| 365 | " | $n$ | * | Pandit Jay Krishna Vyas | Hinda Brahmano. | Mecical Practitioner, Ahiyapur, Allahabad. | do. |
| 366 | 0 | \% | * | B. Tinkuri Mukerji, <br> L. ${ }^{14}$ S | do. | Medical Practicioner, Allaha. bad. | do, |
| 367 368 | " | \% | " | Pandit Jagannath Sarme. | do. | Vaid, Editor, Prayag Samacbar, Altahabad. | do. |
| 368 | " | " | " | Babu Beni Madhub Rai Chaudhri. | do. | Zamindar, Kidganj, Allaha. bad. | do. |
| 369 | " | " | " | Pandit Beai Madhub Bhattacharji. | da. | Government Pensioner, Mu. ricipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Daraganj, Allahabad. | do, |
| 370 | " | " | \# | Pandit Deoki Nandan Tiwari. | do. | Proptietor, Rampatake, Ahiyapur, Allahabad. | do. |
| 371 | " | ¢ | " | Lala Ramdhan Lel ... | Hindu Kayastha. | Mukhtar, Allabalad ${ }^{\circ}$... | do. |
| 372 | ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ | " | " | Babu Nitai Charan Mittra. | do. | Druggist, Johnstonganj Roid, Allahat ed. | do. |
| 373 | $\boldsymbol{n}$ | 3 | " | B. Govind Chandra Besu, M. B. | da. | Medical Practitioner, Renikimandi, Allahabad. | do. |
| 374 | " | * | " | Babn Durga Charan Ba. дerjee, $\mathrm{B}, \mathbf{A}$. | HinduBrahman. | Vakil, High Court, Allak. abach. | do. |
| 375 | " | " | " | ". Rajaram Bbargeva | Hindu. | Zamindarand Minnicipal Commiscioner, Allahabad. | do. |
| 376 | * | * | " | -1 Mahesh Prasad .... | Hindu <br> Kayastha | Pleader, Kaxelabagh Road, Allahabad. | do. |
| 377 | " | " | " | Lala Bhawrani Prasad ... | Kayastha. Khattri. | bad. | do. |
| 378 | $v$ |  | ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ | han Lal ... | do. | do. $\quad$... | do. |
| 379 | " | * | * | Pundit Kedar Nath Chonbay. | Hinda Brahwan. | Vaidya, Ahiyapur, Allshebad. | do. |
| 380 | 3 | * | * | is Balkrishna Bhatta | do. | Editor, "Hindi Pradip," Allahabad. | do. |
| 381 | , | " | * | Babu Shama Churan Mukerji. | da | Pleader and Mijl-owner, Karbala, Allahabed. | do. |
| 38 | n | n | 3 | Syed Abdul Raoof ... |  |  | do. |
| 383 | " | " | " | Di. S. P. Roy, M. B. ... N.R.C.S. | den. <br> Hindn Erahman. | Allahabed. <br> Medical Prectitioner and Municipal Analyst, Muthiganj, Allahalad. | Do. and at a Public Meeting of the Rajshahi Association held on 3rd |
| 384 355 | " | " | " | Mr. Fateb Chand ... | Jain. | Barrister-at-Law, Johastonganj, Allahabad. | Decembire, 1892. <br> At a Public Meeting beld at the Kayastha Patshala Allahabad on 29th October, IS92. |
| 355 | " | " | - | Lala Moban Lel ... | Hindu | Contractor, Alsahabad . ... | to. |
|  | " | " | " | Swami Alartm . .. | Hinda. | Preacher, Allababad ... | do. |
| 357 | " | " | " | Prodit Shivaram Panday | $\begin{gathered} \text { Hindu } \\ \text { Brahman. } \end{gathered}$ | Vaidya, Mahajanitoła, Allabaind. | do. |

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|  |  | Cougress Circle. | Electoral Divi. | Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc. | Race, Religious deno. mination, and Caste, if any. | Oceupation and Address: | How and when clected, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 506 | N..W.P. | Allaha. bad. | Mutira, | Kuar Hukam Singh | Jat. | Resaidar of Angai, Member of the Local Buard and General Treasures of the Jat Sabha of India. | At a Public Mesting held nt Mutura on t th Nor. ember, 1892. |
| 507 | " | " | 11 | Mr. Radhe Lal Sharna... | Arya Brahmin. | Vedic Upadeshak ... | . do. |
| 508 | " | " | Aligash. | Baba Kishori Lal ... | Hindu, Vaishya. | Pleader and Zamindar | At a Public Mreeting held at Aligarth on 18 th De. cember, 1892. |
| 50\%) | " | " | " | Thakur Kalynn Singh ... | Hindu, Rajput: |  | do. |
| 510 | " | " | " | Hafiz Abdul Rahim :.. | Mahomedan. | . | do. |
| 514 | " | " | " | Babu Ram Naraynn ... | Hiada Vaishya. | Zamindar and Banker ... | do. |
| 512 | " | * | * | M. Mahomed Mustaja-ba-ul-In Khan. | Mahomedin. | Zamindar, Aligarh ... | do. |
| 513 | 3 | " | " | Pandlh Udai Kam |  |  | do. |
| 514 | " | " | " | M. Mahomed Amanat. Ulha Khan. | Mahome. dan. | Zamindar, Aligarh | do. |
| 515 | " | " | " | Syad Mushtak Ali ... | Mahome- | do. | do. |
| 516 | " | " | " | Sheikb Mushtak Ali ... | Mahome- | do. | do. |
| 517 | " | " | 4 | MuhammadSarfaraz Kban. | Mahoinedan. | Pleader, Aligarh ${ }^{\circ}$. | do. |
| 518 | " | " | " | M. Muhammad Zafar Ali Khan | do. | Pleader, Aligarh ... | do. |
| 519 |  |  | Mecrut. | M. Umrao Khan |  |  |  |
| \$30 | " | " | Mecrut. | Babu Pratad Singh ... | Hindu Vạisbya. | Vakil,High Court, and Zamindar, Mierut. | At a Public Meeting held at Meerut on 16 h De. cember, 1892. |
| 521 | " | " | " | Lala Baburam .. | Hindu, Vaishya, | Pleader, Meerut . ... | . do. |
| 531 | " | " | " | Sabn Hira. Lal | do. |  | do. |
| 523 | " | " | , | Pandit Rami Prasad, M, A. | Hindu Kayasth. | Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Mecrut. | do. |
| 584 | " | " | " | Lala Ghansayam Das ... | Vaishya. | Plẹader and Żamindar, Meerut. | do. |
| 525 | " | " | * | Babu Abbayapada Bose, B. A. | Bengali. Kayasth. | Budhana Gate, Mcerut City ... | do. |
| 526 | " | " |  | Rabua Dindayal | do. |  |  |
| 527 | " | " | Saharumpur. | Mr. Madan Moban Lal, B. A., LL. B. | Hindu. Vaishya. | Vakil, High Court, Sahayan* pur. | At a Public Meeting held at Saharanpur on 17lh Debember, 1892. |
| 52 S | " | " | Dehra Dun | Prandit Anunda Narain ... | Kashmiri Hrahman. | Pleader, Municipal Commis. Sioner and Landhulder. | At a Public Meeting held on 18 h D December, 1892, at Dehra Dun. |
| 529 | " | " | * | Caplain A. W. Hearscy. | European Christian. | Retired Jist, H. M, S. ... | do. |
| 530 | " | Oudh, | Lucknow. | Babu Bansiinal Singh ... | Hintlu Khatri. | Vnkil, High Court, N.-W. P., Lucknow. | At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on gih December, 1892. |
| 531 | " | " | $\because$ | Munshi Ganga .Prasad Varma. | do. | Editor and Proprietor of the "Advocate" and the "Hindustani," Lucknow. | cember, 1892. do. |
| 532 | " | " | " | Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar. | Hindu Biahain | Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow ... | do. |
| 533 | " | " | 11 | Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ... | Mohomedan. | Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow ... | do. |
| 534 | 11 | " | "。 | Prince Mirza Facaidon Qudir Bahadur. of the Koynl Fanily of Dethi. | Mahome. dan. | Wasiqgdar, Lucknow. ... | At a General Mecting of the Anjuman-i-Muhammadi held ai Lucknow on 2 3rd December, |
| 535 | " | - | * | Prince Yunus Qudr Bahadur, of the Royal Famiiy of Delhi. | do. | do. | I \$92. do. |
| 536 | " | " | " | Nawah Zaighawudlaula lihhudur. | Mahomedan. | Rais and Wasiqadar, Luck. now. | At a Public Mee:ing held at Lucknow on gth De- |
| 537 538 | " | " | " | Fanilit Rachman Prasad Pandit Jagac Naraina | Prahman. | Brahmo Missionary, Lacknow, Pleader, Lucknow | $\begin{gathered} \text { cember, } \\ \text { if } 8 . \\ \text { do. } \\ \text { do. } \end{gathered}$ |
| 530 | " | $\because$ | " | Rribu Bbelan Mohon Rai, | Hiniu. ds. | Merchant, Aminabad, Luck. | do. |
| 540 | " | " | " | Hakim Syed Tluszin Jalar. | Nahumedan. | Edilow "Jubilee Paper," Luck. now. | at a Public Meeting helf at Lucknay on git De- |
| 541 | " | " | " | Pandit Shynm Narain Musidadan. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Kinhmiri } \\ & \text { Erannian } \end{aligned}$ | Land-holder and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow. | cember, 1502. <br> At a Publicemeeting held at Lucknow on 9ih December, 1892. |

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, xxii )


> ( xxiii )

|  |  |  |  | Names in fall of Deleguten with honoraty titien, sctulastic degreen cle. | Race, Relinow deeoroination, and Custe, if any. | Ocempation red Addrates | Hor and when elected. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14 615 | Papajab. | Lenlote. | Umballin <br> Amarisar. | $\left\{\begin{array}{ccc} \text { Manshi } & \text { Abdul } & \text { Qudir } \\ \text { Taib. } & & \\ \text { Laha } & \text { Kanhery } & \text { Lal } \end{array}\right.$ | Muhaman. clas. Finda Bhatim. | Manger, "Blerrin Ciamita" <br> Treader, Chice Court, Prad. nh | At E Iratice Meotiag helit at Uminalia on aptit Decentiver, 1802. <br> Toldice Meetiag beld at Amostionar un istit De. |
| $\begin{aligned} & 616 \\ & 618 \\ & 618 \\ & 619 \end{aligned}$ | - " | $n$ $\mathbf{n}$ $\mathbf{n}$ $\mathbf{n}$ | $" \prime$ $"$ $"$ | Mr. Uma Shackar Maba Naznia Siagh Mr. Bulaki Ram Buba Miandkiehore Kik. ker. | ERinde. Sikth Hindu. Hinda Khatis, | Marrister.al.Lam, Andimat ... Ilcadet, Aurritmp Darrieler at.Lam, Amritaar ... Head Master, Hindu ligha schoul. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { do, } \\ & \text { do } \\ & \text { do, } \\ & \text { dow } \end{aligned}$ |
| 620 | $n$ | Delbis | Delhi. | Lala Saltan Siagh ... | Jкіп。 | Rals and benker | Pablic Mrelime beld at Leiat an ala Driem. Lefic 180 D a. |
| $68 i$ | $\because$ | " | " | Mowlvi Mira Unrao Ratrat. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yahome. } \\ & \text { dan. } \end{aligned}$ | Literasy pursult, Deilhi ... |  |
| $63 a^{\circ}$ | 3 | 3. | " | Mr. Balawark Singh ... | linada Chatiree. | Nedical Collage, Lehora .. |  |
| 623 | r | " |  | Mr, Raghunath Das ... | Vlinda | Sarrister-al Law, Delhi. ... | ins |
| 69 |  |  |  | Leia Gokul Chand ... |  | Banker, Deill $\quad .$. | - |
| 625 | $\because$ | 11 | 3 | Laia Girdhari Lal ... | do. | Mleader, Chuef Court, Puojah, Uelh. | do. |

## APPENDIX 11.

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

|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ¢ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\bullet$ |
| 1877 1878 |  | 285 352 | 57 47 | 25 25 | 8 10 | 17 15 | 16.6 31.8 | 4.9 3.7 | ${ }_{1}^{11.3}$ |  |
| 1887 1880 $1880^{\circ}$ 1882 1882 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | In these years the Administration Reports do not give the number of cases of which reference was made to the High Court, and the number in which the verdicts were set aside or approved ; but give the number of persons in respect of whom the verdicts were approved or set aside. They are therefore useless for the set aside. They are therefore useless for the purpose of comparison. |
| 1883 | 344 | 292 | 52 | 16 | 3 | 13 | 15.1 | 3.7 | 12.2 |  |
| 1884 1885 1886 | 346 348 384 | 263 282 239 | 69 66 45 | 27 25 24 | 12 4 9 | 15 21 15 | 19.9 18.9 15.8 | 4.3 6.2 | 11 15.9 9.9 | - In 14 cases tried by the Sessions Judge of Patna neither the Sessions statements nor the records of cases shew whether the Judge agreed with the verdict or not |
|  | 339 | 263 | 76 |  | 10 |  | 22.4 | 2.6 | 10.6 |  |
| 3888 | 305 | 240 | 65 | 25 | 11 | 14 | $2 \mathrm{I}, 3$ | 4.6 | 11.9 |  |
| 1889 | 285 | 235 | 50 | 13 | 7 | 6 | 17.5 | 2.1 | 8.1 |  |
| 1890 1892 | 285 290 | $\begin{array}{r}230 \\ 240 \\ \hline\end{array}$ | ${ }_{50}^{55}$ | 19. | 6 10 | 13 | 19.2 17.2 | 45 3.4 | 13.2 8.6 |  |
| Total .. | 3567 | 2921 | 632 | 238 | 90 | 148 | 16.9 | 83.1 ${ }^{\text { }}$ |  |  |

 from by the Sessions judge and the verdicts set aside in the same ratio, as in cases referred, is 1 r .8 .
Average percentage of verdicts actually set aside to the total number of verdicts in 11 years is 3.68 .

Shiement-(B.)


- A few of the appeals under this column, are also appeals from the sessions trial in jury cases; but as these appeals could only be made on a point of law, or on account of a misdirection by the Judge, the resul Judies alone and as separate figures are not available they may very well be taken for the purpose of comparison.
 winmed in es.s.







Explanation of Statement (A):-Figures in columns $1,2,4$ and 5 are form the Reports. Figures in column 3 give the difference between columns ind and showcases in which no appeals have been preferred. The pereentage in column 6 has been worked out from the figures in columns 2 and 4. In column 7 the percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges with the aid of Assessors not disturbed to the full number of trials has been worked out ; the Sessions Judges being credited with result "affirmed "or "not disturbed," for eases not appealed against the cases actually in appeal and alirmed by the High Court. There are doubtiess cases in which no appear against the sentence of re bessions judge is preferred, because the prisoner has no aroy or heen aftirmed. while therefore the mode in which the percen pare has ben pres $A$, the Statement 8 has enove all hesitation in adopting them for the purpose of comparison. The figures in column 8 shew the percentage of verdicls set ennove all hesitation side or corrected by the High Court to the total number of trials.

## The inferences are:-

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

| Years. | Percentage of judgments of Scssions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals. | Percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges not disturbed to the total number of trials. | Years. | Percentage of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judge to the whole number of verdicts. | Percentage of verdicts set aside to the total number of verdicts. | Percentage of verdicts which would have been set aside, if all the cases in which the Sessions Judge had disagreed had been referred by him to the High Court and verdiets set aside in the same ratio as in cases referred, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | - . |  | - |
| 1877 | 81.5 | 8913 |  | - 16.7 |  |  |
| 1878 | - 83.6 | 91. | 1887 | - $\quad 118$ | 49 3.7 | 7 |
| 1879 1880 | $8{ }^{85} 2$ | 89.6 | 1879 | 14.1 | " | \% |
| 1880 1881 | 80.4 80.7 | 87. | 1880 | 16.8 | " | "', |
| 1882 | 80.7 80.5 | 88.3 89.9 | 1881 | 15.8 | " | " |
| 1883 | 83.8 | 89. | 1882 | 16.7 15.1 | 3 | $\because{ }^{\prime \prime}$ |
| 1884 | 82.5 | - 88.6 | 1884 | 15.1 19.9 | 37 | 12'2 |
| 1885 | 79.9 | $84^{\circ} 1$ | 1885 | 199 189 | $4{ }^{4} 3$ | 11.9 |
| 1886 | 83 80 | 88.4 | 1886 | 15.8 | $5 \cdot 2$ | 159 9.9 |
| 3887 | 80 79 | $86 \cdot 3$ | 1889 | 22.4 | $\begin{array}{r}5.2 \\ \hline\end{array}$ | 99 106 |
| 1888 1889 | 797 78.1 | 85.5 85.6 | 1888 | - 21.3 | 47 | 11.9 |
| 1890 | 78.6 | 85.6 $83 \cdot 7$ | 1889 | 17.5 | $2 \cdot 1$ | $8 \cdot 1$ |
| 1891 | 77.4 | 837 83 | 1880 1891 | 19.2 17.2 | 4.5 3.4 | 13.2 8.6 |
|  | . |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | - |  | , - |

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

| 1877 | 1878 | 1879 | 1880 | 188) | 1882 | - 2883 | 1884 | 1885 | 1886 | 1887 | 1888 | . 1889 | 1890 | 1891 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 109 | 9 | 10'4 | 13 | 11.7 | 10.1 | $10.9{ }^{\circ}$ | 119 | . 559 | 11.6 | 13'7 | 14.5 | 144 | 13:2 | 16.5 |

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


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

2. The folinwing tahle will show the percentage of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Judge and reversed by the High Court. If it be true that native Jurorn show reluctance to convict persons of murder because they are afraid of extreme sentences of death by Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges ahow at tendency to pasa capital sentences where pepple should have been absolutely acguitted or sentenced in other ways. The figures of the earlier years are not available.

| Vears. | Total number of sentences of death by the Sessions Judges decided on reference by the High Court. | Confirmed. | Commuted or set aside | Percentage of sentences of death patsed by the Sessiona Courts and set aside by the High Court. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1886 | 86 | 86 | 10 | 38.4 |
| 18.9 | 39 | 28 | \% 1 | $28 \cdot 2$ |
| 1888 | - 31 | 18 | 13 | 419 |
| 1889 | 18 | 12 | 11 | 50 |
| 1890 | 33 | 19 | 14 | 42.4 |
| 1801 | $14^{8}$ | 3: | 46 | $33 \cdot 3$ |
|  | i |  |  |  |

## APPENDIX III.

| 先 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1890 | 1,36,611 | 68,294 | 68,317 | 34,050 | 14,416 | 19,634 | 102,56x | 53,878 | 48,683 | 75,686 |
| 1889 | 1,41,254 | 72,950 | 68,304 | 34,604 | 14,669 | 29,935. | 106,650 | 58,281 | 48,369 | 69,603 |
| ${ }^{1} 888$ | 1,34,74 ${ }^{6}$ | 65.757 | 68,989 | - 33,703 | 12,78! | 20,920 | 101,043. | 52,876 | 48,067 | 62,502 |
| 1887 | 1;34,498 | 63,704 | 70,794 | 34,379 | 12,798 | 21,58\% | 100, 119 | 50,906 | 49,213 | 53,595 |
| 1886 | 1,40,263 | 67,291 | 72,972 | 37,631. | 25,020 | 22,611 | 102,632 | 52,27! | 50,361 | 53,843 |
| ${ }^{8885}$ | $x, 38,032$ | 69,025 | 69,007 | 37,487 | 15,893 | 21,594 | 100,545 | 53,132 | 47,413 | 47,908 |
| 1884 | 1,39,139 | 69,852 | 69,287 | 36,858 | 15.913 | 20,945 | 102,281 | 53,939 | 48,342 | 51,876 |
| ${ }_{188} 3$ | 1,30,701 | 60,750 | 69,951 | 35,692 | 13,936 | 21,756 | 96,009 | 46,814 | 48,195 | 55; 247 |
| 1882 | 1,33,628 | 59,254 | 74,374 | 36,070 | 13,806 | 22,264 | 97,558. | 45,448 | 52, iro | 51,638 |
| ${ }^{1885}$ | 1,31,908 | 58,673 | 73,235 | 36,249 | 14,214 | 22,031 | 95,663. | 44,459 | 51,204 | - 39,028 |
| 1880 | 1,35,557 | 61,415 | 74,147 | 38,396 | 15,315 | 23,083 | 97,161 | 46,102 | 51,059 | 47,539 |
| 1879 | 1,34,452 | 67,87! | 66,481 | 42,552 | 19,218 | 23,334 | 91,900 | 48,653 | 43,247 | 37,204 |
| 1878 | 1,39,382 | 70,691 | 68,691 | 43,447 | --18,465 | 24,982 | 95,935 | \$2,226 | 43,709 | 33,200 |



## APPENDIX V.

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

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

1. Whilst fully agreeing in the proposals of our colleagues for a better organisan. tion of the Indian Army, we regret that we are unable, for the reasons given in this Minute, to concur in the recommendations of the Despatch which it accompanies, regarding a permanent increase in the numerical strength of that army. We have no desire to dispute the claim of our military colleagues to speak on the point with greater authority than any to which we can pretend; but we perceive that there is great divergence of opinion on the subject among military men ; and we think that, in the consideration which has been now given to the subject, the obligation af the English Government to contribute towards the safety of its Indian Empire has been unduly minimised.
2. The Indian Army Commission, who were appointed by and reported to Lord Lytton's Government, who wrote with perfect knowledge of the rapidity and the direction of the Russian advance in Central Asia; and on whose recommendations are based some of the most important proposals of the Despatch, summarised as follows, in their Report of November 1879, the purposes for which the Army of India must be maintained:-
" (a) Preventing and repelling attacks, or threatened aggression, from foreign enemies beyond the border.
" (b) Making successful armed disturbance or rebellion within British. India or its feudatory states impossible.
"(c) Watching and overawing the armies of Native feudatory states." (Report Paragraph 17.) .
3. It appears indisputable from the Report that, in their enumeration of these purposes, the Commission contemplated the contingency of operations beyond the frontier, not merely against Russia with Afghanistan as our ally, but against Russia assisted by Afghanistan.

They say: "The external foes which the Indian Army may have to meet on its land frontier are Russia and Afghanistan on the north-west. . . . . . For operations against Russia, or Afghanistan assisted by Russia, a force of two army corps, or 50,000 to 6o,000 fighting men, might possibly be necessary. No one has ever suggested that the Army of India should be maintained at a strength necessary to put into the field a larger force than this." (Report, Paragraph 17.)
4. They were of opinion that the Army of India, if properly organised, was sufficient to provide for the purposes thus enumerated, without any addition to its numerical strength.

5 They expressly made the reserve that, in making this estimate, thy did nof take into consideration the contingency of a permanent or lengthened military occupation of Afghanistan
"We have nat considered," they say, "the question of the future military occupation of Afghanistan proper, or any part of it not embraced in the conditions of the Treaty of Gindamak. We are well aware that, if there is to be a permanent, or even a lengthened, military occupation of Afghanistan, it can no more be provided from the Arnuy, or the distribution of the Army that we propose, than it could be from the Army as it now is. There can be no doubt that the duty of garrisoning Afghanistan will not be popular with the regular Native troops; and that if the occupation of the country is of any duration, constant relief of regiments will be called for, which will involve the maintenance in India of a number of regiments extra to the present establishment. We presume, therefore, that if Afghanistan is to

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be occupied for any great length of time-a matter on which, as far as we know at prearnt, no decision has been arrived at-regiments will be spectally raised in India, and perhapm to some extent in Aighanistan itself for local service in that country, thus obviating the neversity for a system of constant relief from the regular Native Army."
6. The data on which the Army Commission based their estimates bave nou. su far as we have been able to learn, been proved insufficient. Nor is is suspreted that, in consequence of any changes which have been made since the Commission's Report was presented, the fighting power of the Indian Army is less than it then was. On the contra: $y$ our honourable military colleague, in a Minute dated toth September $18 \mathrm{~K}_{\mathrm{h}}$ which wan forwarded to the Secretary of State under cover of a Despatch dated the loth of March last, expresses himself as follows in respect of these points: "Uintil she (Russia) is much further consolidated on the Herat frontier, she will, 1 believe, make no further atternpt to advance towards India; and then her task is gigantic." (Paragraph 45). We commdered a small increase in the strength of the Army uecessary, which should not excred to,000 in all, of whom 4,000 would be Europeans; neither was he disposed to say that thes increase should take place immediately. He wrote further:-
"Thus the general result of what was cffected in 188 y has been that the atrength of the Native and Britsh troops remains what it was before the changes were mate; but the Army is organised on a more enconomical, efficient, and useful basis, tretter adapled to war and the general requirements of the country, and, from the increased strengith of the batia. lions, more in accordance with the recommendations of some of our most experieneed oflicens. Thus, in considering the present strength of the Amy, it must be promisently kept in vicw that the result of the changes carried into effect in 1882 did not bring about a redurtion in the total strength of our fighting power in India." (Paragraph 34).

The contingency which the Army Commisson, when it submitted its Reprort, thought possible has now become anore poasible; but this furnishes no ground for believing that the precantions then recommended as sufficient, in the event of such danger overtaking um are insufficient now. It is necessary, on the contrary, to remember that since the Conumse sion wrote, a large scheme of strategical frontier railways has been aanctioned, and is beine vigorousiy pushed on; while an elaborate plan of frontier defensive works in also about to be put into execution. Apart altogether from the immediate purpose which thry are expected to serve, these works will add indirectly, but not inconsiderably, to the mubility and the fighting strength of our forces.
7. The frontier fortification to which we refer cannot require, for theif ocrupntion, an increase to the India Army of $\mathbf{3 7 , 0 0 0} \mathrm{men}$. We fail to mee why any forre nerded for this purpose should not be obtained in the mode contemplased by Lord Lyttun'n Government, that is to say by withdrawing the necessary troops from other parta of India. IWe Paragraph 13 of the Despatch of a2nd. May, 1879 ; Blue Book on Eont Iudia Army System p.3.1
8. If the above reasoning is correct, there secms to us every reavon to apprehend that the increase of our forces beyond the needs enumerated by the Army Commisuion may prove a weapon less of defence than of aggression. The prexence in lndia of wo strong a force as is desired may even suggest the permanent oceupation of nome part of Afghaniutan. Against the policy of extending to a point beyond Kiandahar, the fronfier, formal or practial, of British India, and the area which must be permanently heid by Britiohtrmipn, wrigity arguments, moral, political, and financial, have been and may atill be urged. But, whatever may be the merits of such a proposal, it forms no part of the grounds on which an increawe to our Army is now advocated; and is forcign, we have cvery reason to believe, to the dewirem or intentions of our colleagues.
9. We are thus of opinion that as no circumstances have arisen which, from a military point of view, have not been already foreseen and guarded against, the proposal to increase the strength of the Army by 27,000 men should be negatived. We are further of afinicm that the proposal is open to the objection that is may lead to the advocary, and perasbly to

## APPENDIX V.

## , Minute by the Honourable Sir A. Colvin and the Honourable Mr. C. P. Ilbert on the proposed permanent increase in the strength of the Indian Army. <br> [From Retaro. Easl India (Army). Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be priated, 16th September, 1887.]

1. Whilst fully agreeing in the proposals of our colleagues for a better organisa-. tion of the Indian Army, we regret that we are unable, for the reasons given in this Minute, to concur in the recommendations of the Despatch which it accompanies, regarding a permanent increase in the numerical strength of that army. We have no desire to dispute the claim of our military colleagues to speak on the point with greater authority than any to which we can pretend; but we perceive that there is great divergence of opinion on the subject among military men ; and we think that, in the consideration which has been now given to the subject, the obligation af the English Government to contribute towards the safety of its Indian Empire has been unduly minimised.
2. The Indian Army Commission, who were appointed by and reported to Lord Lytton's Government, who wrote with perfect knowledge of the rapidity and the direction of the Russian advance in Central Asia; and on whose recommendations are based some of the most important proposals of the Despatch, summarised as follows, in their Report of November 1879, the purposes for which the Army of India must be maintained:-
" (a) Preventing and repelling attacks, or threatened aggression, from foreign enemies beyond the border.
" (b) Making successful armed disturbance or rebellion within British. Indiạ or its feudatory states impossible.
" (c) Watching and overawing the armies of Native feudatory states." (Report Paragraph 17.)
3. It appears indisputable from the Report that, in their enumeration of these purposes, the Commission contemplated the contingency of operations beyond the frontier, not merely against Russia with Afghanistan as our ally, but against Russia assisted by Afghanistan.

They say: "The external foes which the Indian Army may have to meet on its land frontier are Russia and Afghanistan on the north-west. . . . . . For operations against Russia, or Afghanistan assisted by Russia, a force of two army corps, or 50,000 to 60,000 fighting men, might possibly be necessary. No one has ever suggested that the Army of India should be maintained at a strength necessary to put into the field a larger force than this." (Report, Paragraph 1j.)
4. They were of opinion that the Army of India, if properly organised, was sufficient to provide for the purposes thus enumerated, without any addition to its numerical strength

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

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be occupied for any great length of time-a matter on which, as far as we know at present, no decision has been arrived at-regiments will be specially raised in India, and prrhaps to some extent in Afghanistan itself for local service in that country, thus obviating the necessity for a system of constant relief from the regular Native Army."
6. The data on which the Army Commission based their estimates have not, so far as we have been able to learn, been proved insufficient. Nor is it suggested that, in consequence of any changes which have been made since the Commission's Report was presented, the fighting power of the Indian Army is less them it then was. On the contraty our honourable military colleague, in a Minute dated 10 th September 1884 , which was forwarded to the Secretary of State under cover of a Despatch dated the soth of March last, expresses himself as follows in respect of these points: "Until she (Russia) is mach further consolidated on the Herat frontier, she will, I believe, make no further attempt to advance towards India; and then her task is gigantic." (Paragraph 45). He considered a small increase in the strength of the Army necessary, which should not exceed ro,000 in all, of whom 4,000 would be Europeans; neither was he disposed to say that this increase should take place immediately. He wrote further:-
${ }^{4}$ Thus the general result of what was effected in 1882 has been that the strength of the Native and Britsh troops remains what it was before the changes were made ; but the Army is organised on a more enconomical, efficient, and useful basis, better adapted to war and the general requirements of the country, and, from the increased strength of the battalions, more in accordance with the recommendations of some of our mostexperieneed officers. Thus, in considering the present strength of the Army, it must be prominently kept in view that the result of the changes carried into effect in $\mathbf{2 8 8 2}$ did not bring about a reduction in the total strength of our fighting power in India." (Parngraph 34).

The contingency which the Army Commisson, when it submitted its Report, thought possible has now become more possible; but this furnishes no ground for believing that the precautions then recommended as sufficient, in the event of such a danger overtaking we are insufficient now. It is necessary, on the contrary, to remember that since the Commission wrote, a large scheme of strategical frontier railways has been sanctioned, and is being vigorously pushed on; while an elaborate plan of frontier defensive works is also about to be put into execution. Apart altogether from the immediate purpose which they are expected to serve, these works will add indirectly, but not inconsiderably, to the mobility and the fighting strength of our forces.
7. The frontier fortification to which we refer cannot require, for thair occupation, an increase to the India Army of $\mathbf{2 7 , 0 0 0}$ men. We fail to see why any force needed for this purpose should not be obtained in the mode contemplated by Lord Lytton's Government, that is to say by withdrawing the necessary troops from other parts of India. [See Paragraph 13 of the Despatch of 22nd. May, 1879; Blue Book on East India Army System p. 3.1
8. If the above reasoning is correct, there seems to us every reason to apprehend that the increase of our forces beyond the needs enumerated by the Army Commission may prove a weapon less of defence than of aggression. The presence in India of so strong a force as is desired may even suggest the permanent occupation of some part of Afghanistan. Against the policy of extending to a point beyond Kandahar, the frontier, formal or practical, of British India, and the area which must be permanently held by British troops, weighty arguments, moral, political, and financial, have been and may still be urged. But, whatever may be the merits of such a proposal, it forms no part of the grounds on which an increase to our Army is now advocated; and is foreign, we have every reason to believe, to the desires or intentions of our colleagues.
9. We are thus of opinion that as no circumstances have arisen which, from a military point of view, have not been already foreseen and guarded against, the proposal to increase the strength of the Army by 27,000 men should be negatived. We are further of opinion that the proposal is open to the objection that it may lead to the advocacy, and possibly $t 0$

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the adoption, of projects for the extension of our present frontier. The question then narirows itself to this : Is it the duty of the Government of India to maintain and charge to Indian revenues a permanent addition to its forces, not required for India, but available for the purpose of extending and securing its dominion beyond India?
10. We are wholly unable to admit that the Indian Government is under any obligation to maintain a standing army beyond the numbers indicated by the Army Commission, or for purposes other than those enumerated by them. They can draw on England, as in practice they always draw, should necessity arise for a temporary increase to the forces in India ; obtaining what is required, paying for it so long as it is needed, and dismissing it when the need is over.

If. Where is the line to be drawn if India admits its liability to maintain a force strong enough, not only to fulfil the purposes which have been enumerated in this Minute, but to acquire and maintain against all comers positions in Afghanistan, or elsewhere? It is desired, apparently, to have a force for home use, anda force for exterior use. Thenecessary strength of the former can be measured; but where is a measure to be found for the latter ? It has to deal-with that unknown quantity, the assumed military possibilities of the Russians in Central Asia and Afghanistan. If the principle is admitted that an army is to be maintained from Indian revenues for exterior use, it is difficult to see how its numbers are to be controlled, or why we shall not presently be told that 100,000 men are as necessary as 10,000. It has been already pointed out that the existence of such a force would be no mean agent in bringing about the very risk which it is meant to obviate. A standing army which is larger than is necessary for home requirements will be a tempting, and almost an irresistible, weapon of offence beyond the border.
12. It is asked how provision is to be made for an increase of native troops should a merely temporary addition to the English force in India in the event of war be advocated. We reply that, unless our frontier is to be extended, we are unable to see the necessity for any such increase. If, on the other hand, the frontier is to be extended, the new territory acquired must, we believe, be held by the aid of local levies. Experience, it is agreed on all sides, has shown that Indians will not enlist for service beyond the frontier. . It must be further remembered that a system of rescrves such as it is proposed to initiate, will gradually furnish us with the power of increasing our native forces to a considerable extent:
13. It can hardly be contended that the mere establishment of a reserve necessitates, of itself, an increase in the English force, and that the latter must be proportioned, not only to the native force actually under arms, but to that force plus the reserve.

The Appendices to the Despatch prove how large a number of young men trained to arms annually leave the army, and are scattered about the country. These men; though unavailable for the purpose of increasing our military strength, are as much an element of danger as the proposed reserve will be. No count has been hitherto taken of their existence, we believe, in fixing the strength of British troops in India. Nor, whatever, may be urged as to English troops, can the existence of a Native reserve possibly furnish arguments for an addition to the number of our Native. Army.
14. Finally, it is stated that, even were all we have urged to be admitted, we cannot depend on England for reinforcements, and that we must not risk the Indian Empire on the ability of the English Gevernment to furnish us with troops at the moment we may happen to want them. The alternative appears to us unquestionable; if India is to maintain troops additional to those needed for her own requirements, solely because England cannot be trusted to aupply them, our military financial arrangements with the English Treasury should be so altered as to set free a sum equivalent to that required for: the addition to our forces in India.
15. So far we have dealt with general considerations. The financial effect of the proposals makes the case against them, in our opinion, more cogent. It is not contended even by those who desire to add no more than 20,000 to our English and 17,000 to our Native

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tronps, that the rotal ultimate cost will be less than about $1,500,000 \mathrm{l}$. a year. There can be no doubt that, to meet this cost, we shall be compelled to resort to taxation of a considerabie amount, and seriously to burden our finances. So far, on the other hand, as we effect our object without taxation, it can only be by charging to loans the very costly unproductive military works in which we are at present engaged, the execution of which, at least in part. we believe to form an obligatory charge upon our revenue.
16. On the subject of taxation, we desire to draw attention to paragraphs 9 to 14 of the late Viceroy's Minute of a2nd September, is84. We agree entirely with the opinion of those who hold that, as an alien people, our best claim to the regard of the natives of the country, and therefore one of our main sources of security lies in the fact that taxation is light. We believe that this is a principie which has been admitted by all Governments foreign to their subjects, and that it has been uniformly recognised and adopted by our predecessors in the administration of British India. It seems an axiom which at the present time it is singularly incumbent on the Government of India to bear in mind. If it was important when India had no European neighbour, it becomes much more so when she has at her frontier a power whose agents will make the most of all our mistakes, and bid against us by every means at their disposal, for popularity. We are aware that it is easy to push this consideration too far, and that the Indian Government must be prepared to risk a certain unpopularity if it is convinced that the measures which it has in view, and for which the imposition of burdens is required, are of so urgent a character as to necessitate their adoption, all drawbacks notwithstanding. But we have given in this Minute our reasons for holding that in the present instance no sufficient case is made out for departing from the policy above indicated.
17. There is considerable probability of our being called upon after a term of years during which our precautions have proved uncalled for, and our taxation has appeared vexatious, to relax our precautionary measures, and of our then being tempted to pass from the extreme of precaution to the extreme of negligence.
18. We do not deny that there may be force in the contention to which we have alluded, that, if we look to England for reinforcements in the event of war, we may find the English Government incapable, wher called upon, of meeting our requirements. But there ia at least an equal risk that if we accept from such an apprehension burdens which do not belong to us, we shall find ourselves keeping up, at the cost of the Indian revenues, a reserve which, in the event of circumstances arising that necessitate the action of troops, for extra Indian purposes, as in the case of Egypt, Abyssinia, and the Soudan, will be drawn upon by the English Government.
19. To sum up: Regarding, for the reasons we have given, the proposed increase of ${ }^{\circ}$ the Indian Army as unnecessary, we adhere to what are described by the late Army Commission as "the principles so strongly enunciated by Lord Mayo, and reiterated by his successors, that the people of India ought not to be called upon to support or pay for one single unnecessary soldier." (Paragraph 575). We cannot admit that it is the business of the Government of India, under the apprehension that reliance cannot be placed on the Government in England, to assume more than its hitherto recognised share of the common obligation. We would not accept as a charge upon Indian revenues any single item of expenditure which should be undertaken by the Government at home.

A COLVIN, C. P. LBERT.

# [ xxxiv ] <br> THE INDIAN MILITARY AND TRANS-FRONTIER EXPENDITURE QUESTION. 


#### Abstract

A Letter by W. Martin Wood, Esq., (late Editor, "Times of India.") Note.-The letter, copy of which is reprinted below, was forwarded to the Managing Committee of the National Congress held at Allahabad, December 1888, with the hope of its being serviceable in the deliberations of that representatioe assembly.

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


Having for the past five and twenty years been familiar with Indian affairs I may be permitted to tender my congratulations on the holding of the fourth of these National Congresses which have already done so much, and must yet do more, in securing co-operation amongst those of diverse races, creeds, and provinces of the Indian Continent, in dealing with those broad questions of public interest that concern all the Indian peoples living urider the benign sway of Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress. In common with many others of your friends I have rejoiced to watch the rise and prospect of this remarkable popular movement, in which has been manifested a just appreciation of those' constitutional principles that are cherished by British statesmen of all parties ; also, by its managers' tact and discretion in applying those principles to the present political conditions of India. Your movement exemplifies unity in diversity. On one hand it is a sign, amongst many others, of the rapid progress made, during a comparatively short period, in the removal of race antipathies and provincial antagonisms that had long separated the several Indian peoples; on the other, by your judicious method of securing representation from each province and race, you are cherishing that principle of local management and administration so essential under the diverse, physical and climatic conditions of India, and which, in modern political phrase, is deseribed as federal union.
2. Amidst the large number of leading and pressing questions that demand your attention, your managers do well in not attempting to deal with too many at once; and observers, such as myself, must be satisfied to leave to your choice the final selection of those subjects that you deem most pressing in order of practical importance. This choice has, on the whole, been so wisely exercised that it is with diffidence that I venture to make two or three sugg stions that may prove serviceable for your forthcoming meeting. It would be manifestly unprofitable for me to repeat or revive those topics that the several Congresses have already taken in hand, and the draft programme for your forthcoming meeting is not yet before me.
3. Looking at Indian affairs from an outside and independent standpoint, it seems to me desirable that I should speak of two or three large questions which, because of their preponderant financial influence, really dominate the material condition of India and its possibilities of future progress. These may, for the present, be classed under three main heads:-
a. The rapid addition to Indian military expenditure and the increasing expensiveness of its character :
6. The Trans-frontier policy since 1875 , which has been the chiff cause of that increase:
c. The Financial arrangernents between England and India
4. Let us briefly review the first of these. In 1863-4 your army expenditure was only 14t millions; and so recently as $\mathbf{1 8 7 4 - 5}$, under Lord Northbrook, the estimate was again about the same, though the account shewed $15 \frac{1}{3}$ millions. Since 1876 , when Quetta was first occupied, the advance in your military expenditure has been by leaps and bounds, until the Budget for the current year shews an estimate of over nineteen millions sterling. Nor is this all. The strategical railways beyond the natural boundaries of India have cost im-

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mense sums (estimated in the Financial Statement of 1886 : at twelve millinns sterting) while the interest thereon and the working charges-which cannot be met by any returns those lines will yield-constitute a heavy debit against the commercial railways of India; therefore that loss on working must be reckoned as a direct addition to current military charges. Then it must be remembered that the modern palatial barracks erected during the last twenty years in every part of lindia have cost ten or twelve millions the greater part of which was defrayed out of current revenues, thus adding heavily to the burdens of the people. More recently these burdens have been directly increased; that is by the decision come to in $1885-$ no one knows at whose advice or on whose authority-to add permanently 10,050 to the British troops on the Indian establishment as well as increasing the Native army. These changes it was estimated would add two millions sterling to your annual military expenditure; but I believe, it will be found that the cost of these charges-referred to with evident anxiety in the Financial Statement for 1886.7 -amounts to nearly three millions. These increases were also in directions which specially add to the amounts of home charges, thereby enhancing the heavy "losses by exchange."
5. It is a maxim acknowledged by our statesmen that expenditure depends on policy. In this instance the grievous addition to the unproductive oullay from Indian revenues is wholly due to the revolutionary change entered on in 1876 ; followed by the disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1877-80; and now sought to be perpetuated by the establishment of permanent military posts far beyond the physical boundaries of India on the West, for the maintenance of which the immensely costly railways already referred to have been construced. You are well aware that this policy has been adopted and forced on India under cover of partisan counsels amongst certain English politicians; but this does not make it any more worthy of approval or lessen the need for its being checked and, if possible, reversed. Irrefutable arguments against this new trans-frontier policy are embodied in the series of Minutes on Central Asia placed on record in $\mathbf{1 8 6 7 - 9}$ by Sir John Lawrence and the strong men of his Executive Council ; those arguments were afterwards confirmed by Lord Lawrence and other truly Conservative Anglo-Indian statesmen in $\mathbf{1 8 7 8 - 9}$, when raising their protest againss the Afghan War of that period, which was contrived in secret, entered upon suddenly with scarcely a pretence of public justification, and in flagrant defiance of those constitutional restraints prescribed in Sections 55 and 56 of the Government of India Act of $\mathbf{1 8 5 8}$. For convenience of reference I may remind you that a permanent record of the protests against, and exposure of the unsoundness of the new frontier policy is contained in the volume, issued by Lord Lawrence and his co-adjutors, entitled Causes of the Afghan War (Chatto and Windus, 1879). The results of this fatal departure from the better traditions of Anglo-Indian statesmanship have been traced out, and applied to an elucidation of the present adverve financial condition of India, in a pamphlet by Mr. John Da Costa (copy of which I send) entitled The Financial Situation in India as exposed in the Budget Soutrments of 1 BSt-j (P. S. King and Sons, 1887).
6. The question then arises, what can be done by your Congresses in regard to this subject? The first condition is that its magnitude shouid be realised. It scens to me that it would be well, through some carefully selected committee, to ascertain and sum up the amount of the enormous burden that has been thrust on India by this new trans-frontier policy since 1876. Such computation should include the cost of the invasion and annexaiton of Upper Burmah; also the continuous addition to that cost entailed-by the egregioun political error of destroying the Native dynasty of Mandalay. If I do not dwell on the question of Burmah it is because that is fresh in your minds, and does not require for its elucidation that retrospective research which is needed for replacing the Western-Frontier question on its right basis. Then having placed before yourselves and the public the monstrous cost of these departures from the settled policy of Lord Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook, the way will be open to you to proceed to such protest and remonstrance an may scem expedient.
7. In connection with these subjects I desire to draw your attention to certain brood considerations that may be overlooked or postported amidst the current topics of detail

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that necessarily occupy the foreground of your programme and to which you are already committed. These considerations may be thus enumerated:-
a. The financial position of India dominates all its other material conditions.
6. The pressure caused by the absorption of your resources, consequent on the fatal error of thrusting military outposts beyond the natural boundaries of India, transcends in its cramping and distressing effects, all other financial and fiscal mistakes put together.
c. That error, with its concomitant military extravagance, is one of execative policy, and no reform in administration nor in the Local Legislative. Councils will avail to obtain either reversal of that erroneous policy or security against repetitions of similar sacrifices of India's true interests.
d. By appealing in respect of the paramount financial peril of India, first, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State as the one directly responsible authority, and next, to the High Court of Parliament, your Congress will effectually convince independent. English politicians of the capacity of your people to understand and deal with those large questions of policy, on the right solution of which depends the present and future welfare of the masses of your people.
8. The subject of the financial relations between India and the British Treasury is one that demands closer and more continuous attention than it has yet received from your leaders-with one or two notable exceptions who are so conspicuous that they need not here be named. It is not practicable in this communication to do more than indicate the course of investigation and effort required in this direction. From the very beginning of British sway over India the whole cost of maintaining that control has been thrust on the weaker power and the dependent country. By her possession of India this United Kingdom has derived power, prestige, and an incalculable amount of pecuniary profit. Yet every shilling of administrative and military expenditure incurred in maintaining the connection between the two countries has been sustained by India. It is high time' that something was done to revise this unequal relation, the onesided terms of which have been settled and maintained by the stronger party alone. Your-Congress can scarcely do less than ask for some remission or redress of this hard bargain. For instance, your people have had no say in the transactions that have gone to make up your public debt of nearly 200 millions, (hesides the railway debt.) Way should not an Imperial guarantee of that debt be granted? This would involve no outlay by the British taxpayer, who is really ultimately responsible, while such a course would be an immense relief to India. Then, why should not the cost of the home Indian administration be borne by the British Treasury; as that of the Colonies always has been-as also the whole of the military and naval charges incurred in acquiring our Colonial Empire? There are cogent reasons, also, why the bome military charges now debited to India should be sustained, or, at least, shared by our Treasury. Most obvious arguments of political justice indicate that something should be done in this direction; and the financial relief that would be thereby afforded to India would also result in real advantage to England itself by improving the material condition of your people. But the political gain would be still greater. One of the chief causes of the comparative neglect of Indian interests in Parliament is due to the feeling, unconfessed but always present, that the British taxpayer has no direct interest in the economical administration of your finances. If only a moderate proportion of the Indian home charges were defrayed by England, say \& couple of millions per annum, this would secure for your country an effective representation in our Parliamentary proceedings. If your Congress were to formulate and put forward an appeal to this effect, it would meet with response from several of our fair-minded politicians, in both parties, who are sincerely desirous of doing justice to your people.
9. In thus venturing to make these few suggestions-which pressure on my time prevents being put into more complete shape-I do not, by any means, forget those other subjects that are already engaging your attention; but the topics to which I have briely

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

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

West Kensington,
November 23 rd, 1888.

## APPENDIX VI.

## - <br> SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS.

#  cONGRESSES. 

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.


#### Abstract

RESOLUTION I. Resolved-That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquire into he working of the Indian Administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a loyal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence aken both in India and in England.


## RESOLUTION II.

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

## RESOLUTION 111 .

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

## RESOLUTIONIV.

Resolved-That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held n England for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service should enceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of $\mathbf{1 8 6 0}$, "be held imultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical n their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list ccording to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England or further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Surther, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be alled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure sucl

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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 33 years.

## RESOLUTION V.

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

## RESOLUTION Vi。

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

## RESOLUTION VII.

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

## RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved-Tliat 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 settement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions.

## RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved-That the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in Calcutta and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December, 1886, and the next succeeding days.
. RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.

## RESOLUTION I.

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

## RESOLUTION II.

Resolved-That this Congress regards with the decpest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing proverty of vast numbers of the population of ladia and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Intsitutions will, prove one of the most important practical steps towards the anselioration of the condition of the people.

## [ x 1$]$ <br> RESOLUTION IIt.

Resolved-That this Congress do, emphatically, re-affirm the ard Resolution of the $^{\text {re }}$ 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 thercin suggested, bave 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 shouid be had (subject to surch 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 pertons composing the Legislative Councils, both provincial and of the GovernorGeneral, to be materinlly increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Council to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officinis having seats ex-offcio in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Meumbers, official or non-official, nominated by Government. ${ }^{\circ}$
(2)-The right to elect Membens to the Provincial Councils to be'conierred only on those classes and members of the community, prime facie, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Piengal and Bombay the Couneillonn many be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constitured of all persons possessing unch qualifications, educational and. pecuniary, es may be deemed necessary. In, Madras the Councillors may be elected either by Disirrict Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partiy elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. Ia the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab Councillors may be eleced by an Electoral College conaposed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it belng 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 extesded 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 Commuaity and ail great interests are adequately represented.
(3.)-The elered Members of the Gouncil of the Governor.General for making lews, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
(4.)-No elected or nominated Nember of any Cooncil to reeeive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any soch Member, already in receipt of any Goverament salary or allowance, to continue to draw the sume unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be eatitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelliag in conaection with their Membership.
(5.)-Al! persons resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominoes, withour distinction of race, ereed, caste or colour.
(6.)-All legislative measures and all fancial questions, includiag all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be neecesarity sobmitted to and dealt with by these Conocils. In the ease of all other branches of the adminiastration any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to pat any question he sees tht to the ax.eflicia Members for such one of these as may be expecially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be catitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, logether with copies of any papers requisite for the thoroughe comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Forrign policy, Military dispositions or strategg, or is otherwise of such a mature-tbat, in the opinion of the Executive, the public intersts would be materialily inperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competeal for them to instruct the $\alpha x$-affio Members, or one of them, to reply accordianly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.
(7.)- The Execotive Governoreat shall poasess the power of overraling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every cave in which, in its opinon,- the public interests would suffer the acceplanee of such decision ; but whenever this power is exercised, a fall exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered neecsary, shall be published wibhio one month,

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and in the case of local Governmeats they shall report the circomstances 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 najontry, it ahall be eompetent to the Siand. ing Committee of the Hoase of Commons (recotamended in the zal Resalution of last yeer's Cun. gress which this present Congress has affrmed) to consider the matier. mod ebll iw any and all papers or information, and hent any persons on behalf of sach majority or otberwise, and theer. after, if needfal, report thereon to the lall Howse.

## RESOLUTOIN V.

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

## RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved-That a Committee composed of the gentiemen named in the margin be - Hon ble Dadabhal Naornji (Bombay).

Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (furma). Pundit Prannath (Lucknews), Munshi Kashipershiad (Allohahan). Nawah Reza Ali Khan (Lneknowo). Mr. Hamid Ali (Luckmont).
Lala Kanhyalal (Amritsar).
Rao Sahib Gangadhar
Chitnavis (Naqpur).
Mr. Rahinalufla M. Sayani (Bomiay).
RESOLUTION VII.

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

## RESOLUTION VIII.

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

## ${ }^{-}$REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congreis to sutmit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honor to report that the following resolutions were namimonaly adupted by us at a meeting held yesterday : -

1.     - That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneonsly both in India and in England.
2.-That the Simallaneous Examinations thus held be equally open to all clacses of Her Majoasy's sutject.
3.-That the Cassified lists be prepared according to merit.

4- That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Comonisioters will give fair consideration to Sansivit and Arabic, among the subjects of examination.
5.- That the age of caodidates eligible for admistion to the open Competitive Examination be not fers than 19, nor, as recommended by Sit C. Aitchison, more than 23 yetrs.
6. - That Simultaneous Examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for frat appoint. ments.
, 7.- That the nppointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be atill deft open to the Menbers of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability. .
8. - That all appoinsments requiriag educational qualifications, other than covenanted firnt appointments, we filjed by Competitive Examinations held in the dificrent Brovinces, and open in each Provioce to auch natural-burn subjects of H. M, only as are resideats thereof.

These Resolutions, it is hoped, covef the main principler which underlic the questions met by the Public Sertice Commaission. Fot a more detailed consideration these was no time.
(Sd.) DAUABHAI NAOROJI,
jovk December, 1886.
I'residems of the Committer.

## [ slii ] <br> 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.

हksolution $x$.
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 X1.

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

## RESOLUTION XII.

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

## RESOLUTION XIII.

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

## RESOLUTION XIV̀.

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 ist Resolution to besubmitted 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.

# [ xliii ] <br> RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS. 

## RESOLUTION L.

Resovived-That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally

- Messrs. Nemjoshi, Chandravaker, Mir Humayun Jah Bahisdur, Hajee Mahorned Abdul Sbakoor Badshaw Sabit, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Ganis, Kangiah - Naidu, Surenilranalh Banerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Banerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Raro Kali Chaudhuri, Hofiz Ahdu! Rehim, Rampal Singh, Fandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayen Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhur, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. Hi. Dhriva, W. C. Buanerjee Norendrinath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Govind Shöme, Iswari Lal Sirear, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapalhy Mudaliar, A. 0. Elume, C. Vigiya Raghava Chariar, Govind Buksh, Karandiliar.
thereon to the Congress, on the 3 oth instant.
enumerated ${ }^{\circ}$ ) to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard of the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions ta report


## 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 reatrictions 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 minimurn 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 expenditurc, or, should this prove impossible, by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cottion goods.

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## RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved-That, having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Gisvernment 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 taients 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 Committse appointed under Resolution I. stand over for considcration till next Congress, but that, in the meantime, copies be circu Itated 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 20th December, 1888.

## RESOLUTION XI.

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

## ROSOLUTOINS 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 188 ; (a tentative scheme for which expausion 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.

## [ xiv ] <br> RESOLUTION III.

Resolved-That this Congress, having read and considered Resolution XI. of the Congress of 1836, to wit-

- "That this Congress do place on record an expression of the aniveral convietion that a emplete nepara. "tiod of the sexcutive and juricial furations (such that in no cave the two functious shall be "combinel in the same officerl has become an urgent necessity ; and that, in its opmonn. is behores
*the Gorcroment to effect this sepamtion withont further. delay; even though the should, in
"s some provinces, involve some extra expendituse "-
and Resolution III. of the Congress of 1857 , 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 $\mathbf{1 8 8 6}$, to wit-
"That in the opioion of this. Congress, the time has anw arrived when the aystem of trial by jury "may be anfely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at prement in force"-

## Resolution IX. of the Congress of $\mathbf{1 8 8 6}$, to wit-

"That, in opinion of this Congress, the ingovation made in 1372 in the sytem of trint by jury, de"priviag 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 retting atide verdikts of "aequittal 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 thal contained in the Summary Jurislic. "tion Aet of England (under which accused persons in aerious cases have the option of demand.
"ing a comunital to the Sessions Courl) should be introluced into the Inclian Code of Criminal Proe
"cedure, 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 specedily as possible.

## RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved-That his 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 considere it desimable that the "Queen's Prociamation should be given cfleet to, that the Military services in the high , pirale"
"sbould be practically opened to the natives of this country ; and that the Corenment should exta-
${ }^{4}$ blish Militery Colleges in the country whereat the natives of Jotian, as definal by biatute, may ba
${ }^{4}$ educated and trained for a Mititary career ats officen of the Indian Asmy."
Resolution XII. of the Congress of 1886, and Resolution V. of the Congress of $\mathbf{1 5 8 \%}$, to wit-

* That in view of the unsetted state of public aflairs In Furope, and the famenae asinfagee that the
" people of this conatry, if duly preparel therefor, are capable of rendeting to Cirat Hertain in the
"event of any serious complications arising, the Congress once agrin eannestly oppeals to the (Govern-
at ment to guthorive (under such rulex and retirictions as to it may mecm fitiog) a grean of
at Yolantecring for the Indian inhabitants of the coualry, such se may qualify thear to supfort the
* Government efloctually in any eaicis;"


## [ sivi ]

and Resolution VIII. of the Congress of 1887 , to wit-
"That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardshipt which the preseat Arms Act (XI of 1878) causen, ${ }^{4}$ and the unmerised slar which it carts 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 Govemment of India, (or any
" local anthority empowered by the Government of India on that beball), for reasons to be recorded
"in writing and daly pobtisbed;"
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 bclow 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.

## RESOLUT:ON IX.

Resolved-That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in Ivdia 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 tecinical 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.

## RESOLUT:ON 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 Re solutions (based as most of these are on Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of 1858) may now be efliected ; 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 specdily as possible, by a Parliamentary Committee.

## RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved-That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exestions 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 rower in the attainment of this laudable object.

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

## RESOLUT:ON XIV.

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

## RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved-That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhance-- ment 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 Resetve 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 a6th of December, 1889.

> RESOLUTION XVII.

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

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

## RESOLUTION J.

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

## RESOLUTION H.

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 BritishHouse of Commons :-

## SCHEME.

(1) The Imperfal and Proviocial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of memben, not less than one-balf of whmo are to be elected, aot more that were.fouth io sit ex-oficie, and the reat to be nominated by Goverument.

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(2) Revenne districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units, for clectnral purposes.
(3) All male British soljects above 21 yeara ef agre possessing certain qualifications and not subject to centain dimqualifications (buth of which wial be setuled lister) to he voterf.
(4) Voters in each dintrict to elect representalives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstarces at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such represtantatives to possexs certain qualiucations an:l act to be sabject to certain disqualitications, buth of which wilt be settled later.
(5). All the representalives thus elected by all the districts incladed in the jurisaiction of each electoral bady, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the sate of 1 per every five millions of the total populations of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislatare at the rate of I per,million of the said total popuiation, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Ilindus are in a mioority, the total nmmber of Parsecs, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be .possible, bear a leas proportion to the total number of menibers efected thereto, than the total number of Parsces, Christinn, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, lears to its total population. Members of both Legisiatures to possiess certaio qualifcations and not to be suhject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settied 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 necersity 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 parte of the country, where it is not at present in force, the aystem of tial by jury;
(d) the necesuity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in $\mathbf{x 8 7 2}$, of setting axide verdicts of acquitlal by juries;
( $(1)$ the necessity of introducing, iato the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused person, in wacrant cascs, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessionas ;
(f) the bighly unsatisfactory character of the exsting system of Police Administration in Indin, and the bsolute necessity of a fundamental ecform therein;
(n) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in Irdia, where at the Natives of Indin, 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 gecessary, such a sjgtem of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to sapport the Goversment in any crisis:
(f) the exifemely 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 mount :
(1) the extreme importance of increasing, inatend of diminishing, as the present teadency appears to be, the public expenditure on elucation 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 appoiatment of a mixed commission to eoquire into the present induatrial condition of the country :
( 0 ) the inpolicy and infusizie involved in the late increase of the Salt Taxin a time of profound pence, anit the argent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deticit thas cansed, of light al sabrew import duties;
(i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual inerease to, the military expenditure of the country.
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## . RESOLUTION IV.

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

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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 33 , does herely put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has becn created by the rest of that Goverument'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 dune 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 rentrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equaliy to all persons residing in or visiting lndia; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and gencrally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattic or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughtout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be ouly revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

## RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved-That the Government be urged to take thio suffete of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical agtiof yiteon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revepuc dimand without.further delay, at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of ofountry:

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 Guvernment 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 juctice 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 inmediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

## RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved-That this Congress respectully 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 authorizen 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 terman 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, hut 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 skelcton scheme for the reconstruction of the councils, embodied in Resolution II.); of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, be-coming-
(c) : Voter ;
(A) a Representative:
(c) a Member of a Provincial Leqisiative Council ; and
(d) i Member of the Imperial Legialative Council ;
and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq, M.P., for the purpose of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

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

## RESOLUTION XIII.

## Resolved-

(a) That in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability arising frons past experience, of their number contiouing 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 circie: the Standing Committee of each citcle allotting the number which their jurisdiation, ss a whole, is entitiad to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.
(b) That from the date of Mr. HIume's departure for Englind, the Hon'ble Purclit Ajoodhianath te appointed Toint Gencral Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be nssigued for the payment by hira of suck - Asaistant Secretaries as be tany find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs and printing ; and further that 'Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standiog Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. Avanda 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 citculated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Stending Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its neat session.
(A) That this Congress does hereby coafirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maciaren, M. P., J. E. Ellis, M. P., Dadabhai Naotoji 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 geatlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary for the service which they are rendering to India.
(1) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr, J. E. Hownrd," Mr, Pheroushah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforme which the Congress has advocated.
( $/$ ) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress work in this conntry and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their res-

[^1]pective apportioned amoants to the General Secretary. the one half in three, and itue halance in six paynths.

## 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 a6th of December, 18 go.

## -RESOLUTION XV.

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


## RESOLUTIONS PAŞSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS.



Resolved-That this Congress, having considered the draft bilfelently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradiaugh entitled:c an Agtt to "angign the Indian Councils Act of $186 x^{\prime \prime}$ " approves the same as calculated to sesyre a sifgstantial-instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it ditso bcie jagitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom " 8 Hrc olytain, nnd Ireland to
 empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assfug $\rightarrow$ fong to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the sian. to wharles Bradiaugh for presentation, thetreto, in.due course.
 passed by previous Congrésses as to-
$\because \because \quad \because$
(a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of execütive and judicial functions, such that, in no 'casc, shall the . now functions be combined in the same officer ;
(b) the expediency of extending inio many payts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial Dy jury;
(a) the necessity of withdrawing from the High $\ddot{C}_{\text {purts }}$ the powers, first vested in them in 1872 , of setting iside verdicts of acquittal by juries;
(d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persens, in warrani cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be commited to the Court of Sessions;
(e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Ad. ministration in India, and the absolute fecessity of, a fundamental reforin therein;
(f) the expediency of both, establishing hilitary Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statqts, may-be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian:Array, and of authorising, under such
ruics and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;
(g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;
(h) the extreme importance bf 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, shath pperate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which thes,are isfyed, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly orfilf-yearly renewals.


Resolved-That dhis (ngriess. respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interest of the poople or 1 nfia, tife House of Commons will forthwith restore the right formerly possessed by membirs of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of gricvance of the liatives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Intian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorizes its President to sign a Petition, in the name and on behalf of this Congress, for presentation to the House of Commons, in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

## RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved-That, while recognizing the action taken, in response to its prevlous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India and the Suprene 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 elosing 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 mattéts of Excise enunciated in paras. 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the Gasethe of India of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para. 103, vis.-
"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."

## [ liii ] <br> 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 revent enbancement 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 datc, and enapowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

## RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved-That having reference to the expectations created throughous the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in $\mathbf{8 6} \mathbf{6 2}$, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865 , promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily setted tracts in which certain conditions were fulililed, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have loug 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 learat that tickets, of and ene vision' encionure in the Congretu
 and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out. thinitimber the of the Goremment of India the presence of Government officials, even as vicitor* aitstich meetings, is toot advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absslutely prohibited : $n$ *
and having alșo considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of whici thefollowing is an exact copy:-

BELVEDERE, ath Decomier, 1890,
"Dear Sir,-In returaing herewith the seven caris of admission to the visitors" enclosure of the Corgecs. pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yeaterday afternoon, I an desired to my that the Lreute. nant-Governor and the members of bis houschold could ont possibly favail thenselves of thece tirkets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely probibit the presence of Government officials st such moetiok;.

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* To Youn faithfully,
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    J. GHOSALEse., - P.C.L.YON,
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Setretary, Congress Receffion Commillec."
Prristc sairetury.
authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Exrellency the Viseray to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servant; are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquirc, moat reapec:fully, whether His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has nut, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India

## RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved-That the best thanks of this Congress be tondered $t$, Mr. Charles Bratlaugh, M. P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the part year, ay ala, m 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 unselfioh zeal and ability with witrich
they have presided over the British Ageney 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., Sccretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee; Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous dutics 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 $0_{2}$ fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

## RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved-Thlat a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers, oprgpijetors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprictórs of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palith Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory. Mọhan 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, 189 t , at cither Madras or Nagpore, as bay be hereafter settled; in consultation between the Mäfras, Central Provinces and Berar. Committees, and the Joint Ceneral Secretary.


Besolved-That provistonal arrangarabits be made to noेld a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England; all thitici kiong copvenient, in $\mathbf{x 8 9 2}$, and that the several Standing Congress Committörs be dirace todyport, dat the coming Congress, the pames of the delegates that it is propapelver their peqpective. cireles.

 to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be addted. to the Permanent. Fund and placed in fixed deposits, andothat tho rest of the fundis:aeciruing on account of this gurrent year, 8890 , be held by him available for the inmediate jutposes of the British Committce of the Indian National Cengress, but tơo replaced as the subscriptions for 189t are received, and ultimately, alseradded to the Permanient Fuind:

RESOLUTHON XII:
Resolved-That a sum of Rs 40,opo, exclüsive of individuap donations is. assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress ander. Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several cibioles and diatricts do contribute as arranged in Committee.

RESOLUTION XXV.
Resoved-That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretarics for the ensuing year.

## RESOLUTION XV.

Resoved-That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G." Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjec, Dadahiai Naorojec, 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 Englend, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political refornss which the Congress has advocated.

## [ 1 <br> RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SEVENTH CONGRESS.

## RESOLUTION I.

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

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS:
The President.
The Chairman of the Reception Committee. The General Secretary. The Joint General Secretary. The Standing Counsels to the Congress. ORDINARY MEMBERS :

Messrs. Surendranath Bannerjee.<br>Viraraghava Chariar.<br>Hafiz Abdul Raheem.<br>Gangapersad Varma<br>- Pringle Kennedy.<br>Guruprasad Sen.<br>D. E. Watcha.<br>M. B. Namjoshi.<br>Hamid Ali Khan. Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide.

Messrs. Murlidhar. Mudholkar. Deo Rao Vinayak. Gopal Rao Bhide. Bipin Krishna Bose.

- Dajee Abajec Khare. Madan Mohan Malaviya. Saligram Singh. Sankara Nair.


## RESOLUTION 11.

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

## RESOLUTION IH.

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

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number ycarly 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 11;

## [ lvi ]

(6) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Militray and Civil, but especially the former; and to
(c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which ninetenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary-
that the cost of the administration be greatly reduced; in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops like those of the Hon. E.I. Company, for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance and Store Departments; and in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and
that measures be at once taken at give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary" settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible; and to establish agricultural banks.

That this Congress does pet earnestly entreat the peopie of Great Britain and Ireland not to perint durther sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtles well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms,

## RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved-That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that, to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian public opinion and encourage and qualify the Indians to defend their homes and their Government-
(a) by so modifying the rules under the Arms Act, as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses whereever 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 commissiowed or non-commissioucd officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian aimy;
(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 Brtain, amongst the people of India.

## [ lvii ] <br> 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 peopie of india, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, deciares it to be essential that all examinations for any and all of the Civil Branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be also held simultaneously in India.

## RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved-That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating -
(a) the reduction of the salt tax, by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;
(b) the taising 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 Gaselte of India, of March ist, 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 Procedurc, 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;
(c) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salarics, and in the qualitications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentiemen of higher capacitics, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicated to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police.

## RESOLUTION VIIL.

Resolved-That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of dimioishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public ependiture on all branches of edncation, and the expeportance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the diency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the techal cal, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial coudition of the country.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [ lviii ] } \\
& \text { RESOLUTION IX. } \\
& \text { Read the following telegram from General Booth:- } \\
& \text { "May I be allowed to commend, to the attention of the Congress, the claims of } \\
& \text { the millions of India's starving poor and to urge the consideration of some } \\
& \text { scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste } \\
& \text { lands of the country, in such an organised and befriended manner, as will } \\
& \text { enable them to gain, for themselves, those necessaries of a healthy existence } \\
& \text { which, in their present circumstances, are denied; praying for the blessing } \\
& \text { of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every } \\
& \text { effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind." }
\end{aligned}
$$

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 dedre 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, wnihr Resolution (I), which runs as follows:-
" Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them and have also 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 untid all necessary reforms have been secured.

## RESOLUTION XI.

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

## RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved-That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn, and the mernbers of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectifully 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.

## \{ lix 〕 <br> 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 couutry's cause, and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engeddered; and that a copy of this Resolution, signed by the President, be trans* mitted 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 apprecintion of the great services which Mr. Dedabhai 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 al 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 footin pursuance of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890, for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than 100 Delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election.

## RESOLUTION XVI.

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

## RESOLUTION XVII.

Resolved-That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhianath are re-elected General and Joint-Cieneral Secretaries for the ensuing year.

RESOLGTION XVIII.
Resolved - That the Eighth Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 189 at at Alahabad.


[^0]:    

[^1]:    - By zome ovensight, this gentleman's nnme was oroitted, when the Resolution was read to the Congress; the orrer has been rectified with the consent of the several Standing Congress Committees,

